Mother-tongue based multilingual education in the Philippines: Perceptions, problems and possibilities

Priscilla Angela T. Cruz
Department of English
Ateneo de Manila University

Ahmar Mahboob
Department of Linguistics
University of Sydney

Introduction

With the rise of English as "the" international language and the rise of national (e.g. Filipino) or large regional (e.g. Kiswahili) languages as "the" languages of wider communication within a country/region, non-dominant and minority languages are struggling to maintain a sustained population that continues to use and develop the language. One attempt to redress this problem is through mother-tongue based multilingual education (MTBMLE). Recent developments in MTBMLE policies are one strategy that may help in countering and perhaps even reversing the process of language loss and language shift. However, in order for this to happen, we need to understand peoples' attitudes towards such policies, the sociolinguistic distribution of (variations of) languages, and how people generally perceive the way local languages are used (or useful) in education; and, at the same time, we need to develop appropriate pedagogical models and approaches for using local languages in the classroom. This chapter looks into these questions with a focus on MTBMLE in the Philippines.

The Philippines, with the introduction of a new basic education program, has recently shifted its educational policies away from English and Filipino dominant into one that makes space for mother tongues. It is expected that by 2021, MTBMLE will have been implemented throughout the basic education system of the country. Lorente (2013) writes that this move "acknowledg[es] the role of local communities and how local knowledge can be valued in the classroom with the use of the mother tongues" (p. 197). So far, there has been a positive response to this program. Teachers of government schools, for instance, have noted that MTBMLE has led to greater student involvement in classroom work and generally, better overall performance (Amarles, 2016). While this and other such studies claim the success of MTBMLE based on perceptions and attitudes, we note that there is an absence of research based on classroom discourse. In reviewing the current research on MTBMLE in the Philippines, we note that despite positive reactions, there are a number of problematic areas that need to be addressed. Some of these problem areas will be explored in this chapter. In particular, we examine MTBMLE in terms of the policy's relationship with forms of knowledge, language variation, and language development. We further discuss the need to anchor learning 'content' in the classroom with learning about language in order to show that an MTBMLE policy needs to exist in conjunction with the development of these languages so that they may be used for more than just interpersonal or regulative purposes. In order to address these problems, we provide some suggestions on how local languages can be used more productively in MTBMLE classrooms.

An overview of some of the core language issues in the Philippines

In this section, we briefly discuss some core language issues that may impact on mother tongue-based policies in education. These are related to sociolinguistic conditions, social aspiration, and attitude. We argue that without framing mother tongue policies within these issues, any attempt to empower local languages in education may be met with small success.

First, when it comes to the sociolinguistic context, any language policy will have to take into account that the Philippines is a highly multilingual and culturally diverse place. The country is composed of over 7,000 islands and at least 100 languages. McFarland (2009) has written that "[t]hese are languages, not dialects, which is to say that these variations are so different one from the other that the (monolingual) speaker of one language does not understand communication in one of the other languages" (p. 132). However, two languages enjoy a privileged position in the Philippines. These are English and Filipino. English was introduced by American colonial policies and, for over a century, the county has been in the 'grip of English' (Lorente, 2013) because of its promises of social mobility and American/Western values of democracy and liberty. Filipino, on the other hand, is a national language imposed by "fiat or gobbledygook" (Hidalgo, 1998, p. 24). 'Filipino' is actually Tagalog, which is the language of the country's dominant ethnic group. It was renamed into 'Filipino' in the 1987 constitution in an attempt to 'de-ethnicize' the language (Tupas, 2015). Both English and Filipino have enjoyed being the primary languages of schooling. In the past, bilingual education policies have stipulated the use of Filipino for subjects like social studies and practical arts. English was to be the language of the sciences and more specialized fields.

The divide between English for more specialized fields and Filipino for local ones easily reflects the aspirational dimension of English. Gonzalez's (2004) research has pointed out that English is used for upward mobility, specifically in the powerful domains of business, law, and politics while Filipino is used for more local domains such as the mass media. In this country, language is valued social capital where those who speak English and Filipino to some extent have a greater potential for finding lucrative jobs. Because the country is a noted provider of contact service employees, those who speak English can work in the many call centers of the country. Filipino, because it is the local language of the capital, Manila, is also a coveted language despite the fact that English still enjoys a strong position in what might be considered the hierarchy of languages in the country. English is aspirational because it offers the potential for employment in a country with a severe unemployment problem.

When it comes to aspirations related to language, it is useful to consider the differences between language allocation and affiliation (Mahboob, 2014). Individuals all receive allocated languages. These are the languages of home and one's immediate social group. Mother tongue policies assume that students learn best in the languages allocated to them. This is not surprising as students who have to learn in a language other than those allocated to them have the double problem of learning a new language (the language of schooling) and learning new content (such as maths) in that new language. However, there are also languages that individuals wish to affiliate with. These are the languages that are associated with communities that individuals want to access. English and Filipino are languages that are aspirational, which means they are used and spoken by communities that are perceived to be desirable for one reason or another. Because of affiliation, languages in the Philippines are not perceived as equal. The desire to affiliate with a language is a very important element in why individuals may or may not support a mother tongue policy, as our previous research has suggested.

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In a previous study, we discuss the results of a survey that show poor attitudes toward mother tongues in the Philippines (Mahboob and Cruz, 2013). Respondents were asked about what languages they perceived were important in schooling. Most of the results indicate a poor attitude toward mother tongues in school where English is still largely perceived as the ideal medium of instruction. Filipino and other local languages were only considered to be valuable in primary or elementary education but not in higher studies. In this study, about 50% of the respondents felt that English should be the medium of instruction in primary education, over 80% felt it was ideal for secondary school, and close to 95% preferred it to be the language of higher education. On the other hand, only about 20% felt that Filipino and other local languages could be used as a medium of instruction in primary school. This number dwindled to just under 2% in higher education. Furthermore, respondents also indicated that other foreign languages were perceived to be even more useful than these local languages in schooling. To the question on which languages should be taught in school, over 80% responded with English while only 50% answered with Filipino. Other local languages were only supported by close to 15% while foreign languages (like Chinese, Spanish, Japanese, and French) got close to 23%. These results indicate that attitudes to English and other languages need to be considered in implementing a mother tongue-based system, which it seems the country sorely needs.

The need for MTBMLE

While English has arguably become the language of prestige and socio-economic mobility in the Philippines, the effects of English have been disastrous for education (Azurin, 2010; Dekker, 2010). One effect of the privileged position of the language is its long-term use as a medium of instruction (MOI) in schools. Azurin (2010) has written about the debilitating effects of this policy: "[teachers have] realized that faulty communication in the classroom has mostly led to poor comprehension of the concepts and skills to be implanted" (p. 4). Aside from students not understanding (and hence, not learning), important concepts and skills, the use of English in schools has caused a break between the students' local world and their school world. This break has been considered as leading to an interruption in the development of critical thinking. Dekker (2010) reminds us that "[b]efore children begin school they think and process concepts in their mother tongue (p. 24)". Their ability to think in their mother tongues is something that is not exploited nor developed in an English MOI system. A mother-tongue based system, on the other hand, "enables participatory classroom activities where learners are actively involved in learning with understanding from the first day" (p. 25).

The positive effects of MTBMLE have been studied and documented by Dekker and her colleagues who, for over a decade now, have piloted an MTBMLE program in Lubuagan, a small town in the northern part of the Philippines (Nolasco, 2008; Walter, Dekker, Dekker, et al, 2010). The results of the project are overwhelmingly positive, with students who were taught in their mother tongues scoring more than 20% higher than their peers who were taught in English (Walter, Dekker, Dekker, et al, 2010). Students who were taught in the mother tongue scored higher not just in 'content courses' such as Math but also in the language classes of English, Filipino, and Reading. Dekker's team attests that

> Beginning with the first language first, and providing well planned second
> language learning supports learners more effectively than immersion, or
> submersion, in a second language. Research shows that when the first language is

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used in education for up to six or more years, learners exceed the achievement of monolingual learners, enabling parity in higher education and the world of work (Walter, Dekker, Dekker, et al, 2010, p. 41).

This study is only one among other studies conducted both in the Philippines and around the world that provides convincing evidence for the use of mother tongues in the classroom. However, there is also a need to be critical of some problematic areas in MTBMLE. In the next section, we frame MTBMLE within discussions of language and knowledge-building and what roles variations within languages can play where building knowledge is concerned.

MTBMLE and forms of knowledge

Why is it that children go to school? The most obvious answer is 'to learn new knowledge to find employment.' In this case, it is necessary to differentiate the knowledge children go to school for from the knowledge learned at home and within their immediate social group. Bernstein (1975) has drawn up the useful distinction between *commonsense* and *uncommonsense* knowledge. He argues that *commonsense* knowledge is "everyday community knowledge" (p. 90), learned through interactions with family and immediate peer groups. *Uncommonsense* knowledge, however, is "freed from the particular, the local" (p. 90) and is represented by the specialized or technicalized discourses of the sciences and the arts. Martin (1993) describes the differences between the language of commonsense and uncommonsense. He writes that commonsense is discursively designed to "engage interpersonally in solidarity contexts, with family and friends who are interested in negotiating how you feel" (p. 86). Uncommonsense, on the other hand, can be represented by scientific discourse which is characterized by "meanings that are not readily available in spoken form (p. 95). Scientific discourse, after all, can be noted to show lexical items which are not commonly used and can only be understood by those who have access to the same uncommonsense knowledge. So, one important consideration for deciding on what language/s to use in school is to what extent these language/s can express the discourses of uncommonsense knowledge.

It is useful to consider, at this point, Mahboob's 3-dimensional framework for examining language variation. In this framework, Mahboob (2015) illustrates how a language can vary internally to express the meanings of both common and uncommonsense.

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Written-like

Specialized/technical
discourses

mode

use

Local /
Low social
distance

user

Global /
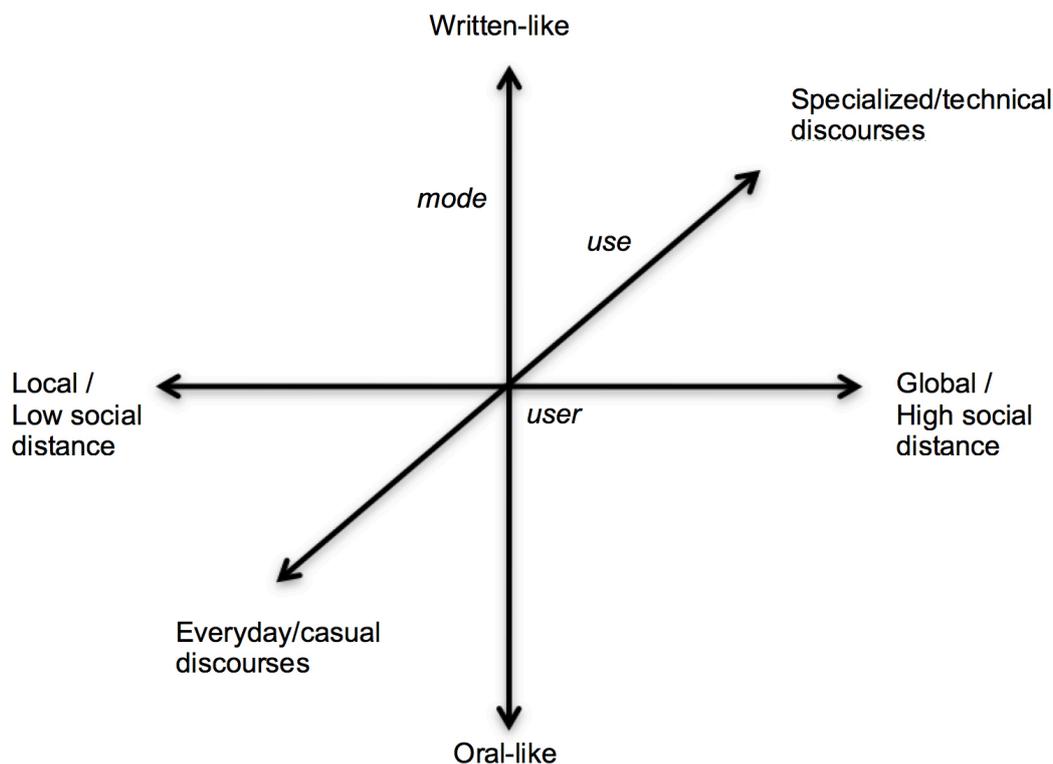High social
distance

Everyday/casual
discourses

Oral-like

Figure 1: Language variation framework (Mahboob, 2015)

In this framework, the difference between common and uncommonsense can be traced along the intersecting clines of users, uses, and modes. Commonsense discourses tend to be everyday discourses between individuals with low social distance such as friends, family, or people of the same neighborhood. Uncommonsense discourses tend to be specialized and are exchanged between individuals of relatively high social distance. A highly developed language such as English can express the meanings of both common and uncommonsense. When children go to school, they do so to learn and access both the common and uncommonsense of global written/spoken discourses. So, schooling opens the opportunity for ontogenetic (Martin, 1997) development, or one that involves widening the ability of a child to access and construe the different language variations that will be necessary throughout his/her life.

Halliday's arguments on language development are also worth discussing here. He argues that language development is composed of three aspects, which are "learning language, learning through language, and learning about language" (Halliday, 2004, p. 308). To Halliday, "learning language" is about the largely unconscious process involved when children manage to talk to and interact with the people around them. "Learning through language" is about "how we use language to build up a picture of the world in which we live" (Halliday, 2004, p. 317). Through this perspective, we recognize that it is through language that we perceive and structure our experiences of the world. A child might learn the wording 'good girl' and in so doing, also figure out how the world is structured around 'good' and 'bad, 'girl' and 'boy'. Learning language and learning through language can be unconscious processes that are observable even in very young children.

"Learning about language", on the other hand, is quite different from the other two. This refers to how individuals "come to understand the nature and functions of language itself"

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(Halliday, 2004, p. 322). When we learn language, much of what we know remains unconscious knowledge or "knowledge stored in the gut" (p. 322). This 'gut knowledge' is, in a way, developed in childhood when children learn the 'right' ways to say things because these also show the 'right' ways a world works (such as the difference between *give me that* and *please give me that*). However, as a child goes through schooling and it becomes increasingly important to learn to deal with the uncommonsense knowledges of adulthood, then an understanding of language itself becomes necessary. In this sense, knowledge about language is a form of uncommonsense knowledge. Through this type of knowledge, students can learn the patterns of discourse that will allow them to adjust their uses of speech or writing to express both commonsense and uncommonsense knowledge across variations in users, uses, and modes. What is necessary for this kind of uncommonsense knowledge is a language's own ability to talk about itself, its nature and its functions across the cline of users, uses, and modes. So, uncommonsense knowledge of language itself leads to the ability to learn and talk about both the commonsense knowledge of community and the uncommonsense knowledge of all the fields of schooling whether they involve the sciences, social sciences, economics, or culture and the arts. Learning uncommonsense about a language can also be an unconscious process. Many high-level users of a language, after all, instinctively know that they have to calibrate their use of language depending on context.

What do forms of knowledge, language variation, and the three aspects of language development imply for language in education policies such as MTBMLE? First, it is necessary to consider to what extent any language chosen as a medium of instruction can construe uncommonsense. This means that the language has been developed enough to express the specialized discourses of all the subjects necessary for schooling. But, it is also necessary to perceive this language as some kind of 'meta-knowledge' that is expressed as a 'meta-language' that students need in order to understand, express, and critique uncommonsense on their own. Furthermore, although learning about language can be an unconscious process, the language used as a medium of instruction has also got to be learned consciously so students can clearly learn to navigate the discursive differences between common and uncommonsense. Learning about language consciously needs a language that already has a vocabulary for 'talking about itself'. In this sense, a language that is described as 'developed' already has this meta-language. When languages, such as the local languages of the Philippines, remain marginalized as languages of local purposes and identities, then they may have not have developed the registers needed for the specialized discourses of high social distance and largely technical fields. They may have also not developed the meta-language needed for learning about language. It is from this perspective that we caution against simply imposing MTBMLE without considering the need to develop these local languages. The more these languages are developed, the less people will perceive them as less useful than English.

Furthermore, another issue that has to be considered is what MTBMLE will mean for *how* local languages are used in the classroom. It can be observed that prior to MTBMLE, local languages had already been used in the classroom, as this sample will suggest:

> *Ba't dala mo pa yung bag mo*? [Why did you bring your bag with you?] {The boy does not reply and pastes the tag *circumference* on the Manila paper.} *Ano ba ang problema mo*? [What is your problem?] Okay. So again, everybody, read (Canilao, 2015).

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In this excerpt, the teacher is managing a classroom. A student (a boy) has gone up to the board to stick a tag ('circumference') on Manila paper. The boy, for some reason, is carrying his bag so the teacher asks him, in the local language, why he has his bag with him. Here, we can observe that the local language is used for the regulative purpose (Christie, 1999) of managing behavior. However, for MTBMLE policies to be effective, local languages should be used for both regulative and instructional (Christie, 1999) purposes. Instructional purposes would involve skills and knowledge building. To allow for local languages to function in instructional discourses would mean using them in a planned manner in order to build knowledge and skills. If they are used only in unplanned ways for regulative or interpersonal purposes, then they may lose the potential to support students in the process of learning uncommonsense in the target language. They may also remain underdeveloped as they are only called to construe some meanings and not others.

Building uncommonsense about the English language through local languages: Focus on the classroom

In this section, we suggest means by which to structure lessons around the uses of local languages to construe and unlock various meanings in the English language learning classroom. We will briefly model a lesson involving the shift between the target language (English) and a local language (Filipino) in order to demonstrate how the use a local language can build skills and knowledge in English. This lesson builds reading skills and focuses on knowledge about nominal or noun groups. In our presentation of this lesson, we draw from Halliday's (1986) work on the metafunctional organization of language and Rose and Martin's (2012) work on curriculum genres.

Halliday (1986) has written that any communicative situation involves the three variables of field, tenor, and mode. 'Field' involves 'what is happening; 'tenor', 'who are taking part', and 'mode' refers to 'what part language is playing'. These three variables are expressed through the three metafunctions of language. These are the ideational (expressing 'field), interpersonal ('tenor'), and textual ('mode') metafunctions. Any use of language construes a configuration of these three types of meanings. Ideational meanings are those of experience and involve people/things, events, and the various circumstances that impact on events (such as time and place). Interpersonal meanings construe social relations in terms of, for example, who is positioned as giving information as opposed to who receives it. These meanings are also responsible for managing social relationships in terms of asking questions, giving commands, and negotiating feelings. In the sample above, the local language was used for the interpersonal purpose of managing behavior and identity. Textual meanings, on the other hand, organize ideational and interpersonal ones into written, spoken, or multimodal texts. This organizing metafunction allows receivers to 'take in' ideational and interpersonal meanings in relatively clear and structured ways. Ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings are all construed through specific patterns of grammar, vocabulary, discourse, and various multimodal expressions.

In their paper, "Using local languages in English language classrooms", Mahboob and Lin (*in press*) argue that local languages can be used to construe all three types of meaning in order to scaffold learning *the* target language and learning *in* the target language. Where ideational meanings or field information are concerned, for instance, technical terms can be presented in the target language but explained in the local one so students can 'relate' to the definitions. Local languages can be further used interpersonally to negotiate, discuss, and critique community values. Textual meanings, furthermore, can be expressed through local

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vocabulary in terms of calling students' attention to, for example, topic shifts in a text. From a metafunctional perspective, what is important is the consciousness of using local languages for very specific functions in the classroom. This systematic use of local languages will be further discussed through Rose and Martin's (2012) work on curriculum genres.

Rose and Martin (2012) argue that one central problem of education is hierarchies of inequalities which can be expressed in the classroom and affect how students learn. Almost all teachers can say that classes are composed of 'strong,' 'average', and 'weak' students. Where a student is positioned in this hierarchy is due to social factors and not necessarily academic ones. 'Strong' students, for instance, may come from family backgrounds that have, in one way or another, prepared them for the language demands of school. In a multilingual context where some languages are ranked higher than others, these students may have already been allocated the different varieties of the dominant language. 'Average' students, on the other hand, may have been allocated the dominant language but other factors may have minimized to what extent they were prepared for the language of school. 'Weak' students may have not come from backgrounds which allocated the dominant language and/or may have problems related to how learning was scaffolded in their own home environments. MTBMLE is a step toward mitigating the inequality determined by language allocation as through mother tongue policies, local languages can be deployed to minimize the 'semiotic load' (Rose and Martin, 2012, Kartika-Ningsih, 2016) or the problem that learning in a non-allocated language can cause. Hence, it is a step toward addressing inequality in the classroom.

Rose and Martin (2012) have observed that the learning activity has five phases. These are Prepare, Focus, Task, Affirm, and Elaborate.

Figure 2: The five phases of the learning activity (Rose and Martin, 2012, p. 306)

In the Prepare phase, the learners are 'prepared' for the coming learning task, whether by 'introducing' the task or telling them what they might have to do or look for. In the Focus phase, learners are explicitly told to pay attention to a feature in the text that is central to the learning activity. They could also be asked a question whose response constitutes the Task phase. In the Evaluate phase, the teacher affirms (or does not) the student's fulfillment of the task. The Elaborate phase, on the other hand, allows the teacher to add to the information currently being discussed. Hierarchies of inequality can play out across the five phases. Students who have been allocated the dominant language will answer the Task correctly and they will be affirmed. So, they become more engaged. They also pick up faster on the Elaborate phase and subsequently, do well in the tasks to come. Average students might do well sometimes while weak students stay quiet and almost never get affirmed. To mitigate

inequality, Rose and Martin (2012) argue that the Prepare phase is crucial as it allows students to Focus on the learning activity, fulfill the Task adequately, and receive affirmation for what they did. As local languages can be used in the Prepare phase, they open the possibility of students doing well in the subsequent phases. However, we argue that local languages can be purposefully deployed across all five phases to scaffold learning. In the next section, we apply these five phases to a sample reading lesson that involves both Filipino and English.

The text to be read is in English so local languages have to be used to scaffold students' understanding. This text is an excerpt from a magazine article on Manila (permission was granted by the author). Specifically, it describes the Chinatown district of Manila.

> The massive throngs of people and snarling jeepneys (a hybrid jeep and van) shouldn't dissuade you from hotfooting it to the world's oldest living, breathing Chinatown, which is currently on its fourth century. Binondo and Ongpin Streets serve as the main lifelines for this tightly packed community of local Chinese who can trace their ancestry by as many as ten generations. Both streets are a foodie's treasure trove of delights – tea eggs, fried siopao (a rice flour steam bun stuffed with meat), crunchy lumpia (eggrolls with veggies), hand-pulled empress hair noodles with slivers of beef, Macao-style custard egg tarts and hopia (sweet cakes fried in lard), for starters. This area isn't just about Chinoy chow, there are also odd items to be had, such as dusty sheet music stores and natural medicine apothecaries smelling of ancient herbs. Turn a corner and you'll find Chinese gold, mah-jongg sets, vermillion lanterns and lion dogs side-by-side with the latest Canto-pop CD collections and Taiwanese daytime dramas (Cruz, 2012).

To successfully read this text, students have to process ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings all at the same time. From an ideational perspective, they have to pick up on information on people, things, and various goings-on. From an interpersonal perspective, they need to unlock meanings that appraise or offer opinions on the ideational meanings. From a textual perspective, students need to understand how information 'flows' from one point of the text to the next. In our lesson plan, we show how the five phases can be used as a framework to help students unlock all meanings through the combination of Filipino and English. Furthermore, we will also show how students can learn English through the ideational, interpersonal, and textual scaffolding of the local language.

The Prepare phase should involve 'introducing' the students to the text so the local language is appropriate here. Here is a sample of a possible preparation in Filipino (English translation provided):

> Ngayon, ang babasahin natin ay isang maikling *paragraph* tungkol sa Chinatown. Ito ay lugar sa Maynila kung saan nakatira ang ating mga kapatid na Filipino-Chinese. Ang lugar na ito ay punung puno ng tao at marami tayong mabibili dito kagaya ng Chinese food, iba't-ibang Chinese products at kasali na rin ang Chinese herbs na ginagamit pang-gamot.

> (Today, we will read a short paragraph on Chinatown. This is a place in Manila where our Filipino Chinese brothers and sisters live. It is full of people and has many things to buy, from Chinese food to different Chinese products, including Chinese herbs which are used for medicinal purposes).

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Notice that the Prepare phase that introduces the reading is practically a summary of the entire text. This way, the local language is already used to scaffold learning in English. Students' expectations are built up in terms of what meanings they will have to process. This text uses high-level vocabulary so a detailed lesson plan should guide students toward reading and understanding this vocabulary. The detailed lesson plans that follow show how one part of the reading is taught in both the local and the target language. The right-hand column explains and expounds on the use and purposes of the local language at that point in the lesson. In the Philippines, a mix of Filipino and English, or *Taglish*, is often used. These lesson cycles make use of Taglish.

Prepare	Basahin natin yung unang sentence ng sabay-sabay. (Let's read the first sentence together). *The massive throngs of people and snarling jeepneys (a hybrid jeep and van) shouldn't dissuade you from hotfooting it to the world's oldest living, breathing Chinatown, which is currently on its fourth century.* Makikita natin dito yung salitang *massive*. (We can see the word, *massive*). Sinasabi nito kung gaano kadami ang tao sa Chinatown (it's telling us how many people there are in Chinatown)	The local language is used interpersonally to give students instructions. A key vocabulary item is identified and defined. Filipino is used here to build interpersonal meaning. *Massive* expresses an opinion which makes it a feature of the interpersonal metafunction.
Focus	Ano yung salita na nagsasabi kung gaano kadami ang tao sa Chinatown? (What word is telling us about the number of people in Chinatown?)	Further draws students' attention to the vocabulary item. Filipino is used interpersonally to solicit participation through a question.
Task	Massive!	
Evaluate	Very good!	English is used to affirm, which may give a positive view of the target language (Kartika-Ningsih, 2016)
Elaborate	Hindi lang yung dami ng tao ang ibig-sabihin nitong salita. Pag ginagamit natin ang *massive*, sinasabi natin na napakalaki ng isang bagay. Pwedeng *massive* ang isang tao (napakalaki nya) or *massive* ang bagay kagaya ng truck. (*Massive* is not only used to refer to the number of people. When we use *massive*, we're referring to how large something is. A person can be *massive* (a very big person) or an object can be *massive* like a truck.	Here, Filipino is used to Elaborate because this phase extends the uncommonsense knowledge (new word) to students' commonsense experience. The elaboration combines interpersonal meaning (*massive*) with ideational meanings (people and trucks) to show how the combination of these two meanings expresses a new meaning.

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In this lesson cycle, a definition was unlocked. Filipino is dominant here because uncommonsense knowledge is made more commonsense by linking new knowledge with the old. Although *massive* is not really an example of highly technical vocabulary, we interpret it as an instance of uncommonsense. After all, an expanding vocabulary is a key toward learning uncommonsense meanings. This is an example of how an expanding knowledge about language can scaffold processing meanings in other fields. *Massive*, for example, can also be used in the sciences, as in *the planet Jupiter, which is massive next to the Earth*. In the next lesson cycles, the definition is further elaborated.

Prepare	Pero, hindi lang *massive* ang ginamit na salita… (But, *massive* was not the only word used)	
Focus	Ano yung salita na katabi ng *massive*? (what word is beside *massive*?)	This phase is targeted so even 'weak' students can find the word and be affirmed.
Task	Throngs!	
Evaluate	Very good!	
Elaborate	Pag ang *massive* ay nasasama sa *throngs*, ang ibig sabihin nito ay madaming madaming tao o hayop. Ang *throng* ay pareho na rin sa *crowd of people or animals*. (when *massive* is used with *throngs*, it means a lot of people or animals. A *throng* means the same as *a crowd of people or animals*)	The elaboration is still in the local language however, as a new vocabulary item is added, the target language is used. This way new knowledge of the target language is gained.
Focus	Are there *people or animals* in Chinatown? Tignan nyo yung mga susunod na salita (Look at the next words)	A new Focus calls attention to another language feature. English is used to introduce the Focus because the definition in the prior phase was in English. Here, information is added to a previous learning by identifying ideational meaning (*people or animals*) while an imperative uses interpersonal meaning to give the instruction.
Task	People!	
Evaluate	Very good!	
Elaborate	*Massive throngs* of people refer to *a lot of huge crowds*.	The target language is now used to build new vocabulary. The combination of interpersonal and ideational meaning (*a lot of huge* + *crowds*) models an English structure that is similar to *massive throngs of people*.
Focus	Naka-experience na kayo ng crowds? Kagaya sa	A new Focus extends the

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	isang basketball game o concert? (have you experienced crowds? Like in a basketball game or concert?)	vocabulary to the field of student experience. Filipino is once again used to bridge common and uncommonsense.
Task	Yes!	
Evaluate	Of course!	
Focus	Ano ang feeling pag nasa crowd ka? (What does it feel like to be in a crowd)	Again, uncommonsense is extended to commonsense
Task	Mainit (hot)	
Evaluate	Totoo ka dyan (you're right there)	
Elaborate	It's very hot in a crowd	The elaboration is now a translation as additional interpersonal meaning (*hot*) is added to the learning of *massive throngs of people*
Focus	So, ano ang feeling pag nasa *massive throngs of people*?	Focus taps into experience but uses the new vocabulary and structure.
Task	Mainit! Hot!	
Evaluate	Correct!	
Elaborate	It feels hot.	Brings in a grammar structure that can be learned or further discussed or practiced.

In this series of lesson cycles, English is used to extend the definition of the new word while the local language is used to shift the uncommonsense of a new vocabulary word to the commonsense of student experience. Ideational meaning is built up by discussing participants (people vs animals) and interpersonal meaning is built by defining *massive* and soliciting feelings (feels hot). In this next cycle, an introduction to the structure of nominal groups is taught using another part of the text. This lesson uses a similar combination of ideational and interpersonal meanings.

Prepare	Ngayon ay pag-uusapan natin kung ano ang makakain sa Chinatown. Ito ang mga pagkain na mabibili: eggs, siopao, lumpia, noodles, tarts, hopia (Now, we talk about what we can eat in Chinatown. Here are the foods that can be bought there: eggs, siopao, lumpia, noodles, tarts, hopia).	Filipino is used to introduce the next lesson. Interpersonally, this makes the coming lesson feel less threatening because key meanings are already identified. Ideational meanings from the text, though, are said in English. *Ngayon* is used textually to start a new lesson.
Direct*	Sa mga kopya nyo, i-underline nyo ang mga pagkain na ito. Nahanap nyo ba sila? (In your copies, underline these foods. Did you find them?)	*This new phase is inserted to ask the students to perform an action. Filipino is used interpersonally to give instructions.

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Focus	Ngayon, tignan nyo ang salitang *eggs*. Hindi lang 'eggs' ang sinabi. Ano yung salita na nauuna sa kanya nya? (Now, look at the word *eggs*. *Eggs* is not the only thing that was said. What's the word that comes before it?)	Filipino is used to focus students' attention.
Task	Tea!	
Evaluate	Very good!	
Elaborate	*Tea eggs* ang buong salita. (The whole expression is *tea eggs*)	
Focus	Alam nyo ba kung ano ang *tea*? Sa Filipino, ito a *tsaa*. (Do you know what *tea* is? In Filipino, it's *tsaa*.)	
Task	Opo! (yes)	
Evaluate	Pareho tayo (I know it too)	
Elaborate	Ang *tea eggs* ay mga *boiled eggs* na binabad sa *tea* para sumarap sila. Ito ay isang snack food. (*Tea eggs* are boiled eggs that were marinated in tea to make them delicious. These are a form of snack food).	Filipino is used to elaborate but the English structure is retained. Here, ideational information (tea eggs) is discussed.
Focus	Meron ba kayong alam na iba't-iba pang pagluto sa itlog? (Do you know other ways of cooking eggs?)	The teacher is leading the students to produce the same grammatical structure as *tea eggs*
Task	Scrambled! Fried! Pinakuluan (boiled)!	The response does not trigger the use of the structure, so the teacher models the structure in the next phase
Evaluate	Tama kayo dyan! (You're correct there!)	
Elaborate	Ito ay *scrambled eggs*, *boiled eggs*, *fried eggs*. Meron din *soft-boiled eggs* o *poached eggs*. (These are *scrambled eggs*, *boiled eggs*, *fried eggs*. We also have *soft-boiled eggs* or *poached eggs*).	Here, the teacher models the structure to be followed
Prepare	Ngayon, tignan natin ang iba pang pagkain. (Now, let's look at the other types of food.)	A new phase of the lesson is introduced
Focus	Hanapin ninyo yung mga salita na kasama nitong mga pagkain. Ano sila? (Look for the words that come with these foods. What are they?)	Instructions mirror previous ones and the same language pattern is brought to students' attention
Task	(students read out the answers--- fried siopao, crunchy lumpia, etc.)	
Evaluate	Excellent!	
Elaborate	Ang mga salita pang-pagkain ay tinatawag na *noun*. Ang *noun* ay pangalan ng tao o bagay. Kailangan natin ang *nouns* para mapag-usapan natin ang mga tao at bagay na nakikita natin. Pero, ang mga *noun* ay pwedeng lagyan pa ng impormasyon para mas alam natin kung anong	Filipino is used to define a technical term (*noun*) but the term itself is not translated. However, additional knowledge about language is expressed in Filipino. This

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	tao o bagay ang pinaguusapan, kagaya ng salitang *tea eggs*. Maraming iba't-ibang pagluto ng eggs. Pag lagyan ng *tea*, nagiging klaro kung anong klaseng eggs are pinaguusapan. (The words for the foods are *nouns*. A *noun* is the name of a person or thing. We need *nouns* to talk about the people and things we see. But information can be added to nous so we know better what or who we are talking about, like *tea eggs*. There are many ways of cooking eggs. If we put *tea*, then it's clear what type of egg is referred to.)	brings out ideational meaning as the definition of *nouns* is expanded to include classifications.
Prepare	Balik tayo sa mga pagkain na mabibili sa Chinatown. (Let's go back to the food.)	
Direct	Isulat natin sa blackboard yung mga kumpletong pangalang ng mga pagkain. (Let's write on the board the full names of the foods).	
Task	(students write)	
Evaluate	Great!	
Elaborate	Itong kombinasyon ng *noun* at iba't-ibang salita na nagbibigay impormasyon tungkol sa mga *nouns* ay tinatawag na *nominal group*. The nominal group is a 'group of words about a noun'. (This combination of a noun and other words that give information about the noun is called the *nominal group*).	Filipino is used to define uncommonsense. But the more formal definition is given in English. Knowledge about language, expressed through ideational meaning, is built through both languages.
Prepare	Ngayon, mag-practice tayo. (Now, let's practice).	
Focus	Look at the nominal groups on the board. Choose one noun and change the word that comes before it. Kunyari, *cruchy lumpia*. *Lumpia* yung noun, *cruchy* ay isang Describer. Palitan natin ang *crunchy*. (For example, *cruchy lumpia*. *Lumpia* is the noun, *cruchy* is a Describer. Let's change *cruchy*).	Uncommonsense definitions have been established so English is used. But the example is given in Filipino to connect common and uncommonsense.
Task	Crispy lumpia!!!	
Evaluate	Excellent!	
Elaborate	*Crispy* is a Describer. Ang Describer ay nagbibigay impormasyon tungkol sa kalidad ng isang tao o bagay. Kunyari, ang lumpia ay *crispy lumpia* imbis na *stale lumpia*. *Stale* ay *luma* o *makunat*. (A Describer gives information on the quality of a person or thing. For example the lumpia is a *crispy lumpia* as opposed to a *stale lumpia*. Stale	The technical, ideational meaning is given in English but the definition is in Filipino. New vocabulary in English (*stale*) is built too. This adds to knowledge of interpersonal meaning as the opinion *crispy* is contrasted

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	means *old* or *tough*).	with *stale*.
Prepare	Ngayon, lagyan natin ng mga Describer yung mga ibang pagkain (Now, let's add Describers to the other foods).	Filipino is used interpersonally
Focus	Me listahan ako dito ng iba't-ibang Describer. Tignan nyo kung ano ang pwedeng gamitin sa iba't ibang pagkain. (Here's a list of different Describers. Try to see which ones can be used for the different foods).	
Task	(students do the task)	
Evaluate	Very good!	
Elaborate	Nominal groups have a part called a Describer.	English is now used to summarize the lesson.

In these lesson cycles, uncommonsense knowledge about language (nominal groups) is taught in both Filipino and English. Filipino is used to minimize the semiotic load of learning a new concept in English and hence, bridges common and uncommonsense. Furthermore, it is used to construe the meanings of all metafunctions. In these multilingual lesson cycles, both languages work together to achieve the targeted lesson.

Conclusion

The move to integrate MTBMLE into mainstream education is arguably a positive one and can help protect and promote minority/local languages. However, as this paper has argued, it is not sufficient to simply legislate this policy. For MTBMLE to succeed, we need to advocate for, support, and develop local languages so that people see value in them and teachers use them for more than just regulative and interpersonal purposes. This chapter elaborates on what some of the current challenges with MTBMLE are and also proposes ways in which local languages can be used more effectively in classrooms. In particular, we outline how local languages can be used in each of the five phases of a lesson cycle so that they are used for both instructional and regulative purposes.

To conclude, we firmly believe that local languages should be used in educational contexts and that this should be done conscientiously and with an understanding of what language is, how it creates meanings, and how it varies to create the right meaning in the right context. We hope that this chapter encourages further research into this area: research that does not only analyze peoples' beliefs and attitudes, but research that analyzes and informs MTBMLE classroom discourse and practices.

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