

TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES IN A TERTIARY EFL CONTEXT IN INDONESIA

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Abstract: This paper presents partial results of an ethnographic study in 2021, aiming to identify translanguaging (TL) practices (the use of Indonesian and English), their functions and benefits, and the participants' opinions about such practices in a tertiary English as a foreign language (EFL) context in Indonesia. The study involved 75 participants in four courses organized online (due to the COVID-19 pandemic), in the English Education Study Program of a state university in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia. The study drew on the notion of TL, synthesized with principles of effective online teaching. The data were obtained from a phase of teaching with teachers as researchers in 7 meetings (out of 16 meetings required), informal interviews with the participants after the class, and a questionnaire administered online, involving 46 volunteers. The results reveal that TL practices occurred in all courses, which served different functions, including interpretive, managerial, and interactive functions. The practices benefited the students cognitively, socially, and psychologically. Questionnaire and interview data support observation data and previous research about the use of mother tongue in Indonesian EFL classrooms (Emilia, 2010, 2011) that the majority of students (82.6%) wanted mixed Indonesian and English despite few students' tendency to use English only in the classroom.

Keywords: English as a foreign language (EFL), functions and benefits of translanguaging (TL), translanguaging (TL)

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Monolingualism and the separation of different languages have a long history in language education and its research. In EFL classes in general, there has been a tendency to discourage learners and teachers from using the students' first language (see Atkinson, 1987; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garcia, 2009a,

2009b; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Hall, 2020; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Oda, 2019; Otheguy et al., 2015; Wigglesworth, 2005).

Other writers have also reported about the mother tongue taboo. Deller (2002, p. 3), for example, says:

I was once working with a group of English teachers of French. We did an activity that involved using the mother tongue as a tool to teach and practice vocabulary. The feedback was very interesting. One teacher said, "I enjoyed it and it works. But I'll never use it. I don't agree with using the mother tongue in class. And anyway, we aren't allowed to".

How very sad. An activity which is enjoyable and works, and yet this teacher wouldn't use it because for her, using the mother tongue is a no-no.

In a similar vein, Martin (2005, p. 88), reports that in Malaysia the use of a local language alongside the "official" language of the lesson is a well-known phenomenon and yet, for a variety of reasons, it is often lambasted as "bad practice" and blamed on teachers' lack of English language competence. In the Indonesian context, monolingualism is also still prevalent, in both contexts of EFL (see Emilia, 2010, 2011) and Indonesian as a foreign language (see Emilia, 2020).

Monolingualism has been so strong in the EFL context (see Garcia, 2020, p. 11) and it is said that there are several contributors to this. First is the work of linguists who consider English a monolithic entity, such as, Chomsky's concept of universal grammar, which is considered to abstract away from the diversity, the details and the plurality of human languages (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 7-8). Regarding this, Kecskes and Papp (2000, p. x) point out:

When in 1953 Roman Jakobson (1953, p. 20) said: "Bilingualism is for me the fundamental problem of linguistics", linguists did not listen. So there came Chomsky and with him a very strong monolingual view on language which was based on the ideal speaker-hearer assumption. Ever since, the main question for linguists has been "What constitutes knowledge of language?" (cf. Chomsky, 1986), and not "What constitutes knowledge of languages?"

Second is a backwash effect of native speakerism as pervasive ideology in different parts of the world (e.g., Oda, 2019 in Japan; Wang, 2019 in China). Third is EFL teaching methods, such as Direct Method, and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), which require that teacher and students use only English (Deller & Rinvulucru, 2002; Larsen-Freeman, 2000), and Krashen's theory of language learning, which says that we can only learn English by speaking English (Atkinson, 1987). Fourth is the historical tradition and

political imperative that English speaking countries have been the recipients of large numbers of immigrants from a wide variety of language backgrounds, and that the English only classroom is a natural result of language classes composed of learners who have varied first languages, where the necessity of developing teaching approaches appropriate to multilingual classes has made the use of the first language difficult (see Wigglesworth, 2005, p. 2).

However, since the 1990s the multilingual view started to be strongly articulated as opposed to the monolingual view. Many scholars now argue that schools need to purposefully create interactive spaces where it is safe to access all linguistic resources, rather than trying to keep the languages separate, and that using students' home languages in a foreign language classroom may facilitate the acquisition of a 'second' language (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 57; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Turnbull & Daily-Ocain, 2009). TL as pedagogy has been increasingly used by teachers as can be seen in recent publications, edited by Tian et al. (2020), Panagiotopoulou et al. (2020), Bradley et al., 2020, and Moore et al. (2020). In Indonesia, the interest to observe TL has also increased (e.g., Khairunnisa & Lukmana, 2020; Saputra & Atmowardoyo, 2015). However, a study on the deployment of TL practices, their functions and benefits for both teacher and students, and the students' opinions about such practices at the tertiary EFL context in Indonesia is still limited. Thus, to fill the gap, the study aimed to investigate the use of TL, its functions and benefits in the classroom and students' opinions about such practices in a tertiary EFL context in both undergraduate and postgraduate programs.

The study is significant from three perspectives: theoretical, practical and policy. Theoretically, the study can enrich the literature of TL, especially on the use of TL and its functions and benefits for both students and teachers in EFL context in Indonesia. Practically, the study can provide teachers or researchers with practical matters in employing and researching TL practices in an EFL classroom. Finally, from policy perspective, the results of the study are expected to lead to changes in EFL and other foreign language teaching policy, in Indonesia and in other contexts.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study drew mainly on the theory of TL (Garcia & Wei, 2014, Otheguy et al., 2015). Moreover, as the courses were taught via Zoom application due to the Covid 19 pandemic, this study also was also informed by the theory on effective online teaching (Ragan, 2015). Each theory will be discussed below.

Translanguaging (TL)

TL is defined as an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages (Garcia & Wei, 2014). TL is the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages (Garcia, 2009b; Otheguy et al., 2015; Pennycook, 2017).

The term TL comes from the Welsh and refers to a pedagogical practice which sustains the development of language skills through the concurrent use of two languages in classroom activities (see Coronel-Molina & Samuelson, 2016; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Mazaferro, 2018).

TL differs from code-switching at a conceptual level, as Garcia and Wei (2014, p. 22) argue:

TL differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire....

A TL lens posits that bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively (Garcia & Wei, 2014). However, together, both code-switching and TL are seen as a positive bilingual developmental process which raises a communicative ability to achieve a pedagogical aim (Coronel-Molina & Samuelson, 2016).

TL emerged due to several contributors. First is the emergence of a 'social turn' within applied linguistics which draws on sociolinguistic and socio-historical perspectives to recognize difference, diversity and uncertainty in language teaching and learning (see Yildiz, 2012). The theory of linguistics has now shifted from the monolingual, syntax-centered view and from a multilingual, holistic, and meaning-centered perspective to linguistic relativism, and language use (see Emilia, 2014; Emilia et al., 2018; Halliday, 1994).

Second is increasing acknowledgement that the so-called 'non-native speakers' of English now outnumber 'native speakers' globally (Kecskes & Papp, 2000, p. xxiv), that native-like competence is only possible in one

language, that even learners who appear to be native-like in a second language have a linguistic knowledge that significantly differs from that of a typical native speaker. Kecskes and Papp (2000) further argue that the assumption, that the more learners are exposed to the target language environment the more they understand, is wrong (see also Annamalai, 2005 in Indian context).

Third is globalization and contemporary migration leading to acknowledgement and re-evaluation of bi- and multilingualism in individual and societal language use (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010), and increasing de-stigmatization of TL, both beyond and, consequently, within TESOL classrooms (see Yildiz, 2012). Regarding this, Garcia and Wei (2014, p. 9) argue:

New patterns of global activity characterized by intensive flows of people, capital goods and discourses have been experienced since the late 20th century. ... With interactions increasingly occurring in ... 'contact zones' (often virtual ones) between speakers of different origins, experiences and characteristics, language is less and less understood as a monolithic autonomous system made up of discrete structures ... or a context-free mental grammar.

Fourth is the development of English teaching methodology. As the multilingual character of contemporary communication is affirmed, language teaching, it is posited, should aim to develop learners' multilingual capabilities, to allow learners to 'move between linguistic systems' as multilingual users, rather than as 'developing native speakers' of English (Leung & Scarino, 2016, p. 91 in Hall, 2020, p. 75). Hall adds that in Europe, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (i.e., CEFR) promotes plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and the development of 'plurilingual competence' as the desired goals of language teaching and learning, which conceives the goals of language learning through a TL lens (2020, p. 74; see also Grabe & Kaplan, 1996, Connor, 1996, and Coronel-Molina & Samuelson, 2016 for the teaching of literacy, specifically writing).

Principles of TL in ESL/EFL contexts

TL theory in EFL contexts, as discussed by Seltzer and Garcia (2020, p. 26-27, see also Otheguy et al., 2015; Pennycook, 2017) emphasizes several principles as follows.

1. English is not simply a closed and autonomous system of lexical, morphological, syntactic, and phonological features that correspond to what is named as English. Although English is an important social construct that has had real and material effects, it does not have

psycholinguistic reality. That is, what we call English is not what anyone actually speaks; it is what has been “invented” (see also Otheguy et al., 2015) for the purposes of nation-building and colonialism. It is this invented, homogeneous “standard English” that is then presented as English in schools.

2. All speakers engage in languaging, a series of social practices that they perform as semiotic beings, as they are given opportunities to interact with listening subjects who legitimize their practices (or do not).
3. The linguistic, cognitive, social, and emotional components of speakers’ languaging are inseparable. All speakers perform their languaging with a unitary repertoire of features which they assemble, and that reflects the languaging opportunities that they have had, and the interlocutors and listening subjects with whom they have come into contact. It is from this “assemblage”, as Pennycook (2017, p. 10) says, that things are brought together and function in new ways, and provide a way of thinking about ‘distributive agency’ which links usefully to the notions of distributed language and cognition

In terms of pedagogy, some writers, such as Deroo et al. (2020) provide a model of conceptual framework for language teacher learning by combining TL strategies and other theory. This is also what this study is concerned with, synthesizing TL tradition with social theory of learning and effective online teaching, as will be discussed below.

Benefits and Functions of TL

The benefits and functions of TL have been reported by several writers (see Macaro, 2009; Mazafferro, 2018; Wang, 2019). Macaro (2009), for example, reports the benefits of the use of students’ mother tongue from three perspectives: cognitive, social, and psychological.

First, cognitively, since the connections with the first language (especially in nonbalanced bilinguals) are going to be much stronger than the connections with the second language, to ignore the first language during the process of second language learning is to ignore an essential tool as the learner’s disposal (Macaro, 2009; see also Auerbach, 1993).

Second, socioculturally, inner voice and private speech are essential contributors to the way we think and act, and that they are almost always performed in the first language (Macaro, 2009).

Third, psychologically, first language interactions used by learners can function as a psychological tool that enables learners to construct effective

collaborative dialogue in the completion of meaning-based language tasks by performing three important functions: construction of scaffolded help, establishment of intersubjectivity, and use of private speech (Macaro, 2009).

Examples of TL practices can be seen below, taken from Garcia and Wei (2014, p. 124).

Table 1. Examples of TL practices (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 124)

<p>Activity 1. A teacher introduces 2–3 key vocabulary words and their definitions at the beginning of the lesson and asks students to translate the definition into their home languages.</p>	<p>Activity 2. A teacher has students listen to a song in Spanish about the topic of the day. She then has them answer a series of questions about the song in English.</p>
<p>Activity 3. A teacher allows a student who is struggling to say something in English during a presentation to ask a classmate to translate what they are trying to say into English, which the student is then asked to repeat.</p>	<p>Activity 4. A teacher has students look at a series of pictures and asks students to discuss in small groups what they see and what they can infer. They can discuss in any language they wish but are asked to share with the whole class in English.</p>

Another example of TL is the reading of a lesson deliberately in one language (i.e., English), while the discussion is in another one (i.e., Welsh) (Baker, 2001, cited in Mazafferro, 2018).

It should be noted that there are practices involving bilingualism but cannot be categorized as TL. These are translation activities, as exemplified in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Examples of bilingual practices not considered TL (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 124)

<p>A teacher speaks in English and then translates what she just said into Spanish after every few sentences.</p>	<p>A teacher does a word-for-word translation of a text and tells students to either read the English text or the text in their home language; all students choose to read the home language only or the English only text.</p>
<p>Students are given a reading that is chunked into paragraphs. The paragraphs alternate between one in English and an exact translation in their home language.</p>	

For students, TL in EFL classroom, relevant to this study, serves three important discursive functions, including:

1. To participate: TL allows all students to participate;
2. To elaborate ideas: TL enables students to elaborate ideas, something they cannot do in their limited voice in English only;
3. To raise questions: Students clearly understand that although the class is an English language class and the lecturer (s) is (are) mostly using English, they can raise questions in another language (Indonesian).

Moreover, for teachers, TL fulfills some discursive functions, including to involve and give voice, to clarify, to reinforce, to manage the classroom, and to extend and ask questions (see Garcia & Wei, 2014).

Other functions of TL have also been explored by Wang (2019), as follows:

1. Interpretive function: TL is used to explain the linguistic knowledge of the target language such as pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and cultural concepts to facilitate the development of a stronger metalinguistic awareness in language learning and use. Teachers could often compare a structure or a phrase with examples from both languages.
2. Managerial function: TL is used to give activity instructions, feedback, to praise, to encourage, to disapprove, to plan assignments or to prepare tests, examinations and so on. TL can also be used to check comprehension and knowledge retention, to motivate and guide students to produce desirable outputs. Teachers can also use the medium of English for emotional, interpersonal, and rapport-building purposes in the form of praising, encouraging, showing empathy and so on.
3. Interactive function: TL practices initiated by students to make classroom teaching and learning more interactive. Students could use TL to mediate understanding, communicate with each other or to provide peer support to one another. Atkinson (1987) also mentions strategies of the use of mother tongue, including eliciting language (all levels) (e.g., How can I express X in English?), co-operation among learners (students, in pairs or groups, compare their answers to grammatical exercises, comprehension tasks etc. in their own language (early levels); and presentation and reinforcement of language (mainly early levels).

From the description above, it can be concluded that the use of TL in EFL classroom can benefit both teacher and students. Its benefits can be seen from three aspects, including cognitive, psychological, and social. TL can also serve three functions: interpretive, managerial, and interaction functions. All the

benefits and functions were also found in this study, as will be discussed in the data and discussion section in this paper. This suggests that monolingualism, which still exists in Indonesia, and among the students involved in this study should be reconsidered.

Theories of Effective Online Teaching

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, March 2020, the teaching learning activities in the research site, as in other places in the globe, have been conducted online. As all the classes have been organized online, this study attended to some principles of effective online teaching in distance education as stated by Ragan (2015). These include communicating the expectations, relevant to the theory of explicit teaching, showing up and teaching, practicing Proactive Course Management Strategies: monitoring assignment submissions, communicating and reminding students of missed and/or upcoming deadlines, and making course progress adjustments where and when necessary; and using the language of instruction, which is Indonesian and English, relevant to TL practices.

All the theories above were applied in the study, as will be discussed in the following section.

METHOD

To follow the tradition of TL research, which is ethnographic in nature (Rubenstein, 2020; Wang, 2019), this study also coincided with a main characteristic of an ethnography. That is, it concerns “a descriptive account of social life and culture in a system based on detailed observations of what people actually do” (Hamied, 2017, p. 253), that is, what the teachers and students did, applying TL at tertiary EFL classrooms in a university in West Java, Indonesia.

The study was conducted for seven weeks from February – March 2021, with two (2) researchers as teachers, involving 4 classes in the English study program of the research site, with 75 students in the following courses.

1. Practice of Interpreting, with 28 undergraduate students, aiming to provide students with knowledge, understanding, and practices of interpreting, consecutively and simultaneously in different topics in both public and conference settings.

2. Functional Grammar, with 28 undergraduate students, aiming to provide students with knowledge and understanding, as well as application of the knowledge about functional grammar in text analysis and ELT.
3. Research Methodology, with 17 master students, taught by two lecturers, including the first writer, aiming to provide students with knowledge and understanding of research methodology and the application of this knowledge in writing a research proposal.
4. Topics in EFL Pedagogy, with 2 doctoral students, aiming to provide students with knowledge, and understanding of different topics in EFL pedagogy, one of which can be the focus of the students' research for their dissertation.

The study took place in ongoing and regular classes with the hope that “in ongoing classes things are done along similar lines a number of times, and they turn into routines in which all participants know what is likely to happen next” (van Lier, 1988, p. 10; see also Emilia, 2005, p. 77), and this is expected to lead to “a natural and undisturbed lesson” (van Lier, 1988, p. 39). The students were all informed about the study and agreed to participate in the study and gave consent for their data to be published for academic purposes.

This study also followed some principles of classroom TL research as suggested by Wang (2019, p. 98-99) below.

1. TL research is more descriptive rather than prescriptive, aiming to capture the fluid nature of classroom TL practices;
2. TL research is more educational rather than linguistic, focusing on what the speakers actually intend to do with the language, on the way teachers and learners use the language for educational and pedagogical purposes;
3. TL research gives equal power to teachers and students, including both teacher-led and student-led TL practices;
4. TL research requires a holistic research design to reflect a truly diverse collection of deeply contextualized data.

The study, to follow Wang (2019) and other experts in TL (e.g., Garcia & Wei, 2014; Rubenstein, 2020), used several data collections, including a phase of teaching the four courses, starting on February 1st, 2021, the first week of all classes. The teachers were acting as researchers, conducting participant observations, informal interviews after each session, and administering a questionnaire. All the four courses were to be conducted for 16 meetings (each lasting 100 minutes for undergraduate program, and 150 minutes for master and doctoral programs). The data reported in this paper were taken from

meetings 1-7. Seven meetings were considered sufficient to identify the patterns of TL practices in each class.

As no observation is value free or theory free (van Lier, 1988), the researchers invited one colleague to observe the class, especially in the course Research Methodology. This aimed to check her observation against the researchers' (Frankel & Walen, 2000 in Emilia, 2005) and, accordingly, to promote the reliability of observation.

As stated above, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, all the courses were conducted online via Zoom to process course learning in real time, as Deroo et al. (2020) did. All the courses used a learning management system (LMS) called SPOT (Integrated Online Learning System), developed by the university. Over the course of the program, the principles of effective online teaching were attended to, including "communicate the target and aim of each activity", and "show up and teach" (Ragan, 2015, p. 5) and the outcome of the learning process. The researchers also informed the students about the use of mixed English and Indonesian in the class.

All the sessions were recorded by the department, and over the course, the researchers also took notes on what was said and done by both the teacher and students. After the class, the researchers also wrote a field note on what happened concerning the interactive communication in the classroom and conducted informal interviews with the students to obtain the data on the reasons for TL practices occurring in the class.

The recordings were analyzed, especially in terms of the scenes with TL practices to identify the context (when and who initiated TL), and the functions and benefits of TL during the teaching learning process. The students' and teacher's verbalizations were transcribed to identify the practice of using both English and Indonesian. In the interest of space, this article will present only one extract from each subject in the findings and discussion section.

The second data source was a questionnaire administered in a Google Form, aiming to find out students' opinions about TL practices in the classroom. The questionnaire was responded voluntarily by 46 students (2 students from doctoral program, 17 students from master's program, and 27 students from undergraduate program). The questionnaire consisted of three open ended questions regarding the students' opinion on TL practices and one question about the strategy they mostly used when they found difficulty expressing an idea. The questions were as follows:

1. What is your opinion about the use of Indonesian, English (and Sundanese) in the classroom by the lecturers?

2. What language of instruction do you prefer: English, Indonesian, or mixed English and Indonesian?
3. What is the benefit of using English or Indonesian in the classroom?
4. Which strategy do you mostly use when you find difficulty expressing an idea?
 - a. Translating between languages.
 - b. Comparing and being playful with different languages.
 - c. Mixing words and expressions from different languages in the same spoken or written utterance.
 - d. Using the home language in one part of an activity, and the school language in another part.

The data were then categorized into three themes, including students' opinions about TL or using Indonesian and English, or Sundanese in the classroom, the language of instruction they wanted to use, and the strategy of TL they used most frequently when they found difficulty expressing an idea. Partial data from the classroom observations and the questionnaire will be presented below.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of the study will be delineated under two central themes, that is: TL practices, functions and benefits, and students' opinions about such practices.

TL Practices, Functions and Benefits

The data from the observations, recordings and observation notes indicate that TL practices occurred in all subjects in every meeting. They tended to be educational rather than linguistic and served different functions, which confirms Wang's (2019) report. Due to the pandemic, some strategies, such as students' cooperation in the classroom as Atkinson (1987) suggests, could not be seen. This warrants further investigation, especially in face-to-face mode of learning. TL practices can be seen in the four extracts below, taken from each subject.

Extract 1

This extract was taken from the course Functional Grammar, when the students analyzed an exposition text by a 10th grader in a high school in Bandung, Indonesia. The topic was "The benefits of much reading" (see

Appendix 1). The analysis covered the text organization and linguistic features. The Indonesian expressions are in italics with the English translation provided in brackets. T is for teacher and S for students (all used pseudonyms).

- T** : So, what is the text type?
T : *Apa jenis teksnya?* [What is the text type?] (See Appendix)
Sinta : I think it is a hortatory exposition.
T : *Yang lain? Semua mengidentifikasi teks itu sebagai exposition?*
[Anyone else? All identify the text as an exposition?]
S : (in chorus) Yes, Ma'am.
T : Good.
T : What about the structure of organization?
S : Thesis, Arguments, and Recommendation.

...

- T** : What is the thesis, Sandra?
Sandra : There are many benefits of reading.
T : *Yang lain?* [Anyone else?]
Ss : The same, Mam. There are many benefits of reading.
T : What about the arguments?
Ss : (In chorus) *From yang first of all sampai finally...* [From the statement which reads "First of all reading is for survival until the statement starting with "finally"..."]
T : Good
T : and then? Gilang?
Gilang : Second, reading helps us to learn Another benefit of reading is reading for pleasure.
T : Anyone has a different opinion? *Ada yang jawabannya berbeda?*
Ss : No, Ma'am.

...

- T** : *Lihat unsur kebahasaannya.* . Look at the linguistic features.
T : *Coba lihat kalimat pertama, ada berapa clause?* Look at the first sentence, how many clauses?
Santi : 3 clauses.
Dian : 3 clauses
T : Are they finite or nonfinite?
Fauzia : Finite and Non-finite

....

- T** : What is the significance of nonfinite clauses in a text? *Apa dampak dari penggunaan nonfinite clause?*
Ss : Silence

- ...
- T** : Non-finite clauses *itu membuat teks menjadi* [makes the text] more economical, *merupakan karakteristik dari* [and this is the characteristic of] ‘compacted’ nature of written language. Non-finite clause *itu menunjukkan* [shows] maturity *dan argumennya susah ditentang.* [and makes the arguments undebatable].
- T** : *Anda baca buku grammarnya.* You should read the grammar book again.
- ...
- Indra** : *Ibu, boleh bertanya?* [Ma’am, can I ask a question?] *Apakah hasil analisis itu merupakan hasil interpretasi kita?* [Is the analysis the results of our interpretation?]
- T** : *Ya, interpretasi kita, tetapi didukung dengan teori.* [Yes, our interpretation, but it should be supported by the theory].

Extract 1 shows TL occurrences (Expressions in italics), mostly led by the teacher, and only once by the student. These TL strategies can be categorized into several functions, namely:

1. The interpretive function as in the explanation about the grammar aspects of the text, such as the non-finite clauses (‘Non-finite clauses *itu membuat teks menjadi* [makes the text] more economical’).
2. The managerial function, such as, to give an activity, to scaffold the students’ analysis of the text, to praise (‘*Bagus, good*’), and to check comprehension (‘*Yang lain?* [Anyone else?] Any other opinion?’)
3. The interactive function, such as, asking questions, including that by the student Indra (‘*Ibu, boleh bertanya...?*’ [Ma’am, can I ask a question?]), or by the teacher (‘*Yang lain?*’ [Anyone else?]).

All these suggest that the TL practices followed educationally principled approach and were motivated by scaffolding consideration (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015; Rubenstein, 2020; Wang, 2019). This means that TL was used to help students gradually achieve the objective of learning.

Extract 1 also shows several points:

1. TL used to ask questions occurred most frequently compared with other strategies. This confirms previous research by Garcia and Wei (2014) and Wang (2019) that TL is usually used mostly to ask questions.
2. Students tended to use English, although the teacher asked in Indonesian. This displays the students’ ability to use the linguistic repertoire based on their needs (Rubenstein, 2020).

3. TL was led by both the students and the teachers, which evidenced that TL gives equal power to teachers and students (Coronel-Molina & Samuelson, 2016; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Rubenstein, 2020; Wang, 2019).

The data from observations also reveal that TL was employed by the students when they could not express ideas. This can be seen in Extract 2 below.

Extract 2

This extract was taken when the students practiced simultaneous interpreting of an interview about the general election in Indonesia.

- T** : Could you catch the message from the video?
Tita : I personally do have difficulty because I don't do multitasking.
Dini : I also have difficulty like that too. In interpreting we have to write and listen too, so it is difficult.
T : You should practice. *Tetapi kemampuan kamu menginterpretasi lebih baik kok daripada kemampuan saya dulu.* ... I see that your ability is much better than mine when I was a student.
Khaliq : Ma'am, *saya mau bertanya* [I want to ask a question]. Regarding the difficulties listening to what people say; do interpreters when they work in real practice use audio in simultaneous interpreting? *Jadi mereka mendengarkannya bagaimana? Apakah mereka mendengarkan di ruangan dengan headset atau mendengarkannya dengan headset sebelah atau dua-duanya? Saya mengalami kesulitan konsentrasi karena suara saya mengganggu pendengaran saya ketika saya menginterpretasi.* [So, how do they listen to the speech? Do they listen to the speech in a room? Or do they use a headset? I have difficulty concentrating because my voice distracts my listening when I interpret.]

Extract 2 shows that the TL strategies were, again, used by both the teacher and the students. The TL practices employed by the teacher can be classified into several strategies:

1. Comprehension check ('Could you catch the message ...?').
2. Praising ('... Your ability is better than mine...').
3. Translation (the teacher translates the praise to the students).

One aspect worth mentioning from Extract 2 is the TL strategy by Khaliq which serves three discursive functions of students' TL simultaneously. These

are to participate, to elaborate ideas, and to raise questions (Baker, 2001, in Mazaferro, 2018). Khaliq's TL strategy was a legitimate and significant resource which allows the task to move on. In fact, from a normative and monolingual understanding of language and literacy, Khaliq's strategy could be seen as signaling 'deficit' as he failed to produce unilingual speech in English. However, from a TL perspective, Khaliq's strategy can be considered his display of competence in engaging in complex plurilingual and multimodal interactional activities to achieve effective communication (Rubenstein, 2020).

Asked about the reason for his switch from English to Indonesian in the informal interview after the class, Khaliq said, "I could not express my idea in English. So, I spoke in Indonesian."

This suggests the realisation of the concept of TL, that is "employment of full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 281; see also Pennycok, 2017). This is also relevant to the concept of multilingualism, that knowledge of two or more languages results in a unique and complex competence that is not equal to the sum of knowledge of monolingual speakers of those languages (Kecskeas & Papp, 2000).

Other TL strategies found in this research can be seen in Extract 3 below.

Extract 3

This extract was taken from a session in the Research Methodology course, when the students presented the first chapter of a research proposal, that is, the Introduction.

- T** : *OK, siapa yang mau presentasi pertama?* OK, who wants to become the first presenter?
(One student presented her proposal).
- T** : *Harusnya gapnya lebih jelas dan tajam lagi ya. Katakan secara eksplisit.* [The gap should be clear, state it explicitly:] 'to fill the gap, the study aims ...')
- Romi** : Yes, Ma'am, thank you.
- T** : What are you going to do in your research?
- Aulia** : The teachers will read aloud, say, a text. ... With this activity, the students can have reading ability as close as to native speaker, they can acquire the language like a native speaker or the target language like a native speaker.

Extract 3 shows that the TL practices in this class served mainly the interpretive function ('What are you going to research?') and managerial function ('State the gap...')

Moreover, Aulia's verbalization suggests that native speakerism still exists among the students, although the concept of native speakerism in the literature has faded as discussed previously (Hall, 2020; Oda, 2019; Panagiotopoulou et al., 2020; Yildiz, 2012). This reflects the urgency for socialization on current issues and practices in EFL teaching, including TL, to the students.

Based on the data from the observations, which was confirmed by the other lecturer teaching the course, students in this class tended to use English. The reason for this was probably due to the English only policy in the classroom, and this is confirmed by the questionnaire data alluded to later that some students wanted to use English only in the classroom.

The last data from observation can be seen in Extract 4.

Extract 4

This extract was taken from the course *Topics in EFL Pedagogy* in doctoral program. The students and the teacher were talking about the topic for a research proposal.

- T** : Next week you should write a research proposal.
T : How many elements of a research proposal should you write?
Eli : Introduction, Literature Review, Research Methodology.
T : Good. What should you write in the Introduction section?

...

Fina: *Bu, jadi kalau misalnya teachers' pedagogical misconceptions bagaimana?* [Ma'am, what if my research is about teachers' pedagogical misconceptions?]

T : What will you focus on?

Fina: My focus will be teachers' belief about learning and learning theories, including how they teach in class and how they view online learning for their class. I do believe that there are still many problems. Another misconception is about learner centred. I want to find out, does it happen with all teachers, in rural and urban areas? What factors influence this misconception?

T : Have you read a lot of references about that? Have you read about misconception about learner-centred approach?

Fina : *Saya akan mencari previous research tentang itu.* [I will look for previous research on the topic.] *Ada tidak prof yang sudah meneliti itu?* Is there any research concerning that issue?

T : (Many). We can talk about it later.

Extract 4 displays the TL strategies led by the student, Fina, to ask questions and ask for opinion about her research, serving the interactive function. This, again, confirms that TL can be student-led or teacher-led to give the students and teachers power (Garcia & Wei, 2014). When the teacher asked her a question in English, she answered the question in English at length. This indicates that when Fina spoke Indonesian, it did not mean that she was incompetent in English, but she seemed to mediate understanding, through employment of her “full linguistic repertoire”, the significance of which has been elaborated previously.

Regarding the use of Indonesian in the class, Eli said:

Initially I did not brave to speak Indonesian. I was scared, but after you (the researcher) told us that we were allowed to use Indonesian, I don't hesitate to use Indonesian. But when I have to use English, I force myself to use English.

Eli's statement suggests that mother tongue taboo has made students, even a doctoral student, scared of deploying her linguistic repertoire in the classroom. TL or the use of Indonesian allowed students to be engaged in the class without having to silence the language they brought to learning (Makoe, 2018). Eli's statement 'When I have to speak English, I will force myself to speak English' indicates “her capacity to activate a repertoire of resources according to her need” (Luüdi & Py, 2009, p. 157, cited in Rubenstein, 2020, p. 235).

The data from the observations reveals that one TL strategy, to facilitate cooperation among students (Atkinson, 1987), could not be seen because each class was organized online. This is also a limitation of this study and needs further investigation.

The aforementioned data from the observations go with the questionnaire data which will be presented below.

Students' Opinions about the Use of Mother Tongue in the EFL Classroom

The students' opinions on the use of TL practices or the use of Indonesian and English in the EFL classroom were categorized into three central themes: the students' opinions on the use of Indonesian in the classroom, the language

of instruction they wanted to use, and the TL strategy they most frequently used.

First, in terms of the use of Indonesian in their classes, all participants in general responded positively. All mentioned the benefits of the use of mixed-Indonesian and English in the classroom, which can be categorized into three perspectives: cognitive, social, and psychological. This confirms the findings of Emilia's (2010, 2011) research on the use of Indonesian in the EFL classroom at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.

Fourty-four students mentioned that the use of Indonesian in EFL classroom helped the students understand the materials, as represented by Dina below:

I understand something faster and better when it is being delivered in Indonesian. ... one of the most explicit benefits I gained when the teacher uses Indonesian in the classroom is that I can grasp the knowledge faster and better (Dina).

Dina's verbalisation coincides with the point from experts of TL, that the use of mother tongue helped the students grasp the materials more quickly and better (Garcia & Wei, 2014; see also Evans, 2009; Deller, 2002; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003; Turnbull & Daily-Ocain, 2009;).

Other students, such as, Sinta, articulated the benefit of TL from the social perspective.

The benefits of using Indonesian is that we can get closer as a friend and avoid being awkward.

Sinta's statement is consistent with Emilia's (2005) research, also at the tertiary EFL context in Indonesia, that the use of Indonesian in EFL classrooms can provide a place where students use multiple discourses to comprehend their relations with the wider society and thus to ensure their active participation, without having to silence the language they brought to class (see also Auerbach, 1993).

Other students mentioned the benefit of the use of mixed-Indonesian English from psychological perspective, as represented by Rosa and Sofi, below.

I think the use of Bahasa Indonesia would reduce EFL learners' foreign language anxiety. It would make them feel more secure and relieved in classroom (Rosa).

In my opinion, the material will be conveyed well, because inserting our mother tongue in the lesson will attract students to pay attention and clearly understand the instructions from the lecturer (Sofi).

Rosa's statement confirms Macaro's (2009, see also Emilia, 2005) finding that bilingual interactions used by learners can function as a psychological tool that enables learners to construct effective collaborative dialogue in the completion of meaning-based language tasks. Sofi's statement is also relevant not only to the interpretive function, but also managerial function of TL, especially to motivate the students.

One response from Riya is worth a brief mention, that is:

It's our mother tongue, so I suppose it promotes preservation of our mother tongue (Riya).

Riya's statement is of great importance for Indonesia, especially, about local language conservation. At the moment, more than 650 local languages have been validated. Riya's statement is also relevant to one of the values of TL, that is, to help language preservation (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

However, there is one student who said:

I agree with the use of Indonesian, but I don't use it in the classroom because my institution does not allow me to (Any)

Any's statement is similar to Deller's (2002) and Andrei et al.'s (2020) reports regarding monolingualism. This suggests the existence of belief in monolingualism among policy makers and thus urgency to socialise about TL and current issues of EFL teaching to policy makers.

Second, regarding the language of instruction, the data can be seen in Figure 1.

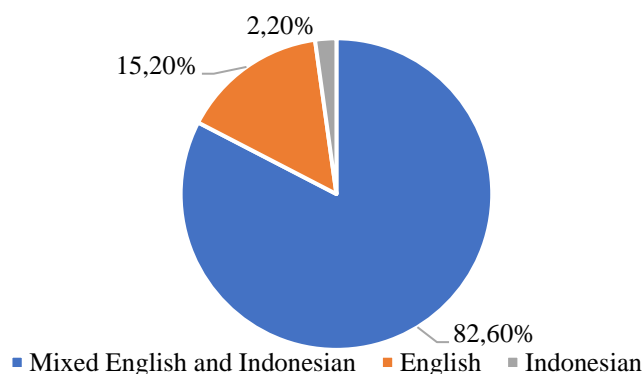


Figure 1: The language of instruction expected by the students

Figure 1 shows a preponderance of a number of students who wanted mixed English and Indonesian, that is, 82.6%. The number of students wanting English was 15.2% and Indonesian 2.2%. This supports Emilia's (2011) study in the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, that 84.6% of 272 students wanted to use mixed-English-Indonesian. It indicates that bilingualism is favourable, not only at the low level, but also at the tertiary level, at the English Education Department. This also suggests urgency to reconsider the English only policy in Indonesia. Students, teachers, and policy makers should be made aware of the values and benefits of the use of students' mother tongue to help them cognitively, socially and psychologically in the process of learning. It also supports the data from the classroom observations.

Finally, regarding the strategy of TL they used, the students' responses can be seen in Figure 2.

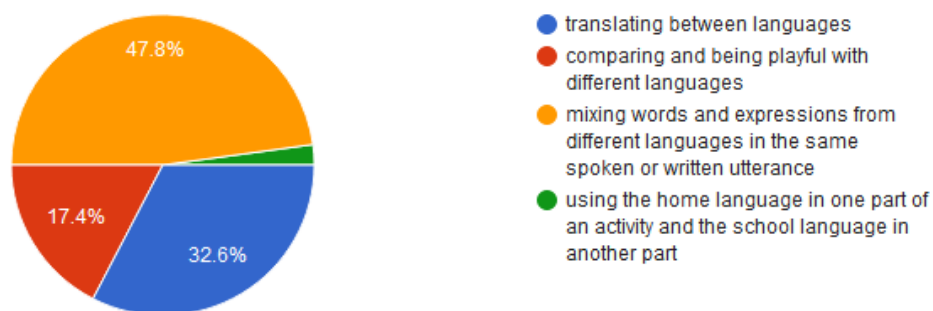


Figure 2: TL strategy most frequently used by the students

Figure 2 shows that of four TL strategies mentioned, "mixing words and expressions from different languages in the same spoken or written utterance" counts the highest number. This is in line with the concept of TL, that is, the employment of full linguistic repertoire. It also confirms the data reported by previous researchers, such as, Wang (2019) and Garcia and Wei (2014).

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has presented the results of a study on TL practices. The results indicate TL occurred in all classes and all levels, serving the interpretive, managerial, and interactive functions, confirming previous research. The observation data in our study also go with the principles that employment of TL empowers students and teachers, and TL can be student-led or teacher-led, benefitting the students cognitively, socially, and psychologically.

Meanwhile, the students' opinions about TL or the use of Indonesian and English in their classroom are generally positive, despite few students' tendency to use English only medium of instruction. The majority of the students, that is, 82.6% wanted to use mixed Indonesian and English, 15.2% English and 2.2% Indonesian. This goes with the results of previous research on the use of English and Indonesian in EFL classroom in Indonesia (Emilia, 2011). This suggests monolingualism should be shifted to TL, and the values of TL should be introduced to EFL teachers and policy makers in different levels and contexts, in Indonesia. Schools and universities need to purposefully create interactive spaces where it is safe to access all linguistic resources, rather than trying to keep the languages separate, that using students' home languages in a foreign language classroom may facilitate the acquisition of a 'second' or foreign language. All should be made aware that the concept of native-like or native speakerism is no longer relevant to EFL teaching (see Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Oda, 2019).

Further research should be conducted to explore both theoretical and practical matters of TL, including the interactive function of TL in online classroom, involving interdisciplinary perspectives, and more substantial data collection and documentation in both online and face-to-face modes to enrich the literature on TL practices in Indonesia and other parts of the world. Some strategies in using TL, such as in students' cooperation in the classroom should also be further researched.

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Appendix 1

The Benefits of Much Reading

Good morning Ladies and gentlemen. In this opportunity, I would like to talk about the topic: “Benefits of much reading”. I would like to see reading from two senses, as suggested by Catherine Wallace (1992) in her book entitled ‘Reading’. First from the narrow sense “reading means getting meaning from a written text”. Second from a wider sense, “reading means understanding the world around me”. From these two senses, there are many benefits of reading, which are reading for survival, reading for learning, reading for pleasure, reading for enhancing our brain functionality, and reading for memory improvement.

First of all reading is for survival. Reading helps us survive in our daily lives. Sometimes reading is literally a matter of life and death, for example, a ‘STOP’ sign for a motorist. This means that a motorist should stop or lower the speed; and if he does not read and follow this sign, he may have an accident which may cause death. Survival reading serves immediate needs. Obvious examples are ‘ladies’, ‘gents’, and ‘exit’. Reading these signs help us fulfill what we need. Reading also helps us survive in doing our daily activities, for example, reading instructions. If we don’t read instructions carefully, we might not be able to know what we have to do to survive in our lives.

Second, reading helps us learn. Reading serves the wider role of extending our general knowledge of the world. Reading books, for example, brings a lot of knowledge easily. While you read you actually get to know all the things that you are reading and you remember them in your brain. From reading, you get to know about different people, different places and different countries and cultures. Therefore, reading can also be seen as “the window of the world”. At school students must read a lot. Otherwise, they don’t have knowledge to pass any tests and exams and won’t be able to pass any exams. Much reading, which can enhance our learning, can help us reach our goal in life.

Another benefit of reading is pleasure. While reading for survival involves an immediate response to a situation and reading for learning is also goal orientated, reading for pleasure is done for its own sake, which means that we don’t have to do it. Reading for pleasure means reading for a frustration free activity. By reading, we can get pleasure. In this case, much reading can be used for distressing. No matter what situation you have faced, if you read a good book, for example a joke book, you will immediately smile and at the same time avoid stress.

The next benefit of much reading is enhancing the brain functionality. When you read more, you have to remember more pieces of information from every material that you read. Then the workload of your brain increases, so it gets the right brain power exercise.

Another benefit of much reading is memory improvement as your brain gets a lot of material to store and recall. As the power of your brain increases, you can hold more information in your brain as well as recall.

From my previous explanation it can be concluded that from much reading, we get many benefits, which are surviving our lives, learning something new, and pleasure. Much reading also helps us enhance our brain functionality and gives us memory improvement and can also help us reach our goal in life. Thus, we have to read much in order to get the benefits of much reading.

Note: The text was written by Muhammad Mizan Ghifari, a 10-grade student (585 words).