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Translanguaging in Malaysian ESL Classroom: Teachers' Perceptions

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Abstract

Translanguaging refers to the practice of using distinct linguistic aspects or different forms of autonomous languages in maximising communicative potential performed by the bilinguals and multi-linguals. The implementation of translanguaging strategies in teaching pedagogy allows teachers to bridge the linguistic gaps and scaffold second language learning process. However, despite the perceived benefits of translanguaging, there exist differences of perceptions and attitudes among teachers towards translanguaging which imposed ideological barriers, thus preventing students from using translanguaging as a whole. Therefore, in generating a better understanding on this issue, this study aims to explore Malaysian teachers' perceptions towards translanguaging in English language lessons. This study employed qualitative research design using a semi-structured interview to explore the teachers' perceptions pertaining to this topic of study. The findings of this study depicts an overall positive perception of translanguaging among the participants where they implemented several translanguaging strategies such as contextual clues, collaboration and student-centredness, as well as two-way translation in their teaching pedagogy. The findings obtained from this study can be beneficial to the stakeholders in the education field in designing lessons by employing translanguaging practices that suit the needs of the learners in English Second Language (ESL) classroom.

Keywords: Translanguaging, Teachers' Perceptions, English Language Lessons, ESL Classroom

Introduction

Bilingualism (and multilingualism in many circumstances) has become the norm as we live in the globalized world (Akbar & Taqi, 2020). Due to the globalization of education, increased student mobility, and global migration, classrooms have become more linguistically and culturally diverse (Rajendram, 2019). This has eventually influenced the advent of many bilingual and multilingual speakers from all over the world. The concept of bilingualism was also developed as a result of the inevitable language contact that occurs between speakers of various language groups (Yuvayapan, 2019). As bilingual and multilingual emerge in tandem with linguistic and cultural diversity in society, it is crucial to take into account the notion of bilingual education (Chin, 2021). Bilingual education puts forth the notion that two languages should be used together in the classroom rather than separately and autonomously as both languages contribute to learners' linguistic resources.

According to Chin (2021), languages should not coexist in isolation, but rather with one another, and if this is permitted, it will aid learners in learning new languages. It is notable for bilinguals to be relatively "dominant" in the use of one language (Chan & Abdullah, 2015), which may influence their learning and usage of another language. Hence, it is deemed important to consider learners' language repertoire as it promotes the learning process to be more positive.

In Malaysia, one of the crucial aspects of the society is its multilingualism (Mostafa, 2016). Malaysia is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country with more than 130 languages listed (Simons & Fennig, 2018, as cited in Hamzah et al., 2022). The Malay language is considered as the country's national and official language, meanwhile English language is considered as the second language where it is also commonly employed as the language of trade and commerce (Chan & Abdullah, 2015). Many citizens in Malaysia are bilingual and multilingual as the education system highly emphasizes the importance of learning Malay language and English language since the early stage of education. However, although English language is regarded as a second language and many Malaysians are good speakers, there are still some areas of Malaysia where English is still seen as a foreign language, or even worse, something that has no relevance to the locals' daily life (Zulkefly & Razali, 2019). These students often struggle in English language classrooms as it is beyond their linguistic capacity. In catering to this predicament, teachers can scaffold students' learning of a new language, support their linguistic and cultural identities, and increase their engagement in learning by creating classes that draw on learners' whole linguistic repertoire (Rajendram, 2019). Thus, it is vital for teachers to employ a suitable approach that can assist these students in the ESL classroom.

Translanguaging is seen as an example of the approach that can address and embrace learners' linguistic resources. According to Chin (2021), translanguaging strategies put forth the idea that students' native language serves a crucial part in their language repertoire. The implementation of translanguaging strategies in teaching pedagogy allows teachers to bridge the linguistic gaps and scaffold second language learning process. However, despite the perceived benefits of translanguaging, there exists differences of perceptions and attitudes among teachers towards translanguaging which imposed ideological barriers, thus preventing the inculcation of translanguaging as a whole (Rajendram, 2021a). Research on translanguaging is also still scarce in the Malaysian setting where this study is situated (Rajendram, 2021b). Therefore, in addressing this issue, this study aims to explore ESL teachers' perceptions towards translanguaging in English language lessons in rural areas in Malaysia.

Literature Review

Translanguaging in ESL Classroom

The term "translanguaging," which is considered to be a universally recognized approach in educational settings, was first coined by Cen Williams in 1994 in the Welsh language which refers to the educational strategy of alternating between languages (English- Welsh) (Baker, 2003; Lin, 2019; Rajendram, 2021). Since then, the definition of translanguaging has been extended by a number of researchers in the language field (Garcia & Leiva, 2014). Translanguaging according to Lubliner and Grisham (2017) refers to the deliberate use of students' languages and cultural resources as an instructional tool. This is supported by Ng and Lee (2019) where the researcher provides a more extensive definition of translanguaging in which the notion can be expanded to cover linguistic forms incorporating many linguistic

aspects connected to the history, culture, and experiences of the speaker. It also refers to the practice of using distinct linguistic aspects or different forms of what are termed as autonomous languages in maximising communicative potential performed by the bilinguals and multi-linguals (Ting & Jintang, 2022). Meanwhile, in the context of education, translanguaging is the practice of using one language in reinforcing the other, to deepen the understanding and supplement the learner's performance in both languages (Williams, 2002, as cited in Akbar & Taqi, 2020). Translanguaging is perceived by many researchers to be rewarding for the bilingual and multilingual learners in several ways (Ng & Lee, 2019; Yuvayapan, 2019). Therefore, this reflects the growing studies on translanguaging as a teaching tool and pedagogy as it is deemed beneficial especially for second language learning (Allard, 2017).

Translanguaging has become a widely employed educational approach particularly in the ESL classroom (Akbar & Taqi, 2020). According to Allard (2017), a rising corpus of recent research has shown that translanguaging is a common and distinctive practice of bilinguals and has a promising potential as a pedagogical tool. A translanguaging pedagogy entails teachers incorporating students' various linguistic practices in the classroom to produce more fair learning experiences (Garcia & Wei, 2014). By supporting and using various language practices that make up learners' unified language repertoire as learning resources, it provides a fresh viewpoint on language acquisition (Rajendram, 2019, 2021a). Translanguaging's adaptable and dynamic character also enables it to be used in a variety of situations and instructional settings to help students learn languages (Chin, 2021). By scaffolding with the dominant language, it promotes a greater grasp of the topic and strengthens the weaker language (Garcia & Wei, 2014). The inculcation of translanguaging also improves ESL learners' comprehension and assists in achieving a better level of knowledge processing (Akbar & Taqi, 2020; Yuvayapan, 2019). Thus, this highlights the considerable attention of this topic by various scholars given the significant benefits it brings in enhancing ESL learners' learning process.

Previous studies advocate the notable influence of translanguaging in the context of ESL educational settings. Reyes (2019) in his study highlighted that teachers were better able to convey their lessons, lead conversations in the classroom, increase student comprehension, and control student behaviour via translanguaging. The main finding of this study was that participants employed translanguaging to mediate their communicative functions, which are essential in ESL classrooms, either directly or implicitly. Similarly, the findings from the study conducted by Rajendram (2021a) also emphasize the communicative and collaborative functions of translanguaging in ESL classrooms as it provides a positive environment for learners' translanguistic language practices to flourish. Although the teacher repeatedly reminded the students to utilise only English, the analysis of the students' classroom interactions in this study showed that every collaborative small group activity that the students participated in involved translanguaging agentively (Rajendram, 2021a). It is crucial to understand the fact that translanguaging occurs spontaneously for these learners which means that it cannot be entirely controlled (Canagarajah, 2011). This is aligned with several past studies where they assert that while increasing students' English proficiency is the primary objective of ESL classrooms, efforts to enforce an English-only environment should be avoided (Akbar & Taqi, 2020; Rajendram, 2021a). Past studies also provided insight into the intended use of translanguaging in the ESL classroom and demonstrated its efficiency in aiding students in learning and processing material at various levels (Akbar & Taqi, 2020). Hence, the review of the past studies advocates the significant influences of

translanguaging which emphasize the needs for this practice to be studied extensively in various educational contexts.

Teachers' Perceptions of Translanguaging

To date, numerous works of literature have discussed teachers' perceptions concerning translanguaging in multiple contexts even though there are no specific teaching practices that are applicable to all classroom situations (Hornberger & Link, 2012; Karabassova & Isidro, 2020; Liu & Fang, 2020; Yuvayapan, 2019). Most of the findings regarding teachers' perceptions were found to be positive towards the use of translanguaging in the learning process. This can be seen through a mixed-method study conducted by Yuvayapan (2019) where the researcher revealed that teachers agreed on the benefits of using the first language in the classroom. Another study by Taşçı and Aksu Ataç (2020) also concluded that the usage of L1 was seen as a necessity, particularly for beginner levels' learning process. Similarly, teachers showed positive attitudes toward translanguaging practices in EFL classrooms because it can facilitate students' learning process as it helps them to understand the lesson better (McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Yildiz & Yesilyurts, 2016). Despite the positive perceptions derived from teachers, there are contradictions found in students' perceptions and attitudes toward translanguaging. For instance, a recent study conducted by Raja et al (2022) discovered that students tend to unlikely use translanguaging. This is because they felt embarrassed and inappropriate to use other languages in the EFL classroom. To elaborate, the participants insisted on using only English when learning the target language. Similarly, Vaish (2019) discussed that students in Singapore felt guilty and odd to use languages other than English in class. Thus, teachers need to understand the necessity of translanguaging before using it in ensuring that it suits their students' needs and preferences, especially in teaching the target language in an ESL/ EFL classroom.

Translanguaging and Sociocultural Theory

The theoretical underpinnings of this study on translanguaging is the sociocultural theory by (Vygotsky, 1978). The Vygotskian-based sociocultural theory of learning focused on the 'heteronomous individual', whose development relies on various social structures in which the individual lived (Lourenco, 2012). Sociocultural theory, which sees learning as a dynamic interdependence of social and individual processes anchored in social interaction and the co-construction of knowledge, is in line with the idea of translanguaging (Lantolf et al., 2018). Translanguaging generates a number of affordances and chances for learning during students' collaborative social interactions by fusing sociocultural theory and translanguaging practices together (Rajendram, 2021a). According to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, the diverse language backgrounds of the teachers and learners can be used as resources for teaching and learning (Ngubane et al., 2020). This is aligned with the notion of translanguaging pedagogy which involves teachers incorporating learners' linguistic repertoire in the classroom to increase equity in the opportunities for learning (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

The practice of translanguaging to promote a positive learning environment is also supported by sociocultural theory in which the use of learners' native languages was found to be advantageous for many purposes according to previous scholars (Santoso, 2020). In a learning environment, ideas and information encoded in the language of the home culture are simpler to understand and process compared to an idea that cannot be encoded in the language of the learners (Ngubane et al., 2020). Translanguaging recognised learners as

bilingual/multilingual language users, established integrative environments, and widened zones for learning by allowing learners to meet halfway between their different linguistic competence and co-construct meaning (Gutierrez, 2008). This is in line with sociocultural theory, which views a learner's linguistic repertoire as a learning resource that can assist the learning process while paying close attention to the social and interactional context in which the learning takes place (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014).

The sociocultural theory's framework, according to past scholars, is at the core of the concept of scaffolding (Rajendram, 2019). Translanguaging is viewed as a pedagogical tool that supports the multi-linguals as they scaffold their skills and provides a fresh perspective on how to conceptualise and perceive multilingualism in the modern world (Lin & He, 2017). Their pedagogical scaffolding should put a strong emphasis on showing students how to take advantage of their whole linguistic repertoire to broaden and deepen their comprehension (Rajendram, 2021b). A lot of study in the area of L2 learning has concentrated on the features of teacher-student conversation and the verbal scaffolding techniques that teachers employ as they engage with students in order to mediate students' cognitive growth (McNeil, 2012). With translanguaging by scaffolding using the dominant language, it facilitates a deeper grasp of the subject and strengthens the weaker language (Garcia & Wei, 2014). It also allows the learners to build a framework for their conceptual understanding by summarising, decomposing, and distributing the various notions (Yuvayapan, 2019). Therefore, this highlights the importance of integrating translanguaging as it offers many benefits for bilingual and multilingual learners especially to scaffold their learning.

Methodology

This study employed qualitative research as it enables the researchers to have a comprehensive understanding of the participants' practices and perceptions of translanguaging in ESL classrooms. A total of three ESL teachers in Malaysia, specifically teaching at secondary schools located in rural areas were chosen by using a purposive sampling technique. The selection criteria of the research participants are; a) ESL secondary school teachers teaching in rural areas, b) practice translanguaging in ESL teaching and c) willing to be interviewed online via Google Meet. The instrument employed in this study was a semi-structured interview conducted online via Google Meet. The interview session took around 45 minutes where all 3 research participants were interviewed together in one Google Meet session. The questions were designed to elicit the participants' demographic information (5 questions), ESL teachers' perceptions towards translanguaging in ESL classrooms (5 questions), and ESL teachers' translanguaging practices in ESL classrooms (5 questions). A thematic analysis was conducted on the transcription to ascertain several themes within the research findings. By employing thematic analysis, the themes are used to answer the research questions and explain the displayed occurrences. The data obtained were also triangulated among the research participants in comparing the data from different participants with diverse points of view by employing the same method (Angen, 2000 as cited in Zulkefly & Razali, 2019).

Research Findings

Several questions were asked in the interview session to elicit the teachers' perceptions underlying their translanguaging practices. Based on the responses from all of the three participants, the perceptions can be further categorized into three categories which are; 1)

Perceptions on First Language (L1) Usage, 2) Perceptions on the Needs of Translanguaging, 3) Perceptions on the Impacts of Translanguaging.

ESL Teachers' Perceptions on First Language (L1) Usage in ESL Classroom

Based on the focus group interview sessions with all of the three participants in this study, the findings revealed that generally, the participants' perception of the students' usage of the first language (L1) in English lessons varied according to the circumstances. All of the participants were in agreement that they would generally not mind if their students use their L1 in the English classroom. The participants expressed that primarily for discussion among students, the usage of L1, mainly the Malay language in this context is acceptable. The participants' responses in the interview session towards this question are as followed:

"Honestly, I don't really mind... I don't mind if they want to discuss it in Bahasa Melayu." (P2)
"I am okay with them using Malay language in my class... For example, if I teach reading, they discuss about the reading materials in Malay language... for their discussion I don't mind them speaking to each other in Malay language" (P3)

"I think it's okay as long as they discuss the task, I'm okay with it and plus, it is impossible to control 30+ pupils in one class...impossible to ensure everyone speaks English" (P1)

However, with regards to the usage of L1 for certain class tasks such as group presentations or written assignments, the participants expressed their concern about their students' preferences to use L1 instead of the target language which is the English language. The participants reveal that it can be quite upsetting considering the L1 dominance in English classes where the English language should be the main focus. Most of the participants usually forbid their students from using L1 in group presentations or written assignments and instruct them to try to use the English language for such tasks.

"So basically I wanted my students to do a presentation...Some of them want to present it in Malay but of course, I said "No" to them firmly" ... They often just straight away said "Teacher, we can't speak English at all" which is frustrating (P2)

"I only ask them to describe the place they want to go for their holiday. Very simple actually... But then, still they ask me whether they can write the answers in Malay language... at least they should answer it in English...I ended up feeling very annoyed"(P1)

"We, English teacher where our option is English and we are teaching English, so of course we expect them to be able to use English, at least in our class... sometimes we just can't help feeling irritated if we keep on being asked about that" (P3)

To summarize, the participants' perceptions on the first language (L1) usage in the English classes are rather positive depending on the task given. For certain tasks like group discussion to build up knowledge on the topic discussed, using translanguaging is deemed helpful and suitable. However, for tasks that require language production such as presentations and writing assignments, the participants believe that it should be conducted using the target language as the means for students to practice the language.

ESL Teachers' Perceptions on the Needs of Translanguaging in ESL Classroom

The findings from the focus group interview conducted revealed the teachers' perceptions on the needs for translanguaging to be conducted in ESL classrooms. Firstly, it was mentioned

by one of the participants that the needs for this approach depend on the level of proficiency of the students in the class. Translanguaging is a good approach to be implemented in a class with low proficiency students as it may facilitate their learning process. However, for advanced learners, the participants believe that teachers should fully utilize the English language in the class to polish the students' language skills as well as to avoid them from getting demotivated.

"I think translanguaging is necessary to be implemented in ESL lessons depending on the level of proficiency of the students...very helpful for students with intermediate to low proficiency... They don't fully understand our instruction in English (P3)

"...with advanced students, we have to solely use English. Because using Malay will affect their motivation." (P1)

"I think for advanced students, it is more fair and advisable for us to just fully use English language because we want to brush up their level some more" (P3)

All of the participants agreed on the necessity to use translanguaging in English language lessons, especially with low-proficiency students. Most of the students with low proficiency level struggle to comprehend lessons conducted in the English language which highlight the need for teachers to employ the students' L1 in the lesson. The participants express the crucial need for teachers to use translanguaging in providing facilitation to improve students' understanding of the instruction in the second language (L2). By employing translanguaging practices, it assists the students to understand the instruction that teachers give during the English lesson which can facilitate their learning. This is based on the excerpts below:

"...they barely understand simple instructions in English. I have no choice but to repeat my instruction in Malay so that they at least can do the exercise that I assigned them... I have to go down to their level, try to adapt with them" (P1)

"...whenever I give them instructions in English, they will look at me with blank eyes in their faces... I just have to repeat it again in Malay" (P2)

"I could say that they barely could understand what I speak even for simple instruction...I think almost 90% of my class, I have to use Malay language" (P3)

Next, the research findings based on the participants' responses also highlight the necessity to employ translanguaging due to the students' lack of interest in the English language. The participants express the predicament they face in regard to their students' reluctance to try to use and even understand the language. This highlights the need for the participants to use translanguaging by employing the students' L1 in the lesson to promote their students' participation. According to P1, restricting the use of L1 in the class can impede the students' learning interest. This can be a great obstacle that may interfere with their learning process.

"I have to use Malay because not only they don't understand me. But they refuse to try to understand me" (P3)

"They often just straight away said "Teacher, we can't speak English at all" (P2)

"...the students just refuse to use and understand the language... If not, they are not going to learn anything...they are not going to be interested to learn...I can't keep on ignore the part that they are not going to learn if I don't use Malay language" (P1)

To conclude, this section highlights the participants' perceptions on the needs to inculcate translanguaging practices in English language classes to facilitate students' learning process. The translanguaging strategy offers manifold benefits in improving students' learning experience which may provide assistance in learning the target language.

ESL Teachers' Perceptions on the Impacts of Translanguaging in ESL Classroom

The participants in this study perceive translanguaging to be impactful in English language learning. Interestingly, based on the interview conducted, it was found that translanguaging can bring both positive and negative influences to ESL learners. This section presents the impacts of translanguaging from two separate lenses which are the positive and negative impacts.

(A) Positive Impacts of Translanguaging in ESL Classroom

During the interview session, the participants mentioned that they use translanguaging in the classroom as it is deemed helpful in facilitating their students' learning process. There are several benefits mentioned by the participants in employing translanguaging when teaching English language where it can improve their students' learning experience. According to the participants, translanguaging helps in building students' knowledge and understanding, especially for vocabulary learning and reading comprehension. It allows the students to scaffold their learning by relating it to their schemata. One of the participants also expressed that translanguaging promotes peer teaching among students which can also in turn improve their knowledge as they learn new things from their friends. The benefits mentioned by the participants in regards to the positive cognitive impacts are listed below:

"...if I teach reading, they discuss about the reading materials in Malay language...at the end of the lesson I noticed that they were able to answer the questions correctly, giving it in full sentences in English" (P3)

"...during the early part of the lessons when teaching them vocabulary, I would usually translate from English to Bahasa Melayu...later I will ask the students to discuss among themselves to translate it...without my help by using the contextual clues...Usually it works" (P2)

"it improve, especially in terms of vocabulary...in the early stage for you to teach them vocabulary, you have to use translanguaging...they can relate to the language and their schemata...it helps in their learning, at least in their vocabulary gain" (P1)

"in terms of translanguaging among the students themselves, for example in group discussion, even if they use Malay language, I think peer teaching is able to be present during their discussion...even when they use other languages, they will be able to get new things from their peers" (P3)

Besides that, the participants also draw several benefits of translanguaging in reducing learners' affective filters that can hinder students' language learning. The participants mentioned that by using translanguaging in the classroom, it will improve their students' motivation and willingness to do the task given by the teacher. This approach, according to the participants, also makes English language classrooms less intimidating which promotes a positive learning environment. As the classroom becomes less threatening, teachers can instill the learners' interest to enjoy learning the language. The positive impacts mentioned are based on the excerpts below:

"...when I translate the language to Malay, they will start to do the work. They will have the motivation to at least discuss and answer the task that I give them" (P1)

"...it definitely improves their learning experience...because some students they are really scared of the English language because they are afraid they might not be able to speak it well. If we show how it is quite similar to Bahasa Melayu, they might learn to love the language a little bit more" (P2)

Based on the data collected from the focus-group interview session, the findings on the impact of translanguaging according to the participants' responses show several benefits it brings to ESL students in learning the English language. It is found that translanguaging can improve students' learning experiences in both cognitive and affective domains.

(B) Negative Impacts of Translanguaging in ESL Classroom

Despite the potential benefits that translanguaging brings on ESL learners' learning experiences, there are several drawbacks in employing this approach listed by the participants in this study. With regard to the challenges faced by the participants in employing translanguaging, one of the participants expressed her concern in catering to mixed abilities students in the same classroom. This is because the students might have different preferences in viewing translanguaging and this will reflect their feelings towards the lesson. The participant's concern is mentioned in the excerpt below:

"When we have 1 advanced student in the class. It is very challenging because we have to cater to everyone because the policy is not to make anyone feel left out... this advanced student, he is very not concentrating...using Malay will affect his motivation... it is going to be a meaningless lesson to him" (P1)

Besides that, according to the participants' responses, translanguaging can also increase students' dependency on their teacher and their native language. The participants expressed their concern where they wish their students to be independent in their learning. However, in this scenario, these students always seek teacher's assistance most of the time, especially in providing translation. Students also depend too much on their native language in the class which might also impede their potential in learning the target language which is in this context, the English language. These predicaments mentioned by the participants that are listed in the excerpts below highlight the negative impact of translanguaging in ESL learning:

"As time goes on, we don't want these students to rely on us too much on translating the words, in explaining what the words is meant, because in the end we want the students to learn by themselves" (P2)

"But then, when you give out the tasks, the low proficiency students would be very in need of your presence, which is not very good. I want my student to be more independent but they cannot" (P1)

"...some of the students would be over-rely on you and even during examination, they would ask whether you can help them to translate the word, but of course you can't right" (P2)

"...students being too dependent on us and also too dependent on the Malay language. Because we often use translanguaging and they will expect us to keep on helping them in Malay language" (P3)

Next, based on the responses elicited in the interview, the participants also mentioned that translanguaging can be taxing and challenging to be conducted especially in providing direct explanations to the students. According to the participants, some words in L1 do not have its counterpart in L2 and vice versa. The participants expressed that this issue can be challenging for the teachers to provide a clear explanation to the students and hinder the learning objective to be met as the students might not understand the word. This concern faced by the participants are listed below:

"...most of the words in Malay language are not 1 word for word translation to their English counterpart...when the students ask you to explain the meaning of this English word, like there's no direct meaning in Malay...So, you can't reach the objective because the students doesn't really know the meaning of the words truly" (P2)

"It can be challenging to be explained...There are actually so many words that we cannot do direct translate" (P3)

To conclude, this section depicts that there are several negative impacts and challenges of translanguaging as mentioned by the research participants which may hinder the learners' potential in learning while incorporating this strategy in ESL classrooms. Thus, it is important to carefully consider these issues in planning a lesson that employs this strategy.

Conclusion

To conclude, this study contributes to the discussion of teachers' perceptions towards translanguaging in English language lessons, specifically in rural areas in Malaysia. The findings of this study depicted that the participants generally have a positive perception of translanguaging practices in ESL classrooms. This study also revealed that translanguaging can bring both benefits and drawbacks to ESL learners, particularly pertaining to low-proficiency students. However, it is also important to point out that translanguaging could become impractical without teachers' proper understanding of how to utilize students' first language in making meaning of the target language in the language classroom. This provides an implication for the ESL teachers to carefully plan their translanguaging practices, especially in determining when and how to utilize the first language in their lessons by developing different teaching strategies depending on the students' proficiency levels. It is also important to note that there are limitations in this study as the result cannot be generalized due to the limited number of participants employed, because English teachers from different types of learning institutions might have different perceptions and practices of translanguaging. Therefore, it is recommended for future research to employ other sets of samples such as teachers from suburban or urban areas to add on to the corpus of study on this topic.

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