Examining ESL Teachers' Language Ideologies: Implications for Translanguaging Practices in Indian ESL Classrooms

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Language ideology of ESL teachers plays an important role in determining the strategies they employ to teach language(s). Teachers' language ideologies also reflect their agency in practicing language policy in schools and their relation to larger societal discourses. This study examines the language ideologies of two ESL teachers employed in a government school in Andhra Pradesh, India. It attempts to infer teachers' language ideologies from their interview responses. The Douglas Fir Group's framework (2016) of micro, meso and macro practices and constraints are adapted to code and analyse the interview responses. The findings indicate that teachers in low-resource contexts predominantly use spontaneous translanguaging as a key strategy. These teachers demonstrate a positive attitude towards translanguaging pedagogy. The study highlights the significance of 'a translanguaging space' that educators create to facilitate language learning in Indian ESL classrooms. The space supports the use of multilingual resources in class and encourages students to utilize their linguistic repertoires. Understanding the language ideologies of ESL teachers has important implications for drafting policy documents and designing language textbooks aimed at preserving multilingual education in India.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language ideologies are theoretical lens of individuals and are closely connected to the social systems in which they live. In this study, "language ideology refers to the beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use, which often index the political and economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic groups, and nation-states" (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192). They influence the beliefs and attitudes of language teachers (Cresse & Blackedge, 2010; Garcia et al, 2017; Kroskrity, 2004). Language teachers' beliefs and attitudes are understood as a set of dynamic beliefs about language, language systems, language use(r), and language teaching and learning shaped by their formal education, nature of teacher training received, teacher's personal learning styles and strategies, teaching experiences and societal discourses (Blackledge, 2001;

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Canagarajah, 2013; Cresse & Blackledge, 2010; Ganuza & Hedman, 2017). Teachers' language ideologies greatly influence their pedagogic practices including translanguaging practices in their classrooms (Jiang et al., 2019; Sah, 2024). In the case of second language learning, teachers' beliefs and attitudes about local languages are closely linked to the ideologies they subscribe to, often in relation to target dominant languages recognized in the classroom space. In many Global South countries, spontaneous, on-the-spot language scaffolding in English classes using students' own or other home and local languages is a common practice, often referred to as a form of translanguaging.

The practice of translanguaging in class where English is a subject or language of instruction or both is largely shaped and controlled by teachers' language ideology. Practising translanguaging is largely connected to how teachers understand and view language, the relationship between languages, the role of language in learner's socio-cognitive development, and preserving the local language(s) and culture(s) and linguistic diversity in the classroom (García et al., 2017; Henderson, 2017, 2020; Pontier, 2022). Translanguaging as a pedagogic movement is gaining importance all over the world because it is learner-centric, addresses pedagogical inequalities, ensures social justice, is natural to language ecosystems and promises transformative experiences (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Juvonen & Källkvist, 2021). The nature and manner of implementing translanguaging pedagogy need to be observed and analysed to understand how it is perceived and practised in different educational settings globally. It is observed that many multilingual education systems around the world are guided by a monolingual orientation, which hinders the intended potential of multilingual education (Blackledge, 2001; Clyne, 2004). The monolingual mindset can be observed in the teaching practices, activities, and responses of the teachers.

The current study explores how language ideologies shape teachers' perspectives on language education, language training and how they further multilingual pedagogic practices such as translanguaging. We focus on the language ideology of two Indian ESL teachers working in a low-resource rural government school in Andhra Pradesh, India. We explore the relationship between teachers' language ideology, explicit and latent, and how these relate to their spontaneous translanguaging practices in class.

2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The Indian school education system is known for its diversity and different boards of schooling followed in the different parts of the country to cater to the economic, political, social, and cultural aspirations of different socio-ethnic groups in India. As per the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER, 2022) and Unified District Information System for Education Plus Report (2020 to 2021), most students enrolled in government schools are funded by state and central governments. Moreover, 80% of schools in India are in rural areas. Thus, in most of the schools in India, teachers

function in low-resource contexts. The low resource context includes learner's limited English language proficiency, poor school infrastructure, low socio-economic status of student families, limited opportunity for language learning outside school, location of the school and teachers' lack of training on the subject and using it as the language of instruction.

The nature of low-resource context varies depending on the state and education context, but in most low-resource contexts, spontaneous translanguaging is practiced widely to teach different subjects (Anderson, 2022; Anderson & Lightfoot, 2018; Erling et al., 2016; Mukhopadhyay, 2020; Treffers-Daller et al., 2022; Tsimpli et al., 2019). In these low-resource schools, ESL teachers strive to improve students' literacy skills and language skills. In this study, the Zilla Parishad High School from which the teachers participated is in a rural village in the Guntur district of Andra Pradesh. Most students are from the agrarian and working-class sections of society. The teachers in this school have multiple roles to perform and they have to constantly motivate the students to participate in school activities and stop them from leaving school. In our observation, we found that Telugu is the language of learning and teaching in the school. In these schools, teachers use students' native languages to scaffold learning and enhance comprehension in English. In low-resource ESL classrooms, students often have varying proficiency levels or may not have reached grade-appropriate proficiency in English. Additionally, due to shortage of teachers, a single teacher may be responsible for multiple subjects, such as Math and English or English and Social Sciences. In some schools, the teacher who teaches English might not have adequate proficiency in English. Moreover, the available infrastructure and resources are typically minimal, and teachers have limited avenues to receive continuous professional training. In such a complex environment, teachers heavily rely on students' native languages for instruction, classroom management, and communication in school.

Translanguaging is the 'Practiced Language Policy' (Spolsky, 2004; Bonacina-Pugh, 2012) in these schools and recording these practices is important to understand the pedagogic innovation at the grassroots level. Khubchandani (1997, 1998, 2012) defines the sociolinguistic scenario of the Indian subcontinent as 'organic pluralism,' and this phenomenon can be acutely observed in the classroom interactions that facilitate language and content learning. Understanding pedagogic practices such as spontaneous translanguaging in low-resource Indian schools and teacher ideology driving these practices is important to be investigated as is undertaken in the current study.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study considers pedagogic practices as social practices shaped by micro classroom practices, meso school systems and macro societal discourse and ideologies (Pennycook, 2021; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). A holistic and ecological perspective of translanguaging highlights the interconnected nature of the micro, meso and macro

features of an education system. In this perspective, translanguaging is not only viewed as a teaching strategy but also as a theoretical movement which authenticates the linguistic repertoires of individuals and aims at creating inclusive spaces for different languages in the socio-linguistic hierarchy. The ecological view accommodates the interconnectedness between individual, community, institution and policy (Allard, 2017; Sah & Kubota, 2022).

The term 'translanguaging' can be studied in relation to all these three different levels: micro or classroom, meso or institutional and macro or policy of the school education system. In keeping with the three levels, the study views 'translanguaging' as a natural pedagogic process within a multilingual society (Mohanty, 2019). Translanguaging as a pedagogic method treats human cognition as a unitary model that encompasses linguistic features and other meaning making systems (Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2017; Wei, 2011; 2018). Students and teachers can use multiple linguistic and other semiotic sign systems to make meaning in class. Spontaneous translanguaging practices create a 'translanguaging space' (Wei, 2011), which in terms of its physical and cognitive dimensions provides scope for students to express their identities, feel valued, reduce their affective filters in language learning and scaffold their learning. Cenoz and Gorter (2020; 2021) further construe pedagogical and spontaneous translanguaging as a language continuum because it is dynamic and fluid, allowing teachers to transition from unstructured practices to planned and intentional translanguaging strategies that enhance language transfer. Conceptualizing translanguaging as a continuum provides greater flexibility in language education, enabling both teachers and learners to integrate planned and spontaneous translanguaging as needed and accrue pedagogic benefits.

The de facto translanguaging practices in this study are analyzed through García et al.'s (2017) three-strand model of translanguaging pedagogy, which includes *stance*, *design*, and *shifts*. The first strand, stance, refers to teachers' beliefs and language ideologies about translanguaging. Their stance plays a crucial role in shaping the conceptualization and implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. It is reflected in their material selection, teaching approaches, and classroom strategies. The second strand, design, focuses on the planned integration of translanguaging in the classroom. This requires explicit planning and strategizing to incorporate translanguaging practices effectively. The final strand, shifts, highlights the need for teachers to adapt and modify their instructional plans based on the classroom context and spontaneously accommodate and respond to their learners' linguistic-cognitive needs. Together, these three strands illustrate the interconnectedness of translanguaging pedagogy, where teachers' beliefs, structured planning, and real-time adaptability work in tandem to create an inclusive and rich multilingual learning environment. Specifically, the concept of 'stance' is used in this study to explore two ESL teachers' beliefs, practices, and ideologies in relation to pedagogic practices in the classroom. This study adapts The Douglas Fir Group or DFG's (2016) transdisciplinary framework of Second Language Acquisition: micro, meso and macro concepts to code and further analyze teacher interview data. This framework

extends beyond the cognitive perspective by linking translanguaging theorization across policy, institutional, and classroom practice levels. At the micro level, it examines cognitive processes and classroom dynamics that facilitate language acquisition through translanguaging. The meso level explores the role of institutional structures and social factors that influence the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. Meanwhile, the macro level considers broader policy and societal forces that shape translanguaging practices. By emphasizing the connections between these levels, the framework underscores how they collectively operate within the classroom to shape language learning experiences of both the learners and the teachers. This framework is used to code the data linking them to the three different levels of operation.

3.1 Teacher's Beliefs and Ideology in Shaping the Translanguaging Pedagogy

Teacher's beliefs, attitudes and ideology are primary factors that determine the practice of translanguaging practices in the classroom. This can be inferred from the classification of 'strands in translanguaging pedagogy' (Garcia et al., 2017). In this classification, 'stance' reflecting the teacher's beliefs related to language is treated as the basic and first level to implement translanguaging pedagogy in class. This can be understood from Garcia et al.'s (2017) definition of stance as "the philosophical, ideological, or belief system that teachers can draw from to develop their pedagogical framework" (p. 27). Teachers' beliefs, attitudes and ideologies are considered important because they are one of the key agents through which ideology is spread (Shohamy, 2006). Here teacher agency plays an important role in adhering to or rejecting the implicit (or explicit) English-only language ideologies practised in many schools and classrooms in India. Other studies such as Menken and Sanchez (2019) also report that a 'translanguaging stance' can be developed through the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy and notice that every teacher does not practice translanguaging with an explicit stance.

Teacher language ideology is interconnected with the identity, social, cultural, and political context of a society. As Blackledge (2008) states language ideologies are discursively constructed at the classroom, school, national and global levels. Language ideologies are not explicitly stated and most often they are inferred from social practices. In this study, teachers' beliefs are inferred from the interview data. Inherently, translanguaging embraces heterogeneity and promotes the use of different linguistic repertoires to make meaning. Creese and Blackledge (2010) point out the possibility that different school systems based on monolingual ideologies introduce multilingual programmes that insist on keeping languages as separate systems. Multilingual programmes with monolingual ideology tend to distort the purpose of multilingual education. Palmer's (2011) study reports that teachers' language ideologies are shaped by individual personal history and life experiences. Similarly, based on Hult and

Hornberger (2016) and Ruiz (1984) studies, Aghai et al. (2020) use language ideologies to classify translanguaging practices into three types:1) translanguaging-as-a-problem, 2) translanguaging-as-a-natural-process and 3) translanguaging-as-a-resource. In the Indian context, Bisai and Singh's (2022) study analyses the school scape to infer the teachers' and students' negative attitudes towards minority languages used in class. This study focuses on how meso (or societal) factors play an important role in the learning of minority languages. In brief, teacher's ideological stance on pedagogic translanguaging is the first step in practising translanguaging pedagogy in class.

3.2 Creating 'Translanguaging Space' in Challenging Learning Environments

Translanguaging practices in the classroom have transformative potential, and they can be harnessed to achieve social justice in society. The transformative nature of this pedagogy is both individual and societal. Wei (2011) combines the psycholinguistic concept of 'languaging' and the concept of 'safe space' to define 'translanguaging space'. He defines it as an inclusive space for learners to use multiple language repertoires to share their social, cultural, and lived experiences. This is a space for students and teachers to negotiate their ideologies and practices. In most education contexts, teacher agency controls the operation and functioning of the translanguaging space. To create a 'translanguaging space,' teachers need to use or work on their 'translanguaging competency' (Canagarajah, 2013). Teacher's stance on translanguaging decides the formation of 'translanguaging space.' This space can facilitate an individual's learning process and address sociocultural and sociopolitical issues to ensure social justice (Garcia & Leiva, 2014).

In most educational contexts, institutional monolingual ideology is prevalent in the form of language policies, school practices, and teacher training. Teachers facilitate the 'translanguaging space,' which results in a de facto language policy or practiced language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). In most South Asian societies, the impact of neoliberal education policies has given rise to the prevalent adoption of English Medium Instruction (EMI) for many low-resource schools which has led to the erosion of translanguaging spaces in most school contexts (Boruah & Mohanty, 2022). This rapid switch to EMI and systemic promotion of elite bilingualism is an ideological phenomenon rather than a pedagogic stance (Sah & Kubato, 2022). This ground-level practice can be conscious or implicit depending on the language awareness of teachers. In this context, teachers act as invisible language planners that contribute to de facto language policy practices (Pakir, 1994). In this study, it is observed that teachers consciously facilitate the 'translanguaging space' to aid language learning in a low-resource context. The 'translanguaging space' can act as the space which includes the language, culture and identity of the marginalized sections of society.

3.3 Translanguaging Practices in Indian ESL Classrooms

In the Indian context, the prevalence of translanguaging practices as de facto language practices has been reported in many studies (Anderson, 2022; Anderson & Lightfoot, 2018; Erling et al., 2016; Mukhopadhyay, 2020; Treffers-Daller et al., 2022; Tsimpli et al., 2019). The de facto language practices are a common phenomenon in most of the schools in India. Tsimpli et al's (2019) study describe the de facto language practices as "Discrepancies between the official medium of instruction in Delhi schools and actual language use in class meant that some schools turned out to be English medium in name only." (p. 70).

Sah and Kubato (2022) critically examine the role of EMI in South Asian schools and promote the practices of a critical translanguaging approach to address linguistic hierarchies, social inequalities, and marginalization of local languages. They call for policy changes to integrate students' home languages alongside English to create a more just and effective educational system. In addition, many intervention studies have reported the pedagogical benefits of using local and Indigenous languages in the classroom. Durairajan (2017) reviewed different studies in India and reported pedagogical benefits of using one's own language. Thus, in most instances, spontaneous translanguaging is used to deal with the very low literacy skills of students from disadvantaged communities (Anderson, 2023). However, planned translanguaging or pedagogic translanguaging is not practiced and encouraged in different school contexts.

In India, studies have reported how 'monolingual language ideology' and 'English-only views' can be traced in teacher's responses, and they are labelled as 'guilty multilingualism' (Chimirala, 2017; Coleman, 2017) and 'guilty translanguaging' (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2018) attitudes among ESL teachers in India. These studies (Chimirala, 2017; Coleman, 2017) report that teachers feel guilty about using their own languages to teach the English language. The monolingual predisposition in teacher training programmes can be one of the reasons that ESL teachers feel guilty for using translanguaging strategies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Despite education policies, such as the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) (Government of India, 2005) and New Education Policy (NEP) (Government of India, 2020) advocating multilingualism in schools, India is far behind in developing multilingual curricula and school models that can be implemented in various parts of the country.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Participants

In this study, two ESL teachers working in a Telugu-medium Zilla Parishad Higher Secondary (ZPHS) government school in Andhra Pradesh, a state in the south of India, participated in the study. These two teachers, one female (henceforth referred to as T1)

and one male (henceforth referred to as T2), have more than ten years of teaching experience, and they have taught in both private and government schools. Both teachers are native Telugu speakers. The male teacher instructs 8th grade and above, while the female teacher teaches 6th, 7th, and 8th grades. The male teacher has received more formal training, holds an M.Phil. degree, and also serves as a district block resource person. In contrast, the female teacher is highly motivated but has received less formal training compared to her male counterpart. In addition to their teaching responsibilities, these teachers also play a crucial role in preventing student dropouts. They work to ensure that students do not leave school due to various socio-economic or personal reasons. In some cases, they actively make efforts to bring dropouts back to school, reinforcing their commitment to students' education and well-being. Both teachers use Telugu to manage students both inside the classroom and within the school premises and follow the syllabus prescribed by SCERT AP, using textbooks as their primary resource. With students of varying proficiency levels, they employ strategies like reading the content aloud and translating words into the students' mother tongue. Despite their varied qualifications they are bound by the curriculum and cannot go beyond the prescribed textbook content.

4.2 Data Collection

Semi-structured simulated recall interview was used as a tool to collect teacher opinions and beliefs about using and positioning home languages and translanguaging pedagogy. The interviews were conducted after a minimum of six class hours (3 hours and 30 minutes) of classroom observation for each teacher. As a part of a larger research project, these two teachers were interviewed to understand their perspectives and stance on spontaneous translanguaging practices. The objective of the project was to understand pedagogic functions of spontaneous translanguaging, as evident through teacher talk in low-resource schools. Selected video clips of their classroom interaction were played to the teachers as simulated prompts based on which they responded to the semi-structured interview questions. Their responses were analysed to understand the extent to which their perceptions and beliefs motivated them to select the purposes of spontaneous translanguaging in the classrooms.

4.3 Data Analysis

This is an exploratory study with a qualitative research methodology. Hence, the interview responses were transcribed and thematically analyzed using the grounded method approach (Guest et.al, 2012). The interview data was approached to identify the patterns in the experiences and perceptions of the teachers, and these experiences and perceptions also illustrate their latent language ideologies. The patterns in the data are mapped to the micro (classroom practices), meso (institutional constraints) and macro

(societal discourses). The thematic coding was developed using DFG's framework (2016) and interview data was categorised into micro, meso and macro factors that shape teachers' perspectives and ideologies. Selected responses indicating latent teacher ideologies are reported in the next section to show the relationship between micro, meso and macro factors in understanding teacher ideology underlying their translanguaging practices.

5. FINDINGS

The study shows that teachers in Indian ESL classrooms view translanguaging as an effective tool to support students' understanding and improve English proficiency. Teachers use spontaneous language switching, depending on the context, to scaffold learning, give feedback, and provide instruction. Using translanguaging as a strategy, the teachers seem to create a safe space for students in the classroom. Moreover, the intensity of the translanguaging depends on the medium and type of schooling. These key findings will be discussed using a set of extracts from the teacher interviews.

5.1 Micro: Classroom Practices

5.1.1 Teachers Acknowledge Translanguaging Practices as an Effective Pedagogical Tool for ESL Classrooms in India

The participating teachers in many instances in the extracts below have highlighted the advantages of using translanguaging practices in ESL classrooms. Most of these translanguaging practices are spontaneous switching between languages to help students learn the target language.

From the data, it can also be inferred that teachers use spontaneous translanguaging practices for multiple pedagogic purposes, such as *scaffolding, questioning, giving feedback, reprimanding, instructing,* and for *affective reasons*. The extracts also illustrate the teachers' perception towards micro-classroom practices and their beliefs about language teaching and learning. These beliefs show their ideological position towards using Telugu in the classroom.

In Extract 1, Teacher 1 responds to the interviewer's question about translanguaging practices in the classroom. In Extract 1, the teacher explains that translanguaging as translation is used only when students are not able to comprehend the content. This teacher equates translanguaging and translation but in practice they go beyond translation. Translation is one of the translanguaging strategies and teachers are not conscious of the other strategies they employed. The teacher also highlights that translanguaging strategy is used depending on the pedagogic context. In Extract 1, the teacher recognizes the significance of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach and

emphasizes the influence of the pedagogic context in deciding when to use translanguaging practices in the classroom. Being an ESL teacher, this teacher expresses a conscious stance that one's own language is a tool to aid the learning of English. This micro practice indicates that the teachers intend to use translanguaging as a tool to improve English proficiency.

Extract 1. Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool

Teacher 1: There, if they are familiar with the answers, even though we ask in English....they...they can respond immediately....if they are in confusion, then I translate into Telugu then they can catch my point....

Interviewer: okay...**Ante** students **ki** context **ni batti** lesson **ni batti vallu** respond **avutunnaru** [okay...that means students are responding depending on the context depending on the lesson....]

Teacher 1: yeah, where... where they feel difficulty, and I simply translate into our mother tongue to reach them......then they can give reply easily....and if it is not necessity they can ask and reply in English....

Interviewer: But maximum **pillalaki** beneficial**ga undi, ante adi miru edi** choose **cestaru?** [But to benefit maximum children, how do you choose to use mother tongue in the classroom? What would be more beneficial for them?]

Teacher 1: it means...its depend upon the context...

Interviewer: depends on context....

Teacher 1: yeah context...if it is....if the context is very easy then we can simply input them....in....in our English language...if it is....they feel difficulty, yeah definitely I come down to facilitate them in our mother tongue...

Similarly, in Extract 2, Teacher 2 explains the pedagogical importance of using Telugu in ESL classrooms. The teacher states that new words and concepts are introduced using Telugu in these classrooms because it improves students' retention of the word and comprehension of concepts. In the Extract 2, the teacher clearly states that the concept and word 'feminism' are introduced using Telugu because it facilitates students' comprehension. Interestingly, the teacher also illustrates the special use of English for reprimanding students because it makes them take it more seriously. In this Extract 2, it can be inferred that Teacher 2 is more open to experimenting with students' own languages. Moreover, this teacher's micro classroom practices also express that Teacher 2 does not use translanguaging only as a tool for scaffolding. From Extract 2, it can be inferred that Teacher 2 emphasizes the crucial role of own language in low-resource schools.

Extract 2. Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool

Teacher 2: **Na abhiprayam enti ante Telugu vaditene pillalaki arthamavuthundi**...Madam **a feminism anedi** [My opinion is that children can understand only if Telugu is used. Feminism is...]

Interviewer: A word difficult **mulana a** idea difficulty **mulana** [Difficulty in understanding that word, difficulty in understanding that idea]

Teacher 2: Idea **ante na** idea difficult **ga vuntadi a** word **kuda** difficult **ganevuntadi** feminist... Feminism **anedi eppudu vinaledu**... **A** word **ni ha**... **Kabatti a** word... Feminism **anedi teliyadu pillalaki endukante manam** higher classes and MA **lo pg lo vatini cadivamu kani pillalaki.... Villu ee** class **kadd teliyane teliyadu... Andukani a** word **ni telugu lo ceppadam jarigindi** [The idea and the word: feminist and feminismare difficult for children.Students have not heard the word feminism. We know it because we have studied in higher classes, MA and Postgraduation. Students don't know the word so that word was said in Telugu.]

Andulo oka point **maku** curious **ga undi mallimadyalo i pillalu tuntari ga** mischievous **ga vunnaru kada appudu varuku Telugu lo undi** sudden **ga** English **loki** switch **ayyaru adioka** order **kani** command **kani** i will send u out of the class **annaru adi endukani cesaru adi maku koncam** quite interesting **ga undi maku** [We are curious about one point in the video. Again, these children are mischievous in the middle. Till then you were talking in Telugu and suddenly switched to English. It was an order, command – you said, "I will send you out of the class". Why did you switch? It is interesting to us.]

Teacher 2: **Ha vallanta kuda Telugu lo vintu vuntaru kani ala gettiga** English **lo ceptene vallaki inka** madam **ha mana mida** concentration **cesaru**... He... Hey... **Allari ceyyageku ani ceppamanuko vallu mamuluga anestaru kani** oka separate **ga** English word **vadam ammo** madam **mottaniki na mida** concentration **cesindi**... **Cesaru nannu bayataku pampestaru ane idi to vallu malli** concentration **ga vintaru** [They are all listening in Telugu but if we say that loudly in English, they have concentrated on us. If we say "Hey don't be naughty (in Telugu), they will be as usual. But if we use a separate English word, then they will feel that "Ammo (oh my god) madam is now concentrating on me. She will send me out". Then they will listen with concentration.]

Both Extracts 1 and 2 illustrate how teacher purposes for using translanguaging differ, despite their positive attitude toward using the students' mother tongue. This illustrates that in a spontaneous translanguaging environment teachers use both Telugu and English for different pedagogic and non-pedagogic purposes.

Teacher 1 and Teacher 2 demonstrate two different perspectives on using spontaneous translanguaging in ESL classrooms. From the data, it can be inferred that Teacher 1 tries to adopt the 'maximal position' (Macaro, 2009) and teacher 2 tries to practice the 'optimal position' (Macaro, 2009) by using their own Telugu in these classrooms. Teacher 1 has constantly emphasized that Telugu will be used only after attempts to help comprehension using the target language is not effective. From the reflection, the

teacher expresses confidence that in a low-resource context, making full use of Telugu can be an effective approach to teaching English. This teacher also does not express any guilt or caution about using Telugu in the classroom. On the other hand, Teacher 2 emphatically believes that Telugu is one of the important sources in teaching English in the classroom but is cautious that students receive adequate input in English. This teacher claims to use extensive translanguaging and is not guilty of using translanguaging in classrooms. Despite both teachers using translanguaging, it can be understood that different beliefs about using Telugu and stances toward translanguaging shape their translanguaging space in the classroom. This difference in teacher stance towards translanguaging in class shows us that we need to record the micro differences in use of other languages in the English classroom.

5.1.2 Teachers Treat Spontaneous Translanguaging as a Safe Space for Pedagogic and Literacy Practices

Teachers frequently employ spontaneous translanguaging as a valuable instrument for engaging students with diverse English language proficiency levels. In low-resource settings, many students may lack fundamental English literacy skills, and a large portion of students may fall below the expected proficiency levels. Both the teachers have applied spontaneous translanguaging for various pedagogical functions and literacy development in class. In Extract 3, Teacher 2 comments on the use of translanguaging to explain binomials in the classroom. The teacher explains that using Telugu helps students comprehend the meaning of word pairs and facilitates their retention. The disparity between the grade level and the anticipated proficiency level can be inferred from the teaching of simple binomials such as "near" and "dear" in the eighth grade. Additionally, Teacher 2 enumerates different pedagogical methods for teaching vocabulary and grammar.

Extract 3. Pedagogical and Literacy Practices

Teacher 2: Binomial use **cesaru** near and dear **anedi** [Binomial is used near and dear]

Interviewer: Right!

Teacher 2: **A** near and dear **enduku memu telugulone ceppamu ani ante asalu** binomial **anedi vallaki emi teliyadu** near and dear **ippudu vallaki** near **ante daggara** dear **ante** [We use the words in Telugu because they don't know the binomials. But after using it in Telugu now they know that 'daggara' means near and dear means]

Interviewer: **Aptulu** Dear ones (close ones)

Similarly, in the other instance, Teacher 1 reports the use of their Telugu in teaching pronunciation. The teacher says that using Telugu helps students understand English pronunciation. In Extract 4, the teacher says by using Telugu the teacher can draw students' attention to the silent letters in English words. In this instance, the teacher draws students' attention to pronunciation by comparing the sound of the English words 'talc' and 'talk' and explains it in Telugu.

Extract 4. Pedagogical and Literacy Practices

Teacher 1: General **ga pillalu andukane si danni manam em cestunnavu ante malli** repetition **cestunnamu a** pronunciation **vaccentavaraku** that is not talk(talc) that is ṭāk(talk) l – is silent. [Generally, for children, we repeat the word to understand the distinct English language sounds. So, students understand that is not ṭālk(talc) that is ṭāk(talk) l – is silent.]

In both Extracts 3 & 4, teachers express the stance that in a low-resource context, it is imperative to use one's own language as a pedagogical tool to bridge the gaps in the students' target language proficiency. Implicitly the teachers acknowledge that spontaneous translanguaging practices in classrooms act as a safe space to mitigate their language proficiency.

From the above instances, different pedagogic functions of translanguaging in the Indian ESL classroom can also be understood. In addition, teachers also report inadequate literacy skills among students in low-resource contexts. In Extract 5, Teacher 2 reports that some students, even in higher grades, struggle with the alphabet. In this context, teachers use students' own language in the pedagogic and instructional contexts which can significantly reduce the affective filter of the students.

Extract 5. Pedagogical and Literacy Practices

Teacher 2: **Ippatiki ippudu em cesanante** 3rd class **lo** introduce **cesaru ayinappatiki pillalaki emavutundante** a just alphabet **nercukuntunnaru ayite** English grammar **ayite emaindi nercukuntaro ippatiki** 6th class **loki vaccinappatiki kuda** alphabets **calamandiki ravu andukanesi appudappudu telugu matladutu vastundi** [What we have discussed now should be introduced in the 3rd class, but what happens is that for some, we teach the English alphabet now. So, when will they learn English grammar and they are in 6th class? Even now, they have difficulties in understanding the alphabet, so speaking in Telugu is important.]

Different advantages of using translanguaging in ESL classrooms have been reported by both teachers through Extracts 1 to 5. They are indicative of pedagogical, instructional, and affective benefits. In low-resource contexts, translanguaging can create a

psychologically reassuring space for students, signifying that their knowledge is valued and used to accomplish meaning-making activities in the classroom. Both the teachers consistently provide opportunities for students to develop translanguaging space in the classroom, which helps them, and their students navigate the challenging educational environment of low-resource schools. This approach demonstrates that spontaneous translanguaging strategies can serve as a social and pedagogically inclusive tool in the ESL classroom. The teachers' explicit classroom practices suggest their positive attitude towards translanguaging, but they have not yet advanced beyond the spontaneous function of translanguaging. Nonetheless, this 'favourable stance' of the teachers is an essential step towards progressing to the subsequent stages of "Design" and "Shift."

5.2 Meso: Institutional Constraints

5.2.1 Using Translanguaging Dependent on the School Context and Medium of Education

The teachers, in their responses, have shared their understanding that encouragement to use translanguaging depends on the school context and medium of education. The interplay of language ideology of school management and that of the ESL teacher play an important role in determining the use of translanguaging in the classroom. The researchers asked teachers to share their experiences of practicing translanguaging in the schools where they have worked previously. In Extract 6, Teacher 1 shares his friend's teaching experience in a private school in Andhra Pradesh, India. He says that translanguaging is not encouraged in private schools because the school management does not value the pedagogic benefit of translanguaging. So, teachers are forced to use only English for pedagogic purposes. The teacher also expresses displeasure over the monolingual mindset, which is prevalent in many schools, using expressions like "he imposes English on their heads.... students' heads." It is imperative to note that the same teacher has expressed reservations about the overuse of Telugu in all pedagogic contexts. Despite lacking formal training in planned translanguaging, this teacher understands the negative impact of a monolingual mindset in the Indian ESL context. The teacher's stance also explicitly states how institutional practices and rules play a major role in promoting this monolingual mindset in school systems.

Extract 6. Translanguaging and School Context

Teacher 1: ...and he has to use English whether it is right or wrong whether they are able to catch the point of the teacher or not...he doesn't consider it...yeah, their management don't accept him...that's why he only uses....or he impose English on their heads...students heads...what he does is right or wrong is a different criteria...

Interviewer: **Okavela** Telugu **vadina akkada** guilty **ga untundi**….. **Are manam enduku vadutunnam ani** [Even if Telugu is used, we feel guilty there….. Why are we using it?]

Teacher 1: Yeah….yeah….the situation as you said that the situation is not co-operative there whereas here we are free that means of course our colleagues also tell that English medium tenth class…you have to teach it only in English medium they are able to catch whatever the teacher has to say….. so, if the teacher is not ready to give them in….to English to some extent inefficiency of the teacher, definitely…..

Teacher 2 also expresses a similar opinion that ESL teachers are constrained in the context of private schools in India. In Extract 7, the teacher states the school management team constantly monitors them, and they are reprimanded if they use Telugu in the classroom. The teacher also reported that within the same school, the management has different approaches to Telugu and English mediums of instruction.

Extract 7. Translanguaging and School Context

Interviewer: Can you compare previous experience with the private English Medium school setup to the institution support here? Did you have the same institution support there?

Teacher 2: **Leedu endukante ikkada** private schools **ila ayite matram intaku mundu** vaizag public **schoolo** teach **cesevallam ikkada matram madhyamadhyalo telugu anedi asalu** sir **vacci** observe **cesta undevallu andukani** English **e ceppevallam endukante okavela manamu** English dull **ga unnamante** mam **malni classes** petti **mam'malni** improve **cesevadu akkada** principle **kuda** English to English **e ceppali ani** order **undi** [No. Because here in private schools.. I used to teach is Vizag public school. Here we cannot use Telugu in the middle at all. Sir used to come and observe. That is why we used only English. If we are dull in English the principal used to conduct classes for improvement. There was an order to teach only English-to-English.]

Both the teachers have exhibited awareness that the ideology of the school management versus theirs play a vital role in implementing pedagogic translanguaging in the classroom. Many private and public schools view using one's own (or home) language(s) as an impediment to acquiring English and content knowledge in general. From the Extracts 6 and 7 presented above, it can be inferred that practicing translanguaging pedagogy is beyond the teachers' agency in the ESL classroom. This is because practicing translanguaging pedagogy is mediated by the ideology transposed by the school management and the prevalent societal discourses in different states of India. The stance of the teachers also indicates that teachers are acutely aware of the institutional constraints in implementing translanguaging pedagogy.

5.3 Macro: Societal Perspectives

5.3.1 Using Translanguaging Space for Promoting Critical and Inclusive Perspectives

Translanguaging practices have transformative potential as they can cater to the socio-educational needs of the learners by valuing their home languages and using such resources to learn English. Both the teachers in the study assert that it is the responsibility of the teachers to provide holistic education. So, they state that teachers can address the social issues that concern Indian society. In Extract 8, Teacher 1 says that translanguaging allows her to infuse discussion on social issues into their English language teaching. The teacher also states that students can improve their content knowledge and world knowledge, as both are necessary. The teachers also implicitly state the relationship between classroom discourses and societal discourses. This can be observed from the teachers' response that many social, cultural, and religious discussions are important for a healthy society. In the same Extract, the teacher also cites Savitribai Phule, a social reformer, and a teacher, who worked for socially deprived castes and communities in India. The teacher talks about Savitribai Phule in the English classroom to raise the social consciousness of the students.

Extract 8. Translanguaging for Social Transformation

Teacher 1: Yeah, in conveying in both language and using other points it's a….it make the classroom some extent interesting giving only context content is the not a good thing teacher has to inform so many social issues and related issues so that's why so many social and culture, religious whatever they might be other issues also inculcating in my teaching which provokes the students towards lessons and also they could know general knowledge also in all aspects either in science or whatever the ethics whatever it may be definitely I could impose where ever it is needed definitely I input general points also in the lesson…

Interviewer: and social interaction also…

Teacher 1: Yeah… Definitely…

Interviewer: Funny **gavallakiceppadamkani…** [It is funny to tell them]

Teacher 1: Yeah!

Interviewer: Jokes Veyadankani

Teacher 1: Yeah…contributing society from America to Anakapalli I impose all the points to the students…where I…I also tell that lesson is not the enough thing only and most probably if we could say them they could also open their mind in all aspects for example today Savitribai Phule we celebrate it in our school…yeah, definitely if situation comes definitely I would explain about her life, and what challenges she had faced in the early life then I could tell them all these things in that…like that depending upon the situation whether it is religious or whatever it may be…

In Extract 8, Teacher 1 treats translanguaging as a transformative tool to address social issues and provide pedagogic equity in the classroom. This is an example of how both the teachers' ideological orientation to discuss social issues in class using translanguaging shows is based on their understanding that language learning is a social process. They exhibit the belief that classroom discourses play a significant role in upholding the values of a democratic society. This holistic approach to language education is important for students from low-resource contexts. In these instances, it could also be observed that teachers are implicitly treating translanguaging as an approach to initiate dialogue in the classroom. In brief, the teachers are found to be using translanguaging approaches to discuss macro societal discourses.

5.3.2 Teachers' Difficulties Involved in Language Assessment and Testing

Teachers express their opinion that the use of Telugu can be allowed in language assessment and testing. They state that permitting one's own language use in language assessment and testing is important for students from low-resource contexts. For instance, in Extract 9, Teacher 2 says that they have both English medium and Telugu medium in this school. But mostly, they do not encourage students to use Telugu in the exam. Allowing the use of Telugu will be good for the students but they do not see the possibility of accepting multilingual responses.

> *Extract 9. Teacher's Opinion on Translanguaging and Language Testing*
>
> Teacher 2: **Ala em levandi endukante maku ikkada** English medium **inka** telugu medium **rendu unnayi kada veraiti cesukovadad** Telugu compulsory **vadalsindd ikkadaite pillalaki** Telugu **ceptene baguntundi ani na abhiprayam ceppadaniki gani vinadaniki** [Here we have both English medium and Telugu medium. Using Telugu will be good for students for variety in classis my opinion for teaching and for the students' to listen]

Likewise, in Extract 10, Teacher 1 expresses that students can demonstrate their understanding of content better in Telugu than in English. The teacher also points out that in a low-resource context, students have an inherent fear of the English language. However, it is reported that the use of Telugu is not encouraged even in school's internal assessments; so, it is impractical to use Telugu in the public examination conducted by states. Because of these systemic constraints, teachers from the beginning encourage the students to use only English in the examination.

Extract 10. Teacher's Opinion on Translanguaging and Language Testing

Teacher 1: Yeah, here the student's stamina is (to) some extent poor,...they are afraid of the English language.... they know the content....they know the content of the answer (or) the question asked, which is given there (comprehension questions) and if we some extent help the students to translate the question into mother tongue he could catch the point and he could write down the content but it is only...possible in schools. But it in a public.....public examinations no body (will) help you. So from the beginning itself we encourage them to write the answer in English. So it's not extended by the students.

Encouraging multilingual language assessment and testing is integral to promoting multilingual education in India. Language assessment and testing in multiple languages are the important stages of practicing meaningful multilingual education in India. Encouraging multilingual assessment and testing practices will facilitate and motive teachers to implement multilingual pedagogy, which at the moment remains a distant dream.

In these extracts, teachers express their willingness to practice language assessment and testing Telugu but cite monolingual testing policy and practice as the constraint. Teachers explicitly state their positive ideological stance towards using translanguaging in language assessment. Moreover, teachers also express the ability to identify language assessment as a macro societal issue and systemic constraint which has to be addressed to empower students from marginalized societies.

5.3.3 Inferring Teachers' Perspectives on Teacher Training

In Extract 11, Teacher 1 highlights the disconnect between teacher training and ground realities:

Extract 11. Teacher is Highlighting the Disconnect between Teacher Training and Ground Realities

Teacher 1: And you don't know the actual problem what is there in the sixth class fellow student...you are in AC room and simply set a module and simply throw on our shoulders....whereas we being a teachers...where teach sixth class and he does not come to school even two days per week but how far your module is able to helpful to us to inculcate English language or anything else to the students so we have so many problems at the ground level...

In some instances, the teachers also express a lack of support in terms of teacher training and a lack of coordination between prescribed practices and ground realities. For instance, in Extract 11, Teacher 1 records her displeasure about how workshops and

teacher training sessions are conducted without understanding the ground realities. The displeasure is expressed because teachers feel there is a lack of support for teachers working in the low-resource context. In all, Extracts 8 to 11 provide evidence of macro influence or societal influence on using translanguaging in class.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Despite their positive attitude towards using translanguaging practices in language classrooms, there are some differences in the stances adopted by the teachers. As stated earlier, Teacher 1 believes in the 'Maximal Position' because her belief is guided by the objective of an ESL teacher. Specifically, the objective of Teacher 1 is to use mother tongue to develop English proficiency, which she believes is important for the academic and career growth of students. This could be inferred through multiple classroom practices and by observing the degree of translanguaging, where the predominant responses are in English. Teacher 1 prefers to speak in English and uses translanguaging in a few instances.

On the other hand, Teacher 2 believes in the 'Optimal Position' because his belief is guided by the objective that holistic and inclusive growth of students is more important than just gaining proficiency in the English language for students from low resources context. This could be inferred from the classroom practices, supplementary activities, and degree of translanguaging presented above. Teacher 2 extensively uses both languages to respond to the interview questions and is more willing to share the different bilingual practices he uses in class. Overall, it can be concluded that both teachers are not guilty of using Telugu in the ESL classrooms. However, they implicitly take different positions in using translanguaging in the classroom.

From the presentation of the extracts and analysis of the teacher stance in the section above, it becomes clear that teacher perspectives on translanguaging pedagogy when systematically documented and analyzed help us comprehend the various individual, social, cultural, and historical factors that shape teacher views and practices. As Garcia et al. (2017) emphasized in their study, the efficacy of translanguaging pedagogy is greatly influenced by the stance of the teachers. Teachers convey their ideology through their actions at the micro, meso, and macro levels of practice. In this study, teachers have outlined various pedagogical benefits of translanguaging practices in the classroom at the micro level. Despite their positive outlook on translanguaging, teachers view and practice translanguaging differently. Furthermore, teachers are aware of the meso-institutional restrictions that limit the implementation of translanguaging in the classroom. Additionally, teachers recognize the importance of translanguaging practices in addressing macro-societal issues. The interview responses reveal the teachers' manifest and latent language ideologies and their understanding of linking micro-classroom practices, to meso-institutional practices, and macro-societal issues. The findings also partially align with those of previous studies (Aleksic & Garcia, 2022; Li et

al., 2023) which have highlighted the conflicting and contradictory nature of teachers' language ideologies.

The present study captures the viewpoints of Indian ESL teachers regarding translanguaging. These viewpoints are particularly relevant for teachers working in low-resource contexts. By examining these viewpoints, it is possible to progress to the subsequent stages of the pedagogic cycle for developing translanguaging education, as proposed by Garcia et al. (2017). In India, it is crucial to record the stances of teachers operating in various educational settings to identify the distinct strands of their perspectives. Furthermore, the study highlights the need to document and investigate spontaneous translanguaging practices aligned with teacher stances and goals in the Indian context.

Understanding spontaneous translanguaging practices is important in low-resource Indian schools that cater to multilingual learners, who are mostly from low socio-economic status families and do not receive much parental support to develop school skills. Such learners solely depend on teacher inputs in class in addition to textbook materials to develop academic language proficiency and content understanding through language(s) of instruction. The pedagogic value of spontaneous translanguaging in the classroom is likely to vary from one context to the other. In some contexts, extensive use of spontaneous translanguaging practices can shift the focus of pedagogic output. Despite different views on the effectiveness of translanguaging practices, in low-resource schools spontaneous translanguaging practices play an important role in creating a 'safe translanguaging space' (Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia & Leiva, 2014) to facilitate dialogue and meaning-making in the classroom. These spontaneous translanguaging practices are individual attempts by teachers to create an inclusive linguistic environment for students to process and participate in classroom discussion in an eclectic manner.

In the Indian context, developing planned translanguaging models can productively promote inclusive language learning and contribute to the language ecology of the country. Developing planned translanguaging models for different pedagogic and social contexts can contribute to the design of multilingual school education models in India. Spontaneous translanguaging provides basic and emotional scaffolding for students from disadvantaged communities.

As a step ahead, developing planned translanguaging models can be further based on spontaneous models to enable teachers and students to gradually notice the crosslinguistic features of languages. It can improve crosslinguistic awareness, metalinguistic awareness and metacognitive awareness of teachers and students. It can also enhance the translanguaging competency of the teachers. Despite the debates about the effectiveness of spontaneous translanguaging practices in second/foreign language learning, acknowledging spontaneous translanguaging is an important first step in creating an inclusive pedagogical tool for school education in India and other Global South contexts. It is important for three reasons: 1) for most Indian social groups' access

to public education is still challenging; 2) spontaneous and unguided practices of teachers represent their values and ideologies about languages; and 3) inclusive pedagogy is essential because the modern Indian secular democracy aims to reduce socio-linguistic inequalities in the Indian society. In low resources schools, spontaneous translanguaging performs the role of pedagogic and social inclusion. So, devaluing spontaneous translanguaging practices will lead to de facto language practices at schools and marginalization of students from low-resource contexts. Additionally, it is equally important to develop different planned translanguaging models in India. The limitation of this study is that it focuses on one geographic location with limited sample size and draws only from teacher simulated recall interview responses as data. Future studies can compare teacher stances from different low resource schools in multiple Indian states and validate it with their classroom practices.

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