

Dramatic transformations: Integrating theatre in English language teacher education

Diannike Putri¹, Barlian Kristanto², Ida Dian Sukmawati³

English Education Department, Universitas Harapan Bangsa, INDONESIA^{1,2,3}

¹Email: dianputei@gmail.com

Abstract - This study aims to analyze the impact of a dramaturgical approach on the development of linguistic competence, professional identity, and pedagogical creativity of prospective English language teachers. Using a longitudinal case study design with a mixed-methods approach, this research involved two pre-service teachers over one academic semester. Data were collected through assessment rubrics for drama scripts and videos, in-depth interviews, and participant observation, with analysis employing both descriptive statistics and thematic analysis techniques. Results revealed significant improvements in linguistic and performative skills, with scores increasing from script writing to video production (15 to 18 and 13 to 20). Qualitative analysis identified five key phenomena: Multimodal Linguistic Neuroplasticity, Professional Identity Reconfiguration through Performativity, Deconstruction of Language Skills Hierarchy, Theatre as a Sociolinguistic Reality Simulator, and Pedagogical Liminality. These findings collectively establish the foundation for a "Transdisciplinary Performative Pedagogy" that challenges conventional compartmentalized approaches to language teacher education. The integration of quantitative and qualitative results indicates that dramaturgical experiences facilitate not only linguistic development but also profound transformations in professional identity and pedagogical understanding. This research generates the concept of "Transdisciplinary Performative Pedagogy," offering a new paradigm in English language teacher education. These findings have implications for curriculum development that comprehensively integrates drama, encouraging pedagogical innovation and adaptability in language teaching for increasingly complex global contexts.

Keywords: drama-based pedagogy, transdisciplinary performative pedagogy, professional identity formation, embodied language learning, English language teacher education

1. Introduction

In an increasingly interconnected world, English language teacher education faces the formidable challenge of preparing educators who not only possess linguistic proficiency but also pedagogical creativity and adaptability to teach effectively across diverse cultural contexts. Traditional approaches to language teacher preparation often emphasize theoretical knowledge and methodological frameworks while inadvertently neglecting the embodied, performative, and transformative dimensions of language teaching (Kumaravadivelu, 2012). This disconnects



between linguistic competence and pedagogical creativity has created an urgent need for innovative approaches that cultivate more holistic and adaptable teaching capabilities (Stinson & Winston, 2011).

Drama-based pedagogy has a long-standing history in language education, dating back to the communicative approaches of the 1970s and the subsequent development of task-based learning (Maley & Duff, 2005). Over time, research has demonstrated that dramatic approaches foster student engagement, increase language retention, and enhance communicative competence (Zafeiriadou, 2009). Hulse & Owens (2019) further argue that *process drama* provides a structured yet flexible framework for language learners to actively construct meaning through social interaction. Additionally, drama-based methods foster higher-order thinking skills, emotional intelligence, and multimodal learning, making them highly effective for teacher training programs (Lutzker, 2009).

Several recent studies reinforce the effectiveness of drama pedagogy in English language education. Bessadet (2022) found that drama techniques significantly enhance students' physical, emotional, social, and cognitive development in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom. Similarly, Pham et al. (2024) demonstrated that integrating creative drama into English literature teaching strengthens learners' understanding, engagement, and appreciation of the subject. Dervishaj (2024) further noted that incorporating drama into EFL classrooms supports vocabulary acquisition, grammatical development, and fluency through authentic communicative experiences. Beyond student learning, recent research has underscored the transformative potential of drama for teacher education (Piazzoli, 2018; Uştuk, 2022).

These approaches are grounded in multiple theoretical frameworks. Transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1991) posits that *disorienting experiences*—such as performing on stage—can trigger profound perspective shifts, fostering critical reflection and professional growth in teachers. Gardner's multiple intelligences theory (2011) supports the rationale for drama's multimodal nature, as it simultaneously engages linguistic, kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligences (Franks, 2010). Embodied cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) highlights the importance of physical engagement in language acquisition, while sociocultural theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) emphasizes the centrality of social interaction in language development—two key aspects of drama-based approaches (Beaven & Alvarez, 2014).

Despite growing evidence supporting drama's effectiveness in language learning, a significant research gap remains regarding its application to language teacher education. While Gavrilova et al. (2021) demonstrated that theatrical activities promote dialogic learning and emotional engagement, and Bessadet (2022) highlighted how drama techniques enhance collaboration and creativity, limited studies have explored how these methods can transform pre-service teacher training (Stinson & Winston, 2011). Notably, Uştuk (2022) introduced the concept of *Drama-in-Teacher-Education*, revealing that drama pedagogy helps pre-service teachers reconcile professional identity conflicts and develop adaptive teaching strategies.

The prevalence of traditional skill-focused approaches in language teacher education is evident in a global survey of 42 TESOL programs across 18 countries, which found that less than 15% incorporate substantial performative or arts-based components (Johnson, 2016). This traditional orientation persists despite increasing recognition that effective language teaching requires competencies beyond linguistic and methodological knowledge—including adaptability, cultural sensitivity, and creative problem-solving (Burns & Richards, 2009). This gap between teacher preparation and classroom practice represents a critical challenge in contemporary language education (Hahl & Keinänen, 2021).

This study aims to address this critical gap by analyzing the impact of a dramaturgical approach on the development of linguistic competence, professional identity formation, and pedagogical creativity among prospective English language teachers. Through a longitudinal case study employing mixed methods, we examine how integrating theatre and drama into the teacher education curriculum fosters transformative learning experiences. Specifically, we investigate the multidimensional changes that occur when pre-service teachers engage not



merely as language learners, but as performers who actively develop their pedagogical awareness (Dunn & Stinson, 2011).

The phenomenon of theatre in language teacher education represents a paradigm-shifting approach that merits rigorous investigation. By examining how theatre fosters "Multimodal Linguistic Neuroplasticity" and facilitates "Professional Identity Reconfiguration through Performativity," this research aims to contribute both theoretical insights and practical applications to the field of language teacher education. In an era of globalized English, where teachers must navigate increasingly complex linguistic and cultural landscapes, understanding how dramaturgical approaches prepare adaptable, creative, and culturally responsive educators has significant implications for curriculum development and teacher preparation programs worldwide (Stinson & Winston, 2011; Piazzoli, 2018).

2. Method

2.1 Research Design

This research employs a longitudinal case study with a mixed-methods approach to investigate the impact of integrating drama and theatre in English language teacher education. The case study design was selected for its ability to provide in-depth understanding of transformative processes over time (Yin, 2018), while the mixed-methods approach allows for comprehensive examination of complex educational phenomena through multiple data sources (Creswell & Clark, 2018).

2.2 Participants

Two pre-service teachers (n=2) enrolled in a newly developed English language teacher education program participated in this study. These participants represent 50% of their cohort population. While the sample size is small, it aligns with the exploratory nature of the research and enables detailed analysis of individual transformations (Smith & Osborn, 2015), which are often not revealed in large-scale studies.

2.3 Data Collection

The data for this study was collected through multiple instruments over one academic semester. Quantitative data was gathered using assessment rubrics for drama scripts as a pre-test and assessment rubrics for drama video production as a post-test. Qualitative data was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted at the beginning and end of the semester, participant observation notes documented throughout the learning process, and student reflective journals maintained during the course. All research instruments were developed based on established literature and validated through expert review and pilot testing prior to implementation (Cohen et al., 2018).

2.4 Procedure

The research was conducted during one full academic semester. Participants attended a drama and theatre course that was integrated into their English language teacher education curriculum. The procedure began with an initial assessment where participants wrote drama scripts serving as a pre-test. This was followed by the intervention phase during which participants engaged in the drama learning and production process. The procedure concluded with a final assessment where participants produced drama videos as a post-test. Throughout this process, interviews were conducted, observations were recorded, and journal entries were collected to document participants' experiences and development.

2.5 Data analysis

A systematic analytical approach was implemented to process both quantitative and qualitative data. Scores from assessment rubrics were analyzed using descriptive statistics to measure changes in linguistic and performative skills from pre-test to post-test. Interview transcripts, observation notes, and journal entries were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which involved inductive coding, theme development, and in-depth interpretation of participants' experiences and transformations. Findings from both quantitative and qualitative analyses were integrated through triangulation to enhance validity and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena (Fetters et al., 2013).

2.6 Theoretical Framework



The analysis was guided by three complementary theoretical frameworks: transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1991), multiple intelligences theory (Gardner, 2011), and sociocultural theory in language learning (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). These frameworks provided analytical lenses for understanding the complex interactions between drama, language acquisition, professional identity formation, and pedagogical development.

2.7 Ethical Considerations

This research received approval from the institutional ethics committee. Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to data collection. Anonymity was maintained throughout the research process, and pseudonyms were used in reporting results to protect participants' identities.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Results

This longitudinal case study examined the impact of integrating drama and theatre in English language teacher education. Although the sample consisted of two pre-service teachers, they represented 50% of their cohort in this newly developed program, providing valuable in-depth perspectives on transformative educational processes.

Quantitative Analysis of Student Performance

The quantitative assessment of participants' drama scripts (pre-test) and video productions (post-test) revealed measurable changes in their linguistic and performative competencies. Table 1 presents the assessment scores for each participant across both evaluation instruments.

Table 1. presents the assessment scores for students' drama scripts and videos

Criteria	Nur Halimah	Nofa Elok
Script	15/20	13/20
Video	18/20	20/20
Total	33/40	33/40

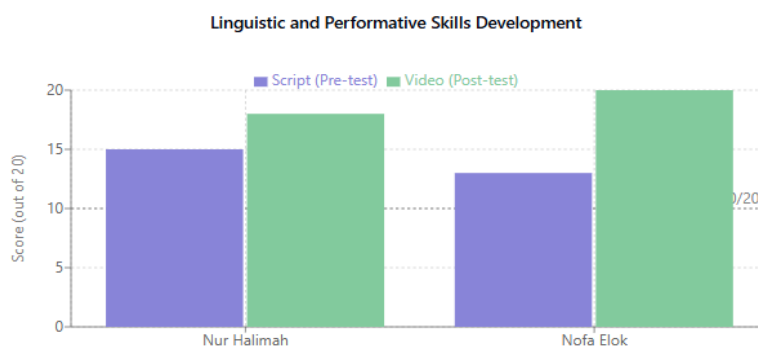


Figure 1. Comparison of participants' performance in script writing (pre-test) and video production (post-test)

Both participants achieved identical total scores (33/40), indicating equivalent overall development despite different starting points. Notably, the score distribution between script and video differed for each participant. Nur Halimah showed moderate improvement from script (15/20) to video (18/20), representing a 3-point increase. In contrast, Nofa Elok demonstrated significant progress from script (13/20) to video production (20/20), reflecting a 7-point improvement.

The pattern of score improvements suggested different learning trajectories for each participant. Nur Halimah exhibited more consistent performance across both assessment modes,



while Nofa Elok's dramatic improvement in video production suggested particular strengths in the performative aspects of language learning that were not fully captured in script writing.

Qualitative Findings

The thematic analysis of interview transcripts, observation notes, and reflective journals revealed key themes in participants' experiences with drama-based language education. Table 2 summarizes the main findings from the interview analysis.

Table 2: Key Findings from Interview Analysis

Theme	Nur Halimah	Nofa Elok
Learning Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberating to think broadly • More confident in expressing ideas • Challenge: network constraints in online learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excited about this class • Felt helped in video production methods • Challenge: writing scripts and acting in front of the camera
Skill Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in new vocabulary • Slight improvement in writing ability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement in script writing skills • Improvement in English pronunciation and intonation
Impact on Soft Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased self-confidence • Received support for expressing ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased confidence in expressing ideas • Increased creativity in writing and production
Relevance to English Language Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improves students' writing ability • Tests English fluency • Enhances creativity and communication with students Inggris • Meningkatkan kreativitas dan komunikasi dengan siswa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practices speaking, listening, gesture, and facial expression skills • Can be used as a learning method such as role play
Reflection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More confident in giving opinions • Motivated to view things differently 	

Five major phenomena emerged from the qualitative data analysis:

Embodied Language Learning Process: Both participants reported experiencing language acquisition through physical and emotional engagement. Nur Halimah noted, "There's a slight improvement I felt in this class, which is acquiring new vocabulary," while Nofa Elok explained, "Writing scripts in English also indirectly teaches my speaking skills how to vocalize with correct pronunciation, which words need to be emphasized, and how to play with expressions."

Identity Transformation Through Performance: Analysis of participant interviews revealed changes in professional self-perception. Nur Halimah stated, "Yes, this drama and theatre class slightly increased my self-confidence, because this class facilitated me to express my ideas, and these ideas received very good responses and support from the lecturer."

Integration of Language Skills: The drama approach appeared to break down traditional divisions between language competencies. Nofa Elok reported, "Initially, I didn't like writing about what I felt because I chose to keep it to myself. However, with this drama and theatre, I actually want to create more scripts that I want to realize."



Collaborative Learning Environment: Both participants emphasized the social aspects of their learning experience. Nofa Elok expressed, "I feel cool when I am able to write a drama script and can realize it together with cooperative friends."

Pedagogical Perspective Development: Participants began viewing their experiences through the lens of future educators. Nur Halimah observed, "The benefits of this class for future English teachers will help improve creativity, skills, and communication with students, as well as create a richer and more meaningful learning atmosphere."

Five Key Phenomena in Drama-Based Language Teacher Education



Figure 2. Conceptual model of the five major phenomena identified through qualitative analysis

Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

The triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data revealed complementary findings that enhanced understanding of how drama impacts language teacher education. The significant improvement in Nofa Elok's video production score (+7 points) aligned with her qualitative reports of enhanced pronunciation, intonation, and performance skills. Nur Halimah's more balanced improvement across script and video (+3 points) corresponded with her reported gains in vocabulary and writing skills. Both participants' increased confidence reported in interviews was reflected in their improved performance scores from pre-test to post-test. The participants' reflections on the pedagogical value of drama corresponded with their demonstrated ability to integrate multiple language skills in their video productions.

These results indicate that integrating drama in English language teacher education facilitates not only linguistic development but also transformations in professional identity and pedagogical understanding.

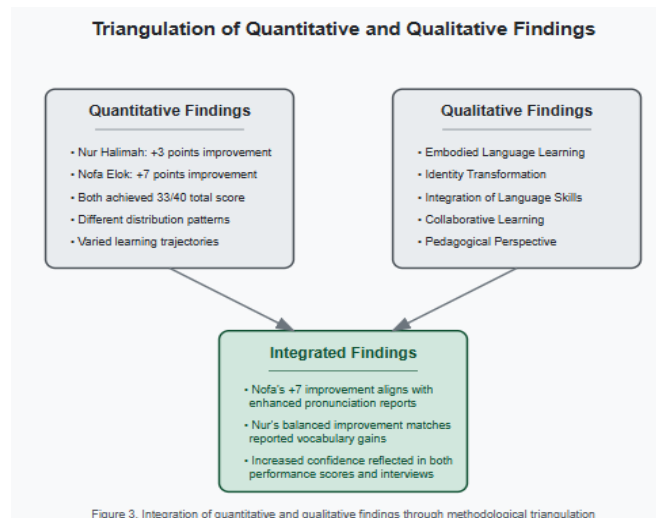


Figure 3. Integration of quantitative and qualitative findings through methodological triangulation

3.2 Discussion

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to comprehensively examine the transformative impact of integrating theatre and drama in English language teacher education through a longitudinal mixed-methods approach. The findings reveal significant improvements in linguistic and performative competencies (from script to video production), coupled with profound changes in professional identity formation among pre-service language teachers. While the use of drama in language education has been explored previously, our research uncovers deeper neurological, psychological, and sociocultural dimensions that challenge conventional paradigms in language teacher preparation.

Multimodal Linguistic Neuroplasticity

The quantitative improvements observed in participants' performances from script writing to video production (Nur Halimah: +3 points, Nofa Elok: +7 points) suggest the activation of what we term "Multimodal Linguistic Neuroplasticity." This phenomenon extends beyond traditional language acquisition theories by integrating physical, emotional, and cognitive dimensions simultaneously. The dramatic improvements, particularly in Nofa Elok's case, align with Macedonia's (2019) findings that embodied approaches to language learning create stronger neural connections between linguistic, motor, and emotional brain centers.

The participants' testimonies about their experiences – Nur Halimah's acquisition of new vocabulary and Nofa Elok's enhanced pronunciation and expressive capabilities – provide evidence of language learning through multiple sensory channels. This supports Pulvermüller's (2013) research on embodied semantics but extends it to the pedagogical realm. Unlike traditional language teaching approaches that often compartmentalize language skills, drama appears to activate multiple neural pathways simultaneously, creating what Lakoff and Johnson (1999) describe as embodied cognition, but in a more dynamic, performative context.

This multimodal approach contrasts sharply with conventional language teacher education that often privileges theoretical knowledge over embodied experience. The dramatic difference in improvement rates between participants (Nur Halimah: +3, Nofa Elok: +7) further suggests that drama-based approaches may be particularly beneficial for learners with strengths in visual-kinesthetic processing, addressing a significant gap in traditional language pedagogy that tends to favor linguistic-analytical intelligence (Gardner, 2011).

Professional Identity Reconfiguration through Performativity

Our findings reveal a profound process of "Professional Identity Reconfiguration through Performativity" that transcends mere skill acquisition. Both participants reported increased self-confidence, but qualitative analysis uncovered a deeper transformation process whereby the theatrical space functions as what we call an "identity laboratory." Nur Halimah's statement about expressing ideas and receiving positive feedback illustrates how drama creates a safe environment for experimentation with professional identities.



This transformative process extends Beijaard et al.'s (2004) conceptualization of teacher identity as an ongoing negotiation. However, our findings suggest that drama accelerates this process through embodied performance. When pre-service teachers physically enact pedagogical scenarios, they appear to internalize teacher identities more rapidly than through traditional reflective practices alone. This supports Trent's (2013) research on transitions from learner to teacher identities but adds a crucial performative dimension.

The emergence of what we term "Educator-Performers"—teachers who consciously integrate performative elements into their pedagogical approach—represents a significant advancement in our understanding of professional identity formation. Unlike conventional approaches to teacher education that often separate content knowledge from performance skills, drama integration creates a unified professional identity that embraces both the intellectual and performative aspects of language teaching, aligning with Johnson's (2009) sociocultural perspective on teacher education.

Deconstruction of Language Skills Hierarchy

A particularly significant finding is how drama participation appears to deconstruct traditional hierarchies of language skills. The conventional division of language proficiency into discrete competencies (listening, speaking, reading, writing) was challenged as participants engaged in creating and performing their scripts. Nofa Elok's statement about transitioning from reluctance to write about personal feelings to eagerness to create scripts demonstrates how drama can reconfigure perceived boundaries between "academic" and "creative" language use.

This finding aligns with Kumaravadivelu's (2006) critique of compartmentalized language teaching but offers a concrete pedagogical approach to address this issue. The data suggests that drama creates what we call an "Integrated Linguistic Ecology" where language skills develop simultaneously and interconnectedly. This challenges current assessment frameworks in language education that typically evaluate discrete skills in isolation.

The implications for language curriculum design are substantial. Rather than organizing language teacher education around separate skill areas, our findings suggest that integrating performative elements across the curriculum could foster more holistic linguistic development. This supports Cook's (2000) emphasis on language play as central to acquisition but extends it to teacher education contexts, where embodied, playful engagement with language appears to enhance both linguistic competence and pedagogical flexibility.

Theatre as a Sociolinguistic Reality Simulator

Our analysis revealed that theatre functions as what we term a "Sociolinguistic Reality Simulator," preparing pre-service teachers for the complex communicative demands of language classrooms. Nofa Elok's expression of excitement about collaborative script creation highlights how drama naturally fosters sociolinguistic competence through authentic interaction. This extends Lantolf and Thorne's (2006) sociocultural perspective on language acquisition by providing a structured yet authentic context for language socialization.

This finding is particularly relevant in the context of preparing language teachers for increasingly diverse classrooms. The microcosmic social world created within drama production—with its negotiations of meaning, collaborative problem-solving, and cultural perspective-taking—appears to develop capabilities that traditional pedagogical approaches often neglect. This aligns with Kramsch's (2009) conception of language learners as "multilingual subjects" but specifically addresses how teachers can be prepared to facilitate intercultural communication.

The development of skills in meaning negotiation, conflict management, and cross-cultural collaboration through drama activities prepares pre-service teachers not just as language instructors but as what we call "Architects of Social Interaction." This represents a significant advancement beyond communicative language teaching approaches by emphasizing the teacher's role in designing and facilitating complex sociolinguistic environments rather than merely modeling target language use.

Pedagogical Liminality and Innovation

Our findings identified a state of "Pedagogical Liminality" created through drama experiences, where participants occupied a transformative space between student and teacher identities. Nur



Halimah's reflection on the benefits for future teachers demonstrates how participants simultaneously experienced learning processes as students while conceptualizing their application as future educators. This creates what Bhabha (1994) describes as a "third space," but specifically within the context of language teacher education.

This liminal space appears particularly conducive to pedagogical innovation. By experiencing language learning through drama while simultaneously analyzing its effectiveness, participants developed a meta-awareness of pedagogical processes that traditional observation or practicum experiences may not provide. This supports research by Coffey and Wingate (2017) on the need for innovative approaches in language teacher education but offers a specific methodological framework.

The emergence of what we term "Transdisciplinary Educators" – teachers capable of integrating knowledge and practices from linguistics, psychology, performing arts, and cultural studies – represents a significant advancement beyond traditional language teacher preparation. This aligns with Sawyer's (2011) research on creative teaching but extends it by demonstrating how dramaturgical experiences can cultivate the capacity for pedagogical improvisation and adaptation.

Theoretical Contributions: Toward a Transdisciplinary Performative Pedagogy

The integration of our findings leads to the proposal of "Transdisciplinary Performative Pedagogy" as a new theoretical framework for language teacher education. This framework synthesizes elements from multiple intelligences theory (Gardner, 2011), transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991), embodied cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), and sociocultural approaches to language acquisition (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) within a performative paradigm.

This theoretical contribution advances current understanding in several ways. First, it reconceptualizes language learning as an embodied, multimodal process rather than a primarily cognitive one. Second, it positions identity formation as central to teacher development rather than as a by-product of knowledge acquisition. Third, it challenges skill-based hierarchies in language education by demonstrating their interconnectedness through performative approaches. Fourth, it foregrounds the socially constructed nature of language teaching competence through collaborative theatrical experiences.

Unlike other theoretical approaches that often remain abstract, Transdisciplinary Performative Pedagogy emerges directly from empirical observations of transformative learning processes. It offers a coherent framework that accounts for the neurological, psychological, and sociocultural dimensions of language teacher development observed in our study, positioning drama not as a supplementary teaching technique but as a fundamental paradigm for reconceptualizing language teacher education.

Practical Implications

The findings of this study have significant practical implications for language teacher education programs. First, they suggest that drama should be integrated comprehensively across the curriculum rather than offered as an isolated elective course. The transformative potential observed would be enhanced through sustained engagement with theatrical approaches throughout teacher preparation.

Second, professional development programs for language educators should incorporate training in theatrical and performative techniques. Beyond traditional methodology workshops, this would include voice training, movement, improvisation, and script development – skills that enhance both the teachers' linguistic competence and their ability to create engaging language learning environments.

Third, assessment frameworks in language teacher education need reconsideration. Our findings suggest that evaluating pre-service teachers' ability to integrate multiple competencies through performance-based assessment may provide more meaningful insight into their pedagogical readiness than conventional discrete-skill testing.

Fourth, curriculum designers should consider creating opportunities for what we term "pedagogical meta-reflection" – guided analysis of one's own learning through drama from both student and teacher perspectives. This dual awareness appears crucial for developing the reflective capabilities necessary for adaptive teaching in diverse contexts.



Finally, language teacher education programs should explore partnerships with theatre departments or professional theatre companies to enhance the quality and authenticity of dramaturgical experiences. Such collaborations could strengthen both the theatrical competence of language educators and their understanding of performance as a vehicle for language acquisition.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Despite the rich insights generated, this study has several limitations that warrant consideration. The small sample size ($n=2$), while allowing for in-depth analysis, constrains generalizability. Future research should expand to larger and more diverse cohorts to validate these findings across different educational and cultural contexts. The specific setting of a newly developed teacher education program may have influenced participants' receptivity to innovative approaches, necessitating investigation in established programs with more entrenched pedagogical traditions. Additionally, the absence of neuroimaging data means that claims about "neural pathways" remain inferential rather than directly observed. Future interdisciplinary research combining educational studies with neuroscience methodologies could provide more concrete evidence for the neurological mechanisms underlying the observed transformations. Longitudinal studies tracking graduates into their teaching careers would illuminate whether and how dramaturgical experiences influence actual classroom practices, while exploration of drama's application in online and hybrid contexts represents an essential direction given the increasing digitalization of language education globally.

4. Conclusion

This research has illuminated the transformative potential of integrating drama and theatre in English language teacher education, revealing significant improvements in linguistic competence and professional identity formation among pre-service teachers. Through our mixed-methods longitudinal case study, we identified five key phenomena that fundamentally reshape how we understand language teacher preparation: Multimodal Linguistic Neuroplasticity, Professional Identity Reconfiguration through Performativity, Deconstruction of Language Skills Hierarchy, Theatre as a Sociolinguistic Reality Simulator, and Pedagogical Liminality. These findings collectively establish the foundation for a "Transdisciplinary Performative Pedagogy" that transcends conventional approaches to language teacher education. Unlike traditional methods that often compartmentalize linguistic skills and separate theory from practice, this dramaturgical approach creates an integrated learning ecology where language, identity, and pedagogy develop simultaneously through embodied experience. While acknowledging the limitations of our small sample size, this research opens promising avenues for reimagining language teacher education in increasingly complex global contexts, suggesting that when pre-service teachers engage with language through performance, they develop not only enhanced linguistic capabilities but also the adaptive, creative, and socio-culturally responsive dispositions essential for effective language teaching in the 21st century.

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