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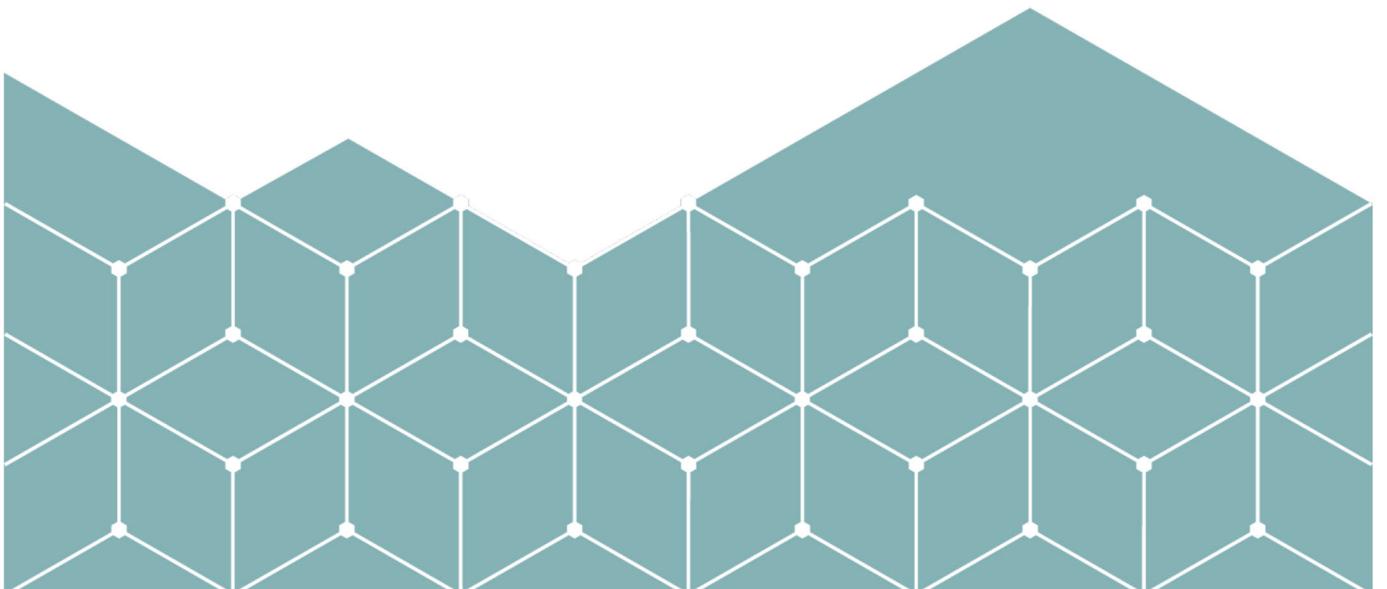
ESL Teachers' Translingual Attitudes and Practices in Swedish Upper Secondary School

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Abstract

The aim of this master thesis was to investigate how ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary school perceive translanguaging and whether they engage in translingual practices, and if so, for what purposes. Four qualitative interviews were conducted, and the findings show that Swedish ESL teachers translanguage by implementing both Swedish (L1) and English (L2). English is, however, the point of departure and target language, where Swedish is only implemented if it supports English teaching and learning. The findings also suggest that ESL teachers make a distinction between subject matter and classroom procedures where English is used in the former and Swedish or English is employed in the latter. When it comes to how ESL teachers perceive translanguaging, they demonstrate positive attitudes when Swedish is used in learning situations to promote English learning, but they are less positive when Swedish is used instead of English in examinations. This indicates that ESL students learn when it is appropriate to use different resources in their linguistic repertoire. The initial hypothesis that monoglossic ideologies cause ESL teachers to implement an 'English-Only-Policy' seems to be falsified. These ESL teachers argue that their students tend not to speak English outside of the ESL classroom, which results in these teachers wanting to present their students with ample opportunities to practise speaking English, hence the 'English-Only-Approach'. Questions still remain, however, concerning specific translingual methods ESL teachers could use when implementing ESL students' L1 to promote their English learning and what effects such methods would have.

KEY WORDS: Applied Linguistics; English as a Second Language (ESL); English Language Teaching (ELT); Language Attitudes; Language Ideology; Language Pedagogy; Multilingualism; Policy-Making; Second Language Acquisition (SLA); Translanguaging; Translingual practices.

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1. Introduction

Undervisningen ska i allt väsentligt bedrivas på engelska [Teaching should as far as possible be conducted in English]. – Syllabus for the English subject in Swedish upper secondary school (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022, n.p.)

The Swedish national curriculum for upper secondary school contains a specific syllabus for each subject. Each syllabus states the overarching aims of each subject. The syllabus citation above is an example of a directive for the English subject, i.e., that English should be used as much as possible. It is, however, unclear what is meant by 'as far as possible'. It is safe to assume that English is the target language in the teaching of English as a second language (ESL), but should that entail that additional languages besides English should be excluded from the ESL classroom even though they could benefit English language teaching and learning? This thesis surmises that ESL teachers tend to interpret the quoted directive as an 'English-Only-Policy', even though there is ample evidence supporting the idea that students' first language could be used as a resource in language teaching and learning (Carroll & Sambolín Morales, 2016; Lin, 2015; Shin et al., 2020; Turnbull et al., 2009; Ull & Agost, 2020). A linguistic theory that has begun to criticise the monoglossic ideology that tends not seldom to influence educational policy-making, steering documents, and language instruction, is translanguaging, and this thesis' focus is thus on ESL teachers' attitudes towards and usage of translanguaging.

1.1 Background

There is a growing global body of literature that recognises the importance of translanguaging both as a linguistic theory and as a practice in language instruction (Bonnin & Unamuno, 2021; Brooks, 2022; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Chen, Li, & Zhu, 2021; García & Kleifgen, 2020; Jonsson, 2013; Karlsson, Nygård Larsson, & Jakobsson, 2019; Lauwo, 2021; Li, 2018a; Li, 2022; MacSwan, 2017; Nikula & Moore, 2019; Otheguy, García, & Reidm 2015; Pacheco & Miller, 2015; Pennycook, 2017; Rosiers, Van Lancker, & Delarue, 2018; Sah & Li, 2022).

Translanguaging was first introduced in the 1980s by the Welsh educationalist Cen Williams as a model of language instruction. He argued that language should be seen as a dynamic process rather than a static system (Conteh, 2018). Since then, translanguaging has been reconceptualised to include a theoretical as well as a practical dimension.

The primary reason for the recently developed interest in translanguaging is increasing and emergent bilinguals, or more precisely, the assumption that everyone is by default genetically endowed with the capacity for multilingualism (De Angelis, 2007). Everyone is, moreover, in some regard bilingual, even though one remains monolingual, since communication and language are multilingual (Li, 2018b). The perspective on language and its use has, however, been dominated by monoglossic ideologies for centuries (Li, 2018b), meaning that the proposed paradigm shift that argues for a shift away from a bilingual perspective to a translingual perspective is not without criticism (for criticism of translanguaging, see MacSwan, 2020; O'Connor et al., 2022). There is, therefore, a need for further investigation into translanguaging as a linguistic theory as well as a pedagogical practice.

Being a linguistic theory, translanguaging presents a new perspective on the nature of language. In the bilingual perspective, such as proposed by Chomsky (1980; 1986; 1989), the nature of language is seen as an internal system, an I–language, close to a computational procedure that is different from the externalised language, the E-language, which is not bound to any mode of expression. Chomsky even argues that human language is not designed for communication. He states that human language is primarily designed for thinking where communication is but a secondary function. In the translingual perspective, as formulated by Conteh (2018), language is instead perceived as a dynamic process rather than a static entity, or (computational) system, where language users possess a linguistic repertoire. Language users are then in turn able to make use of their linguistic repertoire to achieve their communicative goals. Put differently, postulating that the translingual perspective is valid, then communication is not a mere secondary function but the primary design of language.

The translingual perspective on the nature of human language has, as stated by Conteh (2018), implications for language instruction. For as García and Lin (2017) as well as Wei (2018b) point out, translanguaging functions as a critique of and an alternative to code-switching. While translanguaging argues for a heteroglossic ideology, code-switching advocates a monoglossic ideology and is therefore central to the bilingual perspective. This is the case because code-switching is dependent on the idea that language users alternate between different language systems when they use different languages. Translanguaging

claims, on the other hand, that named languages, such as English, Bantu, and Cantonese, are social constructs based on nationalism, i.e., the idea that one nation has one language. The bilingual view on language has over time resulted in a monoglossic ideology (Li, 2018b).

As previously mentioned, all language users are multilingual (De Angelis, 2007; García & Lin, 2017). This has implications for language instruction because the bilingual perspective has, as pointed out by Jonsson (2013), influenced and still impacts policymakers, steering documents, and language instruction. This means that teachers are not encouraged, in theory, by the steering documents to use translanguaging. This is evident in the Swedish curriculum for upper secondary school, which stipulates in the syllabus for the English subject that ESL instruction should as far as possible be conducted in English (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022, n.p.). This directive is clearly underpinned by a bilingual perspective which advocates a monoglossic ideology since one language is favoured over and used at the expense of another. The directive is, moreover, only valid for as long as languages are conceptualised as separate entities. It is, however, essential to emphasise that English should be the target language in ESL classrooms, but this should not entail that additional languages besides English should be prevented from being used to facilitate students' English learning. It has, for example, been shown by Canagarajah (2011a) that corrective feedback in students' L1 instead of the target language facilitates their ability to use and incorporate teacher responses. It is, therefore, possible to interpret the directive as if the aim of English language teaching (ELT) is to develop students' ability to use English, but additional languages other than English could be used in the ESL classroom to create more favourable opportunities for language teaching and learning. This begs the question of how ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary schools read, interpret, and understand the directive and whether their language instruction is governed by a monoglossic or heteroglossic ideology. In this thesis, it is hypothesised that Swedish ESL upper secondary school teachers interpret the directive as an "English-Only-Policy" for the ESL classroom.

Moreover, by accepting the postulate that all humans are by default multilingual, it would entail that ESL learners make use of spontaneous translanguaging when, for instance, not finding the appropriate or corresponding word in English and instead choosing the Swedish equivalent. This is of interest because this language behaviour is, from a translingual point of view, described as a strategy, since the student simply makes use of their linguistic repertoire while it is seen as code-switching caused by a limited vocabulary from a bilingual perspective. This points to the need to investigate how ESL teachers react to and handle students that translanguage by making use of additional languages besides English. This

thesis will focus on how ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary school react to and handle students that use Swedish (whether it be their L1, L2, or L3) instead of English.

As previously noted, translanguaging research tends not seldom to be conducted in an Anglo-Saxon context. This study aims, therefore, to fill this research gap by investigating teachers' attitudes towards the use of translanguaging in the ESL classroom at Swedish upper secondary schools.

There exists already a small number of studies that have investigated translanguaging in a Swedish context (e.g., Dávila & Bunar, 2020; Karpava et al., 2019; Jonsson, 2013; Rosén et al., 2021). None of these studies (with the exception of Jonsson (2013)) focuses on how Swedish upper secondary school teachers perceive the use of translanguaging in an educational setting. The studies focus on primary school students' translanguaging (Rosén et al., 2021), translanguaging used in a family setting (Karpara et al., 2019), and the use of translanguaging by a classroom assistant (Dávila & Bunar, 2020). None of these studies investigates, however, how Swedish ESL teachers perceive translanguaging, and for this reason, this thesis aims to make this its study objective.

1.2   Premise, Research Questions, and Aims

Building on the background setting outlined in the previous section and a project outline and literature review submitted as part of an obligatory master course in "Methods and Project" at the University of Gothenburg (Norgren-Bergström, 2022), the aim of this master thesis is to examine the way in which ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary school perceive translanguaging. The thesis investigates also whether ESL teachers participate in translingual practices, and if so, to what extent and for what purposes. The thesis does not engage, however, with different ways in which translanguaging could be implemented in the ESL classroom, meaning that the thesis does not set out to elicit different translingual teaching methods and their effects on English learning.

The thesis relies on the premise that all humans are, by default, multilingual, meaning that it is a natural linguistic behaviour to make use of all linguistic means to create and share meaning. This means that teachers as well as students engage in translingual practices to promote language learning. It is, however, hypothesised that a history of dominating monoglossic ideologies prevents both students and teachers from translanguaging. Despite the hypothesis, the premise is the basis for the following overarching research questions:

RQ1:   How is translanguaging perceived by ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary schools?

RQ2:   To what extent and for what reasons is translanguaging used in the ESL classroom?

1.3   Thesis Outline

The thesis is composed of six chapters, including the introduction. The second chapter begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the study. The third chapter is concerned with the methodology of this thesis. The fourth chapter presents and discusses the findings of the thesis. The fifth and final chapter will draw conclusions, reflect upon the findings, and suggest further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical framework of the study will be presented. In section 2.1, translanguaging will be operationalised. In section 2.2, previous studies on how ESL teachers perceive translanguaging will be presented. In section 2.3, the theoretical framework will be summarised.

2.1   Translanguaging and Its Conceptualisation

Multilingual students' language use and multilingual pedagogies are well-established (Kafle, 2020; see also e.g., Fraiberg, 2010; Horner, NeCamp, & Donahue, 2011; Jordan, 2015; Meier, 2017), but the terminology is unclear as to how multilingual students' usage of language and polylingual pedagogies ought to be best described. Here are but a few examples: code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2006; Young & Martínez, 2011), transliteracy (You, 2016), translingual writing (Horner, Lu, Royster & Trimbur, 2011), code-mixing (Hutchinson & Morris, 2020), biliteracy (Hibbert & van der Walt, 2014; Mazak & Carroll, 2017), translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2011b; García, 2011; García & Kano, 2014), multilingualizing pedagogies (Severino, 2017), and translingual literacy (Canagarajah, 2013). In this thesis, translanguaging and translingual practices will be used synonymously to describe the language practices of multilinguals (García, 2011) where all language users are understood to be multilingual by default (De Angelis, 2007). More specifically, they refer to situations

where ESL teachers make use of additional languages besides English, such as students' L1, in the ESL classroom to promote English learning.

Being a linguistic theory (in the making), translanguaging presents a new perspective on the nature and use of language. Conteh (2018) states, for example, that to take a *translanguaging stance* means to conceptualise language as a dynamic process rather than a static entity where language users draw linguistic and semiotic resources from a linguistic repertoire rather than alternating between different linguistic systems to achieve their communicative goals. The alternation between various language systems is called code-switching, which is central to the bilingual perspective on language (Chomsky, 1980;1986). Even though translanguaging and code-switching may seem to refer to the same linguistic procedure, they differ, as pointed out by García, concerning the following four aspects:

1. Translanguaging challenges monolingual assumptions that permeate current language education policy and treat bilingual discourse as the norm.
2. Translanguaging refers to pedagogical practices that use bilingualism as a resource, rather than ignore it or perceive it as a problem.
3. Translanguaging goes beyond traditional notions of bilingualism and second language teaching and learning.
4. Translanguaging describes the practices of all students and educators who use bilingualism as a resource (García, 2011, p.1).

From García's description of translanguaging, it is clear that translanguaging is different from code-switching because the latter aligns with the notion of languages constituting different entities, or language systems. This, i.e., to view languages as separate linguistic systems, is known as the bilingual perspective. Research and language teaching theoretically underpinned by the bilingual perspective divide, for instance, a speaker's languages into a first language (L1), second language (L2), and foreign language (FL) based on how, when, and where a language was first developed (Cook, 2016; Mitchell et al., 2004; VanPatten & Williams, 2015). The translingual perspective claims that such language hierarchies are social constructs (Wei, 2018b).

Since most language research has been based on the bilingual perspective for the last 70 years (De Houwer & Ortega, 2018), it is challenging to describe the nature, usage, and development of language without using concepts and categories, such as first and second language, language learning, language acquisition, and code-switching, which are entextualisations advocating a bilingual perspective. This points to the need for the

development and operationalisation of new concepts and categories to describe language as well as new methods to study language from a translingual perspective. Since such concepts and categories are yet to be presented, the current study will employ current bilingual terminology when necessary and use translingual terminology when possible.

2.2   Previous Studies on Attitudes Towards Translanguaging

Numerous scholars have conducted research on attitudes towards translanguaging (e.g., Abraham, 2021; Ascenzi-Moreno & Espinosa, 2018; Bussert et al., 2018; Canagarajah, 2011; Jonsson, 2013; Machando & Gonzales, 2020). The majority of these studies focuses on an Anglo-Saxon educational context in general, and an American setting in particular, where the students are supposed to translanguage using English and Spanish. Bussert-Webb et al. (2018) investigated, for example, 19 Latinx students' attitudes towards using translanguaging in the classroom where the students demonstrated negative attitudes toward a translingual practice. Bussert-Webb et al. also interviewed two teachers and 15 teacher trainees who, contrary to the students, showed positive attitudes towards translanguaging. The fact that teachers tend not seldom to favour translanguaging was also found by Ascenzi-Moreno and Espinosa (2018) as well as Machando and Gonzales (2020). While the former study investigated two teachers, the latter study explored 32 teachers' views on translanguaging where all participants expressed positive attitudes towards the use of translanguaging. It has to be added, however, that none of these studies set out to investigate attitudes towards translanguaging practices initially, but their findings touch upon and address attitudes towards the usage of translanguaging.

In contrast to Bussert-Webb et al.'s (2018) study, Canagarajah (2011a), Jonsson (2013), and Abraham (2021) found that students perceive translanguaging positively. One reason for this divergence could be the fact that only Abraham (2021) conducted her study in an American context. While Canagarajah (2011a) studied how a Saudi Arabian graduate student perceived translanguaging feedback, Jonsson (2013) investigated six Swedish upper-secondary school students' usage of and views on translanguaging, indicating that the social context affects the participants' use of and attitudes towards translanguaging.

Two additional studies worth mentioning that investigated attitudes towards translanguaging in an Anglo-Saxon educational context are Holdway and Hitchcock (2018) and Kafle (2020). In their study, Holdway and Hitchcock (2018) conducted an action research case study in which 114 pre- and in-service teachers partook by reading and discussing literature aiming to promote ideological becoming. Ideological becoming means developing

awareness of one's (language) ideology and how it affects the teaching practice. Their findings showed that the majority of the participants demonstrated initially scepticism towards making use of their students' L1 as a teaching strategy. This indicates the participants' monoglossic ideology, but their attitudes became more positive as a result of the mandatory reading provided in the case study. Of particular interest is one of the participants who gave time constraints and the necessity to prepare the students for high-stakes examinations as two main reasons why she was resistant to using translanguaging. This aligns with Bussert-Webb et al. (2018) who report that students restrain themselves from using their L1 in class because it can have a negative impact on high-stakes examinations which tend to be monoglossic in its design. This suggests that current examination procedures, and by extension educational systems and policymaking, prevent both teachers and students from translanguaging.

Instead of studying teachers as Holdway and Hitchcock (2018), Kafle (2020) decided to investigate 37 students' views on translanguaging, or language mixing as Kafle puts it, making use of a teacher-research-based qualitative study. Kafle applied an emic point of view where the students' attitudes were seen as more important than those of teachers, drawing on studies (e.g., Barcelos & Kalaja, 2011) that emphasise that learners' beliefs play a crucial role in their learning. Kafle's findings indicate that multilingual students tend to avoid translanguaging in academic writing because the use of their L1 (if it deviates from the target language) risks resulting in a lower grade and would contradict the purpose of academic communication. This finding agrees both with Bussert-Webb et al. (2018) and Holiday and Hitchcock (2018). Both studies note that students' fear of receiving a lower grade at high-stakes examinations due to their translanguaging seems to prevent them from using their full linguistic repertoire. This suggests that the relationship, or rather distinction, between the use of translanguaging during learning and examination ought to be investigated, mapped, and clarified. These studies seem also to indicate that the main focus on high-stakes examinations and grades in contemporary educational systems built upon a monoglossic ideology prevents both teachers and students from translingual practices.

There exist studies that investigate attitudes towards the use of translanguaging outside the Anglo-Saxon world, such as al-Bataineh and Gallagher (2021), Almayez (2022), and Fang and Liu (2020). In their study, al-Bataineh and Gallagher (2021) used an ethnographic study to elicit future ESL teachers' attitudes towards the use of translanguaging in teaching material for young bilingual students that mix Arabic and English as a way to identify factors underpinning the attitudes. The results show that the teachers' attitudes were governed by a

monoglossic ideology favouring the target language in cases where the language use may be perceived as 'impure.' The results also show that the participants did not distinguish between translanguaging, bilingualism, and biliteracy, resulting in them viewing languages as separate entities where the mixing of languages is seen as impure or poor language use. Put differently, the participants expressed negative attitudes towards implementing translingual practices into their ESL classrooms since it may interfere with students' language development where it was hinted at a discrepancy between the teachers' theoretical standpoints and actual classroom practices. This discrepancy has been more explicitly studied by Almayez (2021). Almayez conducted a survey study of 106 mono-, bi- and multilingual English language teachers at a Saudi-Arabian university which showed a discrepancy between the participants' idea of translingual practices and their self-reported pedagogical practices. The findings note that the participants held positive attitudes towards the use of translanguaging, but these attitudes seldom appeared in their actual teaching practices due to various constraints, such as traditional views on language teaching and learning, institutional policy documents favouring an 'English-Only-Mentality' or 'English-Only-Approach,' and the use of high-stakes examinations that only allow English. This begs the question of how stakeholders perceive the use of translanguaging, which was the study objective of Fang and Liu (2020). In their study, Fang and Liu used a mixed-methods approach in the form of classroom observations, semi-structured interviews, and a survey to elicit stakeholders' perspectives on using translanguaging at a Chinese university. The findings show that the students expressed a neutral-to-positive attitude towards translingual practices. The teachers demonstrated, however, slightly different attitudes. On the one hand, the teachers acknowledged the effectiveness of translanguaging for content learning or language development with low-proficient students, but on the other hand, as in al-Bataineh and Gallagher (2021) and Almayez (2021), they expressed resistance to implementing translingual practices. Fang and Liu report that the resistance was mainly caused by language policy and monoglossic ideology. They also note an additional reason for not using or allowing translingual practices which was the fear that an overuse of the students' L1 at the expense of the target language would result in a decrease in language development.

2.3 Summary of Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, all language users are understood as multilingual, meaning that everyone has the capacity to become multilingual. Translanguaging and translingual practices are used synonymously to refer to the language habits of multilingual language users in general, and ESL teachers' usage of additional languages besides English in the ESL classroom. Previous studies on the use of and attitudes towards translanguaging show that ESL teachers have, in general, positive attitudes towards the use of languages besides English in the ESL classroom. There exists, however, a reluctance to the actual use of languages besides English caused by monoglossic ideologies, policy documents, traditional views on language use, teaching, and learning and the design of high-stakes examinations.

3. Method and Materials

To investigate how ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary schools perceive translanguaging and whether they engage in translingual practices, and if so, to what degree and for what purposes, a series of qualitative interviews was conducted with ESL teachers. It was decided to make inquiries about translanguaging in English 5 since it is the only English course mandatory for all students independent of the programme, meaning that all students must take and pass the course to graduate. This entails that ESL teachers will encounter students with varying degrees of English proficiency and motivation to learn English, suggesting that teachers will most probably instruct students that have obtained a high degree of fluency and proficiency in the target language as well as students who demonstrate great difficulty in expressing themselves in English. This thesis will, therefore, focus on how ESL teachers try to meet the demands of all students independently of their proficiency levels.

In the consecutive three sections, the research design will be outlined. In section 3.1, the participants and their demographics will be presented. In section 3.2, the materials will be explained. In section 3.3, the procedure will be described.

3.1 Participants

For this thesis, four ESL teachers were interviewed. The teachers come from three different upper secondary schools in Sweden with various cultural and social contexts. In the following section, the teachers will be presented. To guarantee their anonymity, the teachers are given

pseudonyms in the form of traditional British names. For an overview of the teachers' demographics, see Table 3.1 below.

Bill is male and has been working as a teacher for 16 years. He is currently only teaching English 5. The group consists of students who re-take the course, meaning that it contains students who have yet to pass the requirements set for the course. This entails that Bill engages with students who are reluctant to use English in the ESL classroom. Bill's linguistic repertoire contains Swedish (L1), English (L2), and limited French (L3).

William is male and has been teaching for 14 years. He is teaching English at all levels in upper secondary school, i.e., English 5, English 6, and English 7, at university preparatory programmes. This suggests that his students will be motivated to learn English since they will most probably need it to succeed at university. William's linguistic repertoire includes Swedish (L1), English (L2), and German (L3).

Hyacinth is female and has been an in-service teacher for 24 years. She is teaching both English 5 and English 6 at university preparatory programmes as well as vocational programmes, indicating that she will encounter students with varying degrees of language proficiency and motivation to learn English. Hyacinth's linguistic repertoire contains Swedish (L1) and English (L2).

Charles is male and has been instructing English for the last 20 years. He is currently teaching English 5 and English 6 at university preparatory programmes, suggesting that most of his students are probably motivated to learn English as a way to develop the necessary linguistic tools to succeed in university studies. Charles' linguistic repertoire includes Swedish (L1) and English (L2).

Table 3.1

Teacher Participant Demographics

Teacher:	Teaching Years:	L1:	L2:	L3:
Bill	16 years	Swedish	English	French
William	14 years	Swedish	English	German
Hyacinth	24 years	Swedish	English	–
Charles	20 years	Swedish	English	–

3.2 Materials

To elicit how ESL teachers view translanguaging and whether they partake in translingual practices, it was decided to conduct four qualitative interviews with in-service ESL teachers at Swedish upper secondary schools. For the set study objective, it was found appropriate to make use of an interview guide approach in which an interviewee is guided through a set of open-ended questions (McKay, 2010). An advantage of this approach is that the interviewees are presented with the same set of questions, which makes it possible to elicit similarities and differences in the answers (ibid.).

For an interview guide approach to work, it is essential that the questions are designed in a way that allows the interviewees to express themselves freely (Cohen et al., 2017). For this purpose, an interview guide with open-ended questions was constructed.

Before the interviews were carried out, the interview guide was piloted several times with the help of an in-service ESL teacher. This teacher was not subsequently involved in the actual study. After the pilot interviews, the interview guide was revised to include a 'warm-up-question' (i.e., question 1) that attempted to start up the conversation. The 'warm-up question" will not be discussed in section 4. The final interview guide is presented in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2

Interview Questions

Question 1	Why did you become an English teacher?
Question 2	When you teach English, what language do you use and why?
Question 3	What L1s occur in your ESL classroom?
Question 4	How do you react when students make use of additional languages besides English and why?
Question 5	What advantages and disadvantages do you see in using the students' L1 in the ESL classroom?
Question 6	Do you and your colleagues talk about how and for what reasons students' L1 could be used in your ESL classrooms?
Question 7	How do you interpret the following citation from the English syllabus: "Undervisningen ska i allt väsentligt bedrivas på engelska [The teaching should as far as possible be conducted in English] and how does it affect your language instruction?

Question 8	In what ways are students' grades affected by them using their L1?
Question 9	Do you have any additional comments or questions you would like to present?

None of these questions explicitly inquires how ESL teachers perceive translanguaging and whether they engage in translingual practices, and if so, to what degree. The questions are instead designed to allow ESL teachers to reflect upon their behaviour, reactions, and pedagogical choices in the ESL classroom where it is assumed that their answers will make it possible to elicit how they perceive and use translingual practices.

3.3 Procedure

The interviews were conducted over the course of two days in May 2023. Each interview took between 20 and 30 minutes. The interviews were recorded on an electronic device with the participants' agreement, and they were informed that the recordings would be deleted after they had been used. The interviewees were also guaranteed that only the researcher was to listen to the recordings as a way to make the participants more comfortable and prone to express themselves more freely. It was decided to digitally record the interviews instead of using pen and paper for note-taking to allow the interviewer to engage fully in the conversation. This is, as McKay (2010) points out, an advantage of digital recordings, since it allows the researcher to have a normal conversation with the participant without the risk of losing important bits of information since it is possible to listen to the recording afterwards. It creates also better conditions for a natural conversation, which could make the interviewee to engage more in the interview.

When conducting interviews, researchers must keep power relations in mind (McKay, 2010). As an attempt to level out the power relationship as well as a way to make the participants comfortable, they were given the opportunity to answer the interview questions using their full linguistic repertoire. This resulted in two teachers using their L1 (Swedish) and two teachers making use of their L2 (English). The interviewer decided to use the same language as the participants, which allowed the interviewees to feel that they could influence parts of the interview conditions.

When data is used from the Swedish interviews in section 4, the teachers' answers will be translated into English. Moreover, it was deemed appropriate to transcribe the interviews according to conventions for standard writing to clarify the content.

4. Results and Discussion

Six themes were identified in the interviews. The themes will be presented and discussed in the following sections: section 4.1 Languages Used in the ESL Classroom, section 4.1.1 Languages Used when Providing Feedback to ESL Students, section 4.2 Teachers' Reactions to L1 Usage in the ESL Classroom, section 4.3 Advantages of Using Students' L1 in the ESL Classroom, section 4.4 Disadvantages of Using Students' L1 in the ESL Classroom, section 4.5 Discussing How to Use Students' L1 in the ESL Classroom, and section 4.6 How to Interpret the Steering Documents.

4.1   Languages Used in the ESL Classroom

From the interviews, it is evident that English is the point of departure and target language for all four ESL teachers when instructing their ESL groups. Students' proficiency levels and the complexity of the subject matter seem to determine the degree to which English can be used. Bill states, for instance, that he usually makes use of English, but his students' proficiency levels affect the extent to which English is used. This means that Bill utilises Swedish (his students' L1) when the situation demands it as a resource to help his students to understand English better:

> When I teach, I usually talk English, since it is the language that the students are supposed to learn. When I use English, the students get the opportunity to learn new words and practise their listening comprehension. So, I always start with English and use it as much as possible as our 'working language', but I adapt my language use to the groups I instruct. For example, when I give a lecture in English, I must at times pause and then explain the lecture in the students' L1 which is mostly Swedish in my classes (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

From this, it is clear that Bill perceives his students' L1 as a resource for clarification as well as a scaffold to help his students to improve their understanding of spoken English. Bill also asserts that it works in reverse, meaning that students can use their L2 to improve their L1:

> It is important to let the students develop both their L1 and L2. In the past, I taught English to students whose L1 was not Swedish. With them, I had to teach both English and Swedish where we made glossaries of new words where we wrote both the Swedish and English words as well as the translation in their L1. Presently, I have students whose L1 is Swedish, but they have a limited Swedish vocabulary. So, when we translate unfamiliar English words into Swedish, I also have to provide them with the definition of the Swedish translation (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Bill additionally concedes that most of his English classes begin with English, but it is easy or more natural to switch to Swedish as the lessons progress since his students are more proficient and confident in their L1:

> In my experience, it is easy, as a teacher, to start the lesson in English but then change to Swedish as the lesson progresses. It becomes more natural for the students that way (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Bill stresses, however, the importance of using, practising, and interacting using English in the ESL classroom if students are to improve their ability to speak English:

> I really strive to make the students to use English in class when they interact with and each other. I really believe that it is important for students to practise their spoken English in class (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

When it comes to the atmosphere of his ESL classrooms, Bill even notes that he strives to create the experience of being in an English-speaking environment upon entering the classroom:

> When we enter the ESL classroom, I want my students to feel as if they walk into England where we are supposed to practise speaking English (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

As stated previously, Bill emphasises the need to practice using spoken English during the lessons because he argues that his students tend not to practice this skill outside of the ESL classroom. They read, write, and listen to English, but they seldom speak English, and for this reason, he encourages his students to interact as much as possible using English in class:

> In general, I find that students read English outside of class. They also listen to English outside the classroom, but they rarely speak English outside of class. For many students, the only opportunity to practise speaking English is in English class (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Bill also observes that many of his students feel uncomfortable when speaking English, and he finds it necessary to provide them with the opportunity to speak English:

> It is in English class where they practise speaking English, and many of my students tend to find interacting in English an unpleasant business because it is the skill that they practise the least. It is therefore essential to help them to find the courage to speak English spontaneously with each other even

when they are engaged with a specific task on their own. Speaking English must become natural (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

To phrase it differently, the students see it as unnatural to speak English which could be caused by little practice, low self-esteem, or low proficiency. Even though Bill maintains that English is the target language and should thus be used as much as possible, he stresses that English should never be used at the expense of students' understanding or prohibit them from accomplishing assignments:

> When I go to English class, I always expect that we are going to use English as much as possible, but the use of English must not prevent students from understanding what is expected of them, such as accomplishing a task. Here, I am always on the lookout for new ways of supporting my students. For example, I set the students the task of explaining unfamiliar words with other words as strategy to use in their communication. I also tell them that it must not be one hundred percent correct, but they must be able to make themselves understood in English (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Hyacinth presents similar beliefs and attitudes, as Bill, towards which languages to use in the ESL classroom and what atmosphere to create in her classroom. Hyacinth states, for instance, that she mostly makes use of English because she wants her students to be in an English-speaking environment. This could be compared to Bill's wish to make his students to feel as if they are in England upon entering his ESL classroom. The teacher continues by pointing out the fact that this pedagogical choice could be underpinned by her previous teaching experiences. She notes, for example, that when she began working as an ESL teacher, it was less common that students had access to an English-speaking environment where she had to provide them with the only opportunity to encounter and interact using English. This has, she elaborates, changed in the last three decades with the rapid development of technological and digital innovations, such as the Internet and social media. She maintains, however, that there still exist ESL students at Swedish upper secondary schools that are not exposed to and do not use English regularly on a daily basis outside of the ESL classroom. She wants, therefore, to provide these specific students with the chance to practise their ability to communicate via spoken English:

> Today, this reason may be of less importance, but when I began working as a teacher, few students had daily access to an English-speaking environment where I was their only exposure to English. This resulted in an approach of exposing my students to as much English as possible. Nowadays, I feel that most students, but far from every student, are in an English-speaking environment online via the

Internet, YouTube, Tik Tok, and what have you. But English has to be the target language, the point of departure, in the ESL classroom. As a benefit from me speaking English all the time, the students will also improve their listening comprehension (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

It is essential to point out that Hyacinth ends her statement by stating that her students will benefit from her using English since they will work on and improve their comprehension of spoken English. This aligns with Bill's statement above that his students also benefit from him speaking English since it will promote their English listening comprehension.

Hyacinth informs that she alternates between students' L1 (mainly Swedish) and L2 (English) for various purposes. When dealing with the subject matter, i.e., the English language, English literature, and cultural competence, English is used exclusively, but when providing administrative information, such as how a task is supposed to be performed or submitted, she employs at times Swedish to ensure that the information gets across:

When it comes to instructions, such as how, when, and where something is supposed to be done, then I can use Swedish. Administration and classroom management can be in Swedish. Just before the interview, for example, I helped a student to access an exam platform on her computer, and I do not see any reason to use English in situations that like (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Hyacinth remarks that she makes conscious decisions about when, where, and how to adapt her use of Swedish and English depending on the specific group that she instructs. She says, however, that she makes use of English exclusively in all situations and for all purposes during the first few weeks of instructing a new group independent of course, programme, group, and activity as a way of drilling the students into the idea that English is supposed to be used at upper secondary school. This could be a challenging transition from primary school to upper secondary school for students who are used to English classes mainly conducted in Swedish. This transition could also be difficult for ESL students with low proficiency, which begs the question how this pedagogical practice impacts students' attitude to the use of English in the ESL classroom. Both Bill and Hyacinth have identified, for instance, that their ESL students tend to be inexperienced when it comes to expressing themselves in English, and it is possible to conclude that an 'English-Only-Approach' might raise these students' affective filter and make them reluctant to communicate in English. This also shows that research attention must be devoted to translingual practices in Swedish primary school. Hyacinth evaluates, however, how her students respond to the 'English-Only-Approach' and thereafter may use Swedish, as Bill, for clarification. In contrast to Bill's way of using

Swedish for clarification in front of the whole group, Hyacinth only makes use of this clarification resource on student level. She stresses that she rarely uses Swedish as a resource in front of the whole class to explain something related to the subject matter:

> In the initial phase of instructing a new group, I use English *non-stop*. After a while, such as after a month, I evaluate how they respond to my English-Only-Approach and adapt accordingly. It is important to take in the room and the students' reactions, and with some students, I can use Swedish to explain what I have said in English. But I never use Swedish in front of the whole group. I only make use of Swedish for clarification with individual students. I think that many students are used to English teachers first speaking English followed by an explanation in Swedish in front of the whole group, but that is not what I do (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Hyacinth takes her students' L1 into consideration when teaching in spite of her initial 'English-Only-Policy'. She recognises, however, the fact that she is unable to take all of her students' L1:s into consideration. She identifies, for instance, Thi, Arabic, and Somali as L1:s in her ESL classroom besides Swedish, and due to her limited proficiency in these languages, Swedish works as a *lingua franca* that is used to illustrate and explain the form and function of the English language. The focus is, Hyacinth accentuates, always on English as the target language. She gives the example of English idioms which are often compared to equivalent idiomatic expressions in Swedish:

> Swedish is the main L1 in my classrooms, but there exist students with Arabic, Tai, and Somali as their L1. There is a language mix, you could say, and due to my limited knowledge of languages besides Swedish and English, I can only make use of Swedish to explain how English works. For example, when we work with English idioms or English word order, then I can say 'as we would say in Swedish' and then give an example in Swedish (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

As Hyacinth, William makes use of different languages for specific purposes in his ESL classroom where he distinguishes between subject matter, where English is used exclusively, and administrative matters, where either English or Swedish is used:

> Basically, I mix Swedish and English. So I try, whenever we deal with the subject matter, such as when I give formal lectures, have seminars, and that kind of stuff, I use English exclusively, or almost exclusively. When we deal with more routine issues, such as when we talk about the schedule, and things that do not connect directly to the subject, then I can use Swedish (William, interview in English)

William lists 'out of habit' as the main cause to this distinction, but upon reflection, he identifies effectiveness as the true reason. Put differently, William finds it more effective to use Swedish when discussing classroom administration and procedures:

> Out of habit is the most honest answer. But sometimes, I feel that when you discuss mundane matters, routine matters, Swedish is the most effective way (William, interview in English).

Besides using the students' L1 for discussing classroom procedures and mundane matters, William also adapts his use of Swedish and English to students' proficiency levels in their L2:

> If you have, for example, a group that is not that proficient in English, you would probably need to use more Swedish when you explain what they need to do, and so on (William, interview in English).

This relates to another purpose for William making use of students' L1 as a resource. He goes, for instance, on to say that the complexity of the subject matter may influence his choice of using students' L1 to help them better understand the topic:

> But sometimes also when you give a lecture where the subject matter is a bit complicated, such as when we discuss American politics or details in literature, I sometimes use both languages [Swedish and English]. First, I give the lecture in English and sometimes I clarify certain terms or concepts in Swedish and then go back to using English (William, interview in English).

This relates both to Bill's and Hyacinth's previous statements where they report that they employ students' L1 to clarify the lesson content. A difference between these ESL teachers is that whereas Bill and William translanguage using Swedish in front of the whole group, Hyacinth only uses Swedish with individual students. William is, however, keen on re-emphasising that English ought to be used for instruction when dealing with the subject matter:

> But when we deal with the subject matter, English is used. I mean, you have to use English (William, interview in English).

As with Bill and Hyacinth, William implies that he takes the students' L1 into consideration when planning his lessons, but he is unable to give any precise answers explaining in detail his pedagogical procedures:

> Good question! I have never thought about it, but I think it relates back to the things I said earlier. That when I give a lecture, for example, and I know that the subject is a little bit complicated to comprehend, even in their first language, I use Swedish as a tool to clarify. But I never plan this. I make the decision in the classroom whether to use Swedish or not depending on how the students respond to what I say (William, interview in English).

This shows that Swedish is used as a way to clarify the lesson content and help students to think about it. This suggests that William uses the students' L1 as a thinking scaffold. It also demonstrates that translanguaging occurs naturally for William, implying that successful translanguaging is something that occurs spontaneously rather than being prepared in advance.

Even though it lies outside the scope and focus of this thesis, it is worth mentioning based on William's preceding remark that further research would benefit from investigating whether spontaneous or planned translanguaging is more or less beneficial for language teaching and learning. It would also be of interest to elicit possible ways of planning and implementing translingual practices in the ESL classroom and see how they affect English language teaching and learning.

As the previous three teachers, Charles wants to conduct his English lessons as much as possible in English, but he concedes that the degree to which he makes use of English is determined by the students' willingness or reluctance to interact using English:

> I try to use English as much as possible. In some of my English groups, I can use English almost exclusively. I can speak English and they respond in English. I can challenge them to discuss in English, and so on. But when there is too much of a resistance, when it is impossible to start up a conversation in English, when it basically doesn't work, then I lose interest, or rather, I don't see the point in speaking English since I will be the only one using English. And it is rarely listening comprehension that these students need to improve (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Charles also reports that he does not use English for instruction all the time. He gives grammar instruction as an example. When explaining grammar, Charles instructs in Swedish because he finds it more effective:

> I don't use English in all situations. For example, when I explain English grammar and language form, I tend to use Swedish more often than English because I don't find it necessary or important to use English to explain grammar at this level. An English explanation often makes it more difficult for students to understand the explanation, and it takes much more time for the message to get across (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This does not align with William's statement who states that he makes almost exclusive use of English when dealing with the subject matter (which grammar instruction is classified as) and use Swedish for classroom procedures for effectiveness. It is, however, also possible to understand Charles' reason to use Swedish when explaining grammar for its complex nature, which agrees with William's idea of using students' L1 when dealing with subject matter of a complex nature. Charles continues by stating that his students do not even possess the conceptual understanding in their L1 when it comes to grammatical terminology and meta-linguistic awareness. This makes it natural for Charles to explain grammar in Swedish. His way of describing the manner in which the students' L1 and L2 meet and interact when used together with the objective to understanding grammatical terminology reveals that Charles most probably has a translingual perspective on language use, teaching, and learning:

> They don't even know the concepts in Swedish, and it feels therefore more convenient to use Swedish for explanation which also results in them learning Swedish as well as English grammar. It is, in a sense, possible to allow linguistic similarities to come together. But it is only a feeling on my part. I've no research evidence to support my idea, but it's what my experience shows. It may be a disadvantage, but my experience says that it's more efficient to work this way (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Even though it is outside the scope and focus of the thesis, Charles' statement begs the question of what other common grounds between students' L1 and L2 that can be used in the ESL classroom to promote their understanding and development of English. It would, for instance, be interesting to see what would happen to student participation if they first engage in a topic in their L1, such as reading a text on Old English poetry, followed by reading a similar text but in English. This could perhaps work as a learner strategy for less proficient students.

Charles' translingual perspective is reinforced in the following passage in which he acknowledges that ESL students are limited in their L2 where they can use their L1 as a thinking scaffold:

> I don't think that English allows students to think and expand their thoughts to the same degree in Swedish school as when Swedish is used since we fight more with the former language than the latter. We have to be more careful with the material that students are supposed to encounter and work with, and I think that is a loss. However, it's important to note that Swedish also has it limits since we're working with younger people (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

As the other teachers, Charles reports that there exist students who lack the willingness to communicate in English. Two possible reasons for this, as identified by Charles, are fear of failure and complex topics:

> I think the main reason is fear. We fear that we don't sound good or that we will fail. Students are not used to speak English, or they work with unfamiliar or challenging topics where they lack the required concepts. They could also be afraid of me (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This can be explained by Krashen's (1987) Monitor Model which states that language learners possess a monitor that informs the learner whether his or her language use is correct or incorrect. The fear of making mistakes and errors, such as mispronouncing a word or choosing an inappropriate word, is connected to another part of Krashen's model: the affective filter. The affective filter consists of factors that make language learners unwilling to use a language. However, Krashen's model is theoretically underpinned by the bilingual perspective, meaning that it separates languages into a hierarchy of L1, L2, and FL, where a speaker alternates or crosses between different languages. The awareness of a dominating language and a submissive language could result in students' hesitance to communicate using their L2, and perhaps if students are encouraged to use their full linguistic repertoire to create meaning, it could result in a willingness to communicate. Further research is, however, needed to prove this point fully.

Charles presents an additional reason why he believes some students refuse to use English in the ESL classroom. He has found that some students simply refuse to speak English as a way of making a point or taking some form of stand:

> Sometimes, I believe they just want to make a statement. For instance, I've had students that have said that they don't understand why they're supposed to speak English in English class. And I just want to ask them what language they think that they're supposed to use (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

What is of interest in Charles' preceding comment is the translingual potential that these students present the ESL teacher with, namely, a discussion on what language to use in which context and for what purpose. This could make students aware of when it is appropriate and inappropriate to use different resources in their linguistic repertoire. In this thesis, it is proposed that such situations are to be referred to as *translingual openings.*

Charles, like the other teachers, does not consciously plan how to take the students' L1 into consideration in his lesson plans. He stresses instead the spontaneous use of students' L1 as a response to how they react in the ESL classroom:

> Sometimes, I don't know what is planned and what is routine. I think it's more about being aware of what kind of students I have in front of me and be prepared to adapt my teaching according to their reactions. So, I don't plan in advance what language to use. It's therefore necessary to equip myself with tools that allow me to adapt my teaching to the present situation rather than deciding in advance how to handle it. So, at times, it's difficult to say what is planning and what is reaction (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Charles also favours spontaneous translanguaging over planned translanguaging which points to further investigation into how they can be incorporated in the ESL classroom and for what effects. Studies should also be devoted to the conceptualisation of spontaneous and planned translanguaging. Research should also be devoted to what kind of tools or knowledge ESL teachers need to engage in spontaneous translanguaging.

4.1.1 Languages Used When Providing Feedback to ESL Students

When these ESL teachers provide feedback to their students, it seems as if they mainly use Swedish in spoken feedback and English in written feedback. Bill seems, however, to mainly provide feedback in the students' L1 to ensure that they understand and can use his comments:

> I mostly use Swedish because I want to make sure that my students know what to do in order to develop (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Bill also makes a distinction between formative and summative assessment. When providing formative assessment throughout the course in the ESL classroom, Bill uses mainly English, but towards the end of the course when giving summative assessment, Bill lets the students to decide what language to use:

> When I give feedback to my students in the classroom, I use mostly English. When it comes to grade discussions at the end of a course, then I allow my students to decide which language to use as a way to provide them with a final opportunity to demonstrate their ability to speak English. At this time, I have, however, a rather good understanding of the students' abilities (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

William and Hyacinth present a similar picture of their feedback procedures, and Charles makes an even finer distinction between spoken and written feedback. He finds it unnatural to speak English with someone whom he knows is able to access Swedish more easily:

> I've been thinking about this, and it's rather funny. I've notice that I almost use English exclusively when I provide written feedback, but when I give spoken response, I use almost only Swedish. I don't know why. The only possible reason is the situation which is a rather bizarre one. A student and I sit in a room. We both know that we know Swedish, but use English instead. This situation is just weird. It's unnatural. It's of course possible to make the situation playful with some students, and other students simply love speaking English. With these students, it's even natural to speak English outside of the classroom, but usually, this isn't the case. So, Swedish comes more natural in most situations (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

There seems therefore to exist a need to explore how ESL teachers can create situations in which their students find it natural to use English in all forms of situations and for different purposes.

Even though Charles explains this feeling of unnatural language use as a result of people using their L2 instead of their shared L1, he informs that he did not find this kind of communication unnatural when studying at university:

> I believe that it has to do with the strangeness of interacting with someone using a language instead of a language that both have easier access to. It's a very unnatural situation. Funny enough, I didn't find this situation as unnatural at university where some of my teachers of native speakers of English whereas some had English as their L2. We used English with all teachers, in all kind of situations, for all purposes. A possible explanation is that all students had decided to study English, which is not always the case at upper secondary school. We wanted to improve as much as possible and took all opportunities that were given to us (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

A possible explanation could be that language learners at university level perceive themselves as natural users of English where they have developed an 'English-Speaking Identity', which points to the need to clarify what it could mean to develop and act according to an 'English-Speaking Identify', and how ESL teacher could support their students to form such identities.

4.2 Teachers' Reactions to L1 Usage in the ESL Classroom

A shared belief among the teachers is the idea that the students should be encouraged to use English, but they seem to adapt their reaction to student and context. Bill states, for instance, that his reaction differs between students, groups, and situations:

> It depends on the student, the group, and the situation. I always try to encourage my students to use English, but if a student is put in a situation where he or she doesn't understand what to do or needs help to finish an assignment, then I can explain what to do using the student's L1 as a way of helping the student to handle the situation (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Bill also points to the fact that a natural and initial reaction to his students' use of their L1 is to remind the students that they are in an imaginary England and then encourages them to find solutions to their communicative problems. If the students lack the necessary knowledge to understand what is being said, he converts to Swedish as a recourse. More interestingly, when assessing his students' comprehension of English, Bill allows his students to use their L1 to demonstrate that they have understood what they taken part of. This implies that Bill distinguishes learning from assessment in the same situation to acknowledge the actual skills and knowledge that students demonstrate:

> Students are supposed to demonstrate their ability to understand what they hear, watch, or read in English. If a student feels as if they lack the necessary vocabulary to show their understanding, then I find it appropriate for students to show their understanding of English using Swedish (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

William reacts in a similar fashion as Bill, meaning that his reaction to when additional languages besides English are used in the ESL classroom depends on the situation. He seems also to make a distinction between a learning setting and an examination where he allows the use of students' L1 in the former setting but does not tolerate languages besides English in the latter situation:

> It depends. If it is, like, a routine question, such as when the lesson finishes, and so on, then I do not care. Maybe I answer in Swedish. Maybe I answer in English. But when we do formal seminars, write essays, when we deal with the subject matter, it is 100 per cent English. If they use a phrase or a word here or there in Swedish, I do not mind. But as a general rule, it is only English (William, interview in English).

Hyacinth's reaction to students using their L1 in an English discourse agrees with both Bill and William. She says, for example, that she finds it problematic when students use their L1 in examinations. She reports that she has no issues with students framing a question in Swedish during classes, and it is, therefore, possible to infer that Hyacinth also distinguishes between acceptable and unacceptable language use in language learning and language assessment. Hyacinth rationalises this view by stating that she might be influenced by the national tests (which is a form of high-stakes examinations in Sweden) where students are not allowed to use their L1 since they are supposed to make themselves understood to a native speaker:

> I find it a little problematic when students use a Swedish word or phrase in an English sentence. I've no problem with students asking a question in Swedish when they're working with a task in class if it helps them to finish it. However, when students are supposed to be assessed, then it is problematic if they make use of their L1. Perhaps I am too influenced by the national tests where the assessment instructions clearly state that a native speaker of English is supposed to be able to understand the conversation without any knowledge of Swedish. In this situation, the conversation is unsuccessful if a student alternates between Swedish and English. If a student happens to make use of a single Swedish word here or there, it doesn't matter. But if the student makes recurrent use of Swedish to communicate, they it will affect the assessment negatively. It is thus possible to says that in learning situations, the L1 can be a resource, but in assessment situations, then the L1 disrupts the communication (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Worth mentioning is the teacher's way of describing the students' linguistic behaviour by noting that 'the conversation is unsuccessful if a student alternates between Swedish and English' which demonstrates a bilingual perspective on language. Even though it falls outside the aim and scope of the thesis, the teacher's phraseology indicates the need for further investigation into how teachers are formed by their experiences and teacher education when it comes to describing and making sense of students' language use and, in extension, their interlanguage.

When his students use their L1 instead of their L2, Charles reacts by discussing possible outcomes of using different languages with the aim to promote students' meta-linguistic awareness of when it is appropriate and inappropriate to use different languages:

> Well, I attempt to speak with my students and explain what consequences it could have for them if they don't use English. They are, for example, put in a rather challenging situation if they choose not to speak English, I think, since it makes it less likely to feel comfortable using English in an assessment

situation. I never become angry with them or anything like that. Instead, I try to encourage them and make them to see the consequences of their actions. I also search for solutions to make the students comfortable. Perhaps it is possible to speak spontaneously with a student outside of the classroom? Perhaps the student could record a conversation without me in the room? As said, I've to find solutions (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Put differently, Charles aims to help his students to make informed decisions on when and how to draw the appropriate resources from their linguistic repertoire. This suggests that Charles' ESL classroom is theoretically underpinned by a translingual perspective. Moreover, Charles feels as if there are other and more serious issues that need attention besides the students' willingness to communicate in English if they are too anxious to speak English:

> But if a student is so afraid or whatever it could be that prevents a student from speaking English, then I believe that we have more important problems to deal with. For these students, there are alternative ways to demonstrate their understanding of English (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

When asked in what other ways students can demonstrate their understanding and mastery of English, Charles gives writing as an alternative to speaking:

> Writing, for example. In writing, you can get a rather good understanding of students' ability to use English since they can write spontaneously as well as plan and revise their texts. In writing, it is also possible for students to demonstrate their understanding of what they have read or discussed in class. The only dimension that writing lacks is interaction (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

It seems as if all four teachers perceive speaking and writing as opposites which could be a consequence of the bilingual perspective. From a translingual perspective, speaking and writing are conceptualised as two equal resources or modalities that language users can utilise to make themselves understood, i.e., to communicate, which is the main goal of translanguaging. Charles argues, for instance, that writing lacks the directness that characterises speaking, but what would happen if digital literacy were incorporated in the ESL classroom where students are set the task to interact using English with each other via chat or text messages? In this situation, ESL students would be able to reflect upon their language use and have time to look up new words and grammatical instructions while talking about their communication in their L1. By the same token, ESL students would also be able to write text messages in their L1 but talking about their texts in their L2. This could benefit their English learning and willingness to communicate using their L2. This shows the need for further

studies to investigate ESL teachers' attitudes towards and usage of multimodalities in the ESL classroom.

In contrast to the other three teachers, Charles attempts to explain some students' unwillingness to communicate in English by acknowledging his own experiences of using his L2:

> Sometimes, I fear that it will hit the students rather hard if they are forced to speak English. It makes them very nervous. It's the same for me. In some situations, it feels as if I am the worst English speaker there is. I become very self-conscious and do not find the necessary words. In these situations, I am reminded of the fact that I am working as an English teacher, which makes it even worse (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This connects with Hyacinth's comment in section 4.3 where she explains her ESL students' reluctance to use their L2 as a result of them being aware of learning an L2 but forgetting the fact that they have acquired their L1. It could be the case that ESL teachers have become unaware of the fact that they once learned their L2 as a result of high proficiency. This could have a negative effect on how ESL teachers react to students who are reluctant to speak English, but further investigation is needed to prove this point fully.

4.3 Advantages of Using the L1 in the ESL Classroom

An advantage of using students' L1 in the ESL classroom is that it could be used as a way for students to demonstrate that they understand what they hear and read in English. This is evident when Bill says:

> An advantage is that it allows students to demonstrate their understanding of English in a language they feel more secure to express themselves in (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

It is also suggested that students are able to handle and grasp more complex topics in their L2 when they are allowed to engage with the content in their L1. This view is presented by William when he states that:

> I think that, as we discussed, when you try to understand complex subjects, it is probably a good idea to use both languages [the L1 and L2]. Because they are, more likely, to be more proficient in their L1. So, I think that if you want to push your proficiency in English, when we deal with complex things, it is sometimes a good idea to revert back to the L1 (William, interview in English).

Another benefit of implementing students' L1 in the ESL classroom is that it seems to strengthen students' self-confidence. Hyacinth finds, for instance, that many of her students lack the willingness to communicate in English because they are more aware of their proficiency levels in their L2 than in their L1. This tends not seldom to result in low self-esteem and a refusal to speak English:

> For example, when students are to speak English, then they feel as if they have failed if they get stuck, but there is no one that does not get stuck when using their L1. It happens all the time, but it is not as embarrassing. This could be because they are more aware of their language use when speaking in their L2 than their L1 (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Hyacinth elaborates by stating her belief that her students find it more loaded or embarrassing to get stuck or lose the thread in their L2 compared to their L1. She holds also the belief that the majority of language users have forgotten that they have acquired their L1 whereas they are more conscious of the fact that they are learning an L2. Since there are ESL students with high and low proficiency levels, it becomes clearer who is the more successful language learner. This creates a form of an L2 dichotomy between more and less successful L2 learners. This in turn impacts students' self-esteem and willingness to communicate because one will be placed in one of the dichotomy parts based on one's proficiency:

> I think that most people are not aware that they have acquired their L1; it just feels as something that you just know whereas you actively learn and work with an L2. Students tend therefore to be afraid that they have not learned enough which creates self-awareness (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Hyacinth continues by stating that there is a tendency among her ESL students to perceive themselves as unnatural speakers of English whereas everyone is a natural L1 speaker:

> Since that person is better than I am, then that person is a much more successful language learner which results in an unwillingness to communicate. It does not feel natural to use an L2 with someone who has a more advanced L2 (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

The exception is ESL learners with a high proficiency who identify themselves as natural English users. It has to be added, however, that it is unclear what it means to be a 'natural English user' and whether this L2 dichotomy only takes into account a learner's ability to express him or herself in speech. Is, for example, the ability to express oneself spontaneously

in English a criterion for a natural language user or is it referring to a language learner that encounters and uses English regularly? This indicates the need for further studies to define what is meant by a 'natural English user' and how ESL teachers can help their students to start identifying themselves as natural users of English.

Charles explains in section 4.2 that a possible cause to why ESL students refuse to speak English could be out of fear for making errors. In this regard, Charles affirms that students' L1 could function as a way for them to demonstrate that they are able to follow and participate in the lesson, which he sees as an advantage:

> I think it can help students with their fear if they are allowed to use their L1 to explain things that they have read or heard in their L2. It gives them the opportunity to demonstrate their comprehension without the requirement to express their response in good English as well (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Charles continues by saying that he does not understand why one does not use additional languages to a greater extent in the ESL classroom. He claims, for example, that languages work as keys to each other, meaning that we are able to access, use, and understand a language with the use of another:

> Also, we should be glad and rejoice of there are many languages in one classroom. I have never understood why we do not use additional languages. Languages unlock each other, so to speak. We should always strive to favour as many languages as possible. So, if that means that I make use of Swedish or the little I know of German to help a student to understand English better, then why not? (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This reveals that Charles' language pedagogy is theoretically underpinned by a translingual perspective. It is, however, unclear to what degree he implements his theory in the ESL classroom, suggesting further research to observe how ESL teachers organise their lessons and attempt to elicit the rationales behind their pedagogical choices.

4.4   Disadvantages of Using the L1 in the ESL Classroom

A disadvantage of implementing students' L1 in the ESL classroom is that it presents students with fewer opportunities to practise expressing themselves in English. Bill sees this as a loss since it risks resulting in ESL students who do not challenge themselves in their ability to use

their L2. Put differently, an overuse of students' L1 in the ESL classroom could prevent English learning:

> A disadvantage is that students do not get, or rather, do not take the opportunity to practise their ability to speak English, which is one of the major aims of the English lessons. Many of my students find it easier to access their Swedish (L1) than their English (L2). They find it more convenient and less challenging, which results in a resistance to use the L2 (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Bill also maintains that an overuse of students' L1 could result in passive students that do not play an active role in their attempts to push their limits in their English learning. Bill gives the example of making it a habit to first explain something in English followed by an explanation in Swedish. If students know that a Swedish translation is to follow, then it could lead to passivity since students do not have to pay attention to the English version:

> Furthermore, the habitual use of students' L1 in tandem with their L2 during lectures could result in students not paying attention when the L2 is used since they know that the content will be explained later in their L2. Put differently, there exists a risk that students do not challenge themselves when the L2 is used. The students become too comfortable when the L2 is used in abundance, as it were (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

William echoes Bill's fear that an overuse of students' L1 could result in passive students. He even confesses that this includes himself, meaning that he must remind himself not to use Swedish since it is more natural to access and use than English:

> Of course! I think, and I think that I am not alone, but I sometimes revert back to my L1 out of habit. You know, it is more convenient. You have to discipline yourself at times to go back to the L2 because it is easier to use the L1 (William, interview in English).

Even though William does not explicitly talk about his students' language habits, it is possible to infer that his observation also applies to his students. This could be another example of a translingual opening, meaning that ESL teachers should have consistent discussions with their students about which language to use in what situation and for what purpose. ESL teachers should also be encouraged to be open with their students if they repeatedly revert back to their L1 and explain why. This could result in a mutual understanding between teacher and students which could create a more open and accepting climate in the classroom. William

even concedes that his students' English learning will most probably not be particularly obstructed by his translanguaging with Swedish and English:

> In the long run, I do not think it will harm their development. So, I am not concerned (William, interview in English).

Another disadvantage of using the L1 in the ESL classroom is that it could take over, meaning that the L1 is used exclusively. This could, as Hyacinth sees it, result in a situation where the students are not given the opportunity to encounter and practise their ability to interact using their L2:

> A disadvantage with the use of students' L1 is when it takes over completely, that is, when it is used at the expense of the L2. Then there is, as I see it, too little interaction in the L2. I still believe in the classroom as a community and even though most of my students live most of their lives online where English is used, there still exist students that only interact in English during classes. In addition, in the classroom, the students are forced to interact in different modes and styles than they usually do online with other people than they typically encounter on the Internet. Students are also forced to deal with and discuss topics different from the ones they explore online (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This supports Bill's fear that overuse of students' L1 removes opportunities for students to use and develop their L2. Hyacinth also argues that students get the chance to engage with people and content that they would not otherwise encounter.

An additional disadvantage is when ESL students are set the task to write a text where they first write a text in Swedish and then start to translate the text into English. Hyacinth finds this problematic because translation is in itself challenging and requires practice as well as a high proficiency level in both languages. Moreover, Hyacinth declares that most of her students cannot express the same thoughts in their L2 as in their L1. This tends not seldom to create frustration among the students:

> I have students whose game plan is to first write a text in Swedish and then they translate it into English which they believe is a beneficial strategy. I can understand why they use this method since it creates some form of safety and so on, but I find that most students create double work. Also, translation is a challenge in itself. So, I always try to make these students to write directly in English (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Even though Hyacinth does not explicitly state that the students are obstructed by their L1 in the depicted situation above, it is suggested that the students' L1 prohibits them from developing their ability to express themselves in their L2 caused by a proficiency difference between their L1 and L2. It is also indicated that the L1 does not work in this situation as a successful language learning strategy since the challenges with translating a text from one's L1 into one's L2 create a false sense of safety as a result of making the different proficiency levels even more distinct. This in turn can cause frustration and fossilisation in a language learner's interlanguage and as a consequence, s/he is unable to reach the next level.

Charles agrees with Bill by identifying a disadvantage of incorporating students' L1 in the ESL classroom as a risk of removing necessary communicative obstacles that language learners need to be able to handle:

> A great loss is when you do not take risks. That you take the safe and easy path by using Swedish. We need to learn how to handle situations where it is necessary to use English, and by taking risks and experimenting with your English, then you can develop strategies to cope with the situation (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Charles does not find it necessarily a problem, or impossible, to allow students' L1 and L2 to work in tandem for as long as one is aware of the consequences of using both languages:

> I actually believe that it is not impossible to glide between them [Swedish and English]. I find it difficult to believe that it would only be beneficial to use English as well as it would only be problematic to use Swedish. There are advantages as well as disadvantages with using the students' L1 and L2 (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Here, Charles demonstrates once again a translingual perspective by stating that it is not impossible to 'glide between them', but it is unclear whether he perceives the use of a student's L1 instead of L2 as a strategy or a cause of limited English knowledge. It would, therefore, be positive for further studies to clarify and investigate how students' L1 could be used as a strategy for language learning in the ESL classroom.

4.5 Discussing How to Use Students' L1 in the ESL Classroom

It seems as if none of the participating teachers have addressed the question of how students' L1 could be used in the ESL classroom. The teachers also believe that their colleagues would

initially be sceptical but would become interested since there are values to be gained by implementing students' L1:

> I think that the initial response would be that we are supposed to use English exclusively, but I also think that it could lead to an interesting and creative discussion. For I believe that beneficial to use students' L1 at times as a way to let students demonstrate their skills better (Bill, interview in Swedish, my translation).

Hyacinth echoes Bill's thoughts and adds that she thinks that ESL teachers with a long teaching experience will be prone to scepticism caused by their experience and previous directives in the steering documents which advocated a stricter 'English-Only-Policy:

> Frankly, I do not think that it is such a controversial topic when you have discussed it for a while, but I believe that people who are old in the game, as I am, are instinctively against the idea to use students' L1 instead of English since we are almost indoctrinated with the idea that we are only to use English in the English-speaking classroom. Many of us also believe that we use English exclusively, but honestly, I think that when you actually look at it, we use English less than we think. We are influenced by previous teaching directives, demands, and conditions (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This also demonstrates that if ESL teachers were to discuss how to use students' L1, then it could result in ESL teachers becoming more aware of their own language usage. Hyacinth believes also that most ESL teachers think that they use English more than they actually do. It would, therefore, be of interest for further research to look into how regular discussions of how to use students' L1 and L2 in the ESL classroom would influence their attitudes towards and usage of translanguaging. It would also be interesting to investigate how students' English learning would be affected.

Charles depicts a similar situation at his upper secondary school, but he also emphasises that such a discussion would benefit teachers since they would most probably become more aware of their language use and teaching practices:

> Not actively, no, but I think it would be an interesting conversation. A conversation that would at least be interested in the question of how to think about it. What are we doing now, and why? Why have we or what have we not reflected upon our language use? But I do not believe that many teachers have reflected upon their language use in this way (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

This also shows the need to investigate further to what degree teachers are aware or unaware of their pedagogical choices concerning what language they choose to incorporate and use in their ESL classrooms and for what reasons.

4.6 How to Interpret the Steering Documents

As pointed out in section 1.1, the Swedish National Agency for Education (2022) states that English instruction should be conducted as much as possible in English at upper secondary school. Even though it is safe to assume that the statement dictates that English is to be used, it does not specify the degree to which English is to be used. This is evident in William's response when he says that:

> As everything from Skolverket, it is open for interpretation. I choose to interpret it as if English should be used as much as possible. By this, I mean that as much as the students' proficiency levels allow (William, interview in English).

Charles partly echoes William's interpretation by stating that English ought to be employed as the mainly used language as far as it is possible. He interprets also the statement as if it opens up for the use of additional languages for as long as they promote students' English learning:

> It [The directive] is actually not possible to interpret. I am of the opinion that we should use English as our operational or 'go-to-language' as much as possible. That's how I choose to interpret it, but I also think it allows what we discussed earlier. If we, let's say, believe that there's any value in using additional languages besides English, then I can't see any reasons not to. That's how I interpret 'as far as possible.' I don't interpret it as if we are to use English exclusively (Charles, interview in Swedish, my translation).

When asked how Hyacinth interprets "[u]ndervisningen ska i allt väsentligt bedrivias på engelska [Teaching should as far as possible be conducted in English]" (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022, n.p.), she states that she might be influenced by how this directive was phrased in a preceding steering document. The previous phrasing, as she recalls, was less open for interpretation, meaning that it stated more clearly that English teaching should be conducted exclusively in English. She assumes, therefore, that she has either consciously or unconsciously allowed a previous steering document and her teaching experience based upon it affect her interpretation of the current steering documents. This begs the question of how previous curricula, syllabi, and teaching experience, impact the

interpretation of current steering documents and further research should make it its study objective. Further studies should also compare previous steering documents with the current one to see whether it is the case that present steering documents open up more for additional languages to be used in the ESL classroom and attempt to identify possible causes for such a shift in policy making.

When clarifying how she interprets the current policy, Hyacinth replies that it supports her idea of mainly using English, which could be understood as an 'English-Only-Policy,' but she is also clear on the point that in reality, it is the students' proficiency levels that determine what 'as far as possible' means:

> It supports, I think, my principal belief that English ought to be used as much as possible in the English-speaking classroom. But to be honest, at times, it becomes ridiculous in some groups when I'm the only one speaking English. I don't say that my approach is *totally successful*, but what should I do? It's only to pretend that you don't understand Swedish and keep repeating 'English, please, use English, please, what is that in English, please (Hyacinth, interview in Swedish, my translation).

5. Conclusion

In the following section, the thesis will end by concluding remarks and reflections. In section 5.1, the research questions will be answered and the aim will be addressed. In section 5.2, the findings will be reflected upon in relation to the premise and hypothesis. In section 5.3, the pedagogical implications and limitations of the thesis as well as suggested further research will be presented.

Important to note is that due to the limited sample provided by the interviews, it will impossible to make any generalizations. It will, however, be able to point out tendencies and provide interesting insights.

5.1 Answering the research questions and addressing the aim

This thesis set out to answer the following two overarching research questions:

> RQ1: How is translanguaging perceived by ESL teachers at Swedish upper
> secondary schools?
> RQ2: To what extent and for what reasons is translanguaging used in the
> ESL classroom?

Qualitative interviews were conducted with four in-service ESL teachers in Swedish upper secondary school to identify i) whether ESL teachers engage in translingual practices, and if so, for what purposes, and ii) how ESL teachers perceive translanguaging in the form of using students' L1 in the ESL classroom.

The following list presents the contribution of the thesis in relation to the research questions and the aim. Points 1–6 address RQ1, point 7 answers both research questions, points 8–9 address Q1, and the final two points answer RQ2:

[1] The ESL teachers in this study have English as their point of departure and target language, but they incorporate students' L1. Even though the teachers make use of students' L1 in different ways and to a varying degree, it is possible to conclude that they translanguage by allowing both students' L1 (Swedish) and L2 (English) to be used.

[2] A shared translingual practice is to make a distinction between subject matter and administrative matter where the L2 is used in the former and the L1 is restricted to the latter.

[3] Another translingual practice is to explain complex topics with the use of students' L1, where it is believed that students will be able to handle more complex topics in their L2 if they are allowed to use their L1 as resource for thinking.

[4] Three out of four ESL teachers seem to implement an 'English-Only-Policy', but the reason seems not to align with previous studies. Previous studies explain ESL teachers' 'English-Only-Policy' as a result of monoglossic ideologies. This thesis indicates, however, that ESL teachers seem to encourage an 'English-Only-Approach' because their students do not practice speaking English outside of the classroom.

[5] It seems as if ESL teachers engage more in spontaneous translanguaging than planned translanguaging as a result of them responding to the demands of their ESL students.

[6] When providing feedback, it seems as if ESL teachers translanguage by using students' L1 in spoken feedback and students' L2 in written response.

[7] ESL teachers tend to make a distinction between acceptable and unacceptable language use in learning and assessment situations. In the former, students are allowed to make use of their full linguistic repertoire, but the teachers find it problematic when

students do not use English in examinations. This indicates that ESL teachers engage in translingual practices when teaching English but not assessing English.

[8] Advantages of engaging in translingual practices are that i) it allows students to show what they understand in their L2 using their L1 without the fear of making errors, ii) it allows all students to participate in the lesson which can boost their self-confidence, and iii) students are able to grasp more complex topics in their L2 if they also work with it in their L1.

[9] Disadvantages of engaging in translingual practices are that i) it gives ESL students fewer opportunities to encounter, practise, and use their L2 and ii) result in passive students since they do not have to challenge themselves to understand what is being expressed in the L2.

[10] It seems as if ESL teachers do not discuss regularly how they can translanguage by incorporating students' L1 into the ESL classroom besides English.

[11] The ESL teachers who partook in the thesis interprets 'as far as possible' as if English should be mainly used, but it does not mean that additional languages are to be banned from the ESL classroom. It is argued that it is the students' proficiency levels that determine the extent to which English can be used.

Taken together, it is possible to say that it seems as if the interviewed ESL teachers engage in translingual practices by incorporating students' L1 in the ESL classroom to help students to understand and engage with the content as a way to build their self-esteem. It seems also as if these teachers only accept the use of students' L1 when it benefits the teaching and learning of English.

5.2   Reflection on Findings in Relation to the Premise and Hypothesis

As mentioned in section 1.3, this thesis is built upon the premise that all language users are by default multilingual, meaning that it is natural to use all resources in the linguistic repertoire to create meaning. A concrete example of this would be the spontaneous use of a language. As shown in section 4.1, the interviewed teachers engage in spontaneous translanguaging when explaining complex topics for their students. It is also worth to point out the fact that several of the teachers translanguage by using English words in their Swedish utterances, such as Hyacinth in sections 4.4 and 4.6 and Charles in section 4.4. This indicates that it is a natural linguistic behaviour to use words from different languages in the same utterance to get

a message across (to phrase a translingual procedure with bilingual terminology). Due to the limited sample, however, it is impossible to draw any concluding remarks from this observation. More research on a larger scale needs to prove this point fully.

The initial hypothesis presented in section 1.1, i.e., that ESL teachers implement an 'English-Only-Policy' based upon a monoglossic ideology interpretation of steering documents, seems to be off the mark. The interviewed ESL teachers seem to be more governed by their students' proficiency levels than monoglossic ideologies, but further investigation is needed to falsify the hypothesis fully.

5.3   Pedagogical Implications, Limitations of the Thesis, and Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis' aim was to investigate whether ESL teachers translanguage using English and their students' L1 limited to Swedish as well as their attitudes towards translanguaging. It was also hypothesised that ESL teachers make use of an 'English-Only-Policy' based on monoglossic ideologies. Even though it seems as if the hypothesis is falsified as shown in section 5.2, questions still remain whether the teachers are correct concerning that their students do not engage in spoken English outside of the ESL classroom. This points to one of the limitations of the thesis, namely, the lack of student input. This shows the need for further research to complement the thesis' findings with student interviews to see to what degree teachers' beliefs and attitudes align with students' beliefs and attitudes.

Another limitation with the thesis is that it only made use of four qualitative interviews. Putting the small sample aside, there also exists a problem within the interviews. In the interviews, the ESL teachers say on the one hand that they use English exclusively or almost all of the time when covering subject matter, but report on the other hand that they translanguage by explaining complex content in students' L1. This indicates the need for further research to study ESL teachers' actual classrooms to understand better how they use the students' full linguistic repertoire to promote English learning.

It was suggested that students can benefit from using their L1 in terms of improving their self-esteem. However, it was also shown that one teacher only translanguages with specific students, which begs the question how such a translingual practice affects the specific students' self-confidence since it singles the student out as the one who does not understand what is being said. Further studies should, therefore, attempt to elicit how such a pedagogical choice impacts the student's self-esteem.

The ESL teachers seem to propose the idea that spontaneous translanguaging is more beneficial for students' English learning than planned translanguaging. It is, however, unclear what 'spontaneous' and 'planned' refer to, meaning that further investigation is needed to define these two forms of translanguaging and what effects they have on English teaching and learning. Further studies should also explore possible ways of planning and implementing translingual practices in the ESL classroom.

It is also hinted at in the thesis that for spontaneous translanguaging to succeed, ESL teachers must equip themselves with the necessary tools. It is, however, unclear what is meant by 'the necessary tools.' It is thus suggested for further research attention to look into what these tools might be, how they can be used, and for what effects.

It is suggested in the thesis that one reason why ESL students lack willingness to communicate in English is because they do not perceive themselves as natural speakers of English. Further investigation should therefore be directed to how ESL teachers could help their students to see themselves as natural English users. Such studies could, for instance, attempt to identify what factors that determine whether the use of English is natural or unnatural and what conditions that are needed to make it natural to speak English.

Throughout the thesis, the ESL teachers use almost exclusively 'the use of English' synonymously with 'spoken English'. This means that more investigation is needed to study other uses of English, such as writing, from a translingual perspective.

Finally, the ESL teachers indicate that discussions on how to translanguage in the form of incorporating additional languages besides English into the ESL classroom to promote English learning are rare. Future longitudinal studies should therefore investigate how English language teaching and learning is influenced by regular discussions of translingual practises.

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