

## Language Education for Orang Asli Children in Malaysia

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### ABSTRACT

Literacy among Orang Asli children is found to be well below the national average. This paper explores the connection between language learning and meaning-making and its relation to the problem of language education among Orang Asli children. In so doing, the paper shows that language learning should be situated within their environment. This paper uses the findings from the observation made in an exploratory case study of Temuan children aged 7–12 in an Orang Asli village in Selangor and their struggles with language. Taking a critical view of the challenges faced by the children, this study surmised that a proper recognition of the Orang Asli community in language education is needed for effective meaning-making to ensure their genuine participation. The insight adds to the discussion within decolonisation of education on the importance of indigenisation of language education for Orang Asli children.

*Keywords:* Environment, indigenous, language education, literacy, meaning-making

### INTRODUCTION

At its basic level, literacy in language learning involves the acquisition of listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. It makes literacy a crucial first step towards children's ability to make sense of the world around them. Children's early literacy development is crucial for their learning opportunities and success in school (Hare, 2011; Roberts et al., 2005; Sénéchal et al., 2006; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2002).

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Studies on literacy of indigenous children in countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have found an incongruence in the development of literacy skills between indigenous and non-indigenous children (Cowley & Easton, 2004; Frigo et al., 2004; Hare, 2011) that has led to indigenous people not being able to participate meaningfully in society. Further, Article 14.1(3) of United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (cited from Bauer, 2007, p.13) specifies the right of indigenous children to receive education “in their own culture and...in their language”. In the case of Malaysia, while much has been done to support the education of Orang Asli children, there are still gaps in their performance and achievement in schools compared to non-Orang Asli children (Wan, 2020).

The incongruence in performance between indigenous and non-indigenous children is of concern considering the fact that two-thirds of the world’s indigenous population lives in Asia (Errico, 2017). Compared to non-indigenous children, indigenous children do not have access to the same quality of education (Shay & Sarra, 2021). Indigenous children and children from other marginalised communities experience literacy differently from the literacy practices and expectations in school (Arnold & Doctoroff, 2003; Heath, 1983; MacNaughton, 2006; Neuman, 2006). Therefore, the children, do not perform well in school because of this disconnect from their reality (Valdés,

1996) contributes to indigenous children facing more educational challenges than children from other communities (Anderson et al., 2016). Edo et al. (2013) refer to the disconnect with indigenous students’ reality as social exclusion. Here they refer to a wider exclusion to include politics, economy, and education, contributing further to the marginalisation of the indigenous community. Policies aimed at improving the lives of Orang Asli, including the establishment of the Department of Aborigines, known as JAKOA (Department of Orang Asli Development), worked towards alienating the community from mainstream society. More importantly, it also disempowered Orang Asli to customary land and self-representation (Dentan et al., 1997).

For Orang Asli children, their lives are deeply rooted in their customary land, which is culture imbued with nature and its elements. They also mostly come from an oral tradition (Nicholas, 2004), so the children’s early years may develop literacy in their language through an oral framework. The Orang Asli children’s performance in school has been affected by a lack of recognition in the school curriculum on the importance of their culture (Errico, 2017). Not fully recognising the community’s literacy experiences has contributed to the language education in Malaysia not adequately allowing Orang Asli children to engage in meaningful learning in schools (Renganathan, 2013). Meaningful learning

in this context refers to recognition of the Orang Asli community, which would lead to genuine participation by the children. Meaningful learning allows children to retain their knowledge better when learning new things (Ausubel & Ausubel, 2010) as they need to connect new information with their pre-existing concepts (Vallori, 2014). When the focus is not on achieving meaningful learning, Orang Asli children tend to be discouraged. Therefore, they face difficulty in making deep connections and relating the learning to themselves and their environment; in other words, *meaning-making* does not occur.

Language education is seen as a tool to facilitate the development of literacy skills to ensure their effective participation in society, for example, accessing services, articulating their rights as citizens, and contributing to nation-building. As a marginalised community, the Orang Asli's ability to participate meaningfully in society is critical to empower the community as citizens. At present, the Orang Asli population in Malaysia is disenfranchised and underrepresented in society (Nicholas, 2021; Sato, 2019). Even though the Orang Asli population in Peninsular Malaysia is not a homogeneous group, the use of the singular term "community" in literature on language education suggests a disconnect between learning and meaning-making in standardising language education across the different ethnic groups. A standardised language education raises concern about whether meaningful participation among the Orang Asli children can take

place. Therefore exploring whether a contextualised language education that considers the Orang Asli children's lived experiences and environment could help address the imbalance in the community's education.

Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which recognises the right to education for all children, supports the examination of this issue. Hence, standardisation of it will pose some challenges to indigenous children. The notion of standards has always been conceptualised as a top-down process, with communities having little to no say in developing a curriculum. In the case of the Orang Asli community, their perspectives and environment need to be included to support literacy development (Kral, 2009; Renganathan, 2013).

Studies on Orang Asli and their learning have lacked focus on education (Edo et al., 2013; Wan, 2020), literacy, and meaning-making, yet it is an important consideration in ensuring children can relate to and engage with their learning. Poor literacy levels are often associated with low test scores, poor attendance, and disciplinary problems. While these factors are important, they do not provide a good sense of the problem of literacy faced by OA children in language education. This paper proposes meaning-making in language learning as an important aspect in understanding this problem. The case of Temuan children aged 7-12 in an Orang Asli village in Selangor is used to present the problem of language education for these children.

### **An Issue in Education of Orang Asli Children**

Orang Asli is a legal category defined under the Orang Asli Act 134 (1954) (as contained in Government of Malaysia, 2010). Applying a cultural definition, the Act defines an Orang Asli as any person who speaks an Orang Asli language, practices Orang Asli cultures, and remains a member of an Orang Asli community. The recent official census places the total number of Orang Asli at approximately 178,197 (DOSM, 2019; JAKOA, 2018), or less than 1% of the national population (Nicholas, 2021). They consist of 19 sub-groups and vary in population size, distribution, political, and social organisation, and traditional economic practices. The three broad groups are; the Senoi, Proto Malay, and Negrito. The largest group is the Senoi, which makes up approximately 54% of the population. The second largest group is the Proto-Malay, which makes up approximately 43% of the overall population. Finally, the smallest group is the Negrito, with approximately 3% of the overall Orang Asli population.

Government policy has been consistent in that it looks to incorporate Orang Asli communities within the larger Malaysian society. In 1961, the Malaysian government formulated a cohesive policy to address integration and development of the Orang Asli in the “Statement of Policy Regarding the Long-Term Administration of the Aboriginal Peoples in the Federation of Malaya”. In the 1970s, the government proposed developing a settlement scheme termed *Rancangan Pengumpulan Semula*

(RPS), modelled after the FELDA (Federal Land Development Authority) scheme. The main focus is on agriculture-based development programs. The scheme includes an administrative hub, pre and primary level schooling, and medical facilities. Families would also receive government-built houses and other basic amenities. Today there are about 17 RPS throughout the Peninsular. By the 1990s, keeping in line with the general development policy, government policy for Orang Asli development focused on growth led by the private sector through entrepreneurship initiatives. The Strategic Plan for Orang Asli Development 2011–2015 outlined six development thrusts, one of which was a human development model and its relation to education/literacy. The most recent strategic plan is a collaboration between Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that aims to translate the Sustainable Development Goals as key strategies for Orang Asli development until 2030. However, in empowering Orang Asli as citizens with equal representation, much more is needed to engage Orang Asli as a stakeholder on policy matters that affect their community; one area being education.

Indigenous people are historically accepted as being present before the 1400s (Andaya & Andaya, 2017). Despite being one of the earliest inhabitants of Malaysia, the quality of education received remains below the national average. The dropout rate for Orang Asli children in 2017 was 26%, compared to the national average, which was consistently below 4% from

2016 to 2018 (Wan, 2020). In 2015, the Ministry of Education reported that the Orang Asli children comprised 4% of the national student population (MOE, 2016b). Recent statistics suggest that out of 26,571, only 13,155 enrolled in secondary school (JAKOA, 2018). Out of those who go on to secondary school, not all complete their secondary education.

Based in the preceding paragraph, the outlook for Orang Asli children's education in achieving the National Education Blueprints targets is worrying. While some claim that the problem of education among Orang Asli is because of the lack of awareness among the community, specifically the parents (Mazzlida & Ruhizan, 2016; Sawalludin et al., 2020), there are other studies (IDEAS, 2020; Nicholas, 2005) that suggest otherwise. The problems that the Orang Asli community faces in education are multi-faceted and require deeper analysis.

While dropout rates between 2016 and 2018 seem to have been falling, the struggle of Orang Asli children with education should still be of concern. There is a lack of substantive data to formulate better policy and inform practice on language education for Orang Asli. The diversity among Orang Asli communities suggests the need for inter and intra-group research. Indeed, field studies indicate that the education problem among Orang Asli children is more complex and should be explored from different angles to inform policy implementation better.

Quality education requires an inclusive and equitable policy for it to be effective

and sustainable. While policy on education in general, and specifically for Orang Asli, is encouraging, achievement of results requires attention to challenges of the target population in implementation as they affect the achievement of the policy outcomes. The empowerment of Orang Asli depends on substantive approaches to policy and practice that consider the actual situation of marginalised Orang Asli children in the development of language education. The problem faced by indigenous children suggests that policy and practice which lack recognition of marginalised Orang Asli children's learning hinder their development (Romero-Little, 2010). Furthermore, a lack of research that considers language education from the perspective of the situation of marginalised Orang Asli children themselves fails to significantly contribute to addressing the problem of literacy. Research should focus on providing clarity to the problem of literacy among Orang Asli children to identify what actions can assist policy and practice on language education in moving forward (Ainscow, 2020). This study focuses on whether language education currently adopted is properly framed to the needs of the children to better support the educational needs of indigenous communities in Peninsular Malaysia.

### **Decolonisation and Indigenisation of Education for Orang Asli Children**

Orang Asli children's learning, despite the efforts made by the relevant authorities, has not seen a significant improvement.

One reason for this is the lack of inclusion of their culture and indigenous identity in mainstream education (Rosnon & Talib, 2019)

Decolonisation of education in the context of indigenous children in Malaysia involves looking into education standards and their impact on their learning. Decolonising involves dismantling the assumed knowledge children should acquire in schoolings, such as the content, skills, and values taught in schools (Pratt & Vries, 2018). The focus has to be on the challenges these children face in learning literacy in schools to ensure education responds to the learning needs of indigenous children. It can then provide a nuanced narrative on the need to indigenize language education. To better understand the need for the decolonisation of Orang Asli children's literacy education, it is imperative to shed some light on their present learning and education.

Children develop their literacy skills by making sense of the world around them (Husbye & Dorner, 2017). For Orang Asli children, their connection to the environment may be different; thus, this requires consideration in language education. However, the question that needs to be asked is to what extent does the current language education accommodate their meaning-making process. For example, as shown in Figure 1, meaning-making might be lost in this lesson when the notion of a pet is understood differently amongst children from different socio-cultural backgrounds. This situation arises because a pet can be understood as a domestic animal kept for companionship by an individual or a family or could be seen in a broader sense as an animal collectively kept by a community. Therefore, when Orang Asli children are asked to talk about their pets, it is important to consider that their understanding of pets

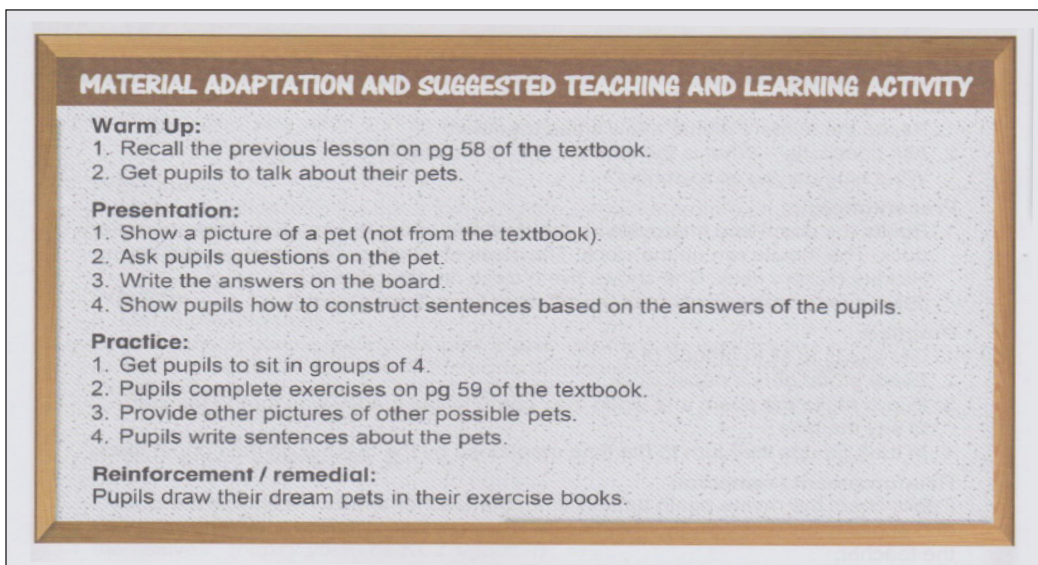


Figure 1. Taken from Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) - English Language Handbook for Primary School Teachers (MOE, 2016a, p.3)

may differ from that of other children in the classroom. Moreover, drawing on their cultural norms to guide the meaning-making process would help them acquire literacy skills. If this is not the case, meaning-making may be lost in the language classroom, and children may not participate in the learning process.

### Conceptual Framework

Several factors influence the learning of indigenous children and their educational development; socio-economic status, home environment, school context, and individual child's life experiences (Doyle & Hill, 2008; Ockenden, 2014). This paper focuses on the influence of school context, specifically language education, on Orang Asli children's language learning. Based on Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (EST) and Bruner's idea of active learning, these aspects are situated within the social ecology of the children, interconnected with their language learning, and related to how they make sense of the learning.

EST (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) shows the different systems that influence a child's development and how these systems are interrelated, both within and between the systems. According to EST, the interaction between and within the five systems influences how a child develops and grows (Wilson et al., 2020). Therefore, the social ecology in which a child is situated should be considered to ensure meaningful learning occur. In the context of education for indigenous children, EST

points to the importance of considering the ecology in articulating what education, and specifically language education, should be for indigenous children. It suggests that the environment, for instance, the curriculum, would affect their learning (Matengu et al., 2019). Thus, progress in language learning for indigenous children is influenced by where language education is situated for the children and to what extent it considers their ecology.

Bruner (1966a) adds a dimension about children's learning to the framework. His views on learning as an active process, where the child constructs their knowledge based on current and past experiences, is important for the discussion on language learning for indigenous children. In constructing their knowledge, the children are making sense of what they are learning. However, meaning-making is a process that extends beyond just learning to also include identity and emotions (Zittoun & Brinkmann, 2012). Meaning-making occurs at three levels: semantics, pragmatics, and existential (ibid). Children identify and associate words, symbols, and sounds with their conceptual meaning associated with cultural understanding at the semantics level. Pragmatic meaning occurs when children identify with the social practices, which continuously changes and expands. Finally, children make sense of learning at the existential level through their lived experiences that shape their emotions and identities. When this meaning-making process is hindered at any one of these levels, it affects language learning. One

example of how this may occur in language learning for indigenous children is through cultural differences. Language imposes certain cultural norms that interfere with or hinder meaning-making when the said norms are not part of the children's everyday lives or environment.

Based on the preceding explanation, the premise of this study is that: (1) meaningful language learning occurs when children can make sense of their learning; (2) children's sense-making occurs when they can relate to their environment (environment in the context of Orang Asli children is understood in a broad sense which includes family, community, village, respective indigenous culture, own languages, and individual experiences); and therefore (3) if language education for Orang Asli children takes into consideration their environment, it is more likely to aid the children in their language learning.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The study adopted a philosophical approach that applied a critical lens to the issue of language education for Orang Asli children. The issue was identified from an exploratory case study on Temuan children in one Orang Asli village in Selangor. Based on the conceptual framework, a critical lens that involved personal reflection, observation, and authority/experience as educators and experts in the field of education was applied to the problems these children face in language learning. The conclusions reached were used in the discussion on the issue of language education for Orang Asli children.

The exploratory case study was conducted to obtain preliminary data (Mills et al., 2010; Yin, 2018) on the situation faced by the children in language education. As part of the study, a diagnostic test was administered to determine the children's literacy level in four subjects; Bahasa Melayu, English, Mathematics, and Science. Studies have shown that language proficiency impacts performance in other subjects such as Mathematics and Science (Bayat et al., 2014; Henry et al., 2014; Neri et al., 2019; Prediger et al., 2018). In addition, observations were made about problems encountered by the children when responding to the test questions. Participants for the exploratory case study were chosen through convenience sampling. These participants have had some experiences of language learning in school. Therefore, they were able to provide narratives of their language learning. There were 20 participants aged between seven and twelve years ranging from Year One to Year Six: nine were in the upper primary (Year 4–Year 6), and 11 were in the lower primary (Year 1–Year 3). Most of these children attend a national school where the medium of instruction is Bahasa Melayu. Out of the 20 children, three had already dropped out of school for various economic and social reasons. For the remaining 17, their school attendance was poor and academic performance was below the expected level for their age group. The ones in the upper primary were also faced with the possibility of not transitioning to secondary school because of poverty, distance to school, the



perspective of studying, and concerns of performance in secondary school.

The problem faced by these children in language learning and meaning-making was identified using observation and their performance in these tests. The observations also provided a context for understanding these children's interests, response to the tests, and performance (and non-performance) in the tests. The test was administered over four weekends using topics taken from the Year Two National Primary School Standard Curriculum on English, Bahasa Melayu, Science, and Mathematics. These tests were based on the key learning outcomes of the respective subjects. Thus, a year two-level test provided a suitable perspective that could be used to develop the narrative on language learning experiences across the different schooling levels of the children. The tests were administered towards the end of the school year; therefore, it was assumed that the children in Year One would be able to respond to at least some of the questions. These responses would demonstrate the problems of language education that affect meaning-making.

A non-participant, semi-structured observation was conducted using a protocol that looked at how the children responded to the tests to understand the nature of reading and writing in Bahasa Melayu and English. The observation protocol was framed on the Classroom Language Observation Checklist (CLOCK) (CAL, 2015) and adapted for this study. Four aspects were included in the protocol; (1) vocabulary, (2)

comprehension, (3) language control, and (4) fluency. For vocabulary, the focus was on the ability of the children to use grade-level words in answering the test questions. Comprehension was observed through the ability of the children to understand the instructions and questions in the test. Language control focused on how well the children used words, phrases, and sentences in Bahasa Melayu and English in answering the test questions. Finally, fluency considered the ease of understanding the instructions and questions.

Themes were identified from the observation on the four aspects stated in the protocol using thematic analysis. The thematic analysis was carried out through coding, looking for commonalities and contrasts. From this analysis, two themes emerged; (1) challenges faced when responding to the diagnostic test; and (2) the connection between language learning and meaning-making. Finally, the conceptual framework was applied to these themes to suggest the areas of concern in language education for Orang Asli children.

### The Case

The Temuan are of the Proto-Malay ethnic subgroup of peninsular indigenous people. The first Temuan families settled in this village around 60 years ago. To date, around 20 families are living in the village (information obtained from the village headman, also known as *Tok Batin*). JAKOA and other organisations built some houses to accommodate the families, a kindergarten and a community hall. However, the

villagers only received electricity in 2017, having relied on a generator previously. In addition, there is no proper road, and access by vehicles is limited. Thus, despite its proximity to some of the more affluent suburbs in Selangor, the infrastructure and facilities in this village are still of concern. This scenario together with poverty have affected the Temuan children's schooling and contributed to their low literacy level.

## **FINDINGS**

A critical analysis was done on the two themes identified in the observation. The two themes were: (1) challenges in responding to tests; and (2) response to tests, and they are described below. Themes and inferences drawn took into consideration that the child's learning is affected by meaning-making and the child's environment is relevant to their learning.

### **Challenges in Responding to Tests**


Observation on the children's approach to the diagnostic tests revealed the varied nature of their responses in reading and writing in Bahasa Melayu and English. There was a sense of attentiveness among the children to focus and complete the tests. However, some became distracted and gave up answering the questions. Children who could read and write proceeded to do the tests with some assistance from the facilitators. They attempted to read and answer all the questions within the time given. The children who seemed to have difficulty reading and understanding the questions tried initially to attempt the test

but soon left their table to do other things, such as play with other children who were not involved in the test and scribble on the board. As these tests were administered over four weeks, it was noted that some students were motivated and looked forward to the next test. When the students completed one test, they asked about the next one, the subject, what would be tested and when it would be conducted. Some did not want to participate in the next test because they felt the questions were too difficult to answer. The children who had already dropped out of school were not motivated in taking the tests. When this observation was done, three children from the group had dropped out of school (two girls and one boy). The girls had to stop schooling so that they could look after their younger siblings. They were nine and twelve years old, respectively. The boy, aged ten, had stopped schooling so that he could help his mother collect bamboo. When asked, they did not see the test's purpose as they were no longer in school.

### **Response to Tests**

Regarding the children's response to tests, their engagement with the questions depended on their ability to read and understand the instructions and questions. When questions were read out to them, the children were able to respond verbally, and in most instances, provided correct answers. It was especially evident in the Mathematics and Science tests. However, in the Bahasa Melayu and English language tests, more than half of the children struggled to comprehend the meaning of the sentences

**Soalan 7**, berdasarkan gambar di bawah.



7. Farhan menyapu tingkap dengan menggunakan se\_\_\_\_\_ bulu ayam.

A helai  
B tangkai  
C batang

Figure 2. Sample Bahasa Melayu diagnostic test question

even when they were read aloud to them. Another important observation was that these children's understanding was hindered by the cultural context in which the questions were situated. For example, the following question was taken from the Bahasa Melayu diagnostic test.

Another important observation was that these children's understanding was hindered by the cultural context in which the questions were situated. For example, the following question was taken from the Bahasa Melayu diagnostic test. When this question and the options were read out to the children, they could not associate the image with the action of cleaning a window (Figure 2). The children asked what the image was since they had never seen it (Figure 2). When asked what they usually use to clean the windows, they replied with a piece of cloth, and this answer was stated correctly in Malay. Some children also expressed their concern about the source of

the feathers. Having developed an empathy for the livestock they have grown up with, they looked out of the window for their chickens roaming around the village and could be seen to be visibly affected.

## DISCUSSION

The findings suggest two matters for discussion:

### Orang Asli Children and their Meaning-making

Observations on the children's approach to the diagnostic tests demonstrate their low literacy level, which is shown by their ability and inability to cope with reading and understanding the test questions. The problem of meaning-making here is situated at two levels; semantics and pragmatics. The third level, existential, was not included in the study conducted because it was an exploratory study. At the semantics level, it is a problem of decoding but inability to associate the words to their meaning. At the pragmatics level, there is difficulty for the children to relate to questions situated in a particular cultural context that may be foreign to them (Zittoun & Brinkmann, 2012). However, children who showed some understanding at the semantic level could not cope with the pragmatic understanding. This situation points towards a difficulty in making sense of language use. Therefore, language learning within indigenous children's cultural context is more likely to assist them in meaning-making (Bruner, 1966b; Siekmann et al., 2017).

### **The Interconnectedness of Language Learning and Environment**

The findings suggest that more needs to be said about language learning within the context of Orang Asli children's environment. It should be understood in a broader and deeper sense that includes tangible and intangible aspects such as family, customary land, identity, and individual life aspirations. Referring to the Ecological Systems Theory discussed in Section Four of this paper, language education that would benefit Orang Asli children's learning is situated within their environment as learning and environment are interconnected. As Romero-Little (2010) points out, children from indigenous communities need to recognise their environment in articulating education, and failure to do so may hinder their learning. As she observes, indigenous children's environment may vary widely from mainstream children, therefore of itself should not be a barrier to learning. As such, if this is adequately considered or recognised, it could support their learning. For the Orang Asli children, if the aspect of the environment is better understood, then language education can be better conceptualised for these children, and therefore benefit their language learning.

Overall, the mismatch observed between language learning and Orang Asli children's meaning-making in the case cited points to the lack of recognition of the environment as one of the factors that can hinder their language education. Furthermore, language learning is often not placed within the children's cultural and environmental

contexts. It shows a need to decolonise language education by considering what is understood by literacy learning and how it is presented to Orang Asli children. For instance, the context in which questions are framed, such as test questions, is important for children to understand not just at the semantic but also at the pragmatic level to make sense of what is asked of them in terms of learning. In addition, what is asked of them in terms of learning does not adequately offer an opportunity to include their identity, which poses a problem of existential understanding. Failure to consider the required levels in how language education for Orang Asli children is conceptualised and delivered can contribute to performance and achievement not only in language but also in other school subjects (Bayat et al., 2014; Henry et al., 2014; Neri et al., 2019; Prediger et al., 2018).

### **IMPLICATION AND CONCLUSION**

Whilst this paper acknowledges that the consideration for this study is based on observations from a preliminary study, it offers an insight into the issue of language education for Orang Asli children. There is a tendency in some studies to articulate the problem of education among Orang Asli children as being situated in the children and their communities (Sawalludin et al., 2020). However, the findings of this study suggest that this may not be the only case. Therefore future studies on language education for Orang Asli children should take into account their environment in better understanding the problem of their language learning.

This paper questions the current narrative on language education in Malaysia, in particular the disconnect between mainstream language education and the Orang Asli children. Despite the many measures taken to ensure the continuity of learning for Orang Asli children, the teaching of language in school should be further explored to adequately situate it within the needs of indigenisation of Orang Asli children's education. One way is for language education to represent Orang Asli's cultural practices and norms, allowing for effective meaning-making. It should also be linguistically and culturally appropriate to bridge their transition from home to school as their home language may be different (Ball, 2009).

One way forward to address this implication would be to further investigate the Orang Asli children's educational needs from their perspective, as Nicholas (2010) suggested. It means starting from their literacy traditions and perspectives on life and living. Returning to Ball (2009), this requires consideration of elements of meaningful learning for Orang Asli children. This consideration should also take into account that the Orang Asli community comprises 19 sub-ethnic groups, and therefore should not be viewed as a homogenous group in the research and development of language education. Improvements to their language learning would have significance to the broader problem of low literacy levels among Orang Asli children. The exploratory nature of this study limits the discussion

on meaning-making in language education among Orang Asli children. A longitudinal study that encompasses both the home and school environments could further enrich the discussion.

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