



Universitat de Lleida

Lecturers' identities and practices in English-medium instruction at a Catalan University: an ethnographic study

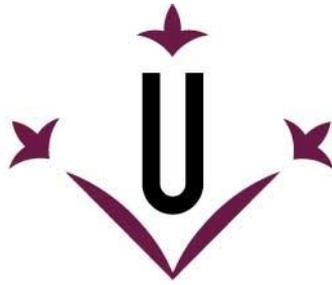
Balbina Moncada-Comas

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Universitat de Lleida

TESI DOCTORAL

**LECTURERS' IDENTITIES AND
PRACTICES IN ENGLISH-MEDIUM
INSTRUCTION AT A CATALAN
UNIVERSITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC
STUDY**

Balbina Moncada-Comas

Memòria presentada per optar al grau de Doctor per la Universitat de
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Abstract

One of the key drivers of the internationalisation processes of higher education institutions has been the introduction and rapid implementation of English-medium instruction (EMI) subjects. This Englishisation of university subjects responds to the belief that English is the language for academia and so it serves to broaden the academic opportunities for university stakeholders, especially lecturers and students. Nevertheless, EMI subjects are often taught by disciplinary content lecturers who are non-native English speakers in non-English speaking countries. For this reason, there is a need to explore and consider how lecturers experience EMI due to the challenged that they may confront when engaged in teaching subject matter in English, a foreign language.

This ethnomethodological study investigates how three experienced STEM lecturers at the University of Lleida negotiate their professional identity through their self-inhabited positionings and how they accept or resist other-ascribed positionings that come with the language instruction shift from their L1 (either Spanish and/or Catalan) to English. It examines the negotiation, (re)interpretation, (re)construction and transformation of their EMI lecturer professional identities, focussing particularly on the extent to which they inhabit a language-related identity, that is to say a disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role, when engaged in EMI teaching. Alongside the exploration of professional identity, this study will also analyse EMI lecturers' teaching practices, focusing on how these practices unfold in the classroom and to what extent EMI lecturer' practices are multilingual. Accordingly, this thesis adopts a qualitative approach and comprises data from semi-structured interviews with the lecturers and classroom observation of their EMI classes. With a focus on their identity, this study specifically focusses on how lecturers grapple with the prospect of positioning themselves and their practices as *CLILised* EMI, understood as what happens when EMI is reframed as sharing key characteristic with Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) – language teaching. If English language learning becomes a goal, EMI may be *CLILised*, that is, it is adopted not only for content delivery, but also as a means through which students might improve their English.

The results of the study reveal the lecturers accept and self-inhabit an EMI lecturer professional identity and resist the notion of *CLILised* EMI, which emerges from the researchers' English-language teaching (ELT) discourses, and so they somehow diminish the DLF role. Although their professional identity still needs to undergo a profound

negotiation and re-construction to actually become *CLILised*, they do position EMI as *CLILised* as they both report in the interviews, and actually perform in class language-teaching-like practices, a DLF role. Therefore, their professional identity fluctuates between the core EMI lecturer identity and the emerging, but somehow suppressed, *CLILised* EMI lecturer identity. These and other findings point to instructional and linguistic challenges as well as a disjuncture between policy and practice. For this reason, I argue that a clearer EMI policy – either *CLILised* or non-*CLILised* – needs to be developed by university administrators and EMI lecturers themselves, an EMI official policy that provides lecturers with a pedagogical and linguistic guide to perform confidently in EMI and further re-shape their professional identity.

Keywords: *English-medium instructions (EMI), CLILised EMI, professional identity, teaching practice, disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF)*

Resum

Un dels impulsors clau dels processos d'internacionalització de les institucions d'educació superior ha estat la introducció i la ràpida implementació d'assignatures de contingut en anglès (EMI és l'acrònim en anglès). Aquesta anglicització de les matèries universitàries respon a la creença que l'anglès és l'idioma de l'acadèmia i, per tant, serveix per ampliar les oportunitats acadèmiques de professors i estudiants universitaris. No obstant això, les matèries EMI sovint són impartides per professors de contingut disciplinari que no són parlants nadius d'anglès en països on no es parla anglès. Per aquesta raó, hi ha la necessitat d'explorar i considerar com els professors experimenten EMI a causa del repte a què s'enfronten quan participen en l'ensenyament de matèries de contingut en anglès, un idioma estranger per a ells.

Aquest estudi etnometodològic investiga com tres professors experimentats en les branques de ciència, tecnologia, enginyeria i matemàtiques (STEM és l'acrònim en anglès) a la Universitat de Lleida negocien la seva identitat professional a través de com es posicionen ells mateixos i com accepten o es resisteixen a posicionaments atribuïts derivats del canvi en l'idioma d'ensenyament de la seva L1 (ja sigui espanyol i/o català) a l'anglès. Aquesta tesi examina la negociació, (re)interpretació, (re)construcció i transformació de la seva identitat professional de professor EMI, centrant-se particularment en la mesura que habiten una identitat relacionada amb l'ensenyament del llenguatge, és a dir, un paper de facilitador del llenguatge disciplinari (DLF) quan es dediquen a l'ensenyament EMI. Juntament amb l'exploració de la seva identitat professional, aquest estudi també analitzarà les pràctiques docents dels professors EMI, centrant-se en com es desenvolupen aquestes pràctiques a l'aula i en quina mesura aquestes pràctiques són multilingües. En conseqüència, aquesta tesi adopta un enfocament qualitatiu i comprèn dades d'entrevistes semiestructurades amb els professors i l'observació a l'aula de les seves classes EMI. Amb un enfocament en la seva identitat, el focus està en com els professors es sobreposen a un possible posicionament de tant la seva identitat com les seves pràctiques com *EMI CLILitzades*, entès com el que passa quan EMI es reformula com una característica normalment atribuïda a CLIL (aprenentatge de contingut i llengua integrat). Si l'aprenentatge de l'idioma anglès es converteix en un objectiu, EMI esdevé *CLILitzat*, és a dir, s'adopta no només per a l'ensenyament de contingut, sinó també com un mitjà a través del qual els estudiants poden millorar el seu anglès.

Els resultats de l'estudi revelen que els professors accepten i habiten en si mateixos una identitat professional de professor EMI i es resisteixen a la noció de *EMI CLILitzat* que

emergeix del discurs d'ensenyament d'anglès (ELT) dels investigadors i, per tant, refusen el paper de DLF. Tot i que la seva identitat professional encara necessita sotmetre's a una negociació i una reconstrucció profundes per convertir-se en *CLILitzada*, tanmateix posicionen les assignatures EMI com *CLILitzades*, ja que a les entrevistes assenyalen, i en efecte realitzen pràctiques similars a l'ensenyament d'idiomes a l'aula, un paper DLF. Per tant, la seva identitat professional fluctua entre una identitat central de professor EMI i una identitat emergent, però en tant suprimida, de professor *EMI CLILitzat*. Aquests i altres resultats apunten a reptes educatius i lingüístics, així com a una disjuntiva entre política i pràctica. Per aquesta raó, argumentem que una política d'ensenyament EMI – ja sigui *CLILitzada* o no – ha de ser abordada i desenvolupada més clarament pels administradors universitaris i els mateixos professors EMI, una política oficial d'EMI que proporcioni als professors una guia pedagògica i lingüística per poder exercir amb confiança EMI i així seguir reformulant la seva identitat professional.

Paraules clau: assignatures de contingut en anglès (EMI), *EMI CLILitzat*, identitat professional, pràctica docent, facilitador el llenguatge disciplinari (DLF)

Resumen

Uno de los impulsores clave de los procesos de internacionalización de las instituciones de educación superior ha sido la introducción y la rápida implementación de asignaturas de contenido en inglés (EMI, el acrónimo en inglés). Esta inglesización de las materias universitarias responde a la creencia de que el inglés es el idioma de la academia y, por lo tanto, sirve para ampliar las oportunidades académicas de profesores y estudiantes universitarios. Sin embargo, las materias EMI a menudo son impartidas por profesores de contenido disciplinario que no son hablantes nativos de inglés en países donde no se habla inglés. Por esta razón, existe la necesidad de explorar y considerar cómo los profesores experimentan EMI debido al desafío al que se enfrentan cuando participan en la enseñanza de materias de contenido en inglés, un idioma extranjero para ellos.

Este estudio etnometodológico investiga cómo tres profesores experimentados de las ramas de ciencia, tecnología, ingeniería y matemáticas (STEM, el acrónimo en inglés) en la Universidad de Lleida negocian su identidad profesional a través de cómo se auto posicionan y como aceptan o resisten otros posicionamientos atribuidos por otros que derivan del cambio en el idioma de enseñanza de su L1 (ya sea español y/o catalán) al inglés. Esta tesis examina la negociación, (re)interpretación, (re)construcción y transformación de su identidad profesional de profesor EMI, centrándose particularmente en la medida en que habitan una identidad relacionada con la enseñanza del lenguaje, es decir, un rol de facilitador del lenguaje disciplinario (DLF) cuando se dedican a la enseñanza EMI. Junto con la exploración de su identidad profesional, este estudio también analizará las prácticas docentes de los profesores EMI, centrándose en cómo se desarrollan estas prácticas en el aula y en qué medida estas prácticas son multilingües. En consecuencia, esta tesis adopta un enfoque cualitativo y comprende datos de entrevistas semiestructuradas con los profesores y la observación en el aula de las sus clases EMI. Con un enfoque en su identidad, el foco está en cómo los profesores lidian con un posible posicionamiento de tanto su identidad como sus prácticas como *EMI CLILizadas*, entendido como lo que sucede cuando EMI se reformula como una característica normalmente atribuida a CLIL (aprendizaje de contenido y lengua integrado). Si el aprendizaje del idioma inglés se convierte en un objetivo, EMI se *CLILiza*, es decir, se adopta no solo para la enseñanza de contenido, sino también como un medio a través del cual los estudiantes pueden mejorar su inglés.

Los resultados del estudio revelan que los profesores aceptan y habitan en sí mismos una identidad profesional de profesor EMI y se resisten a la noción de *EMI CLILizado* que emerge

del discurso de enseñanza del inglés (ELT) de los investigadores, y por lo tanto rehúsan el papel de DLF. Si bien su identidad profesional aún necesita someterse a una profunda negociación y reconstrucción para convertirse en profesores de *EMI CLILizado*, sí que posicionan las asignaturas EMI como *EMI CLILizadas*, ya que realizan prácticas similares a la enseñanza de idiomas en clase adoptando un rol DLF. Por lo tanto, su identidad profesional fluctúa entre una identidad central de profesor EMI y una identidad emergente y en tanto suprimida de profesor *EMI CLILizado*. Estos y otros resultados apuntan a desafíos educativos y lingüísticos, así como a una disyuntiva entre política y práctica.

Por esta razón, argumento que una política de enseñanza EMI – ya sea *CLILizado* o no – debe ser abordada y desarrollada más claramente por los administradores universitarios y los propio profesores EMI, una política oficial de EMI que proporcione a los profesores una guía pedagógica y lingüística para poder desempeñar con confianza EMI y así seguir reformulando su identidad profesional.

Palabras clave: asignaturas de contenido en inglés (EMI), *EMI CLILizado*, identidad profesional, práctica docente, facilitador del lenguaje disciplinario (DLF)

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List of abbreviations

CA – Conversation Analysis

CBA –Category-bound activity

CBP – Category-bound predicate

CEFR – The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CLIL – Content integrated language learning

CoP – Community of Practice

DLF – Disciplinary language facilitator

EHEA – European Higher Education Area

ELF – English as a lingua franca

ELT – English language teaching

EMEMUS – English-medium education in multilingual university settings

EMI – English-medium instruction

EPS - Escola Politècnica Superior (Superior Polytechnic School)

ETSEA – Escola Tècnica Superior d’Enginyeria Agrària (Superior Technical School of Agrarian Engineering)

HE – Higher education

ICLHE – Integrating content and language in higher education

L1 – First language

L2 – Second language

LP – Language policy

LRE – Language-related episode

LRI – Language-related identity

MCA – Membership categorisation analysis

MP – Multilingualism Programme

POI - Pla Operatiu per a la Internacionalització (Operational Plan for Internationalisation)

POM – Pla Operatiu per al Multilingüisme (Operational Plan for Multilingualism)

PT – Positioning theory

SLA – Second language acquisition

STEM – Science, technology, engineering, mathematics

TL – Target language

UBC – University of the Basque Country

UCM – Universidad Complutense de Madrid

UdL – Universitat de Lleida

UPM – Universidad Politécnica de Madrid

INTRODUCTION

The present project examines the English-medium Instruction experience of university lecturers at the University of Lleida. The purpose is to investigate how English-medium instruction affects the experience and identity of Spanish and Catalan university lecturers. The participants are non-native speakers of English who use English in their professional life for teaching and research purposes. My goal in this study is to concentrate on lecturers' personal reflections about their identity as EMI lecturers and their actual practices when engaged in EMI. This thesis thus stems from teacher identity studies with a focus on STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) content lecturers.

Englishisation of higher education (HE) institutions has been a matter of concern for more than ten years now (Coleman, 2006). One of the consequences of these Englishisation processes has been the rapid increase of English-medium instruction subjects and the research community's interest in it is obvious (Dearden, 2015; Macaro, Curle, Pun, An & Dearden, 2018; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). English-medium Instruction (EMI) is understood in this thesis as the teaching of disciplinary content in English in non-English speaking areas where English is not the traditional or normal language of academic interaction but serves as a *lingua franca* facilitating communication among linguistically diverse students. However, this thesis goes one step further as this term fails to capture especially linguistic issues, a new term is proposed, CLILised EMI. This new label appeals to the prerequisite to consider EMI as both a place for content and language learning. Nevertheless, this is not to claim that EMI and CLIL are the same, rather in EMI content comes first, it is the primordial objective, and language is a learning objective, but a secondary one. During the thesis, I will use the term EMI since I am looking at instruction and CLILised EMI when lecturers' practices exhibit this twofold objective.

In this thesis, English-medium instruction is studied in relation to identity construction to reveal how lecturers experience its introduction and implementation. Not only does it take into account the self-reported identity as disclosed by lecturers themselves in interviews but also the actual teaching practices when engaged in EMI in action. Therefore, I focus on both lecturers' own self-inhabited positioning but also how they are positioned by the university policy and the researchers involved in this study, themselves positioned as language experts. The study of lecturers' reflections about their professional identity is

then combined with a subsequent analysis of their teaching practices to review the actual effects of EMI on their professional identity and monitor how this EMI lecturer identity is negotiated and constructed in action. In sum, this research project adopts a qualitative framework to approach the issue of identity (self-inhabited and other-ascribed) in EMI as well as the classroom practice in EMI in action in an attempt to observe how professional identities emerged and are constructed in EMI.

This thesis aims at answering the following main research question:

What is the impact of the participation in English-medium instruction subjects on the professional identities of EMI lecturers and their teaching practices, as reported by non-native STEM lecturers at the University of Lleida and as observed by a researcher monitoring their teaching?

This main research question is in turn subdivided into the following specific sub-questions:

1. What are the self-inhabited and other-ascribed positionings of EMI lecturers and how do these positioning affect their professional self-positioning?
2. What changes in identities are experienced by EMI lecturers as a result of their EMI teaching experience and to what extent does EMI mediate a new emerging disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role?
3. What are the EMI teaching practices that lecturers employ when engaged in EMI teaching that construct them as particular types of EMI instructors, influencing the making of their EMI lecturer identity?
4. To what extent are multilingual practices present in EMI teaching and how does language alternation influence identity positioning?
5. To what extent do self-perceived and actual practices in EMI differ?

This thesis is composed by three main parts, followed with a discussion part and a final conclusion.

Part I is the theoretical background and is composed by two chapters. The first chapter is a review on the literature on English-medium instruction. After analysing the debate around the EMI terminology, I will examine the processes that have led to the rapid increase of EMI subjects at higher education institutions around the world. This chapter

will also introduce, define and characterise what is understood by CLILised EMI. It will consider different debates around EMI research, for example the presence of the L1 and also its methodological implications. The second chapter of this first part will delve into language and identity. It will explore different abstract constructs, identity, investment, community of practice, discourse, agency and structure. Then, it will study the concept of teacher professional identity and then more specifically the relation between identity and EMI. By merging research on EMI and identity, I will take into account the identity of content lecturers who engage in EMI, an identity that is at stake as their content lecturer identity clashes with the language teacher identity – often other-ascribed rather than self-inhabited.

Part II describes the research and the methodology. In this part, I will discuss the research methodology that was employed to achieve the purpose of analysing EMI lecturers' identity. Part II is composed by one chapter that illustrates the design of the study: location, participants, instruments of data collection and analytical procedures used to gather and approach the data. In this chapter, I explain why a qualitative-based research approach has been adopted in this thesis.

Part III deals with the analysis of the data and is divided into 2 sub-sections. First, Section A focuses on interview data, exploring how lecturers orient their discourse influenced by their personal beliefs but also by the institution, society and the researchers themselves. In the process, we will observe how they construct their EMI lecturer identities. The focus will be on lecturers' multilingual professional identity and, more specifically, the place of the English-teacher identity, or the disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role, in their experience as EMI lecturers. Composed of five chapters, this section first deepens into the analytical procedure giving the specifics for the analysis of interview data and details the participants profile; next, the three study cases will be introduced and finally, the last chapter is a summary of the whole section. Subsequently, Section B concentrates on classroom data. The objective of this section is to analyse how language alternation is used to ascribe, accept and reject group membership and how social identities are linked to practices such as code-switching and language preference, allowing the exploration of the emergence and construction of EMI lecturer identity in action. Again, this section is also divided into five chapters. First, the preliminary chapter will specify the particularities of the analytical procedure in this case for the analysis of classroom data, followed by the three analytical chapters each with an individual study case

corresponding to the lecturers' subjects. These three analytical chapters will examine lecturers' classroom practices, the use or not of the L1 in the EMI class, the teaching strategies employed by the distinct lecturers and the extent to which their classroom proceedings reflect a DLF role and hence a CLILised version of EMI. Finally, Chapter 13 will be a summary of section B.

Part IV provides a discussion drawn from the results and its qualitative analysis presented in both sections A and B. This part is a space to synthesise and bring together the interview and classroom data. It will discuss the most striking results of the qualitative analysis and also compare and contrast the findings of the present study with other findings from the literature on the same subject. This final part will consider the professional teacher identity that emerges when content lecturers are engaged with EMI.

Finally, the conclusion is a summary of the most important findings. Furthermore, the conclusion will point out the relevance of the findings and their implications for university EMI policy implementation and the issue of EMI professional identity. Finally, apart from commenting on some research limitations, I will suggest areas for future research.

Part I: BACKGROUND

Part I comprises the two background chapters for this thesis. Chapter 1 reviews the literature on English-medium instruction. Firstly, it presents the different terminology that has been ascribed to content subjects taught in English at university level in contexts where this language is not the first language, or the language that the majority of the population employ. Secondly, it examines the different processes that have led to the rapid growth of English-medium instruction at university level. Thirdly, the chapter presents a new term for EMI, CLILised EMI, in an attempt to capture what research on EMI focuses on, that is language teaching and learning. Finally, the chapter deals with the methodological changes that are more often than not forgotten when EMI is implemented.

Chapter 2 examines studies on language and identity. In the first place, it explores the concept of identity and how it has evolved over time. Likewise, this chapter also takes into account other constructs related to the concept of identity such as investment, community of practice, discourse, agency and structure. Then, it explores the concept of teacher professional identity. Finally, the chapter deals with identity issues specifically in English-medium instruction and how STEM lecturer identity is affected by the language shift from L1(s) to English, and to what extent this shift has an impact on content lecturer identity and language teacher identity. The identity of content lecturers who engage in EMI is at stake as their content lecturer identity clashes with the language teacher identity – often other-ascribed rather than self-inhabited.

Chapter 1. English-Medium Instruction

This chapter aims to define, analyse and evaluate key issues around English-medium instruction (EMI) in higher education, both consensuses and the controversies. It begins with a comparison of EMI with Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE) to point out the significant differences between these terms. Next, the chapter discusses the reasons why EMI has been introduced, implemented and formalised in tertiary education in Europe, and globally. In this chapter, the controversies that have arisen around EMI are evaluated: 1) to what extent content and language are fully integrated when teaching disciplinary knowledge in university education, 2) to what extent teachers adapt the methodology when moving from teaching in the national language(s) to English and 3) whether or not the acquisition of disciplinary content is hindered due to the change in language of instruction. Therefore, this chapter explores and summarises recent research literature on EMI.

1.1 The variety of terms: EMI, CLIL, ICLHE, EMEMUS

Dearden (2015: 2) defines English medium instruction (EMI) as “the use of English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English”. EMI first emerged in Northern European countries, where the Englishisation of higher education first began in an extensive way. As Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen (2014) explain, both European policies (such as the Bologna Plan) and the marketisation of university quality led to one linguistic consequence: the establishment of English as the common language to attract both students and university staff. In addition, “[e]xposure to English in the Nordic countries is high, and some observers have attributed the comparatively high levels of English proficiency to the practice of subtitling rather than dubbing TV programmes” (Hultgren *et al.*, 2014: 7). Southern Europe, however, has seen the introduction of EMI more recently, one of the reasons being the lower levels of English proficiency among students, lecturers and university personnel (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano, 2016). As Coleman (2006) explains, the advance of EMI courses has been uneven throughout Europe. The first countries that had university subjects taught in English were the Netherlands and Sweden around the 1950s, followed in the 1980s by others such as Finland and Norway. However, the move to EMI accelerated in the late 1990s including

not only Western Europe but also Central and Eastern European countries due to the implementation of the Bologna process. In fact, the model university for content-subjects taught through English is the University of Maastricht, where EMI subjects have been offered since 1987. Although it first adopted a bilingual stance, the Economics Faculty shifted to English-only as the medium of instruction (Coleman, 2006: 7). Haberland (2014: 255) points out that the one key reason why English was established as an alternative teaching medium “was the internationalisation trend, the wish to prove one’s international status by attracting as many foreign students, researchers and teachers as possible”.

A distinction between Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and EMI has always been made (Aguilar, 2015; Airey, 2016; Coleman, 2006; Dafouz, 2018b; Dearden, 2015; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Macaro *et al.*, 2018; Smit & Dafouz, 2012). On the one hand, EMI is an umbrella term used to refer to the teaching of academic subjects through English usually in higher education. EMI does not state any clear goal about the improvement of students’ English linguistic competence. On the other hand, CLIL is characterised by its dual focus since its aims are not only to develop disciplinary knowledge but also to develop and improve the competence in the target language. Another difference is that CLIL does not specify the language of instruction, unlike EMI that specifies that the language of instruction is English. Therefore, one of the key debates around EMI is if it can adopt the dual focus of CLIL, hence integrating content and language learning goals. Smit and Dafouz (2012: 4) also make this distinction between Integrating content and language in Higher Education (ICLHE) and EMI, suggesting that the former is reserved for those programmes that include explicit integration of content and language, in contrast to the latter that focuses only on content learning (see also Dafouz, 2014). However, English-medium instruction subjects are not usually designed, at least explicitly, as contexts for language learning, hence their participants may not perceive EMI as CLIL contexts where language and content are clearly integrated as simultaneous learning. Saarinen and Nikula (2013: 136-137) point out that the reason why English is chosen as the language of instruction does not have anything to do with the motivation to learn this language; the use of English in higher education derives instead from the fact that it is the only language that all participants may share. Therefore, EMI usually emerges in a Lingua Franca context and CLIL appears in a language education context. Dalton-Puffer (2012: 102) suggests that because EMI was first

introduced “as an instance of ‘ELF [English as a *lingua franca*] use’”, the learning of language becomes a remote goal or even an implicit one. As a result, Saarinen and Nikula (2013: 141) state that “the role of English and language in general remains marginal” in EMI.

In addition, Dafouz and Smit (2016; 2017) have recently proposed a new term (and acronym) to refer to EMI: English-medium education in multilingual university settings (EMEMUS). They have proposed a new way to capture what occurs in most universities in the world today. This term first includes English-medium instruction (the first three letters of the acronym), thus indicating the key role that English plays as both a language for the academia, and for international communication purposes. Secondly, the last three letters stand for Multilingual University Settings, thus pointing out the multilingualism of students attending higher education institutions, who are often far from a homogenous and balanced group of multilingual speakers. Dafouz and Smit (2016: 399) argue that EMEMUS “is semantically wider, as it does not specify any particular pedagogical approach or research agenda”. In Dafouz, Hüttner and Smit (2016: 124), EMEMUS is explained as follows:

This term focuses specifically on English as the medium of instruction in tertiary education, reflecting the indisputable international and communicational roles of English in academia, the internet, business and research

Considering the EMI phenomenon as a multilingual one, Dafouz and Smit (2016) have also suggested the “ROAD-MAPPING framework”. The six inter-connected components of this framework need to be regarded in the analysis of EMI:

1. *Roles of English*: EMI does not have a monolingual nature and as such, English is part of a multilingual environment where it shares the ground with other languages while at the same time it has several relevant roles as the academic language, the lingua franca (joint language of communication) and as means of teaching and learning.
2. *Academic Disciplines*: there are specific social practices that govern the different disciplinary fields. As Dafouz and Smit (2016: 405) put it, “acquiring academic literacy stands as a first stage towards academic acculturation, and academic disciplinary practices gradually follow”.

3. (language) *Management*: the language policy that regulates the implementation and application of EMI and the managerial decisions that coordinate and determine how language and content are managed in the EMI curriculum (regulations that are sometimes absent and implicit rather than made of clear and explicit statement).
4. *Agents*: all the actors involved in EMI, from those who plan and administer it and those who implement it.
5. *Practices* and *Processes*: the teaching and learning practices that constitute EMI. Here it is important to consider both the actual practices of the EMI classroom that lead to the construction and development of disciplinary knowledge and also the teachers' views about the learning and teaching process and how these processes can be strengthened.
6. *Internationalisation* and *Glocalisation*: the broader (globalisation, internationalisation and Englishisation of higher education institutions) and local shapers of EMI.

All these dimensions converge and have a reciprocal relationship, meaning that they all exert influence on each other. In order to approach the different components, *Discourses* “is seen as the intersecting access point through which all six dimensions can be examined” (Dafouz & Smit, 2016: 403). I will return to this framework in the conclusion, where I will make reference to how all these different dimensions have been tackled throughout the thesis.

In this section, I have referred to the confusion of terminology. On the one hand, EMI captures the idea that its implementation was based for an ELF purpose – the implementation of English is to cater the need of a common language when the student body is linguistically diverse, hence the language is secondary. On the other hand, EMEMUS represents the idea that universities are multilingual scenarios where again English serves for communication purposes as the lingua franca. Nevertheless, these terms fail to capture the need to include language aims in EMI. The goal in this study is to propose a new term that embraces the idea that EMI is both a place for content and language learning, but, at the same time, a scenario where content is primary but also where English has both a lingua franca role and a language learning objective. During the thesis, I will use the term EMI since I am looking at instruction rather than EMEMUS, which focuses more on the multilingual nature of universities. In fact, the EMI subjects

offered at the University of Lleida receive quite a homogenous group of students where the majority (if not all) are local students who share the same L1 with the lecturer.

1.2 From globalisation and internationalisation to Englishisation and EMI

This will be a detailed section about how globalisation processes have led to the internationalisation and Englishisation of universities, which in turn have resulted in the rapid growth of EMI offer. Likewise, this section will also look at the attitudes of both lecturers and students towards these processes that affect higher education institutions.

There is a wide diversity of EMI experiences and it is difficult to generalise since EMI is implemented globally; therefore, it is politically, culturally, socially and linguistically dependent on the context where it is applied. The extent to which and how EMI is applied in many countries may differ, hence Wilkinson (2004) advises that EMI research will provide diverse answers. One result cannot be expected to be applicable in all institutions without considering its singularity. Therefore, EMI diversity has to be taken into account when generalising and transferring findings, because each particular case will need to develop a specific approach in that exact context if it aims to successfully integrate the teaching of disciplinary knowledge alongside the learning of language.

Many countries where English is not a national language have now adopted English as the language for instruction as a result of globalisation (Wilkinson, 2004). Globalisation is the result of a globally accelerated increase in the exchange of economic and cultural networks. Using Nederveen Pieterse's (2009: 16) definition:

Globalization is an objective, empirical process of increasing economic and political connectivity, a subjective process unfolding in consciousness as the collective awareness of growing global interconnectedness, and a host of specific globalizing projects that seek to shape global conditions.

Therefore, the new technological, communicative and economic flows lead to an increase of migratory and tourist flows which in turn favour the acquisition of languages (García Canclini, 1999, own translation). As Mair (2003: 24) remarks, “the expansion of English is an integral dimension of ongoing globalization processes”. One of the key consequences of globalisation is the introduction of foreign language study programmes at higher education in an attempt to promote multilingualism and diversity in language

learning, an internationalisation process. Knight (2003: 2) defines internationalisation as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education”. Elsewhere Kling Soren (2013: 18) defines internationalisation as “the integration of an international dimension to teaching and research”. However, English is the language that remains dominant in academia and has become the most commonly used language for instruction at universities.

For this reason, this process of internationalisation has been accompanied then by the Englishisation of higher education institutions (Wilkinson, 2017). Bocanegra-Valle (2014: 76) actually affirms “English is widely accepted as the international language of research and academic publishing”. As Coleman (2006: 4) points out globalisation and the proliferation of English are closely associated and go together:

While the global status of English impels its adoption in HE, the adoption of English in HE further advances its global influence. The process might be termed the Microsoft effect: once a medium obtains a dominant market share, it becomes less and less practical to opt for another medium, and the dominance is thus enhanced.

Therefore, universities offer courses, modules, subjects or even a whole degree taught in English in an attempt to attract and increase the number of European and non-European students. Although the European Commission has tried to foster multilingualism in Europe, English has become the *lingua franca* in higher education, not only in Europe but globally and other languages seldom are afforded a role (Rose and Galloway, 2019). According to Phillipson (2017: 316), this need for global English which has led to the Englishisation of institutions is based on the myth that “in international communication the only language you need is English” and on the fact that the status of English is marketed as the “language that everyone needs and that all should learn” (Phillipson, 2017: 321). Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2013b) also claim that the implementation of foreign language study programmes was first an attempt to promote multilingualism and diversity in language learning. However, English is the language that remains dominant in academia and the most commonly used language for instruction at universities. Hence, the Englishisation of European universities has accelerated the proliferation of EMI programmes in Europe.

One of the drivers behind the gradual growth of EMI is the Bologna process. Bolton and Kuteeva (2012: 429) explain that this process was “aimed at standardizing degrees across EU countries”, hence making European programmes comparable and easier for teachers and students to contrast (Dafouz, 2018b). In addition, the creation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) has also impacted on the rapid implementation of EMI because students and teaching staff can circulate freely (Dafouz, 2018b). Nevertheless, Phillipson (2017: 325-326) states that the Bologna process has ignored its own multilingual policy since the unification of the European higher institutions has resulted in the consolidation of English as the language for internationalisation. The Erasmus programme also plays an important part here as the documents states that multilingualism is “one of the cornerstones of the European project and a powerful symbol of the EU’s aspiration to be united in diversity” (European Commission, 2017: 11). Despite its international nature, Mocanu (2019: 83) states that “rather than learning the local languages of the communities they access, Erasmus students may try to improve their English language level”. More specifically in the Spanish context, Dafouz (2018b: 173) explains that from 2014 the “Strategy or the Internationalization of Spanish Universities” was introduced with the objective to have “one out of three degree programmes taught through EMI by 2020”.

However, the attitudes of lecturers involved in EMI vary according to age, experience and teaching load as Jensen and Thøgersen’s (2011) study shows. Results show that there is a clear variation between age group, showing that younger lecturers tend to judge positively EMI courses. In their study of the Danish context, lecturers’ negative attitudes towards EMI were explained by 1) less knowledge dissemination to the public, 2) reduced learning for the students and 3) threatening of Danish as an academic language (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011). This study also showed a clear variation between age group, suggesting that younger lecturers tend to judge EMI positively. The reason behind this positive attitude is that young lecturers might feel more comfortable teaching in English as compared to older lecturers. Jensen and Thøgersen explain that younger generations see the use of English as something new and familiar; they consider that English can provide a future full of possibilities. Therefore, they hypothesise that new generations will regard English as something positive. Dearden and Macaro (2016) also notice this generation gap whereby younger teachers tend to adopt and accept EMI more easily than older teachers. They cite as a reason for this difference the likelihood that the former

might have already studied abroad and that this experience makes them more open to teaching in English. Similarly, the higher volume EMI courses a lecturer has, the more likely they are to exhibit a positive attitude towards them. On the other hand, older lecturers might feel less confident when switching to English and they tend to be less comfortable with and more sceptical about EMI. One of the reasons for this discomfort and scepticism is that they do not have confidence to teach in English, as Dearden and Macaro (2016: 468) explain. On the other hand, other older lecturers in their study stated that they wanted to protect their national language. Nevertheless, the oldest lecturers in Kling's (2015) study disclose positive attitudes towards EMI.

Another issue that may affect lecturers' attitudes towards EMI is the number of subjects taught in English. The higher the number of courses offered in English, the more confident and comfortable lecturers will feel when teaching in English. In addition, results also show that if lecturers have a higher volume of EMI courses, they are more likely to show a positive attitude towards EMI and the increased use of English in higher education institutions. Jensen and Thøgersen (2011) explain that there might be three main reasons to explain this. First, the higher the volume of EMI courses, the more experience acquired, hence their attitudes "become less sceptical or negative" (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011: 28). Also, lecturers who choose to teach in English might also be already motivated and positive about the change to English as the language of instruction because they believe in the importance of internationalisation of higher education and they regard English as the language for this internationalisation process. Finally, teachers become part of an EMI 'Community of practice' (CoP) (Wenger, 1998), hence being immersed in an academic culture where there are positive attitudes towards English. As Wenger (1998: 4) states, the participants of a community of practice pursue a common enterprise, therefore their practices have been developed gradually to achieve the shared goal by means "of being active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities". In fact, Wenger points out that a defining characteristic of a community of practice is the "mutual engagement" (1998: 73) that participants arrive at. In this study, EMI lecturers might have meetings with their fellow lecturers to design EMI modules, might attend courses to develop their EMI methodology and might read about this new higher education trend, hence creating a CoP. Therefore, they form a localised EMI CoP, one that brings together EMI lecturers of the same department, faculty or even university. Actually, most CoP's discussed by Wenger are just this, very local

environments, such as offices (or relevant here, a single group of students attending a course).

The implementation of EMI seeks to prepare home students to be more competitive for the international academic and work market and to attract international students so that the number of overseas students in a particular university increases as higher education institutions seek to be considered international. Moreover, this also finds its reasons in the rise of global university rankings (Hazelkorn, 2015). As Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen (2014: 4) point out, “one efficient and easily understood way to measure the quality of a university is through a ranking list”. One of the objective measures of these rankings lists is the number of international students a university has. Therefore, internationalisation – and Englishisation – shapes the status and success of universities in these rankings, thus creating a sense of competitiveness. It is assumed that by offering EMI courses, universities will move up the ranks. However, there is no conclusive evidence suggesting that the introduction of EMI will consequently lead to a better ranked university, as Dearden and Macaro (2016) argue. The process of Englishisation is a consequence of the fact that English is regarded as a language of modernity and prosperity, and EMI means promotion, globalisation and financial survival for universities. As Phillipson (2017: 320) puts it: “‘Global’ English is a project to establish English as the language of neoliberal empire serviced by global finance whatever the consequences for other cultures and languages”. Therefore, the fact that English acts like a unifying force creating a global education sphere can be interpreted more as “a market opportunity rather than a human good” (Phillipson, 2017: 320). Indeed, English has acquired a status of supreme hegemony (Doiz *et al.*, 2011: 345) and it is this hegemony that has led to the acceptance that education can be marketed. English makes it possible for teachers and students to join a global academic network, to become competitive in a world market and to increase international mobility. As Phillipson (2017: 321) suggests it, English has become “a *lingua nullius*”, a necessary basic skill that everyone needs in order to be part of a globalised world.

Internationalisation goes hand in hand with Englishisation, and a subset of Englishisation is EMI. EMI, however, is just a one of the list of practices that constitute Englishisation in HE, other examples of Englishisation practices are: academic or administrative staff requirements, conferences where the default language is English, websites in local languages plus English, high-ranking de facto English academic journals that only accept

paper submissions in English. All these proceedings promote the English language, hence the Englishisation of higher education institutions and academia. Due to this spread, the accepted assumption is that English is a necessary skill that everyone needs to develop and master in order to be part of a global world; pedagogy has also been affected. Even if the Bologna Process was aiming at promoting multilingualism, the multilingual policy has not developed strategies to implement any language no matter its status as English is being prioritised around Europe. This may lead to domain loss (Fishman, 1972; Haberland, 2005; Lønsmann & Haberland, 2013), defined by Hultgren *et al.* (2014: 9) as “the idea that the national language may lose status and/or functionality when it is used less or not at all in a given “domain””. The implementation of English in higher education and research has created therefore concerns around domain loss because the increasing domination of English in academic life may lead to a decrease in linguistic diversity.

As Wilkinson (2013) points out, the favourable treatment that English receives in higher education leads to an unfair situation for national languages. The idea is that if research outcomes are published in English, then other national languages will eventually disappear from academia. As Wilkinson (2013: 12) puts it, “domain loss is a critical national concern, in that it entails an entire academic discipline no longer being available in the L1 at a national level”. What has happened in academia is that national languages – Norwegian in Norway, Spanish in Spain, and Catalan in Catalonia – may lose ground as languages of science and they may become eventually vernacular languages for communication. They suffer a disadvantage in benefit to English. An example is found at Nordic universities where English is the almost only language used in journal articles of the domain of natural sciences (Hultgren *et al.*, 2014). It is no surprise then that the majority of academics use English as a lingua franca for communication. Therefore, the implementation of EMI and legitimisation of the use of English also favour the professional status of those who develop and acquire high levels of competence in English. Some countries consider that EMI jeopardises the linguistic status of the home language. Consequently, some Nordic universities have implemented a policy coined parallel language use, hence English is not used instead of but along with the local language, for instance in Sweden (Kuteeva, 2011; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Nevertheless, Hultgren *et al.* (2014) have questioned the extent to which domain loss has actually occurred in Nordic countries because while journal articles are mostly published in English, national languages are still prominent.

Even though the parallel language policy is introduced, English still occupies a dominant status place in higher education due to its status as a global language. Tange (2010: 139) views internationalisation “as a process of organizational change or ‘culture shock’” because it affects the practices and lives of academic staff who might even feel anxious or uncertain about this process. Lecturers, as well as students, might be the ones most affected by the internationalisation process and hence EMI practices since they are expected to develop both pedagogical and linguistic strategies to cope with the new classroom setting. If teachers find that their English proficiency is not sufficient, they might focus on their linguistic disadvantages, considering that their linguistic repertoire is limited, in turn creating a less interactive teaching and learning environment. As Tange (2010: 141) puts it:

university lecturers are at the interface between institutional demands and students’ expectations. More often than not, they have not been involved in the decision-making process leading the university managers to adopt a policy of internationalization, and yet they are expected to transform the management strategy into a sustainable teaching practice.

Valcke and Wilkinson (2017: 19-20) advocate for the need to develop a clear approach to EMI in multilingual higher education institutions, if we are to fully understand the scope of EMI in terms of promoting or hindering learning of both content and language in a tertiary education context. By introducing EMI courses, higher education institutions assume that lecturers have the sufficient knowledge to communicate academic and expert subject knowledge through English to a group of students who do not necessarily speak English. This has obvious consequences for the teaching and learning environment due to the fact that lecturers in EMI might have an insufficient linguistic competence which can in turn affect the classroom dynamics since they might not be fully competent in English to communicate in an academic learning setting. Dafouz, Núñez, Sancho and Foran (2007) warn that one of the challenges that higher education institutions face is how to develop content teacher methodological and linguistic strategies so as to be able to transfer disciplinary knowledge to their students through a foreign language. Dearden (2015: 2) points out that one of the basic problems around EMI is that its provision is not “standardized” or “formalized”. As a result, many universities may not offer quality EMI programmes for different reasons. First, there is shortage of content teachers who are also linguistically qualified to teach in English and the expected proficiency to enrol in EMI

modules is not clearly stated. Second, there are no effective pedagogical and methodological guidelines to follow for the implementation of EMI and teachers do not receive or have a very limited knowledge of EMI education. Dearden and Macaro (2016) notice that there is no English language proficiency benchmark established for subject-teachers to teach their subject in English. If these levels were standardised, teachers' confidence could increase since it would reassure them that they are able to teach content discipline in English since they would have the level required to teach in EMI. The same applies in the case of students, as there is currently no English level requirement for students to take on an EMI course. In fact, at the University of Lleida (UdL) students are only required to certify either a B1 or a B2 (depending on the year of enrolment) at the end of their studies, but neither at the start of their degree nor if they wish to study a course in a language other than their L1 (University of Lleida, 2020).

However, a benchmark for teachers and students' levels can be controversial. As far as teachers is concerned, there might be socio-cultural singularities of the EMI context where a teacher's level benchmark might be at issue. For example, Hynninen (2012: 15) examines the University of Helsinki where lecturers are not required to prove their English linguistic abilities. Instead, teachers need to self-evaluate themselves to decide whether they can teach as EMI instructors or not. Nevertheless, the university does offer lecturers involved in EMI programmes courses to develop and facilitate multilingual interaction in an academic setting. In addition, Unterberger (2012) found in her study of EMI programmes at Austrian business faculties that doubting the teacher's English proficiency would also imply questioning their professionalism; lecturers are expected to know and be able to teach in English as part of their professional profile; if their English is at issue, hence so is their professionalism. Regarding students, EMI environments may not be perceived as language learning programmes because students are expected to already have a good command of the English language: students are not expected to develop language skills but to possess them already (Saarinen & Nikula, 2013). As a result, Escobar and Pérez-Vidal (2004) criticise the fact that universities usually take for granted that students will finish school with a high enough level of English to follow a university course taught in English. Nevertheless, university entrance tests show the contrary: students are not ready to function adequately in English at tertiary levels. As they put it "no matter how strongly the university authorities believe that higher levels of competence should be achieved in the previous stages of education, such a state of affairs

must at least for the moment be redressed by university language units” (Escobar and Pérez-Vidal, 2004: 403). Holdsworth (2004: 24) agrees and states that even if students have received English lessons during previous educational phases, we cannot be fully certain that the communicative ability they have developed is sufficient to follow disciplinary content course in English. Therefore, Escobar and Pérez-Vidal (2004: 411) conclude that “the internationalization of higher education will be hard to accomplish if the students entering university are not capable of operating comfortably in a foreign language”.

1.3 EMI in different contexts

Focusing on the higher education context where EMI is well established, that is in Northern Europe (Hutlgren *et al.*, 2014; Henriksen, Holmes and Kling, 2019), we see that these countries share a widespread high competence of English as well as a high exposure to the language due to the subtitling practice in TV programmes. Wächter and Maiworm (2014) point out that the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden are at the forefront, leading the trend that guides Europe towards the implantation of English as the medium of instruction in university subjects. Meanwhile, Airey (2011) investigates the impact of shifting the language of instruction of Swedish lecturers, who reflect on the demands and consequences of teaching in English. One of his findings is that lecturers do not consider themselves experts on the English language, and so, they do not feel comfortable correcting their students’ English. To this, Airey (2011: 50) recommends that university lecturers’ role is “one of socializing students into the discourse of their discipline”. Elsewhere, Thøgersen and Airey (2011) examined Danish lecturers’ speaking rates and rhetorical style when teaching in English. They found that accommodation strategies are implemented when there is a shift in the language of instruction for accent, vocabulary, volume and speech rate. Kling (2015) reports on Danish natural science lecturers’ perception of the impact of shifting the language of instruction to English. Lecturers in her study report that their linguistic difficulties in English do not influence their own perception of themselves as teachers. In another study of EMI in Denmark, Werther, Denver, Jensen and Mess (2014) look at lecturers’ perspectives on EMI. As a whole, the majority of their lecturers feel competent to teach both in their L1 and English but their comments also echo a need for EMI training. Hellekjaer (2010) examines lecture comprehension in EMI from three Norwegian institution. The findings highlight that students have varying degrees of difficulty understanding lectures, with English-medium

lectures being more difficult than those taught in the L1. As he suggests, “[g]iven the Norwegian reputation for English proficiency, this means that this is most probably elsewhere as well” (Hellekjaer, 2010: 249).

Moving into central Europe, Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2014) examine the extent to which L1 and English are used in EMI at a private university of eastern Ukraine. Findings reveal that both lecturers and students view the use of the L1 as necessary and inevitable – with no reason to avoid it. Baker and Hüttner (2017) compare EMI programmes from Europe to Asia, in particular in UK, Austria and Thailand. While in the Austrian context, the results show that there is a general agreement that in EMI the goal is the learning of disciplinary content; in Thailand, English learning is an additional target alongside content knowledge. Elsewhere, in a similar study where they compare UK, Austria and Thailand, Baker and Hüttner (2019) conclude that all three contexts favour intelligibility and content knowledge. Additionally, they also report that the L1, and hence multilingual practices, is present in EMI courses. Looking now at southern Europe, Guarda and Helm (2017) focus on the Italian context, the University of Padova, and seek to identify the perceived strengths and weaknesses of EMI lecturers, the concerns about changing the medium of instruction from Italian to English and the expectations from EMI training. One interesting result in relation to EMI training reveals the importance of CoPs, as they gave the chance to collaborate with other professionals, build relationships and learn from each other. In a comparative study of Italy, Austria and Poland, Dearden and Macaro (2016) consider EMI lecturers’ attitudes. A shared conviction in the three countries is that “students would improve their English simply by being exposed to it” (Dearden and Macaro, 2016: 467). Moreover, teachers view themselves as content teacher and not language teachers, so students were responsible for their own language development (see also, Airey, 2012). In France, Taillefer (2013) comments that even when dual focus CLIL is implemented there is still insufficient focus to language and academic communication in English.

Taking a closer look at the Spanish context, Wächter and Maiworm (2014) state that Spanish lecturers are seldom required to prove their English proficiency when recruited for teaching EMI courses. Nevertheless, Spain – with Denmark, Finland and Switzerland – is one of the countries where it is most likely to find optional language support courses for lecturers, encouraging academic staff to improve. Lasagabaster (2019) indicates that in Spanish universities EMI is the correct label because there is not a dual-focus that

includes language learning with content learning. Research studies in Spain show that lectures are concerned about content and not language (Aguilar, 2015; Dafouz, 2011). As students' levels of English are often insufficient and limited, EMI is being introduced at Spanish universities gradually. In addition, policy or official documents on EMI do not usually tackle the use (or not) of the L1 in EMI courses. In a study at the University of the Basque Country (UBC) by Doiz and Lasagabaster (2016), EMI practices show that the L1 is allowed, but it is not the preferred option by lecturers as they often stick to English. The use of both the L1 and English was also reported in Costa (2012).

Elsewhere, Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2014) examine the views of students, teachers and administration personnel towards the impact that EMI has on the different bodies involved in the university community at the UBC. On the one hand, teachers and administration personnel were more positive about supporting the use of English in higher education, although there were concerns about the students' proficiency levels, "a weakness that clearly needs to be overcome in the Spanish educational system" (Doiz *et al.*, 2014: 352). It may be this lack of English competence what in turn makes teachers and administration personnel positive about EMI since the teaching through English might equip students with the input and strategies to develop their English linguistic competence. On the other hand, Doiz *et al.* (2014) also note that students seem to fear the increasing use of English since they demand more opportunities to learn Basque and more teaching through the Basque language. This may imply that students are concerned about the status of Basque as a minority language. Overall, students do not show such a favourable perspective towards the use of English as teachers and administration personnel do. This may suggest that the latter tend to show more interest in the university reputation that the inclusion of EMI courses at universities grants at both national and international levels. Elsewhere Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2013a) point to the tensions between the supporters of English and the advocates for the minority language. In another paper, Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) examine the standpoint of the academic community with regard to the Multilingualism Programme (MP) also at the UBC. Although lecturers generally see the MP as something positive, it does not come without problems. As teachers need to use a foreign language, mainly English, when teaching content, they need to put more effort and time in the planning process which means that it is regarded as more demanding. Nevertheless, Unterberger (2012: 94) points out that although some studies suggest that lecturers complain that teaching in English

implies more effort in terms of time and planning, her participants did not consider that this effort was related to the language of instruction but to the fact that organising a new course or programme always requires more effort. In addition, lecturers in Doiz *et al.*'s (2011) study claim that there is not enough support for those involved in EMI and also state that EMI is still under development. Due to EMI's initial state character, some teachers are not interested in being part of it since its guidelines may not be yet clearly defined and described, and so it is difficult for them to understand it and implement it. Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018) analyse EMI students and lectures in relation to notions of identity, investment and imaged community. Findings suggest that neither students nor lecturers aim at achieving the native speaker ideal. However, they still have negative views towards their accents and language limitations, which may prevent their multilingual identities to actually advance.

In another Spanish context, the University of Almería, Salaberri and Sánchez (2015) analyse writing of EMI students. Findings report that students are not fully familiar with written production norms such as paragraphing and discourse features. Therefore, Salaberri and Sánchez (2015: 54) recommend that “[l]anguage at university level should be thus understood as text and discourse, that is, the use of language beyond the sentence”. If EMI courses include text and discourse issues in their pedagogical approach then, students are more likely to develop higher level of written communicative skills (Salaberri & Sánchez, 2015). Dafouz and Núñez (2010) study the metadiscursive devices that three aeronautical engineering lecturers at Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (UPM) employed when doing EMI in comparison to L1-medium instruction. Overall, lecturers' EMI style is similar to their L1 lecturing style, as they transfer L1 linguistic tools to their L2 teaching. Nevertheless, Dafouz and Núñez report less signposting when lecturers are engaged in EMI practice and conclude that there is “a need for language-oriented teacher education in CLIL university contexts” (Dafouz & Núñez, 2010: 230). Meanwhile, Dafouz, Camacho and Urquia (2014) look at EMI students' performance at Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM). Results show that both cohorts of students, EMI and non-EMI, obtain similar grades independently of the language of education used. Elsewhere Dafouz (2018a) focuses on lecturers' ideology and identity in a Spanish public university. Findings reveal that involvement in EMI enables lecturers to rethink their professional identities in terms of their language competence, they go beyond the balanced bilingual and the native speaker and accept and adopt other teacher identities,

reshaping their professional identity from foreign language learner to foreign language user. All these studies have in common the same concern: there is a lack of attention to linguistic matters, which needs to be addressed in EMI as the aforementioned studies point out.

Taking a closer look at the Catalan context, the focus of the thesis, Aguilar (2015) examines engineering lecturers' view on EMI. The results show that lecturers follow EMI and not CLIL as "their perceived teaching duties are content specific and language free" (Aguilar, 2015: 732). In an attempt to include language in their teaching, lecturers often argue that they use glossaries to pay closer attention to technical vocabulary of the discipline (see Pecorari, Shaw, Irvine and Malmström, 2011). In fact, Mancho-Barés and Aguilar-Pérez (2020) examine to what extent lecturers provide written corrective feedback of EMI lecturers and results point that even when they resist to inhabit a language-teacher role, they do provide language-related feedback. Elsewhere Aguilar and Rodríguez (2012) document a CLIL pilot experience at a university in Catalonia. The majority of students reported a positive experience. In particular, students were most positive about the technical specialised vocabulary: they felt they had improved on this aspect and so highly value its acquisition. Some students also refer to the need for translation in the form of glossaries with the terminology in the three languages (Spanish-Catalan-English). Meanwhile Ploettner (2019) looks at the emerging identities of EMI lecturers and students at a private university in Catalonia. Ploettner's findings indicate that, whereas English is used, the use of Spanish is not sanctioned as a classroom practice. Ploettner (2019: 135) recommends "[a] plurilingual approach to EMI could potentially reduce the tensions created for the teacher by eliminating the requirement to maintain exclusive use of English in the EMI classroom while allowing the judicious incorporation of a larger repertoire of linguistic resources to support EMI teaching and learning in this context". Mancho-Barés and Arnó-Macià (2017) provide an overview of the EMI training programmes offered at Catalan universities. In terms of university policies, Catalan universities do not specify the guidelines for the implementation of EMI in their institutional policies. In fact, as Mancho-Barés and Arnó-Macià (2017: 284) point out, EMI "actual implementation is left to individual departments/lecturers, as most policies did not specify criteria for selection of lecturers/courses for the implementation of EMI". Additionally, they also looked at the self-reported practices of EMI lecturers, showing that their focus is on disciplinary content learning and linguistic feedback is not part of

the objectives of the course. Likewise, lecturers' opinions also reflected the refusal to take on any responsibility for teaching, evaluating or correcting English (Airey, 2012). Elsewhere Mancho-Barés and Aguilar-Pérez (2016) look at the language policies implemented at the UdL for the promotion of EMI by taking into account the official policy documents of the institutions and the opinions of technology lecturers. The UdL has a *Pla Operatiu per al Multilingüisme* (POM) (2013-2018) (University of Lleida, 2013) and a *Pla Operatiu per a la Internacionalització* (POI) (2012-13) (University of Lleida, 2012). As Mancho-Barés and Aguilar-Pérez (2016) point out while these documents recommend EMI subjects to be gradually incorporated in bachelor degrees as this will have an impact on students' foreign language competence; "there is no explicit mention in the LP [language policy] documents of foreign language learning as a benefit of EMI" (Mancho-Barés & Aguilar-Pérez, 2016: 111). The UdL case does not stand on its own, Aizawa and Rose (2018: 15) also found in Japanese universities "whilst the university aims to increase the number of English-medium courses, it does not articulate what constitutes EMI in their policy document".

All together, these studies have different contexts, methodological approaches, data and foci. Hence, as Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit (2010: 283) suggest "[i]t is inherently difficult to arrive at generalizations ... it points to the necessity of finding patterns and tendencies across a considerable number of studies". These studies inform this thesis as similar topics will arise later in the results section. Lecturers' attitudes are influenced by the discourse of internationalisation. The UdL is not exempt of internationalisation and Englishisation processes and this is clearly demonstrated in the increase of EMI subjects offered (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019) as well as the UdL's international and multilingual policies (University of Lleida, 2012; University of Lleida, 2013). Although these discourses are seen in the university policies and lecturers are aware of them (see Part III: Section A), there is another discourse that it is not present: the English language teaching discourse. EMI has established itself without taking into account linguistic matters. This thesis will look at how interviewees try to impose the English-language teaching (ELT) perspective on to EMI lecturers to make them aware of how they perform in an EMI class and to signal that they even act like English language teachers on occasions. By making EMI lecturers reflect on their own experience and practices, researchers might have accomplished a change in how they view and perceive EMI, hence impacting on their EMI practices. In an attempt to represent the often forgotten ELT

discourse, a new term is suggested in the following section to capture the notion that EMI is not only about content and ELF, but also about language teaching and learning.

1.4 From EMI to CLILised EMI

Airey's (2004) answer to whether or not teachers should teach in English is 'Yes', with one condition: "as part of an integrated strategy to develop dual language skills along with subject knowledge" (Airey, 2004: 105). One of the central debates around EMI is the extent to which these programmes integrate this dual focus where the acquisition of disciplinary content goes hand in hand with further language development. There is a wide range of debate within content-based instruction about the role of the teacher: either content teacher or language teacher (Lyster, 2017). This had led to the tenet that "all teachers are language teachers" (Airey, 2012: 64), since disciplinary knowledge is constructed through language it is necessary to have the tools to interpret, process and understand this specialised academic language.

According to Fortanet-Gómez (2012: 48), the assumption in EMI is that if lecturers have a high command of the English language and if they have the motivation to teach content in English, then students will not react against the introduction of the new language. Nevertheless, this assumption is questionable, since this learning and teaching environment often involves a classroom setting where in the majority of the cases teachers have a homogenous group of students with whom they share an L1 (or L1s) and instead both parties are required to use English. Therefore, one could argue that teachers and students might actually feel that EMI creates a theatre-like classroom environment. The metaphor of the theatre or the theatricalisation of EMI is related to the internationalisation objective not being met. This fact results in a class that is comprised of local students who share the same L1 with the lecturer, with no international students. With this scenario, then, we should ask ourselves what is the reason of using English since the class is not language-oriented and there is no explicit acknowledgement of the language learning objective from which local students can take advantage when engaged in EMI. This means that EMI is theatricalised as there is no ELF reason for using English and, as most lecturers state, English is just a tool and not the target in EMI. If that is the case, with no international students, lecturers and students could switch back to L1-content teaching. Nevertheless, this theatre-like class is maintained and they adhere to EMI teaching because of the "language guarantee" principle established by the UdL (University of

Lleida, 2008, own translation). According to this linguistic policy, the medium of classroom instruction and interaction is established in advance to avoid and minimise conflicts of linguistic nature in the classroom. Therefore, the language in which the class will be taught is chosen by lecturers in advance and this information is then made public in the subjects' study guide so that students are aware of the selected medium instruction. In addition, their adherence to English teaching may also be strategic as with a total of 6 English medium ECTS credits students can certify the minimum English competence required by the university (University of Lleida, 2008; University of Lleida, 2018c).

Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) point out that it is paradoxical how there is a widely accepted opinion that the learning of English – or any other foreign language – should be introduced as early as possible; however, when it comes to the introduction of English in tertiary education, not all of lecturers are willing to implement EMI. For example, the majority of Basque schools introduce English at the age of four, showing huge support for the introduction of English for early teaching, but then, at university level, some lecturers are not willing to teach in English. Therefore, there are different opinions about the introduction of English in education depending on the level it is being implemented: primary, secondary and higher education (Doiz *et al.*, 2011). In addition, a study from the University of Lleida by Cots (2013) shows teachers are often required to adopt EMI due to institutional and professional reasons rather than a personal choice. Lecturers interviewed by Cots stated that English is the key to survival in the academic arena so they were left with no choice but to learn English so that they could continue their research and teaching at university level.

If EMI does not offer a connection between language and content, researchers fear that it may result in a lack of development of students' L2 proficiency. Content instruction does not often provide students with enough opportunities for interaction and language production. Content-based instruction classes are “primarily input driven, with instructions striving to make the content comprehensible and drawing attention especially to vocabulary, but leaving students with limited opportunities to produce the language” (Lyster, 2017: 8). Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013) also point out that although there is an overwhelming belief that studying content in the target language results in incidental language learning, content-specific vocabulary learning is often associated with explicit and focused teaching. Elsewhere Hellekjaer and Hellekjaer (2015) agree that EMI lecturers need to go beyond incidental learning and so focus on the linguistic aspects

of EMI courses. Therefore, content teaching is not necessarily accompanied with well-thought and planned language instruction that implements and maximises language learning. For this reason, the integration of both disciplinary and linguistic knowledge is necessary if content learning and language development are to complement each other. The scenario however is usually that the teacher's priority is subject content learning and also students are usually more preoccupied to learn the content matter. Since language is secondary compared to content, we are far from a balance between language and content objectives in EMI. In fact, content lecturers view themselves as disciplinary experts in their field of specialisation and not as language teachers (Airey, 2011, 2012; Costa, 2012, 2013; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2020; Guarda & Helm, 2016), hence they do not consider it as their duty to develop students' English competence.

Airey's (2012) study of the attitudes of physics lecturers in Sweden shows that lecturers "would not feel comfortable correcting students' English" (Airey, 2012: 54). Although teachers expect students to learn complex subject knowledge through a foreign language, they do not see it as their responsibility to teach this language. Therefore, lecturers in EMI consider that students' competency in English is necessary to take on EMI rather than a learning outcome. Wilkinson (2013) also notes that lecturers as content experts aim to develop subject knowledge and they rarely stimulate or facilitate the development of English competence. Nevertheless, students might have high expectations with EMI since they might feel that they will develop both content knowledge and linguistic competence. If the teacher does not draw attention towards language to develop syntactic and morphologic processing, students will then only focus on semantic processing to understand and learn the subject matter. Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2013c) also indicate that teachers usually pay attention to vocabulary, but grammar is hardly analysed. For instance, the data collected by Costa (2012) reveals that lecturers tend to use more lexical than grammatical focus on form. According to Costa, the fact that lecturers tend to use more focus on lexis than grammatical focus-on-form suggests that content teachers feel more comfortable clarifying lexis because the focus on language is not that explicit, and they feel freer to incorporate this pedagogical practice into their pedagogic repertoires. This appears to indicate that lecturers might consider that lexical focus on form is more related to content learning since students' attention is directed to academic or technical vocabulary related to their disciplinary subject. On the other hand, a focus on form related to grammar is more clearly linked to language teaching, an area that content

lecturers may not feel that they are competent enough, so they try to avoid it. It could be argued that lecturers do not focus on grammar because they do not see it as something that helps to understand content or that enlarges the students' subject knowledge; instead, they may regard grammar as something peripheral to disciplinary knowledge acquisition, the main goal of their lessons. As Costa (2012: 32) puts it, "they are educationally disposed at teaching content over language". Furthermore, Wilkinson (2004) warns that there is the risk that language may not be really represented in the teaching context and thus it is merely used for its instrumental purposes. If EMI teachers feel that they are not English teachers and thus they do not take responsibility for teaching English and helping students improve their proficiency level, the question is how students overcome content learning inhibition due to their possible poor English competence. Nevertheless, in Mancho-Barés and Marta Aguilar-Pérez (2020) they investigate the extent to which lecturers' assessment practice converge with their expressed beliefs by looking at lecturers' written corrective feedback. Their findings point out that even when lecturers state in the interviews that they do not teach English, there was corrective feedback provision found in the students' oral and written productions. For this reason, when lecturers are conscious and sensitive to language-related errors, they are said to take on "the role of *gate openers* who, as fluent users of disciplinary discourse in English, are sometimes willing to grant access in their subjects to accurate disciplinary English" (Mancho-Barés & Marta Aguilar-Pérez, 2020: 20, emphasis in original).

According to Lauridsen (2017), lecturers should take into consideration learners' L2 proficiency so as to relieve students from the extra cognitive effort of learning through a foreign language. Nevertheless, it is questionable that this can work in practice, or at least it might be difficult for teachers to be aware of all the different English levels present in class because students usually bring a diversity of levels. As a result, adapting the content and the language for all students might be an arduous task for lecturers. In addition, lecturers consider themselves as content teachers, non-language teachers, so they do not focus on linguistic issues as they might feel it is not their responsibility even when they notice that learners could do with some language support. Lauridsen's premise is that if these students' linguistic issues are not addressed, their content learning might also be impaired. That is why Lauridsen (2017: 29) advises, "lecturers therefore need proper training and advice on how to scaffold the development of the students' academic literacy, their reading and writing, in their second or third language as well as their communication

and intercultural communication skills and competences”. In addition, Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, Llinares and Lorenzo (2016) point out that lectures need to be made aware of scaffolding strategies so that they can focus on subject-relevant language, hence developing students’ linguistic and academic resources. To suggest that content teachers should take into account language does not mean that suddenly subject teachers are expected to teach linguistic concepts; instead it should be understood as the need to acknowledge that language and discourse impact on disciplinary content and students, as future professionals in their academic subject, they will also need to communicate and express themselves in English. Although lecturers in EMI do not see themselves as language teachers, they do take into account the language difficulties that English instruction poses to students. Costa (2012) reveals that even when content teachers state that they are only interested in teaching disciplinary knowledge, they still pay attention to linguistic features when teaching. For examples, Gierlinger (2017: 106) states “they nevertheless put considerable effort into providing linguistically appropriate texts for their students”. This language awareness that actually teachers in EMI have may be contradictory with the fact that they do not consider themselves as language teachers.

In research carried out in an Israeli teacher education college on how students judge the lecturer’s English proficiency, Inbar-Lourie and Donista-Schmidt’s (2013: 169) found that they “showed a clearly idealization of the native-speaker teacher”. When asked about the importance of having a native-speaker teacher, the majority of students felt that it was indeed important. Participants in this study believed that native speakers have an absolute command of the language and, therefore, can teach without making linguistic mistakes, hence improving the language proficiency of students. Furthermore, students believed that a native-speaker teacher would actually give a sense of “‘authenticity’, supposedly in the sense of imitating tertiary studies in an English speaking environment” (Inbar-Lourie & Donista-Schmidt, 2013: 165). This is further emphasised by the fact that the comparison between the native and the non-native groups showed that the native lecturer group perceived higher improved English proficiency. If one of the key motivations to join an EMI course is, as participants in Inbar-Lourie and Donista-Schmidt’s (2013: 168) study report, to further develop and improve their English competence, then in practice EMI should meet students’ expectations and do so. However, participants revealed that their language gains were moderate. In fact, Hynninen (2012) shows that non-native lecturers also take on the role of language experts in EMI programmes. This language

expertise can be assumed or assigned, depending on if the teacher corrects a language mistake or if students ask the lecturer to correct or to make comments about the language. Hynninen's results show that subject teachers assumed and were assigned language expertise even as L2 English speakers; hence lecturers shared their correct use of English with students and by doing so they integrated content and language goals even when there was no official linguistic aim. When students assign the role of language expert to the content teacher, then they are establishing themselves as novices in the field, learners of both content knowledge and language conventions. For this reason, Hynninen (2012: 23) concludes that "this implies a connection between subject-matter expertise and willingness and ability to take on the role language expert". Even though there were some English native-speaker students, they did not assume the language expert role and it was only assigned by other students on to them. Therefore, Hynninen (2012: 25) points out that disciplinary expertise and the role of language expert often go together, hence the native-speaker status is irrelevant and disciplinary knowledge is seen as more relevant when it comes to teach academic English. It is for this reason that in Hynninen's view, the study of EMI in higher education should take an ELF approach. An ELF approach would focus on the successful communicative aspect of English so that all participants are able to interact and understand each other; rather than on more prescriptive linguistic aspects of English that would prioritise the correct use of English norms. This approach would therefore advocate for effective and successful communication, favouring mutual comprehension and understanding over the promotion of Standard English and its norms.

The classroom practices of foreign language teaching differ from those practices in EMI since in EMI it is assumed for example that there will be incidental language gains due to the input exposure (Pecorari *et al.*, 2011; Shaw, 2013). As Kong and Hoare (2011) point out, EMI can be beneficial for students since learning the subject content through English enables students to acquire the language of their discipline, by learning the content they are also exposed to academic language that develops their language proficiency and their academic language skills. An example is Gierlinger's (2017) study of teachers' beliefs and how this impacted on their teaching practice. The context of this study was a secondary school setting, the two subjects in question chemistry and history were taught through project topics that followed the demands of the curriculum. None of the two teachers was an English language specialist and their experience in teaching content through English was minimal. Gierlinger's (2017: 105) findings indicate that "classroom

data did not show a single incidence of syntactic or phonemic intervention. Nevertheless, there were a considerable number of explicit interventions related to semantic clarifications". For example, he indicates that students ask for support when an unknown word appeared and the teacher supports students by paraphrasing or providing the translation so as to check comprehension. Therefore, the teacher's interest in making sure students understand the language used shows that they make use of supportive techniques so that students are able to learn the content. These supportive measures may be in line to the disciplinary subject objectives because teachers aim to maximise the understanding of the disciplinary subject, but instead there are no explicit language objectives in these content subjects. Elsewhere Basturkmen and Shackleford (2015) also find subtle language-related talk in EMI classes where both lecturer and students initiated language-related episodes (LREs) (see also Jackson, 2001) to talk about the language of the discipline, particularly vocabulary- and register-related episodes. In addition, lecturers in Basturkmen's (2018) study recognise that language plays a salient role when learning content, their roles were not limited to content teaching as they help learners with specialised vocabulary and register and as Basturkmen (2018: 697) puts it, lectures "thus did not expect their students to simply acquire the register through exposure". Lasagabaster, Doiz and Pavón (2018) looked at students' beliefs about the role of language and there are contrasting opinions. On the one hand, some students see their lecturers as content specialists and not language specialists, hence for them attention to language mistakes was deemed as irrelevant. On the other hand, other learners consider that there should be some focus on form, but this should not interfere with the time devoted to content.

With such studies in mind, Fortanet-Gómez (2012) points out that it is assumed that language learning will simply take place by input exposure due to the immersive nature of EMI, where content knowledge is taught in English. As Turner (2011: 21) calls it "a pedagogy of osmosis". For example, participants in Briggs, Dearden and Macaro's (2018) study believe that one of the reasons why EMI is beneficial for students is because learning disciplinary content through English also teaches them English. There is therefore an extended belief that with EMI incidental learning occurs. Therefore, it may seem that content and language are not at the same level since there is a major focus on content learning, which explains in turn why language is not dealt with. Although a teaching approach like EMI only has content learning goals but no explicit language

learning goals, it is still assumed, that there would be some adjustments to facilitate students' content learning, such as key term glossaries, oral presentation, enhanced visibility concepts and reading/writing in English. The hypothesis according to Aguilar (2015) is that this adjustment is due to didactic purposes and to convey content knowledge successfully, not to deliberately teach English language as such. Wilkinson (2004: 10) also agrees that EMI is more than changing the language of instruction, a successful implantation of EMI needs to design programmes with a fully integration of content and language targets, if not "the reputation of both the programme and the institution are at risk". Nevertheless, Unterberger's (2012: 93) analysis of course objectives in Austrian universities challenges this assumption because the majority of classes combined both content and language learning objectives, such as "foster presentation, discussion and negotiation skills and to develop the students' academic reading and writing". Therefore, the assumption that English is just the instructional or vehicular language with no linguistic learning aims is not applicable generally.

In fact, research on EMI – as seen in the research commented on previously – is much focused on language teaching and learning and pedagogical strategies to combine the acquisition of content knowledge with language. EMI has therefore become *CLILised* or is undergoing a process of *CLILisation* because it is not just a content discipline taught in English since university bodies' discourses suggest that with EMI, graduates will acquire the English language by being exposed to authentic contextualised input that is relevant for them because it belongs to their field of study. Therefore, we can talk about CLILised EMI (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Moncada-Comas & Block, 2019) as, even if implicitly and incidentally, language learning is included as an EMI course aim, this new coinage then captures the notion that both content and language teaching and learning can occur in an EMI site. Although EMI was first introduced with an English as a lingua franca principle, that is to say, to meet the learning and comprehension needs of a diverse linguistic student body; gradually, EMI has been turned into a CLIL-like practice. CLIL is defined by Coyle, Hood, and Marsh (2010: 1) as 'a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language'. Nevertheless, as Dafouz (2014: 293) points out that the general tendency in EMI settings is to relegate linguistic and pedagogical matters to a second place. Elsewhere O'Dowd (2018) notes that a lot of lecturers' training programmes lack a CLIL methodological approach that develops lecturers' skills to teach through English.

However, in their examination of EMI training programmes in Catalonia, Mancho-Barés and Arnó-Macià (2017) point out that the universities analysed provide some training and support to lecturers who wish to engage with EMI teaching. On the one hand, language courses for lecturers are offered in all the universities analysed (the UdL among them), hence improving lecturers' level of English seems to be a priority. On the other hand, the majority of the universities (the UdL included, too) also offer CLIL methodology courses, suggesting that they “envisage EMI as the integration of content and language, judging from the CLIL approach of their methodology courses” (Mancho-Barés & Arnó-Macià, 2017: 275).

1.5 The L1 in CLILised EMI

According to Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2014), we need to reconsider the role of the first language (L1) in EMI. First, we need to bear in mind that the L1 is still present in the students' minds even when teaching through another language; thus, students might bring codes from their L1 to learning and language awareness can be transferred from their L1 to L2. Elsewhere Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017) suggest that flexibility is needed between the L1 and the L2 in day-to-day practices, hence dropping the more purist monolingual policy of EMI. Nevertheless, they warn that L1 presence should decrease as students go up the educational ladder. Moreover, Shaw (2013) proposes that English-taught programmes do not need to be L1-free zones. In fact, Antón, Thierry and Duñabeitia (2015: 15) affirm that “there is now tangible evidence that the two languages of a bilingual individual are active even if only one of them is required for the task at stake”. Languages are always active in the brain independently of the language that is being processed (Kroll, Guo & Misra, 2012). Elsewhere Rose and Galloway (2019) point to the L1 debate around EMI. They argue that the L1 is “a tool for education” (Rose & Galloway, 2019: 217). In fact, Rose and Galloway (2019: 218) maintain:

If the driving forces behind monolingual ideology of EMI contexts does indeed stem from a belief that English only in EMI will benefit English-language development, as the data suggests, then it is necessary to problematize this largely untested and unsubstantiated relationship

Hornberger (2005) suggests that students perform better when a bilingual or multilingual learning environment is allowed because students can draw from all their linguistic

repertoires. Such an approach, which some scholars today call translanguaging (Lasagabaster and García, 2014) but which others call code-switching (Costa, 2012), favours the coexistence of both languages instead of its mutual exclusion. According to Lasagabaster and García (2014: 557), translanguaging can be considered a pedagogical strategy “which fosters the dynamic and integrative use of bilingual student’s languages in order to create a space in which the incorporation of both languages is seen as natural and teachers accept it as a legitimate pedagogical practice”. If an EMI teacher adopts this pedagogical practice, it allows students to use their full linguistic repertoire. The use of two languages in the classroom by both students and teacher has been observed in a variety of contexts, even in those ones where the separation of language is supported (Lasagabaster & García, 2014). In such practices, the L1 is not regarded as a problem but as a resource to aid not only communication in the L2, but also the learning of the L2. Lasagabaster and García (2014) even maintain that these techniques are useful independently of the stage of bilingualism, students with both balanced and non-balanced bilingualism may benefit from. When a content subject is taught in English in an EMI context, the lecturer may resort to the common language shared by students to facilitate the understanding of the lesson. If students read articles in English, watch videos in English and do tasks in English, and the lecturers scaffolds their learning with the students’ L1(s), the acquisition of English vocabulary and concepts may be strengthened (Lasagabaster & García, 2014). The use of the students’ L1 might result in students feeling more comfortable in an EMI class since it “gives them confidence and prevents them from being excluded because of linguistic limitations” (Lasagabaster & García, 2014: 562). Furthermore, Littlewood and Yu (2011: 64) also note that the L1 “may provide valuable support for learning, either directly (e.g. as an element in a teaching technique or to explain a difficult point) or indirectly (e.g. to build positive relationships or help manage learning”. Elsewhere Nikula and Moore (2019: 244) point out that bilingual practices are both “a pedagogic strategy to support learning ... [and] a feature of natural bilingual discourse”. In fact, Macaro (2019) states that in EMI classes where there is a homogenous L1 student cohort, switching to the L1 is legitimate – if its use is justified. Lecturers need to be flexible enough to promote a multilingual environment where both English and the L1 coexist so as to scaffold and develop students’ linguistic competence in English. For instance, Macaro, Tian and Chu (2018: 17) find that one of the reasons that even when teachers make use of the L1, they may resort to it for a particular function: “explaining language, that is, to render certain aspects of their

academic content input more comprehensible”. Meanwhile, Rendinger (2010: 58) also views language alternation between the L1 and the L2 as a facilitating “meaningfully signalling device” to express and understand meaning.

Nevertheless, teachers’ beliefs about the use of both the L1 and the L2 may vary, as Gierlinger (2017) has shown. He found that while some teachers may ignore instances of L1 use because of their belief that subject matter understanding is key, others may insist on the exclusive use of English, in accordance with the belief that English needs to be used in order to develop students’ L2 proficiency. Elsewhere Zhao and Macaro (2016) observe that teachers who promote and L2-only classroom environment are often influenced by Krashen’s (1981) input hypothesis. Nevertheless, they point out that “L2 input is undoubtedly necessary, but it is not a sufficient condition for intake to occur in some cases” (Zhao & Macaro, 2016: 77). In fact, Gierlinger (2017: 109), who refers to plurilingual approaches as code-switching, classifies teachers’ techniques depending on their purposes. On the one hand, there is “concept-focused codeswitching” when teachers make a more explicit and usually longer explanation to make sure the subject concept is understood. On the other hand, there is “word-focused codeswitching” when teachers provide the L1 lexical representation of a word to compare it with the L2 in order to quickly check understanding. However, elsewhere Costa (2012) suggests that code-switching strategies may not be popular among HE lecturers because the use of the L1 might be viewed as a sign of the lecturer’s insufficient linguistic proficiency, thus causing a loss of face. Following researchers such as Gierlinger and Costa, in this thesis I will use the term code-switching to refer to this kind of plurilingual practices. I will discuss this term in more detail in Chapter 9.

Another concern of EMI is “whether teaching in a language of which neither the teacher nor the students is generally a native speakers may lead to poorer learning” (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011: 21). According to Ellison, Araújo, Correia and Vieira (2017) teachers’ linguistic competence will have an impact on the way they feel within the classroom setting because they can be more or less comfortable depending on their English proficiency. Some lecturers teaching disciplinary knowledge in English may feel frustrated or anxious because they might feel the adequacy of the content is not efficient enough even though they are at the top of their profession. Generally, EMI teachers feel that their English proficiency is sufficient, but they also point out some difficulties such as more time for preparation and that classes tend to become less interactive. Fortanet-

Gómez's (2012) results show that lecturers report that their proficiency of English is not high enough for teaching purposes, but they perceive that they know English well enough to read literature written in English in the field and follow a lecture at a conference. However, Fortanet-Gómez (2012: 55) points out that these findings do not necessarily imply that lecturers need more language training, but that teachers might have low self-confidence to use English for teaching purposes due to the lack of experience:

one must not forget that the results in this study show academics' beliefs, not necessarily their real capacity to use English while performing various tasks ... these results may reflect low self-esteem rather than a real picture of what lecturers can or cannot do with their command of the English language.

Although it might be difficult to know what the real case is, if lecturers have the chance to actually see and reflect on their own teaching practice, they can come to realise that they perform better than expected, hence seeing the "real" picture (Fortanet-Gómez, 2012: 55) and improving their self-esteem in relation to English proficiency. The concern is whether lecturers impart the content knowledge as precisely as they would do in their L1. Lecturers involved in EMI need to use a range of pedagogical methods to adapt their teaching practices to EMI so as to maintain an interactive teaching and learning environment, which although beneficial, it is more linguistically challenging. Moreover, Fortanet-Gómez (2012: 50) comments that while the teacher-students interactions involving the key communicative situations in the classroom (e.g. lectures, dissertations, and examinations) are carried out in English, students use their L1 when doing group work or social interaction.

When lecturers shift from an L1 to an L2, they might feel that their ability to transfer knowledge effectively is affected because their L2 linguistic resources and registers are not as complete as they are in their L1. For instance, Tange's (2010) study of Danish teachers' perceptions and teaching practices shows that there is an imbalance between teaching in Danish and English. One of the participants noted that when using the L1, there is more dialogue; however when the lecture was in English, discussions turned out to be loosely structured and her English declined (Tange, 2010: 143). Thøgersen and Airey (2011: 129) point out that if teachers' language tends to be more formal when they shift from their L1 to English, this may be explained by the lectures "adaptation (or inability to adapt)". If a more informal style is used in the L1 to make the learning process

more student-friendly to reach the gap between formal scientific language and everyday language, then it has to be studied why lecturers do not employ the same strategy when teaching in English. Wilkinson (2013: 15) states that “pronunciation problems, lack of clarity and inability to elaborate and improvise have been reported as particular problems facing the lecturers”. In addition, Tange (2010: 143) comments that many of her participants did not use jokes, anecdotes and everyday examples when they shift to English instruction, also there were problems with spontaneity and improvisation. If lecturers do not make use of these to make casual exchanges with students, then academic discourse dominates and “what remains is a very formal and task-oriented communication”. Therefore, Tange concludes that if lecturers’ linguistic repertoires are restricted, then there will be pedagogical and linguistic consequences because if teachers can only make use of a more formal language, they will find it difficult to deal with unusual students’ questions or to present abstract information in a more practical and realistic way for students to understand.

It is important for lectures to recognise and be aware of the different teaching practices that occur when they change the language of instruction from an L1 to an L2. Thøgersen and Airey (2011) state that generally teachers report that they are not aware of any different teaching practices; this does not mean, however, that there are no differences. For example, Airey (2011) refers to three different studies. First, Vinke’s (1995) study concluded that lecturers did not seem to notice any difference between teaching in English or Dutch. Nevertheless, Vinke noted that the teaching in English resulted in a lesser redundancy of teachers’ subject matter presentation; it also impacted their speech rate, clarity and accuracy. Lecturers in Vinke’s study also expressed that they needed more preparation time for teaching in English. It has to be noted however that Vinke’s lecturers were highly experienced in teaching English; so these findings may not be generalisable. Secondly, Klassen’s (2001) findings show that lecturer’s language competence is not as crucial as a student-centred lesson. Finally, Lönnfors (2001) stated that lecturers participating in his study seem to have pronunciation problems and that they would not feel comfortable correcting students’ English. The introduction of EMI is not as simple as just switching the language of instruction from the L1 to an L2, in this case English, assuming an ideal scenario where all students have a high level of proficiency in English. It is more likely that students come with mixed levels of proficiency into the EMI classroom and that students need not only support in processing and understanding

complex content but also in language use. Therefore, Ellison *et al.* (2017: 61) point out that “this necessarily implies adjustments in teaching methodology in order to provide for a combined focus on the integration of complex content and language”. In fact, Ellison *et al.* note that teachers are usually more concerned about their own linguistic needs and they do not tend to be aware of the importance of methodological issues involved when switching the language of instruction. In fact, they observed “there was a sense among teachers that better language proficiency meant better teaching in English” (Ellison *et al.*, 2017: 73).

1.6 CLILised EMI: also a methodological change

Shohamy (2013) makes reference to a central issue around EMI. The extent to which students successfully understand, process and master content knowledge of a disciplinary area when this is acquired through a language which students are not fully competent with. Ball and Lindsay (2013) demand that a focus on methodology needs to be acknowledge taking into account that learners are not only exposed to advanced disciplinary content but they are also learning it in another language. Meanwhile Dafouz, Hüttner and Smit (2018: 541) point out that both the implementation of EMI should be accompanied by “some linguistic focus and pedagogic adaptations” to assure deep learning. Elsewhere Henriksen *et al.* (2019: 115) also view that “the use of English as the language of instruction calls for new teaching approaches” such as compensatory procedures and scaffolding devices. Therefore, the question is whether the measures adopted in EMI are effective so that the most important goal, that is the acquisition of academic knowledge and hence a university education, is achieved. One of the basic demands of EMI is that professors are required to have both high levels of disciplinary knowledge and linguistic competence, the latter both in terms of reading and speaking skills. This is because they will not only need to lecture through English, thus making content accessible for students, but also interact with students and check comprehension of the academic content. In addition, a second challenge is found in relation to students and to what extent they feel comfortable when using another language other than their L1 when interacting with other students with whom they might share the L1. Shohamy (2013: 204) therefore argues that EMI “does not represent the natural type of discourse between students and teachers, and among students”. If students are not fully competent in the language of instruction then the learning conditions to acquire subject knowledge, the ultimate goal of higher education, are questionable. For example, Hellekjaer (2010) refers

to Ljosland's study (2008), showing that university students from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology reported that they were worried that the compulsory use of English for exams may affect negatively their grades, implying that EMI may result in a risk of lower or poorer grades.

Tsai and Tsou (2015) discuss the range of accommodation strategies employed by non-native Taiwanese EMI instructors and they recognise six as effective accommodation strategies: introducing, defining, listing, eliciting, giving examples and emphasising (adapted from Tsai & Tsou, 2015: 403-406):

Accommodation Strategies	Functions	Reasons
Introducing	To begin the lecture. To introduce a new concept. To trigger background knowledge.	Encourage student participation
Defining	To explain a term or a concept with specific meanings.	Encourage student participation
Listing	To number separate ideas. To put points in orders.	
Eliciting	To guide further thinking. To ask questions to help students find solutions.	Content difficulty Students' Language Proficiency Encourage student participation No appropriate English words found for the explanation
Giving examples	To support concepts. To make connections with previously taught content.	Content difficulty Encourage student participation

Emphasising	To highlight important information. To draw students' attention to key points.	
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Table 1 Accommodation strategies

The two most used techniques were eliciting and emphasising. Tsai and Tsou discovered that one of the reasons why lecturers may resort to these accommodation strategies is the students' linguistic competence. What is more, some lecturers also reported using eliciting strategies to encourage student participation in order to gain some thinking time and then further explain or paraphrase the student's answer. Depending on the level of the students, teachers reported to use one strategy or another. For example, eliciting was more frequently used with students with high level of proficiency because they could explicitly express their opinions. With lower language ability students, teachers used more repetitions of key words, paraphrasing, speaking slowly or even seeking help from other students. They also used elicited responses from low-ability students so as to gradually increase the level of difficulty of questions, from easier to more difficult questions in an attempt to help them organise ideas. This study shows that teachers need to adapt to the diverse linguistic abilities of EMI students in order to reach intelligibility and maintain discussion. Furthermore, one of the consequences of the switch from the L1 to English is a slower speech rate. Accommodation of speech rate has received criticism because it may imply that non-native lecturers do not have the sufficient proficiency to teach in English. However, Thøgersen and Airey (2011: 214) point out native speaker lecturers also adjust their speech rate when teaching to L2 students as it "has been shown to be very common for speakers to adjust their speech to their listeners" (Thøgersen & Airey, 2011: 214). If native speakers modify their speaking rate for L2 listeners, then there is no reason to believe that non-native speakers are not going to also accommodate their speech rate in a pedagogical setting with L2 listeners, even if their speech rates will likely be different from those of native speakers.

A study carried out by Dafouz and Camacho-Miñano (2016) seeks to investigate exactly this, the impact that English-medium instruction has on content acquisition looking at students' performance and knowledge construction. This study is set in a Spanish university looking at first year students enrolled in the subject Financial Accounting I during four academic years 2010-2014. Content loss and simplicity has been often

reported among EMI research, therefore, this paper aims to consider whether or not the introduction of EMI actually has an impact on subject matter learning since content is no longer taught in the native language of students but in English by looking at students' performance in EMI and a non-EMI (Spanish) settings. The findings show that the final grades of the EMI and the non-EMI groups did not differ significantly. Therefore, it can be argued that "the language of instruction does not seem to have an impact on students' final grades" (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano, 2016: 62). One explanation to justify the similar results may be that independently of the language of instruction, students need to learn a new language in the sense that they have to learn the specific academic technical terminology. As a result, students undergo a process of "academic discourse socialization", as Duff (2004) calls it, because they are required to engage in a new discourse that is specific of their discipline.

Airey's (2011) study of lecturers' experiences of changing teaching language is interesting and new because teachers involved were relatively inexperienced in teaching in English at higher education. This paper shows lecturers' reflections about the demands and consequences of teaching in English and their motivations to take a course on teaching in English. From this study, Airey points out nine recommendations. First, teachers felt that there was short notice to move into EMI so the change was rather "unreflected and haphazard" (Airey, 2011: 43). Lecturers also thought that the training was insufficient to embark in an EMI course. The combination of the short notice and insufficient training might lead lecturers to feel insecure when teaching EMI for the first time. In addition, lecturers reported that more preparation time is needed for preparing themselves, for example looking up for words and phrases. Therefore, planning in an L2 takes more time than in the L1 because it is done more carefully. Even though their planning is done with greater depth, lecturers feel that the disciplinary detail in EMI is "shallower and less precise" (Airey, 2011: 44) and that the pedagogical style changes since they do not use as many jokes or examples in English. This can be explained by arguing that teachers might feel more bound to their planning or that they do not feel that confident to improvise. In addition, lecturers show less fluency with problems such as "hesitations, false starts and use of filler phrases in the English lectures" (Airey, 2011: 45). Again, these lecturers reported that they do not feel comfortable correcting their students' English because they are not experts on the English language. However, teachers were surprised that there was little difference between the class taught in their

L1 and the one taught in English. This might imply that lecturers tend to underestimate their teaching in English but when they actually compare it to teaching in the L1, they feel they actually performed better than they had predicted so it boosts their confidence leading to a positive impact on their teaching performance.

Cots (2013: 117) also criticises that the implementation of EMI does not just mean a shift from teaching in the L1 to English, but it should be also accompanied by “an adaption of the teaching methodology”, meaning that content teachers cannot assume that by translating the content from the L1 to English is enough. They might have an effective content pedagogy in their native language but when changing the language of instruction they will need to add other techniques in their teaching practice. First of all, he notes that lecturers need to acknowledge that disciplinary texts written in a foreign language for students are not easy to access, but rather abstract or “relatively opaque” to process, making the understanding of information more difficult. Another methodological change that Cots suggests is that lectures should be student-centred, hence students having the predominant role in the classroom. Finally, a third modification that Cots puts forward is that the role of the lecturer in EMI is no longer to transfer information, but to provide resources and scaffolding so that students themselves can construct knowledge. According to Wilkinson (2013), lectures should be more student-centred to be more effective because then EMI students would be more responsible for what they want to learn, how and when to learn it. A student-centred approach in EMI promotes learning because students would take an active role using the language of instruction, hence being in charge of the learning process. EMI teachers need to adjust the input, take into account the different English proficiencies learners bring to class, make sure comprehension and understanding is successful from the part of the students through student interaction, and create an environment where students feel confident and comfortable to use English as their second or even third language.

From a Second Language Acquisition (SLA) perspective, Inbar-Lourie and Donista-Schmidt (2013) consider that sometimes students do not report the expected language gains because EMI programmes are input-driven, meaning that students are exposed to the language through reading texts of their discipline written in English and listening to lectures in English. However, students are not usually required or encouraged to produce output in English, which may be the reason why their linguistic gains are limited as Swain (2005) points out. In addition, content teachers do not usually use focus on form

instruction, thus consciousness-raising tasks that aim to raise students' awareness on linguistic features, are not put into place (Schmidt, 1990, 1991 cited in Inbar-Lourie and Donista-Schmidt, 2013). Costa (2012) also points out that if lecturers used focus on form techniques then the integration of language and content would become explicit in the EMI classroom. Therefore, Inbar-Lourie and Donista-Schmidt (2013: 170) conclude that "this runs contrary to SLA theories which emphasise the importance of output production, form-focused instruction, corrective feedback and intentional vocabulary teaching". As Skehan (1998: 16-17) points out the advantage of students' output is that it helps lecturers to generate better input as a result of student-teacher negotiation of the input. Loschky (1994: 318) is also of the view that "negotiated interaction" is a key facilitator of understanding because students have the chance to listen to the input and ask to check comprehension and negotiate meaning. Briggs and Smith (2017) also conclude that one pedagogical implication in EMI is to consider a dialogue between content and language teachers. In order to maximise students' chances to understand the disciplinary input, this can either be made more comprehensible (simplified language, visual aids, resort to other available codes such as the L1) or negotiation for meaning can be encouraged in lecturer-student and student-student interactions.

This interaction between teacher and students implies that learners engage with the environment: individuals connect with the social and linguistic environment within which language is used and developed through input, output and interaction. If we want to understand the nature and the usefulness of input, it is essential to look at the interaction learners engage with. Both native speakers and non-native speakers use repetitions, confirmation checks, comprehension checks and clarification requests in order to solve communication problems (Long, 1996). These techniques are used in order to know if there is mutual understanding with the conversational partner; hence the link between input and the social environment. This is known as the Interaction Hypothesis by Long (1996: 451-452, emphasis in original):

negotiation for meaning, and especially negotiation work that triggers *interactional* adjustments by the NS [native speaker] or more competent interlocutor, facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways

For this reason, students' engagement in negotiation around meaning leads to linguistic modifications where the input is recycled and paraphrased to arrive to mutual comprehensibility. According to Swain (2005), if learners are required to perform, they are forced to process both meaning and language. Learners' output serves three functions. First, "the noticing/triggering function" (Swain, 2005: 474) occurs when learners become aware of the gap in their linguistic system, the students notice their own lack of knowledge. Second, "the hypothesis-testing function" (Swain, 2005: 476) occurs when learners have the opportunity to test their own ideas about how language works. Finally, "the metalinguistic function" (Swain, 2005: 478) has a reflective role because it appears when learners can reflect on their own language, thus discussing and analysing their problems explicitly. As Block (1996: 76) points out SLA research is better understood if we take into account not only "the cognitive mechanisms which would account for changes in linguistic ability (be this language gain or language loss) over time and exposure to input ... [but also] the belief that language lessons are essentially social events, which are co-constructed by the individual participating in them".

All this is of importance as this thesis not only analyses lecturers' professional identities and their acceptance or denial of certain positioning; it also takes into account EMI in action, the actual teaching practices employed when engaged in the business of doing education in EMI. Therefore, it is important to consider what teaching strategies are employed, how they interact with students, what language(s) are allowed (or not) in the classroom setting, to what extent CLILised EMI practices are employed and to what extent LREs are present in EMI. Overall, this thesis focuses on how UdL lecturers tackle and handle the EMI experience in the classroom setting, adapting their teaching methodology to the EMI classroom and making sure disciplinary content is made understandable, readily accessible for all students. Therefore, it considers the extent to which lecturers have (or not) the ability to engage in successful and effective EMI pedagogy. The thesis will contribute to the exploration of the teaching practices of three EMI lecturers to foreground the relevance of the adaptation of the teaching methodology and practice resulting in an effective EMI pedagogy.

1.7 Summary of English-Medium Instruction

This chapter has looked at research on the main stakeholders' – lecturers and students – opinions and attitudes towards English-Medium instruction. The chapter has examined

the different terms that are often used to refer to EMI. In fact, it has presented a new term *CLILised EMI* that represents the idea that EMI is not only about disciplinary knowledge learning but also about learning academic language of the discipline, such as attention to language functions and aspects of discourse, the teaching of vocabulary and pronunciation, guided practice in academic writing and disciplinary genre. The chapter has focused on internationalisation and Englishisation processes that have led to a considerable increase of non-language subjects taught through English. Moreover, the chapter has gone through different contexts where EMI is being implemented in Europe – northern, central and southern – and it has then focused on the Spanish context and in particular Catalonia. Finally, the chapter points out that EMI implementation has often taken for granted the pedagogical implications, assuming that teachers and students will not encounter difficulties when shifting the language of instruction from their native language to a foreign language.

This chapter has highlighted the main issues around EMI that are also present at the University of Lleida, where this research is based. Participants, as we will see in Part II: Section A, are influenced by internationalisation and Englishisation discourses. Nevertheless, the language teaching discourse is still not integrated in EMI practices – we will see this in the interviews between researchers and EMI lecturers – and even if they deny the DLF role of a CLILised EMI version, they do act implicitly as CLILised EMI lecturers in their EMI praxis (Part III: Section B). Therefore, all the issues discussed in this chapter, which are of relatively recent application at the UdL, can have an important impact on this higher education academic community, especially on the main stakeholders involved in EMI policy and practice at this Catalan tertiary institution. The next chapter will discuss the concepts of identity and teacher professional identity and then it will relate them to EMI. An understanding of these abstract constructs is complementary to the study of EMI for comprehending how academics understand their position in this new context due to the shift in their professional practice.

Chapter 2. Language and identity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses current literature in the area of identity in general, and teacher identity more specifically. I start with an overview of definitions and the theoretical frameworks identity can be approached from. After looking at identity from this more general point of view, I will then turn to teacher professional identity as my aim is to study how the EMI experience *constructs* lecturers' identities. They have to change the language of instruction and the classroom setting may now include international students. Therefore, this new linguistic classroom setting may affect them professionally. Two broad kinds of identities come into play for lecturers doing EMI: the language teacher identity and the content teacher identity. The sum of these two identities is a pastiche of a new identity, the EMI teacher identity, as they face new challenges when they adopt this identity. They are required to teach disciplinary content in another language other than their L1, this results in new linguistic and pedagogical challenges due to the change from traditional L1 teaching to EMI teaching.

2.2 Identity

Before going into detail into teacher professional identity, it is necessary to consider the literature around the concept of identity more generally. The term identity has been defined in multiple ways. This multiplicity of definitions makes it difficult to arrive at a precise and definite understanding of the concept. For example, Gee (2001: 99) defines it as “[b]eing recognized as a certain ‘kind of person’ in a given context”. Elsewhere Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005: 21) characterise identity as “transformational, transformative, context-bound, and constructed, maintained and negotiated via language and discourse”. Meanwhile for Johnstone (2008: 151) identity makes reference “to the outcome of processes by which people index their similarity to and difference from others, sometimes self-consciously and strategically and sometimes as a matter of habit”. Lawler (2008: 8) understands identity as something that belongs “‘within’ the individual person, but as produced between persons and within social relations ... as socially produced, socially embedded and worked out in people’s everyday social lives”. Miller (2009: 173) views identity construction as “a process of continual emerging and becoming” and associated it with “notions of fluid, dynamic, contradictory,

shifting, and contingent identities”. Norton (2013: 4) defines identity as “how a person understands his or her relationship the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future”. Elsewhere Kling Soren (2013: 35) interprets “identity as multidimensional, fluid and flexible”, while Block (2015a: 11) understands “identities (in plural to indicate the multiplicity of the phenomenon) to be socio-culturally constructed, ongoing narratives, which develop and evolve across different spatio-temporal scales, ranging from the micro, local and immediate to the macro, global and long-term”. Elsewhere Danielsson and Warwick (2016: 74) depict “identity as a sociocultural and multidimensional construct ... not as a stable category but as a negotiated experience that is constituted in relation to practices”.

In his study of the different definitions of identity, Miller (2009: 174) states that there are certain key recurring words and concepts that led him to conclude that identity is “relational, negotiated, constructed, enacted, transforming, and transitional”. To this list, other recurring key terms related to identity could be added taking into account the previous definitions: *fluid, mobile, complex, multiple, plural, changeable, unstable, shifting, dynamic* and *situated*. Elsewhere Tsui (2007) identifies three main features of identity. First, identity is multifaceted. Secondly, the construction of identity involves both the personal and the social (as well as professional) dimension. Finally, agency and social structure are related in the formation of identity as, for instance, teachers may make their own personal choices for their professional identity but they are also limited by the space in which their professional activity is carried out.

If we look now at the evolution of the term identity (Simon, 2004), there are three main stages. As Gray and Morton (2018: 8) summarise, “identity evolves from an originary eighteenth-century Enlightenment understanding, through an early twentieth-century sociological one, to a late twentieth-century postmodernist or poststructuralist conceptualisation”. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 17) also refer to the development of the identity concept:

early treatments of identity as a self-fashioning, agentive, internal project of the self, through more recent understanding of social and collective identity, to postmodern accounts which treat identity as fluid, fragmentary, contingent and, crucially constituted in discourse

First, we had the Enlightenment subject when identity was understood as fully centred, unified and continuous, identical with itself over time (Hall, 1992: 175). This means, as Gray and Morton (2018: 9) point out, there was a “very individualised conceptualisation of identity”. Due to the growing complexity of the modern world, a new conception of identity emerged: the Sociological subject. During this stage, the focus is on “the interactive nature of identity” (Simon, 2004: 12), meaning that the interaction between the individual and society is central for identity construction. In this stage, the individualised sense of identity is linked to the social context. However, this conception still assumes that there is a core identity, an essence, which is modified through the continuous interaction with the outside world.

Finally, the third stage of identity is the post-modern subject. This stage has a “de-centring view” towards identity: because there is no central identity, identity is now “fragmented” and “permanently shifting” (Simon, 2004: 13). Burkitt (2008: 26) explains that the de-centring of the self means that the individual needs to be framed in the wider social context that forms and changes the subject. Simon (2004: 13) states that post-modern identity is conceptualised with “a high degree of multiplicity, variability and flexibility”. The post-modern subject’s identity is no longer conceptualised and defined as fixed and stable. Elsewhere, Weedon (1997: 21) proposes that “for poststructuralism, subjectivity is neither unified nor fixed ... poststructuralism theorizes subjectivity as a site of disunity and conflict”. In her research on Japanese study-abroad students in the United States, Miyahara (2014) highlights that one of the key notions of identity in poststructuralist terms is that identity is not fixed, but rather socially created through discourse and practice. According to Miyahara (2014: 207), identity in poststructuralism is understood “as contextually situated, relational and discursively produced. Identities are constructed and co-constructed through activities in which individuals engage in interactions with the environment”. Weedon (1997: 32) points out that the identity proposed in poststructuralism is “precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak”. Meanwhile Block (2006: 35) affirms that “poststructuralists see identity not as something fixed for life, but as an ongoing lifelong project in which individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance”.

This new conceptualisation of identity “adopts a pluralised, processual and socially constructed view of identity which is completely at odds with earlier understandings in

which the notion of an unchaining core is assumed”, as Gray and Morton (2018: 10) state. This view acknowledges that identity needs to be understood in relation to the structures in which individuals find themselves in but, at the same time, it also recognises a sense of agency. As Gray and Morton (2018: 10) maintain, “[f]rom this perspective, identity is about the highly agentive act of investment in, or identification with, already available subject positions”. Investment refers to the fact of devoting time and effort in something for a purpose, to achieve a reward in the form of economic, social and cultural capital. For instance, Norton (2016: 476) specifically refers to the investments of language learners: they are committed to learn a language and so they invest in the target language. By acquiring the language, learners will also have access to “a wider range of symbolic and material resources that will increase the value of their cultural capital and social power” (Norton, 2016: 476).

A related concept to the construct of investment is that of Community of Practice (CoP) (Wenger, 1998). Individuals wish to achieve their imagined identity and belong to their imagined community (Norton, 2016). Individuals invest in themselves as they have the desire to belong to a community of their imagination. A CoP is a place where one participates with “more encompassing process of being active participants in the practices of social communities and construction identities in relation to these communities” (Wenger, 1998: 4). Social participation in one’s community implies processes of knowing and learning, as one’s practices start to reflect the practices of the community which are “the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise” (Wenger, 1998: 45). Hence, one’s professional identity can be further developed and negotiated when one belongs to a community of professionals with whom to share practices (Thornborrow, 2004). For this reason, belonging or membership to a CoP requires “mutual engagement” (Wenger, 1998), which in turn calls for members interactions about what, how and why they are there to do. Meanwhile Hall (1996) also views that “identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristic with another person or group”. Elsewhere Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 24) agree that identity is about participation in social life, in relation to others because “the self is defined primarily by virtue of its membership of, or identification with a particular group or groups”.

Identity is “discursively constructed” or “reconstituted in discourse” (Block, 2007b: 14). Similarly, Hall (1996: 4) affirms that “identities are constructed within, not outside,

discourse”. Miller (2009: 173) suggests that identity is not only executed in interaction by the speakers, but also the hearer plays a role in accepting or denying that identity choice, thus (de)legitimising the speaker’s message. Rather than a psychological phenomenon, identity is a social and cultural phenomenon that is constructed through oneself and the relationship of oneself with others. That is, the combination of how one perceives oneself and how others perceive them to validate or reject the proposed identity (Andenaes, 2017). When telling a story, the individual is “engaged in processes of producing an identity through assembling various memories, experiences, episodes, etc. within narrative” (Lawler, 2008: 11). According to Lawler (2008: 13), stories “are interpretative devices through which people make sense of, understand and live their lives”. Narratives thus assist us in the understanding of identity since individuals not only tell a story but also interpret it as they do so. When an individual tells a story there is not a direct connection or access to who that person used to be, the individual selects certain events and memories and engages in interpretation of that event since not all the details are recalled and so new meanings are assigned to those memories. Elsewhere Rymes (2006) states that “discourse is language-in-use” as both the context and interaction influence individuals; identity s build up through social activity, the interactions with others influence identity construction. Through discourse, social identities arise as individuals establish social relations and make sense of them. What is more, Hallman (2015: 4) notes that identity is situated within a social context, hence if the context changes, identity can be subject to change too: “identity work is undertaken as a fluid process – one is never finished with constructing his or her identity”. As Block puts it (2007b: 187):

identity is a multi-layered phenomenon and it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at a definition or list of perspectives that will hold up for very long. As individuals make their way through the world around them, they are forever inhabiting and having attributed to them new and emergent subject positions that call into question constructs commonly used by researchers.

A discursive view of identity means that language is constructed in interaction and focuses on the central role that language has for identity work. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 34) state that “[d]iscourse-based approaches generally describe identity as fluid, dynamic and shifting process, capable of both reproducing and destabilising the discursive order, but also one in which people’s identity work is analysed in talk”. Poststructuralist

perspectives therefore have focused on the fact that individuals are influenced by sociocultural discourses and so identity formation does not occur in a vacuum. Instead, the social, cultural and political context affect how the individual constructs their identity. For Norton (2013: 4), “poststructuralism depicts the individual (i.e. the subject) as diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time an social space ... subjectivity in poststructuralism is understood as discursively constructed and as always socially and historically embedded”. The postmodern turn was accompanied by a discursive turn, identity was not longer exposed in discourse but, as Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 4) explain, “identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically constituted in discourse”.

An essential element in the construction of identity is agency because it gives purpose and intent to individuals. Block (2015c: 21) defines “agency – as the exercise of intentionality, as self-conscious activity”. Individuals understand, select, include/exclude and connect events, shape and interpret their own stories with what they think is significant to them. They actively and agentively select, resist and revisit meaning and so their identities. Agency hence implies that individuals are part of their own development since they are able to reinterpret their experiences and in doing so they can re-think and re-construct their identities. Varghese *et al.* (2005: 23) highlight the importance of agency when it comes to identity formation because agency ensures that individuals are intentional, that is, they are able to think about and represent objects, people and situations outside of themselves. Through their intentionality, individuals are able “to move ideas forward, to reach goals or even to transform the context” (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009: 183). Moreover, in narratives too, individuals display agency as they select among their experiences only the most critical and important ones, thus individuals narrate and interpret their identity-narratives, which are told according to their own perceptions. As Block (2015b: 529) describes it, narratives reveal “how individuals present their life stories when communicating with others”. It is for this reason that Ling Cheung, Ben Said and Park (2015) state that narratives are a good methodological tool to understand identity construction. Vásquez (2011) also agrees that narrative analysis serves to reveal how individuals see themselves through their life experiences and how language is used to understand these experiences.

While agency implies that the individual is acting consciously, there are also master narratives or discourses which are rarely grasped and understood by individuals but that do guide their actions (Block, 2007a; 2009; 2013a). Therefore, prior to interactions,

individuals are – often – already assigned certain positions, the so-called “‘master narratives’, ‘dominant discourses’, ‘cultural texts’ or, in Foucauldian terms, ‘culturally available subject positions’”, structures that already exist and that had to be looked out for” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 162). Of interest here is the Foucauldian term (Foucault, 1989 [1969]) “discourse formations”, which makes reference to the discourses that construct and legitimate the ultimate practices and behaviours of individuals. These discourse formations go hand in hand with the “authorities of delimitation” (Foucault, 1989 [1969]: 41-42). This term points out that those in institutional and powerful positions establish – delimitate – different categories and decide who belongs to it and who does not. Therefore, individuals are divided in groups, compared and contrasted, classified and associated by what Foucault coins “gaze”, which is triggered through the “authorities of delimitation”. Foucault’s term ‘gaze’ (1973: 89) encapsulates an idea of “sovereignty ... [as] the gaze gradually established itself – the eye that knows and decides, the eye that governs”. It equals powers as it hierarchises and labels reality, thus its power influences individuals’ socialisations into their desired discourse or community. As Block and Moncada (2019: 7) explain for the gaze, “observation is a key element in the establishment and maintenance of the authority of gatekeepers in institutions”.

However, Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 158) argue that these structures do not dictate one’s identity (also Block, 2013a, 2013b); instead, they may have an impact on identity construction since they provide different positions or identity choices. Elsewhere Norton (2013: 5) agrees that “identities are not merely given by social structures or ascribed by others, but are also negotiated by agents who wish to position themselves”. It is in interaction where identities are negotiated. Clarke (2008: 23) explains that “[t]he notion of discourse is linked to a radical rethinking of identity over the past three decades, challenging ideas of the self as homogenous, self-contained and self-sufficient subject”. By adopting a social view of identity, we focus on how identity materialises in interaction when individuals engage in day-to-day conversational activity and how individuals, when asked to reflect about their lives, produce narratives where we “find” their identity (Block, 2013a). By narrative identity, it is not suggested that identity has a stable, unchanging and linear development. Identity formation is subject to re-interpretation and it has a dynamic nature. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 34) argue, “Discourse-based approaches generally describe identity as fluid, dynamic, and shifting process, capable of both reproducing and

destabilising the discursive order, but also one in which people's identity work is analysed in talk".

2.3 Teacher Professional Identity

Similarly, the problem with defining continues with the concept of teacher identity. As Trent (2015: 44) states, "[d]espite its growing prominence within teacher education, consensus about the meaning and scope of teacher identity remains elusive". A systematic review of literature by Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) shows that there is lack of consensus when it comes to defining teachers' professional identity. Their investigation ranging from 1998 to 2000 concludes that one of the essential features of teachers' professional identity is its dynamic nature based on the ongoing process of (re)interpretation. Personal and context need to be taken into account when defining professional identity because the teaching context influences teachers to adopt and adapt practices in their own unique and individual ways. A teacher's professional identity is formed of sub-identities; these sub-identities may be more central or peripheral. Another defining feature is the notion of agency, the active involvement in professional development as in the learning process the teacher's professional identity is authenticated. Identity research applied to the study of teacher development highlights the role of the context and it sheds light on their personal histories in relation to their specific discipline. Teachers are not exempt from the influence of out-there structures, they do not have full control of their identities as their identities are also shaped by other influencing factors coming "from contextual factors or from accepted social attitudes or expectations" (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2011: 7).

Beauchamp and Thomas (2011: 6) define teacher identity as "a complex and dynamic phenomenon with links to the self and agency, [which] combines a personal and professional dimension". Lasky (2005: 901) defines teacher professional identity as "how teachers define themselves to themselves and to others". For Andenaes (2017: 190), practices are a key aspect of professional identities since a professional identity implies the performance of certain professional practices. In turn, these professional practices not only define one's professional identity, the performance of those practices also inclines others to recognise and assign the individual that specific professional identity, hence legitimising one's professional identity through the practices. Furthermore, Den Brok, van der Want, Beijaard, and Wubbels (2013) are also of the view that a teacher's actions

are intrinsically related to their professional identity because their identities will influence the way they act and behave in different classroom situations. These reactions will in turn have an impact on their identity, hence “evoking a circular process of evolving teaching actions and identity development” (Den Brok *et al.*, 2013: 143). According to Avraamidou (2016: 2-3), teacher identity can be defined with these three characteristics:

(a) teacher identity is socially constructed and constituted; (b) teacher identity is dynamic and fluid and constantly being formed and reformed; (c) teacher identity is complex and multifaceted, consisting of various sub-identities that are interrelated.

Trent (2015: 45) agrees with this view since the application of poststructuralism to the study of teacher professional identity implies that teacher’s identity is neither unitary nor fixed, rather “teachers construct multiple identities which constantly shift across both space and time”. Day (2011) points out that identity fragmentation or stability varies and depends on different personal, socio-cultural and professional aspects, which can be either negative or positive at different times. Therefore, Day (2011: 48) states that identity is “culturally embedded”. Jenlink (2006: 121) compares teacher identity to a “palimpsest”, a *page* on which can be written again and again, since the present identity is built up on all the multiple past experiences, teacher identity is always under development, it is a constant learning process which is never fully finished. Teachers are socialised in the educational system and so appropriate the circulating discourses available about different ways of how to do education and teaching (Block, 2017a). In fact, Ling Cheung *et al.* (2015) argue that teacher identity develops through reflexive and introspective practices as well as through interaction with others.

Teachers’ professional identities are also defined by their own concept of ‘good’ teaching practices (Pennington & Richards, 2016). Therefore, their professional identity is not only constructed by the educational or institutional context they find themselves in, but also their teacher role is dependent on their own personal and individual identity. The personal and the professional (social and interactional context) are therefore connected and both are in flux depending on students’ characteristics, job conditions and educational setting. As Pennington and Richards (2016: 9) point out, teacher identity “has a future-oriented trajectory”, teachers are engaged in a continuous learning process open to modification that can affect their identity and practices. Elsewhere Korthagen (2004, 2009) talks about

teacher professional identity and puts forward “the onion: a model of levels of change”, suggesting that not only the outer level – the environment – has an impact on the inner levels – behaviours and competencies – but also a reverse influence can occur (see also Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005). According to Korthagen (2004: 85), fundamental changes in identity are not straightforward and “often there seems to be little change at all in how teachers view themselves”. Focusing on STEM lecturers teaching in English, they have core content lecturer qualities which are fundamental sources of stability and which maintain a sense of purpose, that is, teaching content. In addition, Korthagen (2009: 198) states that being in touch with one’s professional identity does not only create a change of perspective regarding their daily basis profession, but it also triggers fundamental growth, “core reflection”.

A contextual factor such as the shift of language of instruction from the first language (L1) to a second language (L2) will therefore have an impact on teachers’ identities. The way a teacher of a non-linguistic subject perceives her/his professional identity – and so her/his professional practices – may be subject to reshape, determined by the extent to which language teaching is included in the practices and how it is carried out. As a result, the inclusion of these language-related practices may in turn also influence and shift their professional identity. In reference to EMI, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018: 661) state “EMI teachers and learners invest in English because they anticipate an increase in their cultural capital and in their chances of playing a more substantial role in the social sphere”. Doiz and Lasagabaster’s (2018: 668) findings show that

[t]eaching in English requires substantial *personal investment* on the part of the participant. It is an *investment* which does not bring any economic, social, or institutional rewards in return. Furthermore, it comes at a high ‘personal cost’ as reflected by the frequent use of the words ‘effort’, no ‘free time’, and ‘tiring’ by the teachers.

As a new teaching environment, EMI may affect the professional teacher identity development of the lecturer, as well as their practices. If it has a positive effect, then, lecturers may be willing to take risks and change teaching methodology or even include

linguistic aims. If, instead, there is a negative effect because they feel vulnerable¹ (Lasky, 2005; Song, 2016), lecturers feel concerned and anxious about their English competence, they may avoid any situation that is seen as a potential peril for their professional teacher identity, preventing linguistic episodes to occur in the EMI setting. As Doiz and Lasagabaster put it (2018: 662), “because teaching in EMI programs requires a major adjustment, misgivings are often expressed in many different contexts”.

2.4 Identity in EMI

New teaching scenarios demand for specific adjustments and, so, for the development of new teaching skills, which in turn shape teacher identity. Zembylas (2003) refers to constant transformation in identity construction, the dynamicity of identity, which is subject to change. EMI lecturers experience this self-transformation as they encounter certain discourses (Englishisation of higher education, learning the language by exposure versus language teaching) and they engage in a process of acceptance of or resistance against these narratives to re-construct their professional identity. Elsewhere Henriksen *et al.* (2019) also view that lecturers who have developed their professional teacher identity and now abide to EMI undergo a series of challenges that not only alter and influence their practices but also affect their teacher identity. EMI can therefore act as an identity transformation boost: after years of experience as content lecturers, these university teachers now confront new teaching conditions and face this unknown territory as L2 language users, consequently a reinterpretation and a reshape of their professional teacher identity is more than possible. Content lecturer identity construction in EMI contexts after the shift of language of instruction has received limited attention (Kling Soren, 2013; Reynolds, 2016). Therefore, the rationale for this thesis emerged from the fact that there is a growing offer of EMI subjects taught by content lecturers who, more often than not, are non-native speakers of English, at least in the context of the University of Lleida. This is important to understand how EMI lecturers form their identities in their professional

¹ Lasky (2005: 901) defines vulnerability as “a multidimensional, multifaceted emotional experience that individuals can feel in an array of contexts. It is a fluid state of being that can be influenced by the way people perceive their present situation as it interacts with their identity, beliefs, values, and sense of competence. It is a fluctuating state of being, with critical incidents acting as triggers to intensify or in other ways change a person’s existing state of vulnerability”. It can be either positive (openness, trust, willingness to learn, feeling safe and ready to take risks) or negative (powerlessness, anxiety and fear, withdrawal or defensive).

area so as to shed light on how they deal with this educational and linguistic change and to what extent this has an effect in the implementation of new teaching practices.

When a teacher of a non-linguistic subject, that is, a content teacher, adopts EMI, her/his professional identity is going to be affected by the shift in the language of instruction because “English represents an identity maker”, as Graddol (2006: 20) explains. What is more, EMI is sometimes positioned as an opportunity for students to learn the English language, which, in turn, positions content teachers as language teachers indirectly (see the discussion of CLILised EMI above). The implementation of EMI with this purpose implies the inclusion of language learning goals to a non-linguistic subject. By having this unspoken goal, teachers’ professional identity may undergo a process of reconstruction in order to add the language teacher identity to the already constructed content teacher identity. However, this is not without problems as content teachers may feel that their professional identity is undermined due to the change in the language of instruction and so they would need to take up on a new position to repair it and so re-authenticate their new professional identity (a combination of content teacher and language teacher identity).

When teachers adopt EMI, their EMI lecturer identity is in the making, meaning that their professional identity is evolving. Content lecturers have developed through their career a notion of who they are as university content teachers. However, the shift of language of instruction requires adjustments and adaptations, it can be a period of tensions and identity change because English can act as a destabilising force in their professional identity and so it can cause tensions between the secured content teacher identity they have already developed and the emerging identity of the language teacher. EMI lecturers can therefore experience a weakening of their professional identity at the start of EMI. In their research of student teachers, Beauchamp and Thomas (2011) note that these teachers experience a “boundary” stage between the transition from their university programs to their first job. This transition phase may be also experienced by EMI lecturers as they also experiment “a significant transition point in the[ir] development ... a transitional mode, negotiating the change” (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011: 7) from teaching in their L1 to teaching through English. This boundary stage allows a space for “significant learning” (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011: 7). In his research on teacher educators, Trent (2013: 267) finds that different professional identities are established and differentiated in discourse through ascription and rejection, hence teachers themselves “constructed

boundaries between different teacher identities”. These boundaries can also be found in EMI identity construction between the content lecturer related identity and the language teacher related identity.

The underlying tension in identity research of EMI lecturers lies in the debate around “the language proficiency required to [be] an effective language teacher” (Varghese *et al.*, 2005: 26). While for some EMI lecturers, language proficiency means that they need training in language and that they have to be ahead of their students in terms of language competence, others may view that their proficiency (even if not fully competent) is enough to teach content in English. Concerns about language proficiency may create a feeling of insecurity when lecturers do not consider themselves expert speakers or users of English. Subsequently, this may result in a loss of faith in themselves and hence a role diminishment, meaning that individuals may feel that they do not have the knowledge or skills to deal with a particular situation in a context where they have normally felt both competent and skilful. This process may result in a professional redefinition (or may be even a professional reduction) when they face a situation in which they are expected to be completely prepared, but they are not. If they are not confident in their self-perception as English-language teachers, which is part of their identity as EMI lecturers, then there is “the risk of being seen as illegitimate” (Varghese *et al.*, 2005: 27). A possible solution for this sense of illegitimacy regarding their new emerging English-language teacher identity is the creation of an EMI lecturer group (an EMI lecturers’ CoP) that would give them comfort since they are not *alone* in the EMI enterprise, they would have a group with whom they can share experiences and concerns. In fact, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018: 662) also view the sense of belonging to a community can have an effect in identity constructed as “[t]he imagined identities held by EMI teachers and students are also part of the English-speaking international community to which they would like to belong”. For this reason, a desirable community for EMI lecturers would be “a community of English-speaking professionals” (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018: 662).

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 171) argue “[g]roup membership is essential to a sense of identity ... if identity has to do with belonging to social categories, the study of how they are used and negotiated in discourse becomes an important task for discourse analysts”. In the context of EMI at the UdL, the joint enterprise is teaching a content subject in English as a way of internationalising the university. This new practice adopted by several lecturers entails the formation of a new EMI identity. However, often EMI

lecturers do not get together as a group or establish the structures and conditions of the activities jointly. Nevertheless, through their ongoing negotiation of their response to the conditions of this activity, EMI belongs to them because it is their enterprise even though they are not in full control of the forces that influence EMI university policy. This mutual engagement in EMI does not however imply and ensure a homogenous community. As Clarke (2008: 30) points out, “[a]side from the differences individuals bring with them, members may have distinct roles and make complementary contributions of the enterprise in question”. It could be argued that the lecturers at the UdL are not engaged in the same enterprise as they are from different disciplines and faculties: some are teaching animal production, others teach facilities for engineering students, while others are teaching biotechnology to future vets. As Clarke (2008: 33) argues, “they all have developed different repertoires and routines according to the parameters set by their institutions and programmes”. Maybe we cannot talk about an EMI CoP throughout all the campuses of the UdL, but we can talk about its locality. Even if there is not an EMI CoP, choosing to do EMI is a significant statement of belonging even before the community of practice has even been formed. Lecturers show alignment with globalisation and internationalisation discourses, they engage with new practices of teaching through English, and they experience “an imaginative casting of self into an envisioned future role as” (Clarke, 2008: 76) EMI lecturers. Choosing to do EMI may imply choosing the prestige and practicality of English as a global language and as a language of academia. Nevertheless, from their interviews (as we will see in Part III: Section A), we can also perceive a common discourse in most cases: they have not developed a shared identity with others, there is no sense of community of practice and so they cannot really speak for the group because they feel there is no group. The question is whether lecturers have the desire to form a CoP where they can jointly develop as EMI professionals by learning from others engaged in the same socially respected and recognised enterprise.

They are coming to be English-language teachers; this identity is being forged through the EMI subject that requires a shift in language of instruction from their L1 to English and their own views that these classes will foster students’ English proficiency. The new emerging EMI identity poses a conflict to lecturers because the content identity that they thought was fixed, stable and coherent is now being re-formed and re-shaped to co-exist with the English language teacher identity, or at least with a DLF role. Their professional identity is in crisis due to feelings of uncertainty due to the inclusion of English-language

teacher identity and the possible doubts they may have in relation to their English proficiency level. There is not a natural feeling of belonging to the English language teacher community and so due to the shift of language of instruction, lecturers are in a crossroad where their linguistic repertoire is undergoing significant changes. This resonates with what Pujolar and González (2013: 139) have termed a “linguistic ‘*muda*’, that is, changes in language use that are important for people’s self-presentation in everyday-life”. In his research of migrant experiences, Block (2003: 5) also talks about experiences that change an individual, using the term ‘critical experience’ to capture the “irreversible destabilization of the individual’s sense of self ... [as] the individual’s sociohistorical, cultural and linguistic environment, once well defined and delimited, becomes relatively ill defined and open-ended”. As Bauman (2004) explains it, questions around one’s identity begin when identity itself comes into question, when it cannot longer be defined. Suddenly, the individual does not belong fully anymore to the place they used to belong, nor do they belong to the next place. They are a place in-between, and in every space they feel out of place.

Although lecturers do not seem to accept the language teacher identity, they still take on activities and discourses typically associated with language teachers. These discourses are unconsciously appropriated as they engage with new practices and narratives that used to be embodied by a different and independent realm, which they did not form part. Even if not as English-language teachers, EMI lecturers “attempt to position themselves in ways that legitimise them as language teachers” (De Costa, 2015: 135) of other languages. In one case discussed in this thesis, a lecturer positions herself as a Catalan-language teacher when the language of instruction is her L1 (Catalan) but not as an English-language teacher when the language of instruction is English, her L2. There is ambiguity and tension in her language teacher identity when there is shift from the L1 to English, since there is a co-existence of content and language teacher identity when using the L1 but this co-existence disappears when the language of instruction is English. As Nikula *et al.* (2016: 15) point out, this co-existence “is potentially further complicated by the fact that most teachers are non-native speakers of the instructional language themselves, which may make the identity reshaping an even more complicated journey”. Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018), in their discussion of students and teachers identities in EMI settings, point out that the native/non-native debate does influence EMI stakeholders. The still widespread discourses of native- speakerism superiority (Llurda, 2016; Mossu &

Llurda, 2008) have an impact on EMI lecturers, as they may feel disempowered if their professional role and authority is put into doubt. Hence, the concept of foreign language competence, so important in the EMI context, can work as a source of identity formation for EMI teachers and students, as the individual who possesses English competence is highly valued by the community and is given “legitimacy of access to practice” (Tsui, 2007). These two sources, the competence the individual has and the legitimate access to practices granted are “dialectically related” and “mutually constitutive” (Tsui, 2007: 675). As Cammarata and Tedick (2012: 257) argue in relation to immersion, also in EMI there is a need “to revisit and reshape their teaching identity – that is envisioning themselves not only as content teachers but language teachers as well”. Nikula *et al.* (2016: 14) also agree with this tenet:

The struggles are partly due to the fact that immersion teachers tend to mainly perceive of themselves as content teachers as they are accountable of content matter achievement ... therefore, the reshaping of teacher identity towards both content and language teaching is one often requiring considerable time, a process that could be supported for example by teacher education.

One of the reasons why lecturers find it difficult to conceive the English-language teacher identity as part of their professional identity may be the label itself (Racelis & Matsuda, 2015). The label may make them feel there are certain roles they are expected to perform but they do not feel they are capable of performing. They need to be made aware of the other language components and so encourage them to embrace a disciplinary-language identity (the DLF role), more related to their already established content-identity. The shift in the label might have a positive impact because they tend to associate language teacher identity with an over emphasis on grammar and correction of students’ mistakes; issues that they do not feel comfortable with. On the other hand, the new label may imply a focus on genre, purpose, conventions and context – or academic/disciplinary literacies.

Simon (2004: 23) points out that “together with the concept of identity, defined as a set of internalised role expectations, the concepts of identity salience and commitment form the conceptual cornerstones of identity theory”. Therefore, EMI lecturers professional identity is formed by the co-existence of the content and the language teacher identity which are organised in “a hierarchy of salience ... defined by the probability of the various identities to come into play within or across situations”. The specific locations of

the content teacher identity and the language teacher identity in this hierarchy is defined as identity salience. The position that these identities have in the hierarchy is important because as Simon (2004: 24) notes, “the distribution of identities in the salience hierarchy, in turn, reflects the different levels of commitment to the social roles underlying the various identities”. Identities are associated with certain tasks and behaviours that reaffirm that particular identity, thus defining the individual. As there is not a real commitment to the English-language teacher identity, it is difficult to find behaviours in EMI lecturers’ practices typically connected to language teachers. In fact, Pennington and Richards (2016: 20) point out that “identity as a language teacher includes a sense of having specialized knowledge and expertise and of being part of a larger profession and what this represents, such as certain standards, ethics, and accountability for performance in teaching”. A source that influences identity formation is therefore the legitimate access to and engagement with practice. EMI lecturers, however, remain committed to their salient identity, the content lecturer identity, and so the roles that they perform reaffirm this identity and a new language-related identity does not activate as they do not feel they have legitimate access to engage with language-teaching practices. As Simon (2004: 24) explains, “the more salient an identity, the more sensitive a person should be to opportunities for behaviour that could confirm the identity and the stronger her motivation actually to perform such behaviour”. However, the language teacher identity of EMI lecturers may be placed in a lower position in the salience hierarchy compared to the content teacher identity. As a result, language teacher identity does not come into play and so the opportunities for behaving as such are scarce, which in turn also result in a weaker motivation to actually adopt them in their teaching.

Individuals do not only ascribe or position themselves in particular ways, the people who are in contact with also ascribe them identities, hence the issue of authenticity-inauthenticity arises. Therefore, identity construction is not without “critical experiences” (Block, 2015a) when changes in identity happen due to self-destabilisation. The problem is not just that EMI lecturers do not ascribe themselves a language teacher identity, the conflict arises when they are assigned this identity by default through the implied EMI language policy of the institution, as it is not explicitly stated in the case of the UdL. Thus, their claimed identity – that of content teacher – does not coincide with the assigned identity by the institution. Lecturers do not seem to embrace a re-construction and transformation of their identity that would allow them to approximate their identity to the

institutional/educational context they now find themselves in. However, EMI lecturers are still professionally legitimised as their university institution grants them access to EMI teaching by allowing them to do EMI even without this language-related identity. On the other hand, their English competence may not be recognised by students, or even themselves. Although Tsui (2007: 675) argues that “[r]ecognition of competence valued by a community and legitimacy of access to practice are mutually constitutive”, this may not be the case for EMI lecturers as often their access is legitimised by the institution, but they do not recognise their language competence.

2.5 Summary of Language and Identity

This chapter has discussed the concept of identity and other constructs that often arise in discussion about identity. In addition, it has presented a discussion around the debate between agency and structure. The chapter has also focused on the concept of Community of Practice as well as a consideration of how identity is constructed through discourse. Moreover, the chapter has considered the concept of teacher professional identity which has finally led to identity in EMI. Lecturers in EMI face a renegotiation and reconstruction of their professional identity as, apart from being STEM lecturers they are now implicitly ascribed a new professional role, that of disciplinary-language facilitator or discipline-language teacher. Finally, the chapter points out that EMI implementation has often taken for granted the identity clash that lecturers who teach disciplinary content in English as L2 language users face in the EMI context. Drawing on two methodological tools for the study of identity – positioning theory and membership categorisation analysis – this thesis will examine how EMI experience rebuilds and reshapes the professional identity of lecturers, analysing the extent to which EMI lecturer identity combines a content and a language teacher identity. The next part will discuss the research methodology that was employed to achieve this purpose.

Part II: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter will describe the methods used to gather and analyse the data. In order to investigate EMI lecturers' identities and practices, I utilise a qualitative-based research approach to focus on how my informants experience their professional identity as non-native speakers of English STEM lecturers in relation to the increasing offer of English-medium instruction subjects in a Catalan university. In the first place, I will introduce the objectives of this thesis. Then, I will explain the rationale for choosing a qualitative research framework. The next part of this chapter will discuss the instruments employed in detail. Next, I will present information about the context and participants. Finally, the chapter finishes with the research methodology that was used, a combination of Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) and Positioning Theory (PT), to examine how EMI experience rebuilds and reshapes lecturers' professional identity, analysing the extent to which EMI lecturer identity combines a content- and a language teacher identity.

3.1 Objectives of the study

This thesis is based on research carried as part of the project *Towards an empirical assessment of the impact of English medium instruction at university: language learning, disciplinary knowledge and academic identities* (ASSEMID), which took place in the period 2016-2019 and was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (El Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad (MINECO))². As the process of data collection involved other researchers from ASSEMID other than myself, I will at times use the term *researchers* (in plural) to refer to the collective participation when collecting the data for the project and hence my thesis. The main objective of this thesis is to explore the impact of English-medium instruction on the identities and practices of disciplinary-content lecturers at the University of Lleida. In

² The data discussed in this thesis are from the project entitled *Towards an empirical assessment of the impact of English medium instruction at university: language learning, disciplinary knowledge and academic identities* (ASSEMID). The project was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (El Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad – MINECO), code FFI2016-76383-P. 30 (December 2016–2019).

relation to this objective, my research seeks answers to the following main research question:

What is the impact of the participation in English-medium instruction subjects on the professional identities of EMI lecturers and their teaching practices, as reported by non-native STEM lecturers at the University of Lleida and as observed by a researcher monitoring their teaching?

In order to structure this thesis, the general objective encompasses the following specific aims:

1. Understanding EMI lecturers' identity after the implementation of EMI, the self-inhabited and other-ascribed positionings that emerge
2. Establishing the changes experienced in identities (with a focus on professional identity)
3. Exploring the EMI practices that unfold in the EMI classroom
4. Examining the EMI lecturers' multilingual practices in the EMI classroom
5. Comparing the self-reported practices with the actual EMI teaching practices

The specific research questions that arise from the previous objectives are the following:

1. What are the self-inhabited and other-ascribed positionings of EMI lecturers and how do these positioning affect their professional self-positioning?
2. What changes in identities are experienced by EMI lecturers as a result of their EMI teaching experience and to what extent does EMI mediate a new emerging disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role?
3. What are the EMI teaching practices that lecturers employ when engaged in EMI teaching that construct them as particular types of EMI instructors, influencing the making of their EMI lecturer identity?
4. To what extent are multilingual practices present in EMI teaching and how does language alternation influence identity positioning?
5. To what extent do self-perceived and actual practices in EMI differ?

Taking into account these the aforementioned objectives and research questions, I take on an ethnographic orientation and use a qualitative research framework because, as Gaudet and Robert (2018: 9), explain "the nature of the 'social' is more easily grasped by

qualitative inquiries because it is complex, historically situated and can take several meanings based on subject perspectives”.

3.2 Research framework: qualitative research and ethnographic orientation

In order to seek answers to the previous research questions, this study takes an ethnographic orientation, which as Starfield (2010: 50) explains:

ethnography privileges the direct observation of human behaviour within particular ‘cultures’ and settings and seeks to understand a social reality from the perspectives of those involved in the observed interactions.

Ethnographic research allows the researcher to have a “prolonged engagement within a specific community” (Starfield, 2010: 51) generating a rich amount of data. As the general interest in this study was lecturers’ English-medium instruction experience, the ethnographic method did not involve an experimental context but participants were observed in their everyday EMI practices, a characteristic that defines ethnography (Hammersley, 1998). As Gobo (2011: 15) puts it, this ethnographic study is “based on direct observation”. Throughout the data collection, researchers maintained contact with the participants, observing them in their natural environment: the EMI classroom. Therefore, the ethnographic approach to data collection and analysis facilitates the examination of EMI at the University of Lleida from an exploratory, emic and holistic approach as the data captures the participants’ points of view into account. This presence in the EMI classroom allows for “a better understanding of the conceptual categories of social actors, their points of view (emic), the meanings of their actions and behaviour, and social and political processes” (Gobo, 2011: 26).

Ethnography is situated within qualitative research, which is about the “study [of] things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 3). The study proposed in this thesis is of qualitative nature because the focus was on the individuals and their particularities which lead to individual diversity. As Dörnyei (2007: 27) puts it, a qualitative researcher concentrates in “the individual stories”. Riazi (2016: 256, emphasis in original) defines qualitative research as the

study ... [of] social phenomena in their natural setting with no manipulation and control over the setting, describing the object of the study from the perspective of participants (*emic perspective*), using *thick description*, and using qualitative data and analysis to make inferences about the social phenomena. Qualitative research thus uses narrative data (words rather than numbers) and *qualitative data analysis* (nonstatistical analysis) to reach conclusions about the research problem ... by observing, describing, interpreting, and analysing people in action, that is, as people engage in social activities using their meaning systems.

As qualitative research is concerned with “understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016: 6), I immersed myself in the everyday activities of the EMI lecturers, that is, their EMI classes, in an attempt to understand their practices. In fact, Merriam and Tisdell (2016: 16, emphasis in original) state that in qualitative research “*the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis*”. Although for this thesis I only draw on interview and classroom observation data, there were other qualitative research instruments used to avoid and eliminate biases:

- Lecturers’ and students’ logs (diaries)
- Interviews with students
- Interviews with lecturers about the course instructional design
- Interviews with administrative staff of the University of Lleida (head of student and managerial staff)
- Collection of lecturers’ class resources
- Collection of students’ evaluation activities
- Pictures of students’ class notes

All these types of data collection helped to construct a bigger picture of the research project by having a lot of data to draw from. For this reason, Gaudet and Robert (2018: 68) state that “[g]athering such details is what give (sic) richness to an account, what allows a researcher to convey to a reader the feeling of ‘being there’”. Elsewhere Heller (2008: 250) also points out that “ethnographies ... allow us to see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people’s lives, to discover how and why language matters to people in their own terms, and to watch processes unfold over time”. In very broad terms, Bailey and Nunan (1996: 2) argue that collection of qualitative data

“consists of records of phenomena which deal with qualities or characteristics of those phenomena, rather than with measurements, frequencies, scores, or ratings”. In fact, the focus is on the participants, their experience and interaction with their everyday world, in this case EMI, in a particular context at a specific point in time. Qualitative research perceives settings as “complex, dynamic and multifaceted” (Croker, 2009: 7) and it aims at providing a sense of what actually goes on in a particular setting. According to Croker (2009: 9), it has an “exploratory” nature, as its purpose is to learn and discover about the participants themselves and the phenomenon they are engaged with.

Meanwhile, it is important to bear in mind how my role as a researcher in this study, as well as that of the other researchers present during interviews and classroom observations, has an impact on the participants’ responses and practices. According to Starfield (2010: 54), from the 1990s onwards ethnographic research underwent a “reflexive turn”, which is a reference to the “researcher/writer’s ability to reflect on their own positioning and subjectivity in the research and provide explicit, situated account of their own role in the project and its influences over the findings”. Also, Holliday (2010) recognises that the researcher’s presence is of influence both during the data collection and at the data interpretation stage. This is particularly relevant in Part III: Section A where I discuss interview data in which the researchers-interviewers play an important role in the introduction of the English-Language Teaching (ELT) discourse, the concept of CLILised EMI and the ascription of the disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role.

A major concern in qualitative research is to ensure the trustworthiness of the qualitative data due to its interpretative nature. While quantitative research employs metrics to ensure issues of validity and reliability, qualitative researchers need to address these issues by ensuring that the findings are credible, transferable and ultimately, trustworthy (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Credibility is achieved when the reader of an account of research can see how the researcher arrived at the description and interpretation that is provided. Transferability is a substitute for validity and is achieved through the researcher’s attention to detail, which allows the reader to generalise (transfer) findings to another context. Credibility and transferability together are essential to trustworthiness, which guarantees that the account of research is “worth paying attention to, worth taking account of” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 290). In order to achieve trustworthiness and to keep the researcher’s bias to a minimum, this research has made use of multiple elements to provide an accurate account of the observed social phenomenon:

multiple audio and video-recording devices	two video-cameras, a microphone for the lecturer and recordings between every two or three students
multiple observers	two or three researchers during interviews and observations
prolonged engagement with the participants	an interview before classes began (termed pre-interview) and a follow-up interview once the classes had finished (termed post-interview)
prolonged engagement with the EMI classes phenomenon	observation of a minimum of 9 classes and a maximum of 16 classes plus the audio-recordings of those classes that were not observed and video-recorded
field notes	protocol shared between researchers
collection of data from a range of sources	see below <i>Qualitative research instruments and procedures</i>

Table 2 Trustworthiness guarantee

3.3 Research strategy: qualitative research instruments and procedures

As this study is qualitative, I have used multiple data collection methods, including, semi-structured interviews (pre- and post), audio and video recording of classroom observations, field notes, and audio- or written-logs (diaries). All these collected data have allowed me to construct a more complete picture of what participants perceive and experience as I have been able to triangulate the data by collecting it from multiple perspectives (e.g. researchers' notes, classroom observation plus its subsequent audio and video-recording and the pre and post semi-structured interviews). Nevertheless, and as Holliday (2010: 99) points out, "[c]entral to the process of data collection and analysis is gradual focusing". For this reason, this study will only use the interview and classroom observation data, with the objective of gathering participants' experience in EMI practices over an extensive period of time. The data include lecturers' (i) views on their professional identities through interviews, and (ii) actual classroom practices through classroom observation, which have helped me answer the research questions posed above. In this section, I outline the two main data collection methods and explain their purpose.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews: procedure and instruments

As a commonly-used data collection method in qualitative research, interviews in this study were semi-structured. While there was a guide of pre-set questions and topics, “the format [was] open-ended and the interviewee [was] encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an explanatory manner” (Dörnyei, 2011: 136). Through a qualitative research interview, my aim was to capture the participants’ points of view and reveal how they make sense of their experiences and what selves they construct during conversation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Both pre-interviews and post-interviews gave informants the opportunity to expand on the *why*, *how* and *what for* of their practices, experiences and expectations about EMI teaching. Starfield (2010: 58) states that “the interview is itself a site of meaning construction”. Interviews are understood in this study within the postmodern approach:

- The interview is polyphonic in that it is made of many voices: the many voices of the participant (at time an expert, at time sharing distress, etc.) and those of the researcher (at times a peer, at time a neutral third part, etc.)
- The interviewer must abandon the idea of being in control. The researcher is on the same level as the participant, neither passive nor in control.

(Gaudet & Robert, 2018: 93)

Therefore, assuming that interviews are spaces of identity construction and negotiation, the objective of these interviews was to observe lecturers’ instances of identity. With this aim in mind, through these interviews I generate hypothesis regarding the self-perceived and other-ascribed professional identity of EMI lecturers, their belonging (or not) to a Community of Practice of English users and their experience (or not) of role diminishment. The classical form of interview was adopted for this thesis, the individual interview as the researchers interviewed one lecturer at a time. Following Gaudet and Robert (2018: 96), “[d]espite the idiosyncrasies and specific identities of the participants, we are interested in them as representatives of a larger category”, in this case as members of the EMI teaching profession.

There was a set of group interviews (pre-interviews) with the three EMI lecturers from the UdL scheduled before the observation of classes and a second group of interviews

(post-interviews) carried out at the end of the term when they had finished their EMI teaching. Thus, in total there are six interviews. Both the pre-interviews and the post-interviews, were semi-structured, and participants were invited to explain and expand on their answers (further ideas were also allowed). On the one hand, all the pre-interviews had an open-ended flexible structure mediated by key common themes introduced by interviewers (see *Appendix A*). Following this guide, it was ensured that the same topics arose during the different participants' interviews and at the same time allowed researchers to depart from the main topic if needed during an interview with a particular informant (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Elsewhere Gaudet and Robert (2018: 99) note that in semi-structured interviews, or "semi-directive interviews" as they call them, "the prepared list of topics ensures that the interviews still have some degree of substantive homogeneity". The aim of researchers was to actively listen to interviewees and help them explore and express in greater detail their personal experiences. The interview topics used in the study were intrinsically connected to the project's focus, that is to say lecturers' experiences, motivations, involvement, professional identity with respect to teaching a disciplinary-content STEM subject in a foreign language, English. On the other hand, the post-interview protocols were specific for each lecturer (*Appendices B, C and D*, Isabel, Raquel and Jaime respectively) because apart from asking general questions and certain questions related to English and the subject, there were specific questions related to their particular practices in the classroom. In a way, these post-interview protocols play a reflective practice role as lecturers could reflect on what they have done – although they were not actually seeing their actual practices but the reported practices observed by the researchers.

In both cases, interviews were conducted face-to-face, with the interviewee and two or three researchers-interviewers. The interviews lasted between 54 minutes to a maximum of 1 hour and 25 minutes, depending on the discussion and the amount of detail each subject chose to share. The semi-structured interview format allowed for the interaction to be much similar to a conversation, as participants were allowed to stray from questions/topics. In addition, interviews were digitally audio-tapped to ensure accuracy in the data collection and the transcription process.

3.3.2 EMI classroom observations: procedure and instruments

According to Kling Soren (2013: 53), observation of classroom settings produces comprehensive information about what goes on in an educational context such as the teaching strategies employed and the multilingual practices present in the class. While interviews provided self-reported accounts, classroom observation yields real-life information (Dörnyei, 2007). Elsewhere Gaudet and Robert (2018: 80) argue that “[t]he idea behind observation is to get as close as possible to, if not actually into, the reality you are studying”. In this case, as the objective was to observe the EMI reality in action, the researcher did not intervene during classroom observation but rather observed and gathered facts with a minimum impact.

Direct observation of EMI classes produced two types of data: video recorded class sessions and researchers’ field notes. The combination of observational data with audio and video-taped ethnographic classroom observation plus the field notes generated fieldwork, which “provide[s] a description and interpretative explanatory account of what people do in a particular setting and what meaning their interactions have for them” (Starfield, 2010: 57). Attending a minimum of 18 hours (9 class sessions) and a maximum of 34 hours (17 class sessions) during the term allowed me to obtain data evidencing the different periods of the teaching/learning process (beginning of the term, half-way through and the end). In addition, this continued presence in the class enabled, me to assess possible changes in terms of participants’ language needs, access to disciplinary knowledge, language identities, academic relationships in the classroom, etc. In fact, each participant was observed in their natural setting while teaching their regularly scheduled EMI course.

During the observation, I took field notes (see *Appendix E*), which included the events and activities, the timing and notes on lecturer’s and students’ comments and responses. In addition, the classroom layout was also annotated with the participants’ placement and the arrangement of the classroom. Additionally, classes were digitally recorded with two cameras: one at the front to record students’ performance and one at the back of the classroom to tape the lecturer’s actions. What is more, the lecturers were fitted with a wireless recorder – a microphone – clipped onto the front of their shirts in order to obtain clearly recordings of their speech. Furthermore, recorders were placed on the students’ desks (every two or three students) to also capture both student-student interactions and

whole-classroom contributions. After the observations, the video and audio recordings as well as the field notes with the classroom layout were then stored safely in the project database.

Afterwards, all the data from classroom observation plus the class transcriptions (transcribed using MS Word) became a powerful tool to review and analyse the teaching event and shed light mainly on language issues in relation to disciplinary knowledge, and participants' references to and displays of identities (see Part III: Section B). Thus, special attention has been paid to participants' focus on language (e.g. expressed difficulties, communication breakdowns, feedback, orientation on language/communication strategies or guidelines, explicit reflection on discipline-related language or genres etc.), as well as participants' (emerging) language-related identities (e.g. lecturers' positionings).

3.4 Research setting and participants

In this section, I will talk about the research context, the University of Lleida, and the three lecturers I focused on for the thesis.

3.4.1 Context

Lleida is situated in the western part of the autonomous community of Catalonia, north-eastern Spain. Linguistically, the city is characterised by the coexistence of Catalan and Spanish, which have a co-official status. The University of Lleida has nearly 14,000 students and was founded in 1991. The universities of Catalonia use Catalan as the main language in university administration, and teaching and assessment is carried out in either Spanish or Catalan, depending on lecturer preferences (University of Lleida, 2008). Since 2018 undergraduate students are required to reach a B1 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in a third language (English, German, French, Italian) by the time they finish their degree. This B1 language requirement can be fulfilled in several ways (University of Lleida, 2018c):

- 1) students can obtain credits by taking courses in a third language or by carrying out an international placement (either practical or study)
- 2) students can present their final project degree in a third language or

- 3) students can provide an official B1 (or higher) language certificate

As for the linguistic situation at the University of Lleida, this thesis examines the tensions arising in the implementation of Englishisation processes in this higher education context. As stated in the University of Lleida website (University of Lleida, 2018b), the three working languages are Catalan, Spanish and English and the different faculties of the UdL offer some courses taught in English (University of Lleida, 2019). At the UdL, EMI officially started and was documented (University of Lleida, 2018a) during the academic course 2004-2005 and the latest figures (2016-2017) show that 6.1% of all courses are taught in English. The UdL has been involved in Internationalisation and Englishisation processes since 2006 as stated in *Pla operatiu d'internacionalització* (POI) (University of Lleida, 2012). This document makes explicit that one of the objectives is the internationalisation of teaching (own translation, University of Lleida, 2012: 8) with three main sub-aims:

1. To internationalise the teaching offer
2. To increase the mobility (both in and out)
3. To attract an increasing number of foreign students

The POI talks about consolidating trilingualism by “increasing the presence of English as a teaching language to favour the integration of foreign students and the English professional competence of the UdL students” (own translation, University of Lleida, 2012: 9). In addition, the *Pla operatiu per al multilingüisme* (POM) states that “English has to be gradually introduced in the undergraduate degrees” (own translation University of Lleida, 2013: 16)

For this general objective, this thesis will study, in depth, EMI subjects offered in the *Escola Politècnica Superior* (henceforth EPS) and *Escola Tècnica Superior d'Enginyeria Agrària* (ETSEA) of the UdL.

On the one hand, EPS offers both national and international double degrees and masters. Its website states that “EPS is strongly committed to international academic mobility, as well as learning through English, in order to substantially improve the future employment opportunities of graduates” (own translation, Escola Politècnica Superior, n.d). On the other hand, ETSEA (Escola Tècnica Superior d'Enginyeria Agrària, n.d.) also states that one of its objectives is “to boost the teaching in other majority languages and in English

and make it accessible via the internet to detect which fields of the UdL may attract foreign students in particular”.

3.4.2 Participants profile

For this thesis, data collection involved three lecturers from the UdL and their corresponding EMI subjects during the academic year 2017-2018. All three EMI subjects belong to the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) disciplines. Therefore, the unit of analysis consisted of a multiple case study of three lecturers in the particular context of the UdL. As noted above, these cases were studied in their real-life context. As Riazi (2016: 26) suggests, “a case study that investigates a particular classroom, for example, may use different methods of data collection, such as classroom observation; interviews with students and teacher; the course syllabus; and students’ scores to describe, explore, or explain the classroom as a case”. Although more specific and detailed information is given in Part III about each case, the participants (Section A) and the subjects (Section B), these are the lecturers’ pseudonyms and their subjects:

1. Isabel: Services II
2. Raquel: Animal biotechnology
3. Jaime: Swine production

In terms of ethical consideration, basic principles have been followed in this research. As this thesis is relying on human participants, special attention and consideration has been given to the protection of the interests and rights of the research participants. Therefore, individuals were informed of what the research and participation entailed and how input data was going to be used and how and to whom the results and findings were going to be reported afterwards. Their participation in the research project was voluntary. In addition, lecturers were aware that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time, for any or no reason. In addition, all the data collected was stored, treated and published confidentially and anonymously.

Although one of the limitations of this thesis is that it is a small sample of participants and a narrow setting, Starfield (2010: 51) points out that “[e]thnographic research is typically small in scale and focused on a single setting or group”. Elsewhere, Croker (2009: 8) also notes that “with a more detailed and intensive focus on each participant, working even in one setting is very time and labor intensive so the number of participants

is usually small and they are carefully chosen”. For instance, all lecturers in this study belong to the same higher education institution and they all teach STEM subjects. This fact can limit its generalisability as different contexts and different participants may generate distinct results and findings. Although these aspects of the study may be considered limitations, they can also be considered strengths because all lecturers belong to the same discipline, removing disciplinary background influences. In addition, they were observed in their natural EMI teaching setting. Although the applicability of these findings in other settings is open for debate, the results do provide insights into EMI lecturers’ professional identities and their EMI teaching practices in a higher education context and at the same time, the results may resonate with other EMI contexts elsewhere. Therefore, results will contribute to the research knowledge in the field of EMI. As Gaudet and Robert (2018: 3) note, this thesis aims to “create localized knowledge, knowledge that does not aspire to be universal but rather contextual to a time and a place and situated”.

3.5 Research methodologies: a combined methodological framework

Analysis of results is carried out with a combination of Positioning Theory and Membership Categorisation Analysis. By applying these two methodological tools, the objective is to “use interpretative analysis to sift through the ... data and group similar ideas together, to discover patterns of behaviour and thinking” (Croker, 2009: 9). In the following subsections, I explain the general basis of these two methodologies. More details about the analytical procedures are given in Chapter 4 (Part III: Section A) and Chapter 9 (Part III: Section B) where they are further developed according to the data being analysed.

3.5.1 *Membership Categorisation Analysis*

Membership Categorisation Analysis (hereafter MCA) is an ethnomethodological approach, meaning that it “focuses on the way people, as rational actors, make sense of their everyday world by employing practical reasoning rather than formal logic” (Harvey, 2012-20). As such, this approach allows the exploration of how individuals engage in a specific social environment where categories are produced and ascribed certain attributes and activities to individuals and which allow for negotiation between participants.

MCA has roots going back to the 1960s and was developed by Sacks (1972) who saw in “the study of society from the practical participatory view of members” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 3) the opportunity to examine how individuals themselves make sense of their own social identity and how this is used in everyday social environments. Sacks (1972) developed MCA in order to make sense of how speakers understand, associate and categorise (classify) the social world by making use of social categories and cultural associations (Sacks, 1972: 328; Paulsen, 2018). A central aspect of MCA is common-sense knowledge (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015; Roca-Cuberes, 2008) because it allows individuals to understand, describe, explain and predict other people’s behaviours and actions. Therefore, data collection provides “instances of locally-achieved sense-making where people relied upon common-sense social knowledge and engaged in practical theorising” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 4) to make sense of the interaction. Elsewhere Francis and Hester (2004: 21) also agree that MCA deals with “the organisation of common-sense knowledge in terms of the categories members employ in accomplishing their activities in and through talk”. De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (2006: 2-3) explain that MCA focuses on the fact that

identity construction is often related to the definition of categories for inclusion or exclusion of self and others, and to their identification with typical activities and routines. This, in turn, has prompted a reflection on the nature of identification categories and on the relationship between individual identity and group membership

The key concepts around membership categorisation are device, category and category-bound activity (CBA) and category-bound predicate (CBP) (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015). The ‘device’ serves to collect and organise categories and their respective attributes. A ‘category’ is described as reference to persons or things. For example, a certain category ‘English-teacher’ is associated with the device ‘type of teacher’ and also the category itself activates certain expectations about the activities and predicates related to it, such as levels of linguistic knowledge or teaching strategies used in class in our example (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 8). Category-bound predicates and activities are “a kind of stock knowledge-in action ... which involves common-sense knowledge about the world and how social categories are expected or assumed to act in general and in particular situations” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 8). CBAs and CBPs are distinct in that whereas CBAs are about actions, about doing, namely the activities associated to categories, CBPs

are about being, referring to “the invocation of rights, obligations, knowledge, attributes, entitlements, etc.” (Roca-Cuberes, 2008: 548).

We can identify three levels of analysis. First, sequential actions or speech acts make it possible to identify “turn-formed categories” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 11) which “relate only to the interactional action and the job that action is doing”. These kind of categories are constantly flowing through the interaction (e.g. interviewer/interviewee, researcher/participant, and questioner/answerer). For the second level, opinions and beliefs about a topic are eventually ascribed categories throughout the flow of the conversation, each individual “invokes various membership categories along with associated predicates” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 13). These categories are in continuous development as participants clarify and modify them. Finally, at a third level, the context of the interaction is taken into account, as certain categories may be re-invoked or others are relevant though the whole course of the interaction, that is they are “omnirelevant categories” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 14)

Categories are not stable roles, category formation flows throughout the progress of communication, thus the focus is not just on their organisation but also on “how they were invoked, used and negotiated within the flow of interaction” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 10). It is for this reason that categories and devices “are produced in the interaction in which they are being negotiated rather than a priori” (Martín-Rubió & Cots, 2016: 5). Meanwhile Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 67, emphasis in original) also suggest that categories are “*inference rich*. Inferences may be picked up, developed or countered in subsequent turns ... categories can be implied, along with their inferential upshots, by mentioning some category-incumbent features”. Elsewhere Francis and Hester (2004: 39) also point out that categories are inference-rich, namely:

when we know what category applies to a person, then we know something about them. We can predict what kinds of attributes they may have, what their obligations and entitlements are and, perhaps most importantly ... what kinds of activities they properly and atypically engage in, and hence how they may act here and now.

Further to this, categories do not necessarily need to be explicitly and categorically stated: as Rapley (2012: 324) puts it, they can be “less explicit, less direct, where the speakers

themselves produce a category where the upshot is beautifully and artfully implied”. Elsewhere Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2003) agree that “there are obviously many instances in which individuals may be treated as category members without being explicitly referred to as such”. Overall, the objective is not to focus on the naming of categories but on the study of how categories are constructed with predicates and activities by individuals engaged in interaction and the emergence of social categories in specific contexts.

Membership categorisation provides “a collection of observed practices employed by members” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 6) rather than providing a fully developed methodology. Taking together the observations and the common-sense knowledge for analysis, it can lead to the understanding of how “people orient, invoke and negotiate social category based knowledge when engaged in social action” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015: 6). Therefore, it provides an analytic tool interested in how categories are not so much named in interaction but how individuals engaged in interaction construct categories with predicates and activities adhere to them resulting in social categories used in a particular context.

However, membership categorisation has been overshadowed by the rise of Conversation Analysis (henceforward, CA), which has taken a more productive trajectory, as Stokoe (2012) points out. Although Stokoe identifies some tensions between CA and MCA, Fitzgerald (2012: 310) defends MCA’s usefulness and relevance to examine “members’ identity and category work”. Stokoe (2012: 282) views MCA as problematic because of the ambiguous inferences, as she puts it: “the appeal (and danger) of MCA is to try to unpack what is apparently unsaid by members and produce an analysis of their subtle categorization work”. According to Stokoe (2012: 299), MCA is “a warrantable method for making claims about ‘the world’ and its categorial arrangements”, even if it needs an “order”. For this reason, Stokoe focuses on those categories that are “explicit and largely unambiguous” (Stokoe, 2012: 283), and from these explicit generated categories, she then unpacks their meanings. However as noted above by Housley and Fitzgerald (2015: 4, emphasis in original):

Sacks was not so much interested in observing *that* people mention social categories in the course of their interaction or within textual forms but rather in

the unique configuration of categories and their associated predicates and attributes through which social categories are deployed in any particular instance.

In addition, Roca-Cuberes (2008: 545) uses the example of the ascription of ‘insanity’ to explain that, through attributes, categories can be made “inferentially available” because categories presume some common-sense knowledge. Roca-Cuberes (2008: 553) points out that for psychiatrists the categories do not appear in interaction with their patients but they can arrive to the categories “through the invocation of their expected predicates ... to collect the necessary facts on which to base a judgement and accomplish a diagnosis” or a category. Fitzgerald (2012) considers that MCA does not need to be tied to CA. He argues that although CA is tied to a corpus, MCA’s richness is based on its self-explanatory, adaptable and flexible nature. He criticises Stokoe’s guide to doing MCA, which can be interpreted as an attempt to formalise and provide a “recipe” for MCA analysis: “there is the possibility that in doing this it may undermine the very thing that underpins its analytic strength for the future” (Fitzgerald, 2012: 309). Fitzgerald also states that category analysis is not all that is going on in any interaction; rather, MCA provides the tool of category and membership analysis in combination with social and cultural knowledge to make sense of the social action. For Fitzgerald, MCA is not bound to CA but can be adopted with other approaches as well. In fact, MCA has been used as a method to analyse issues related to social organisation, identity and lived practices of individuals (Day, 2008; Diert-Boté & Martín-Rubió, 2018; Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002; Stokoe, 2012) because it provides a useful tool to interpret and reveal members’ knowledge about society and culture through language (Fitzgerald, 2012).

3.5.2 Positioning theory

According to Davies and Harré (1990), Positioning Theory (hereafter, PT) “focus[es] attention on dynamic aspects of encounters” (43) and so it “is largely a conversational phenomenon” (44). According to Davies and Harré (1999: 37), “[p]ositioning is the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines”. The authors use the term ‘discursive process’ to refer to everyday communicative events that involve one or more individuals.

Harré (2004, 2012) explains that positions are “ephemeral” (Harré, 2012: 196), thus positioning implies the existence of “processes by which rights and duties are assigned, ascribed, or appropriated and resisted, rejected, or repudiated” (Harré, 2012: 196). This is because individuals engaged in conversation make assumptions about themselves and others taking into account “discursive practices that include assumptions about rights, responsibilities and entitlements” (Boston, 2013: 135). PT suggests that the Positioning Triangle can serve to analyse communicative events (Harré, 2012; Block, 2017b): storyline, positions (duties and rights) and speech (and other) communicative acts. Hirvonen (2016) explains the three vertexes of the PT triangle as follows:

- Storyline: it includes the history and the background of individuals, and it “can be described as a compendium of the ongoing social episode”.
- Speech acts: these are the actual utterances (as well as multimodal moves) with their illocutionary and perlocutionary effects
- Positions: they “represent the moral aspects of their interaction, with reference to the speakers’ rights and duties”

(Adapted from Hirvonen, 2016: 2)

In addition, PT provides a framework that accounts for identity formation produced by both “oneself” (reflexive positioning) and the perceived expectations established by “others” (interactive positioning) (Davies and Harré, 1990: 48). Reflexive positioning occurs when people in conversation make reference to their “professional identity” (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999: 24). Similar to Vanassche and Kelchtermans (2014: 119), the way lecturers self-reflect on their positioning is connected to the assumed “good” practices of teaching EMI subjects “that are the basis on which they ground their decisions for actions in particular situations”. In an interview, the participants provide an “autobiography [that] can be viewed as a device for positioning oneself in the act of presenting a self-narrative” (Harré, 2012: 199). As mentioned above, positioning emerges in conversation and so it implies that “how individuals position each other entails a ‘call’ to look at themselves in particular ways, act in particular ways, and relate to each other in particular ways” (Harré, 2012: 199). In interaction, all participants bring their own set of beliefs and assumptions, hence positioning can be both accepted, but also contested or rejected. Therefore, positioning “accounts for contradictions, incompatible realities and rapid shifts of meaning and relationship between participants” (Boston, 2013: 135)

because they emerge in interaction and what one person say may imply the positon of another.

Positions emerge in a given situation where participants assign not only to themselves but to their interlocutors certain duties and rights. As Sargeant, McLean, Green, and Johnson (2017: 194) state, “positions are context-dependent, embedded in social encounters and relationships”. This is one of the key elements of PT, namely, that established assumptions and practices influence and contribute to the way we construct ourselves and others (Sargeant *et al.*, 2017). Individuals then not only may or may not align and accept duties and rights, but also may assign these to other participants. As we will see in the following sections, lecturers may perceive or assume they have certain responsibilities (duties and rights) towards their students. Indeed, Vanassche and Kelchtermans (2014: 120) state that “each positioning refers to a coherent pattern of normative beliefs about good teaching” and what concerns us here, EMI teaching. Therefore, the positions that students and lecturers acquire in an EMI context will be affected by what is considered to be good EMI teaching, hence affecting also the relations established between lecturer and students, the teaching practices and the strategies employed in classroom that “enact these beliefs” (Vanassche & Kelchtermans, 2014: 120).

Following Block (2017b) and Block and Moncada-Comas (2019), we can go beyond PT by complementing it with the concept of gaze (Foucault, 1973). The objective of this PT extension is to better understand how positions are discursively influenced and constructed by social structures. Block (2017b: 33) defines “gaze as [the] power residing in institutions which are sociohistorically shaped” or in Foucault’s (1973: 34) terms “the ordering of human existence”. The gaze imposes on individuals a particular framework or authority hence participants often embody certain positions “given” by the gaze. Nevertheless, De Fina *et al.* (2006: 7) point out that “speakers position themselves as constructive and interactive agents, and choose the means by which they construct their identities vis-à-vis others as well as vis-à-vis dominant discourses and master narratives”. The notion of gaze will be further developed in Chapter 4 (Part III: Section A).

3.5.3 MCA and PT

The reason why I combine these two methodological tools in this thesis is to explore how categories are produced and negotiated during interviews and how they emerge in

classroom interaction in order to identify and understand the activities and predicates that lecturers attribute to their identity as EMI lecturers. Positioning Theory “goes beyond membership categorization ... by uncovering implicit performative claims of identity, which are not established by categorization or description” (Deppermann, 2013: 62). Still, MCA can still be a central element for positioning because membership categorisation “practices are major resources for positioning” (Deppermann, 2013: 82). Membership categorisation contributes to the analysis by providing the participants’ own categorial task, which is a central element “for the ascription of identities” (Deppermann, 2013: 62). By first doing an MCA analysis the focus is on generating groupings and categories which, in turn, result in positions that are defined and described in a mutually exclusive way resulting in various different teacher positioning. Therefore, we can analyse how lecturers are and how they act with students depending on the position taken. As Vanassche and Kelchtermans (2014: 125) conclude, it is essential to examine beliefs of educators because their “reflexive positioning of themselves is a crucial factor in understanding the rationale of their practices”. For this reason, EMI lecturers’ perceptions of their task may have an impact on how they approach their EMI students and what teaching strategies they adopt when teaching EMI. MCA is enriched from a positioning analysis in that “positioning reveals facets of identity and addresses practices of identity-construction in talk” (Deppermann, 2013: 82).

3.6 Summary of the methodology data analysis

This chapter has outlined the objectives of this thesis, the research framework, the research strategy, context and participants and the research methodologies. Throughout this chapter, I have explained the design of this study, including data collection instruments and methods, as well as details about the university context and the participants involved. A qualitative approach has been adopted to explore and analyse the underlying issue of this study in a limited research area. Both pre-interviews and post-interview alongside EMI classroom observation are the principal tools for data collection of three EMI lecturers working at the University of Lleida. Finally, this chapter has dealt with the methodology employed in general terms as this will be further detailed and expanded in the following part (Chapter 4 and Chapter 9).

In Part III, sections A and B, I will deal with the analysis of the data applying the methodologies explained in this chapter. On the one hand, I will first explore how

lecturers orient their discourse influenced by their personal beliefs but also by the institution and society through interview data. Section A will focus on how categories are produced and negotiated between the interviewer and the interviewees in both pre- and post-interviews in order to understand what activities and predicates lecturers attribute to their identity as EMI lecturers. The analysis will concentrate on lecturers' multilingual professional identity and, more specifically, the place of the English-teacher identity, or the disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role, in their experience as EMI lecturer. Then, Section B directs attention to classroom discourse interaction. Here the goal will be to analyse how language alternation is used to ascribe, accept and reject group membership and how social identities are linked to practices such as code-switching and language preference. In a classroom setting, the emergence of lecturers' identities will emerge in relation to their form of conduct of 'doing being' the teacher and their repertoire of teaching strategies. Both will contribute to their EMI lecturer identity construction.

Part III: RESULTS

Part III includes the data analysis and is subdivided into two sections. First, Section A presents and analyses the interview data, focusing on how categories are produced and negotiated between the interviewer and the interviewees in both pre- and post-interviews in order to understand what activities and predicates lecturers attribute to their identity as EMI lecturers. The analysis will concentrate on lecturers' positionings, their sense of multilingual professional identity and, more specifically, the place of the English-teacher identity, or the disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role, in their experience as EMI lecturer. Section B directs attention to classroom discourse interaction, focusing on the classroom observation data. Here the goal will be to analyse how language alternation is used to ascribe, accept and reject group membership and how social identities are linked to practices such as code-switching and language preference. Taking into account the classroom setting, Section B will explore the emergence of lecturers' identities in relation to their form of conduct of 'doing being' the teacher and their repertoire of teaching strategies. Both will contribute to their EMI lecturer identity construction.

Before going into more detail in each section, it is important to remind the reader again that my aim here is to seek answers to the following research question:

What is the impact of the participation in English-medium instruction subjects on the professional identities of EMI lecturers and their teaching practices, as reported by non-native STEM lecturers at the University of Lleida?

This main research question encompasses the following specific sub-questions.

1. What are the self-inhabited and other-ascribed positionings of EMI lecturers and how do these positioning affect their professional self-positioning?
2. What changes in identities are experienced by EMI lecturers as a result of their EMI teaching experience and to what extent does EMI mediate a new emerging disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role?
3. What are the EMI teaching practices that lecturers employ when engaged in EMI teaching that construct them as particular types of EMI instructors, influencing the making of their EMI lecturer identity?

4. To what extent are multilingual practices present in EMI teaching and how does language alternation influence identity positioning?
5. To what extent do self-perceived and actual practices in EMI differ?

While the specific research questions 1 and 2 will be dealt with in Section A, the remaining sub-questions will be answered in Section B.

Section A: Interview data

Section A, which deals with interview data, is divided into five chapters. Chapter 4 presents the specific analytical procedure employed to analyse the data and explains in detail the research participant profiles. Then, Chapter 5, 6 and 7 correspond respectively to Isabel's, Raquel's and Jaime's case. These three analytical chapters will examine lecturers' positionings, their reflections on their experiences as L1 lecturers and as EMI lecturers, their embrace to the EMI gaze and their resistance to the ELT gaze, their other-ascription of an English-language teacher position and their reaction to this and their implicit views on CLILised EMI. As different cases and because interviews were individually carried out with each lecturer, the themes do not exactly correspond but there are similarities in their accounts. Finally, Chapter 8 is a summary of this section.

Chapter 4. EMI Lecturers' self-inhabited and other-ascribed identities

This introductory chapter of Section A before the three study cases presents in detail the analytical procedure that will be employed in the following chapters (5, 6 and 7) where lecturers' professional identity negotiation will be explored. The focus on their professional identity aims to study how lecturers position themselves as EMI lecturers, the extent to which they inhabit a language-related identity and whether or not they see themselves as disciplinary-language facilitators. This chapter then delves into the specifics of the analytical procedure, a combination of membership categorisation analysis, positioning theory and the concept of gaze. Finally, it gives a detailed description of the three lecturers: Isabel, Raquel and Jaime before entering each case study.

4.1 Introduction

It is generally agreed among researchers, as Gray and Morton point out (2018: 12), “that identities are plural and dynamic; that they emerge (or are constructed or performed) in social interaction; that they are sensitive to context; and that they are relational – or as Blommaert (2005) puts it, that they are both inhabited and ascribed”. It is for this reason that identity (being inhabited, ascribed, denied, negotiated and claimed) is a particularly effective concept to explore how individuals are socialised into the teaching profession and how they develop over time. Teachers, in general, and EMI lecturers in particular, not only inhabit an individual teacher identity, but are also ascribed identities by others such as university administrators, language-education experts, students, and so on. As a result, entering the world of EMI is a major change in their teaching experience and practice, a change that can be difficult. While they are accustomed to teaching in their L1, lecturers involved in the implementation of EMI are necessarily engaged in an ongoing negotiation of their sense of themselves as teachers, particularly, their sense of themselves as EMI lecturers, and the possibility that they might developed a sense of themselves as CLILised EMI lecturers. Therefore, the concept of professional identity is used here as it is defined by Gray and Morton (2018: 53), that is, as “how they position themselves in relation to salient aspects of the everyday work they do, and the wider institutional and social contexts that impacts on their professional practice”. Alongside professional identity, one key aspect that particularly interests me here is the extent to which EMI lecturers inhabit a language-related identity (LRI). According to Pennington and Richards

(2016), LRI includes elements such as (1) teachers' own proficiency in the language they teach (in the case of EMI lecturers, the language *through* which they teach), (2) their nativeness status and to what extent their non-native speaker status affects their identity negotiation and construction, and (3) their own experiences as language learners. Having these concepts in mind, we can unravel and explore EMI lecturers' identity negotiation and development.

Section A will focus on how lecturers perceive their professional identity. This leads to the following research questions:

- What are the self-inhabited and other-ascribed positionings of EMI lecturers and how do these positioning affect their professional self-positioning?
- What changes in identities are experienced by EMI lecturers as a result of their EMI teaching experience and to what extent does EMI mediate a new emerging disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role?

4.2 Analytical procedure for interview data

The approach to identity taken in this chapter operates at different levels of analysis. On the one hand, following researchers such as Depperman, I combine Membership Categorisation analysis (hereafter, MCA) (Sacks, 1992) with Positioning Theory (hereafter, PT) (Davies & Harré, 1999). In addition, I add to the equation the concept of Gaze (Foucault, 1973) to address the institutional level of the university. This methodological triangulation first sheds light on how categories or role expectations are comprehensible to and used by different individuals. These categorisations are influenced by external factors: even though they are not language teacher per se, our lecturers may also “receive constant messages throughout their lives (both during and outside their careers) about what a language teacher should do and be, yet they ultimately get to choose whether they intend to fold these messages into their self-concepts” (Martel, 2017: 90). These role expectations are intrinsically interrelated with identity. Nevertheless, identity is internalised and it can (or not) line up with society's external expectations, hence individuals can take up or resist subject positions. The categorisations that individuals build up through their common-sense knowledge are actually influenced by what Foucault (1989 [1969]) termed ‘discourse formations’ (see also Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019). A central aspect of the common-sense knowledge that individuals possess is influenced by the power institutions exercise over them since:

As Foucault explains, gaze is not just about taking in and documenting what is happening before the observer's eyes; it is also about categorizing and shaping others according to dominant discourses of normativity

(Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019: 7)

On the one hand, the following chapters will also take into account the details of the discursive narrative, showing how identities are produced in social interaction. Nevertheless, this is not done using a purely inductive methodology, as “identity can be present and can be a significant element in interaction without actually being visible in recorded data” (Gray & Morton, 2018: 13). If we take the interviews with our informants, there might be traces of interaction that are not shown explicitly, such as the fact that participants are EMI lecturers and interviewers are language experts. Nevertheless, both interviewers and interviewees are aware of each other's core identities. These categories are therefore pre-inscribed by common sense knowledge that both parties bring to the interaction (Roca-Cuberes, 2008). This is somehow similar to Zimmerman's (1998: 90) notion of “transportable identities”, which are defined as “latent identities that ‘tag along’ with individuals as they move through their daily routines”. The identities that individuals bring with them to an interaction “furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization” (Zimmerman, 1998: 91).

As identity arises through discourse and interaction, we place our focus on how through talk, people show, claim, reject or highlight their own (or others') memberships to social categories. Following an MCA approach, I explore what people do when engaged in communication, that is, their discursive practices in talk-in-interaction. Identity phenomena are captured through MCA as membership categories are achieved when individuals are engaged in interaction. Nevertheless, it is crucial to keep in mind, as Gray and Morton (2018: 25, emphasis in original) point out, that “identity is not just an interactional phenomenon, but a profoundly *relational* one”, namely the ways others read oneself, or who one is to others. Although with MCA we use the term category, we are not building a static conception of identity, nor one with taken-for-granted attributions. The categories are defined by the informants' own ascription of activities and predicates; hence, they can change during the course of the conversation or develop from the pre-interview to the post-interview. As Baker (2004: 163) states, in interviews both interviewer and respondents “are involved in the generation of versions of social reality

built around categories and activities”. Using MCA, I show how the ways in which lecturers assign themselves and others to categories such as ‘language teacher’ and ‘content teacher’ with their respective attributes can illuminate key issues in the recent EMI literature such as debates around adopting an LRI or as I have labelled it, a DLF role. According to Baker (2004: 164), “[t]racing members’ use of these categories and devices in any setting, including interview settings, is a means of showing how identities, social relationships and even institutions are produced”. MCA analysis provides a preliminary sociological understanding, which is then further developed and expanded by means of the implementation of Positioning Theory (PT).

While MCA is used to reveal the interactionally categories that arise during social communication, PT allows us to closely examine the meso-level interactional detail of the conversation. With PT, we can analyse how participants position themselves, and others, and so the focus is on what rights and duties become relevant for the subject positions they orient to. As Gray and Morton (2018: 33) put it, “[s]ubject positions can relate to broader ‘social narratives’ that influence what are taken to be rights and duties applicable in any local domain”. PT works therefore at the level of discourse; we will see how participants engaged in interaction are both self-positioned and other-positioned and how these positionings are inhabited, accepted and acquiesced, or refuted and denied.

By adding gaze to the PT analysis, a new level is included in the study. Gaze enables us to see how the asymmetry of knowledge works between that who possesses it and the one who does not. Differences in knowledge, expertise and competence have an impact on authority and power, as the person who is more knowledgeable is able to compel (or at least tries to compel) a less knowledgeable person, in a less powerful position, to engage in certain actions. In the interviews between EMI lecturers and researchers, we see how “participants position themselves and others with an eye to roles and identities that cannot be separated from issues on knowledge and competence” (Gray & Morton, 2018: 36). Therefore, the interviewers are exercising power over EMI lecturers by imposing onto them their superior knowledge on language matters and so the discourses about language pedagogy, the ELT gaze, in an attempt to create awareness of certain pedagogical actions related to the ELT role. The interviewers are speaking from a position of power and to some extent they embody the university as an institution – the institutional gaze, and beyond this, international HE – which in turn has power over individuals. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that this gaze exerts a very subtle influence on how lecturers

spoke and how they behaved with regard to EMI. The power of the researchers is limited and questionable in the sense that EMI lecturers can listen to them, but there might be a minimal effect, where lecturers at least become aware of linguistic issues, or even no actual effect. Although lecturers themselves granted interviewers the status of “language specialists”, researchers were not seen as having the capacity to take decisions which would affect lecturers’ professional activity.

By taking into account the dominant discourses and social structures inherent in identity formation, the focus is on the real-time identity work that is influenced by the institutional gaze. In turn, the presence of this gaze has an incidental effect on the common-sense knowledge that individuals possess and so influence the way individuals organise the world around them by use of social categories (MCA), and how subject positions are taken up, adapted and adopted, resisted and even rejected when individuals are engaged in social interaction (PT). As Dollinger (2018: 481) puts it, “with the tools of MCA it is possible to reconstruct context-dependent, narrative positionings and from here to extrapolate to wider cultural discourses”. This methodological triangulation is captured in figure 1 below:

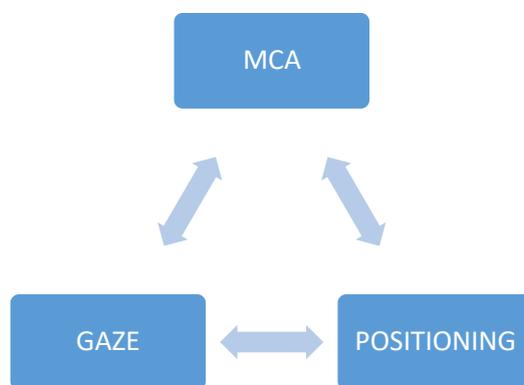


Figure 1 Methodological triangulation

The relationship between the three is found in the fact that individuals positioned, in our case, as EMI lecturers in the interviews used MCA to answer the questions posed by the interviewers. Lecturers make use of category-bound and category-implied activities attached to their professional practices. Respondents therefore display their cultural knowledge about higher education constructions of EMI practice. Indeed, by going one step further and adding gaze to the equation, we can observe how lecturers actually display knowledge of EMI which has been actually framed up through existing discourses

around higher education, pedagogy and language teaching. Knowledge that does not come from the individual but from the power imposed by the gaze as it does not belong to one specific respondent; instead, the same ideas reappear in the accounts of different participants (Baker, 2004). Although not in the form of small stories as in Georgakopoulou (2013) and Diert-Boté and Martín-Rubió (2018), these discourses imposed by the gaze are also “iterative” (Georgakopoulou, 2013), in that they are repeated because, as we will see, certain discourses that affect lecturers’ beliefs and experiences reoccur across individual interviews. Elsewhere Diert-Boté and Martín-Rubió (2018: 63) also point out that “‘iterativity’ can also be understood and applied when resembling stories are recited by different tellers in similar situations in which shared beliefs or discourses are exposed”. Therefore, this iterativity, this reappearance of the same discourses in distinct interviews with different interviewees, enables us to identify 1) the experiences which participants have lived in their EMI classes, 2) the shared beliefs about EMI teaching, about themselves and about how to teach EMI, and 3) the circulating discourses in higher education institutions (EMI gaze and ELT gaze).

4.3 Participants

Before going into a more detailed analysis of the interviews, it is necessary to introduce and profile the three lecturers who will be analysed. For the purpose of anonymity, these lecturers have been assigned the pseudonyms Isabel, Raquel and Jaime. Isabel teaches a BSc-level engineering course, and she had three years of experience as an EMI lecturer when the research was carried out. Raquel is a veterinary science lecturer who teaches a BSc-level course on animal biotechnology. Jaime is an agronomic engineering lecturer who teaches a BSc-level course on swine production.

The three lecturers have a similar profile since they are all early career academics who are particularly predisposed to the internationalisation and Englishisation of higher education institutions. Therefore, they all regard as positive the implementation of EMI subjects and are willing to learn more about themselves as EMI lecturers with the intend to also implement the new insights into their EMI practice. In addition, all three claimed to have a C1 English competence and they reported a range of international and mobility experiences, such as giving papers at conference and stays at universities abroad. For example, in the following excerpt from Isabel’s pre-interview we can see the international experience that Isabel has:

	Original	Translation to English
ISA	i / vaig estar cinc anys fent la tesis doctoral aquí / vaig fer (.) / es a dir / tots els cursos de doctorat / es van fer en anglès ... / llavors doncs bueno / (.) va: sortit la opció d'anar a fer un post-doctorat a fora ... / als vint-i-vuit anys me'n vaig ana:r a Califòrnia / a: Irvine (.) / a: UCI / i: vaig estar (.) / bueno / treballant a UCI (.) / m: / un any i mig més o menys (.) / un any i mig llarg /i després a: / una / a: University Calis-California State Fullerton	and / I was doing my doctoral thesis for five years here / I did (.) / I mean I did all the doctoral courses / they were done in English ... /then well (.) / there was: the option to do a postdoc abroad ... / at the age of twenty-eight I went: to California / to: Irvine (.) / to UCI / and: I was (.) / well / working at UCI (.) / m: / a year and a half more or less (.) / more than a year and a half / and later to: / an / a: University Calis- California State Fullerton

Table 3 ISA interview excerpt 1

Jaime, Raquel and Isabel manifested a very positive attitude towards Englishisation processes in general and they seemed to see English as an important and essential tool in their academic lives and their professional future. As Jaime puts it:

	Original	Translation to English
JAI	yo creo que el inglés es importante / para que sepan buscar la informa:ción / más allá de los recursos que hay en catalán o castellano	I think that English is important / so they know how to search for informa:tion / beyond the resources available in Catalan or Spanish

Table 4 JAI interview excerpt 1

From these interviews, we further learned that they agree in their view of English as an important tool for academia and their professional future, and that they accepted as normal the use of English to write academic articles and to present conference papers. Not only do they view English as the language to write and present academic articles, they are also strong promoters of EMI subjects within their faculty. They were positively predisposed to EMI and for this reason their experience as English lecturers started out of personal curiosity and as they explain, it was not a requirement from the university but an option that they took up. Their entry into the EMI world was therefore voluntary and not a response to university administration dictates. Finally, from the interviews and classroom observations conducted during the study, it can be said that they all seemed to feel comfortable acting as EMI lectures.

The conversations from both pre-interview and post-interviews were transcribed using and adapting VOICE transcription conventions. It is also important to mention here that

two of the researchers also present during interviews have also been anonymised with the following pseudonyms Gerard and Derek. Meanwhile, I will keep the acronym BAL for my interventions. The specific transcription conventions for the interviews can be found in *Appendix F*.

4.4 Conclusion

This introductory chapter of section A has first revised the concept of professional teacher identity in relation to EMI lecturers as the following three analytical chapters will analyse this concept in particular through lecturers' own self-positionings and other-positionings. This led to a specification of the analytical procedure, a triangulation of positioning theory, membership categorisation analysis and the concept of gaze to interpret the interview data. Finally, the three lecturers' profiles were specified.

In the following chapters, I will introduce an analysis of the pre- and post-interviews carried out with the three lecturers introduced above. Each case will outline the characteristic positionings that each lecturer takes on during the interviews. Through different extracts, we will see how in their own way they all refer to public discourse formation, in order to present themselves as one type of teacher in the context of higher education. These excerpts will show how lecturers self-present (PT) in a way that it makes sense to themselves but is also social understandable to others due to shared common-sense knowledge (MCA) imposed upon us by discourses, hence reinforcing the power of the institutional gaze. By means of looking at the categorisations and positioning that emerge through the narrative, it is possible to understand how social and cultural discourses that permeate higher education institutions are structured and how they influence the main stakeholders involved. By examining interview data from both MCA and PT, we can distinguish how the participants make reference to both role expectations (categories and the activities associated with them) and to identity (positions). As Martel (2017: 91) points out, “[t]hese two constructs are of course highly interrelated, and both are implicated in studies about identity”. By combining these two methodological tools, we can therefore see how participants invoke external expectations of the role they perform and how they also manifest their self-inhabited identity.

Chapter 5. Isabel's case

In this chapter, I will examine Isabel's positioning. A glance at Isabel's interviews (pre-interview on the 18th January 2018 and post-interview 28th June 2018) shows how she reflects on her experience as an EMI student. From here, she sheds light on what elements she identifies as key for the EMI lecturer identity, an identity which seems to progress into a CLILised version. These are the three main themes of Isabel's case:

Theme 1 Isabel from language student to EMI student

Theme 2 Isabel as an EMI lecturer

Theme 3 Isabel as an implicit CLILised EMI lecturer

5.1 Isabel from language student to EMI student

This first excerpt is from Isabel's pre-interview. The first story is situated within the storyline "use of English in EMI". The interviewer re-directs the interaction from Isabel as a language student to Isabel as an EMI student during her International PhD at a Catalan university. The interviewer asks Isabel to expand on her experience as an EMI student:

	Original	Translation to English
DER	i en aquestes classes / dius que: la pro- / la mateixa profe / no? / que estava / parlava ella l'anglès?	and in these classes / you say that: the pro- / the same teacher / no? / she was / she spoke in English?
ISA	sí	yes
DER	i tu parlaves en anglès amb els companys de classe?	and did you speak in English with your classmates?
ISA	no	no
DER	MAI?	NEVER?
ISA	no	no
DER	ah	ah
ISA	bueno / parlàvem anglès quan deia / {ara feu un grup i parleu} / bueno / clar / quan ella ens obligava sí / però si jo havia de dir / {quina calor que fa aquí} / o: / {has vist per la finestra passar algú} / li deia en català	well / we spoke in English when she said / {now in groups and speak} / well / of course / when she forced us yes / but if I had to say / {it's hot in here} / or: / {did you see someone passing by through the window} / I said in Catalan

DER	no però / e / t'explico on vaig amb això / perquè clar (.) / si ella organitza una activitat / i aquesta activitat es fa en anglès / o sigui / esteu intercanviant informació en anglès / en la classe d'anglès	no but / e / let me explain where I'm going with this / because of course (.) / if she organises an activity / and this activity is done in English / so / you are exchanging the information in English / in the English class
ISA	sí hm	yes hm
DER	aleshores / una classe de: / del doctorat (.) / m: / tres quarts parts del mateix / esteu fent una activitat intercanviant informació / i / perquè no fer-ho en anglès / e / si havies fet / (.) e / en les classes d'anglès a grau no?	then / a class of:/ doctoral level (.) / m: / pretty much the same / you are doing an activity exchanging information / and / why not do it in English / e / if you had done / (.) e / in your undergraduate English classes no?
ISA	tens raó / perquè segurament e / com estudiant no? / com a persona que vas a una classe / a una vas a classe d'anglès	you're right / because most likely e / as a student no? / as a person that goes to a class / to one you go to an English class
DER	sí	yes
ISA	@ / i a l'altra vas a classe de reactors / o vas a classe de: / els canviadors de calor / o vas i bueno és	@ /and to the other you go to a reactors class / or you go to a class of: / heat exchangers / or you go and well it's
DER	o:	or:
ISA	CIRCUMstancial / que es fa en anglès no? / però: vas a aprendre reactors	CIRCUMstancial / that the class is in English no? / but: you go to learn about reactors
DER	o potser no s'entenia (.) / per part teva i també els (.) altres estudiants d'aquí / com una oportunitat d'aprendre anglès (.) / si no una conveniència / perquè hi havia (.) gent d'altres països / o sigui [es feia això del]	or maybe it wasn't understood (.) on your part and also the (.) other local students /as an opportunity to learn English (.) / rather as a convenience / because there were (.) people from other countries / so [we did this thing in]
ISA	[sí: clar clar]	[yes: of course of course]
DER	anglès / per la presència de gent d'altres països (.) / NO per aprendre anglès	English / because of the presence of people from other countries (.) / NOT to learn English
ISA	com alumna / sobretot al principi deies / {ostres / quina: tocada de nassos / que ara hem de fer això en anglès}	as a student / especially at the beginning you would say / {jezz / such: a pain / that we have to do this in English}
DER	ja ja	I see I see

ISA	jo com alumna / al principi tenia aquesta percepció (.) / després a mesura que / que vaig m tch / el segon any / ja ho vaig / m'ho vaig agafar com una: / com una: motivació: / i com:/ i com que era una cosa molt positiva (.) / perquè clar / m'havia adonat que havia de llegir articles científics / i que trigava MOLTA estona a entendre-ho / perquè hi havia coses que no entenien (.) / no només pel llenguatge científic concret (.) / si no perquè el meu nivell d'anglès no era: bo no?	me as a student / first I had this perception (.) / then as I / as I did m tch / the second year / I took it / I took it as a: / as a : motivation / and like: / and like something very positive (.) / because of course / I had realised that I had to read scientific articles / and it took me A LONG time to understand them / because there were things I didn't get (.) / not just the specific scientific language (.) / but also because my English level was: not good no?
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Table 5 ISA interview excerpt 2

In this excerpt, the interviewer starts by asking Isabel whether or not in language classes she used English to interact with her classmates. Isabel categorically denies the use of English with her classmates. Nevertheless, she then actually recognises the use of English when her teacher compelled her and her classmates to use English for group-work activities. Otherwise, the use of English was not common between students. Therefore, we are presented with the first CBA of language teachers: “They compel students to use English for group-work activities”.

Then the storyline of the interaction changes. The interviewer uses Isabel’s statement to redirect the conversation towards EMI subjects. He is now transferring the ELT gaze from the language classroom to the EMI classroom arguing that if information exchange between students is carried out in English in a language class, this could be adopted as well in an EMI class. Isabel acknowledges this point but justifies the lack of use of English in EMI by stating that students go to a content class to learn the content and English is just circumstantial – that is, incidental and secondary. Therefore, a new CBA arises for the category EMI students: “They go to class to learn disciplinary content”. However, the interviewer insists on the fact that this positioning of English as secondary is due to a lack of awareness that these EMI subjects are also an opportunity to learn English. Instead, students usually assume that the use of English is just an accommodation for international students. Here the interviewer is combining the EMI gaze (internationalisation and Englishisation discourses) with the ELT gaze (language-learning discourse). There is generally an acceptance of the first one but an ignorance (or even resistance) of the second

one. The interviewer is trying to raise consciousness of the ELT gaze so it is accepted alongside the generally accepted “Internationalisation and Englishisation” discursive formation around EMI.

This move leads Isabel to position herself as an EMI student. In her story, there is now a development of her positioning as an EMI student affected by her participation in EMI. At first, she regarded EMI as a nuisance because she had to learn content subjects through English. Nevertheless, this perception changed and it allowed for a re-positioning of herself, as she became a motivated EMI student. In fact, this re-positioning not only affected her position as a student but it influenced the subject itself as she took an instrumental viewpoint towards EMI: the EMI subject as an opportunity to actually practice her academic reading skills and her English general skills. She states that she was motivated and she saw it as something positive because she was aware that it took her too much time to understand scientific papers and there was specific scientific language she could not understand due to her English competence. Therefore, Isabel’s statement points to a situation in which she, as an EMI student, actually took advantage of the implicit objective associated with EMI subjects.

Responsibility to encourage students to use and speak in English is associated with language teachers. As described by Sacks (1992), a category is to act in accordance with the categorical ascription associated with it. Language teachers are therefore expected to perform this CBA and encourage their students to use the language. On the contrary, content teachers are not usually ascribed this CBA as the end goal is not language. Nevertheless, when STEM lecturers agree on shifting the language of education and take on EMI, there is ambivalence and tension between language experts (interviewers) and content lecturers (interviewees) on whether this CBA is transferred to EMI lecturers practice. This tension arises because interviewers, with backgrounds as English language educators, are casting the ELT gaze on content lecturers. The behaviour of these interviewers, acting as language experts, is shaped by 1) narratives from higher institutions and 2) the implementation of EMI as an implicit language learning experience enforced by university programme administrators. Language experts are now taking on this “implicit” objective and aim to make it explicit and visible, casting the ELT gaze on to STEM teachers and creating awareness for the need to acquire a DLF position.

As the interview advances, the EMI lecturer category is further developed. Isabel uses this category to describe herself as an experienced and expert content lecturer teaching in English. She nevertheless needs help to adapt her teaching approach and admits that she cannot focus on language when doing EMI. In addition, by reflecting on her EMI practice, she already appears to be aware of the ELT gaze and what its implementation implies, not only for her teaching, but also for her students.

MCD	CATEGORY	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	Language teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They speak in English • They compel students to use English in group-work activities
Types of students	Language student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not speak in English • They only speak in English during group-work when the teacher tell them to speak in English
	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They go to class to learn disciplinary content • They take the subject as a motivation to learn the language
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is circumstantial that the content is taught in English • It is annoying that it's in English (at least at the beginning) • It can be a nuisance to do the content in English

Table 6 MCA ISA interview excerpt 2

5.2 Isabel as an EMI lecturer

Also from the pre-interview, this storyline starts when Isabel was first introduced in EMI. She states that it was not a requirement from the university. Instead, she took up EMI out of curiosity because she regarded its implementation as something positive for her faculty. It was an opportunity to attract international students. Here we can see how she embraces, accepts and reinforces the EMI gaze, that is to say, the internationalisation and Englishisation of the university through the enforcement of EMI subjects. Isabel does not only position herself as an engineering professor, she seems to self-ascribe herself a “supportive” university worker position. A motivated engineering professor who is willing to take on and invest in the international policy of the university to help the school.

However, Isabel resists the ELT gaze implicit in the EMI discourse promoted by university administrators:

	Original	Translation to English
ISA	... no va ser molt ben acollida la proposta / perquè: feina extra (.) / també: / home / certa vergonya / també: de posar-te davant dels teus alumnes / a parlar en una llengua que tu sents que no domines del tot (.) / i que tu: també / el vocabulari científic e potser el tens / però hi ha: tch m / hi ha molts matisos / que a vegades (.) els pots fer en la teva llengua materna / i que: jo no els puc fer en anglès / llavors sóc conscient d'aquestes limitacions / però en el meu cas / vaig valorar més positivament el fet d:e / doncs ajuda:r l'escola (.) a atreure: aquesta gent de fora / doncs que les pròpies vergonyes o misèries individuals / home / vaig pensar {ja me'n sortiré prou bé} / si no / mira somrius i: ja està	... the proposal was not welcome / because: extra work (.) / also: / well / a certain shame / also: being in front of your students / speaking a language that you don't feel you fully master (.) / and you: also / the scientific vocabulary e maybe you have it / but there is: tch m / there are a lot nuances / that sometimes (.) you can do them in your mother tongue / and that: I can't do them in English / then I'm aware of these limitations / but in my case / I considered as something very positive the fact o:f e / well / help the school (.) to attract: these people from abroad / rather than my own shame or individual miseries / well / I thought {I will do it well enough} /if not / well / you smile and: that's it
DER	ja ja	I see I see
ISA	XXX tots la caguem	XXX we all screw up
DER	sí sí sí @@	yes yes yes @@
GER	o sigui / l'objectiu de de: fomentar / diguem-ne / l'aprenen- tch el o o: / millorar l'aprenentatge de llengua dels locals / per tu no era: m e / no era prioritari / diguem-ho així	so /the objective to to: foment / let's say / the learnin- tch the or or: / improve the language learning of the locals / for you it wasn't: m e / it wasn't a priority / let's put it this way
ISA	és que / jo no / jo no em sento amb: prou nivell / ni amb prouta / pr- em: / potestat (.) per ensenyar anglès a ningú	the thing is that / I don't / I don't think I have: a high enough level / nor enough / pr- em: / authority (.) to teach English to anyone

Table 7 ISA interview excerpt 3

In this interaction, we can see how one of the interviewers positions himself as the implementer of the ELT gaze. In a way, his objective is to convince Isabel that language teaching is part of EMI. In his speech act, he is making Isabel respond whether or not local-students' English competence was a priority for her when she accepted becoming an EMI lecturer. Indeed, he implicitly and indirectly introduces the CLILised EMI subject

category, because the objective is not only that they learn the disciplinary knowledge but also that students improve and learn English. Although he puts Isabel in a difficult position, Isabel still maintains her resistance to embrace the ELT gaze and so she does not position herself as a CLILised EMI lecturer. We see here how Isabel is under a process of identity negotiation in which there is resistance to embrace a language-related identity because EMI lecturers often feel concerned about their English proficiency. This in turn can affect their attempts of establishing an identity as competent professionals; lack of linguistic knowledge or proficiency has a negative influence on them. On the contrary, she develops the CBPs associated with the EMI lecturer category: she does possess the scientific vocabulary to teach a STEM subject in English, but her confidence and her authority as an EMI lecturer are somehow affected negatively due to her self-perceived linguistic limitations in English.

There is therefore a dual positioning: Isabel as language user and Isabel as an engineering professor. On the one hand, her disciplinary identity as an engineering professor is presented as a fully functional and capable professional, since she has the specific scientific vocabulary and her English seems to be good enough to function in the academia and perform academic tasks, such as writing and presenting papers in English. Contrarily, her language user positioning, that is her language teacher identity, is dictated by her self-perception of her competence as not sufficient to socialise in a classroom setting and teach or address disciplinary language issues. Therefore, while her content identity is reassured, there is a questioning of her identity as a language user as she seems to be knocking herself down with regard her English skills for teaching. Issues of authenticity and authority (or the lack of them) permeate the negotiation of her professional identity and the subsequent positionings involved.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They feel shy about being in front of their students using a foreign language • They do not master the language entirely • They do not feel they have enough level (in terms of language) • They do not feel they have enough authority to teach English

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have the scientific vocabulary • They are aware of your limitations
	L1 lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They can do certain nuances in their mother tongue
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is extra work • It is something positive for my school • It attract people from abroad
	CLILised EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It improves language learning of the local students

Table 8 MCA ISA interview excerpt 3

As the pre-interview goes on, we can see what CBAs Isabel attributes to the EMI lecturer category. In fact, we can see how Isabel's refusal to embrace a CLILised EMI position and so embrace the ELT gaze is justified by the fact that she does not view that the university is trying to impose an ELT gaze on EMI subjects. According to Isabel, she has not been told by university administrators to adopt a new role and correct students English. Therefore, the major promoters and supporters of the ELT gaze and the CLILised version of EMI subjects seem to be the interviewers themselves, language experts who have English for specific purposes teaching experience and who see that without an explicit attention to language in EMI teaching, EMI's full potential will not be reached in its CLILised version:

	Original	Translation to English
ISA	e no no no (.) / és és una bona pregunta / és a dir / jo no em veig / bueno / jo no em veig corregint a un alumne (.) que em faci una pregunta / dient-li: {no l'has fet bé l'hauries d'haver fet així} (.) / no crec que aquesta sigui la meva funció / ni: la universitat m'ha demanat que aquesta sigui la meva funció (.) / perquè a més a més / sé que si faig això e: / puc (.) puc semblar pedant / per una banda / i per altra / sé segur que no hi haurà cap més pregunta a classe la resta de curs	e no no no (.) it's it's a good question / I mean / I don't see myself / well / I don't see myself correcting a student (.) who asks a question / saying: {you didn't say it right you should've said it this way} (.) / I don't think this is my function / nor: the university has required this to be my function (.) / because in addition / I know that if I do this e: / I might (.) might seem pedantic / on the one hand / and on the other / I know for sure that there won't be any more questions in class the rest of the course

DER	aha	aha
ISA	hem de ser conscients de l'alumnat que tenim i / del nivell d'anglès que tenen en general (.) / llavors m:	we have to be aware of the students we have and / the English level they have in general (.) / then m:
DER	o sigui / lo que acceptarien com a normal una classe d'anglès m / NO acceptarien com a normal en absolut (.) en una classe de:	so / what they would accept as normal in an English class m / they would NOT accept as normal at all (.) in a class of:
ISA	jo crec que no	I don't think so
DER	ja sí	I see yes
ISA	jo crec que no e: / jo penso / perdó eh? / penso que ha anat canviat l'orientació / i que cada cop els alumnes ho valoren més positivament / però recordo el primer curs acadèmic com un curs acadèmic dur (.) / en aquest aspecte de fet fins a meitat de curs / CADA dia em preguntaven si la classe la podíem fer en català	I don't think so e: / I think / sorry eh? / I think the perspective has changed / and more and more students value it more positively / but I remember the first academic course as a difficult academic course (.) / in this respect in fact until halfway through the course / EVERY day they asked me if we could do the class in Catalan
GER	hm	hm
ISA	perquè no teníem ningú de fora / em deien / {a veure / si l'objectiu és que vingui un paio de fora / i no hi ha ningú de fora / què coll fem fent la classe en en això / si a la mitja part / parlem del gol del Barça en català}	because we didn't have anyone from abroad / they said / {so / if the objective is get someone from abroad to come / and there is no one from abroad / why the hell are we doing doing the class in in this / if in the break / we are talking about Barça's goals in Catalan}
DER	sí sí sí sí	yes yes yes yes
ISA	és que clar jo pensava / {és que gaire bé tenen raó} (.) / vull dir jo / els deu de descans / si em ve un a preguntar algo / o siestic llegint el diari / o veig un que llegeix el diari / i m'acosto a veure que fa / parlem en català / jo no parlaré amb ells en anglès aquesta estona (.) / llavors clar (.) / quin sentit té? (.) / e llavors clar / a mi també em costava defensar segons quine:s (.) / bueno tch / quine:s decisions a nivell universitari	and I thought to myself / {they are almost right} (.) / I mean myself /in the ten minutes of break / if someone comes to ask me something / or if I'm reading the newspaper / or I see one's reading the newspaper / and I go up to them to see what they are doing / we speak in Catalan / I won't speak in English at that time (.) / then of course (.) / what's the point? (.) / e then of course / I had a hard time defending certai:n (.) / well tch / certai:n decisions made by the university

Table 9 ISA interview excerpt 4

Here, for the first time, Isabel admits that both she and students even questioned the EMI gaze. As Isabel reports, students have positively accepted the implementation of EMI. However, they dispute the shift of language of instruction to English when the EMI subject does not serve its main goal, that is to say, the attraction of international students. Isabel positions herself in accordance with students rather than the university policy when this is the situation because, as she mentions, it is difficult for her to defend certain policies implemented at university level. In fact, when an EMI subject only has local student and no international students there is a crucial piece in EMI missing. Nevertheless, the EMI subject continues as it is serving its primordial objective – that is, the attraction of international students. In this situation, EMI goes on in a theatre-like manner as there is no explicit acknowledgement of the language learning objective that local students can take advantage from when engaged in EMI. The metaphor of the theatre or the theatricalisation of EMI is related to the fact that on occasions the internationalisation objective is not met. When this happens, the class is only comprised of local students who share the same L1 with the lecturer with no international students, and then we should ask ourselves what is the reason of using English if the class is not language-oriented. In this case, EMI is theatricalised as there is no ELF reason for using English and, as most lecturers state, English is just a tool and not the target in EMI. If that is the case, with no international students then lecturers and students could switch back to L1-content teaching.

MCD	Category		CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They cannot see themselves correcting students • They do not use English during break time, but they use the L1 with students in break time • They find it hard to support certain university policies • They do not think correcting students is their function/role
	CLILised EMI lecturer		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They can seem pedantic if they correct students
Types of students	EMI student	Local student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They ask if the teacher can teach in Catalan • They value EMI as something positive

	CLILised EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They would stop asking questions if corrected
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It aims at attracting international students
Types of policies	EMI policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It does not require lecturers to correct students' language

Table 10 MCA ISA interview excerpt 4

5.3 Isabel as an implicit CLILised EMI lecturer

Towards the end of the pre-interview, the interviewer insists on Isabel's activities in her EMI classes. When she starts describing her performance as an EMI lecturer, we can actually see that she seems to have CLILised her EMI teaching. Highlighting Isabel's own CLILisation of EMI teaching, the interviewer tells her that she then orients students when they have language difficulties (e.g. finding a word or sequencing incoherent ideas in English). Isabel's speech acts confirm these activities – hence unwittingly she is positioning herself as a CLILised EMI lecturer and so embracing the ELT gaze that the interviewers invoke:

	Original	Translation to English
GER	... tu / tu creus que els ensenyas a comunicar en en: la teva assignatura? / assignatura quina era?	... you / you think that you teach them to communicate in in: your subject? / what was the subject again?
ISA	instal·lacions dos	installations two
GER	instal·lacions dos / sí	installations two / yes
ISA	a veure (3) [jo ja]	let's see (3) [I already]
GER	[en anglès eh?] comunicar en anglès	[in English eh?] communicate in English
ISA	jo intento dissenyar certes activitats (.) perquè ells tinguin l'oportunitat de comunicar-se en anglès / i intento VOLTAR (.) per sentir / més o menys / el que diuen (.) però:	I try to design certain activities (.) so that they have the opportunity to communicate in English / and I try to WALK AROUND (.) to listen / more or less / to what they say (.) but
DER	i els i els orientes? / llavors quan tenen dificulta:ts / quan (.) busquen aquella paraula que no troben (.) / o la seqüència de: de de: d'idees / que no acaben de ser massa coherents (.) o:	and do you orient them? / so when they have difficultie:s / when (.) they're looking for that word they just can't find (.) / or the sequencing

		of: of of: ideas / when they are not really coherent (.) or:
ISA	sí	yes
GER	XXX	XXX
ISA	sí ho ho intento (.) /pe- primer el el / el primer esforç és que aquella estona (.) parlin en anglès (.) / perquè: tch normalment si no hi ha: l'Erasmus de torn / que no el vol ningú (.) / també ho hem de dir (.) / e sempre queda el pobre desaparellat i hem d'acabar fent un sorteig (.) / que el faig jo clar / no el faig allà a classe / però dic m doncs en aquest grup i ho sortejo / e pff si no hi ha el pobre Erasmus / els altres / els altres parlen en: català a la que et gires d'esquena	yes I try (.) / pe- first the the / the first effort is that during that time (.) they speak in English (.) / because tch often if there isn't: the Erasmus student / who no one wants (.) / I also have to admit it (.) / e the poor thing always ends up alone and we have to end up raffling (.) / which I end up doing course / I don't do it there in class / but I say m so in this group and I sort it / e pff if there isn't the poor Erasmus student / the others / the others speak in: Catalan as soon as you turn around
DER	ja	yes
ISA	llavors bueno / el primer objectiu és que aquella estona intentin fer ho / intentin fer en anglès (.) / també intento que escriguin / perquè penso que és (.) / tch que és més fàcil articular pensaments no? / bueno pensar pots pensar / vull dir (.) és difícil (.) e: posar-ho per escrit no? / i: veig que ells tenen certa dificultat (.) / també hi ha alumnes que se'n surten molt millor que altres / clar	so then / the first objective is that during that time they try to do it / try to do it in English (.) / I also try to get them to write / because I think it is (.) / tch that it is easier to articulate thoughts no? / well thinking you can think / I mean (.) it's difficult (.) e: to put it in writing no? / and: I see that they have a certain difficulty (.) / there're also some students who manage much better than others / of course

Table 11 ISA interview excerpt 5

One of the key catalysts of the Englishisation of a STEM subject is the presence of Erasmus students. Isabel considers that having international students is key to justify and fulfil both the EMI gaze and the ELT gaze. First, having international students legitimises the reason why EMI subjects are introduced on the first place, to attract students from abroad and facilitate communication when student bodies are linguistically diverse. Erasmus students are seen as a resource for EMI as they might act as catalysts for interaction in English. Another aspect legitimately affecting Isabel's self-positioning, as she moves between the EMI and the CLILised EMI lecturer positions, is the positioning

of students themselves, which varies considerably. At some points in the interaction, students are positioned as competent L2 users who do not need corrections from lecturers, as that would make lecturers seem pedantic because students doing EMI are expected to have high levels of English (see above *Table 9 ISA interview excerpt 4*). However, Isabel also admits that students come to EMI with varying English proficiencies.

MCD	Category		CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	CLILised EMI lecturer		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They try to design activities that give students the opportunity to communicate in English • They try to walk around and listen to what students say • They make an effort to ensure that students use and talk English during class • They guide students when they have difficulties finding a word • They guide students when they have difficulties arranging ideas • They encourage students to write in English
Types of students	EMI student	Local student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They talk in Catalan if lecturer does not control them • They do not want to work with Erasmus students • They have difficulties (to express themselves) • They use English when they have an Erasmus student in their group • They switch to Catalan when they do not have an Erasmus student in their groups and lecturer is not controlling them • Some have better levels than others
		Erasmus student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have no one to work with
Types of subjects	CLILised EMI subject		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It helps students to communicate in English

Table 12 MCA ISA interview excerpt 5

Once the course finished, we carried out a post-interview with Isabel to explore, among other things, to what extent participation in the project changed her perspective on EMI and so her categorisation and self-positionings. When discussing the assessment of the EMI subjects and the need for a true CLILisation of EMI, Isabel's first reaction was one of curiosity, understanding and even desire to perhaps make that situation a reality by taking on board a disciplinary-language facilitator positioning and so applying to a certain extent English language pedagogy in her EMI teaching. This means that EMI teaching experience, in and of itself (and on its own), does not provide the opportunity for genuine self-reflection with regard to teaching practice: neither in general terms of their pedagogical approach nor in particular about language pedagogical matters. This research has however played this role. In the following excerpt, Isabel talks about her position as a participant in research and how this experience has changed her behaviour, in particular her EMI practices:

	Original	Translation to English
BAL	... has canviat alguna cosa de: (.) de la metodologia o d'avaluar / pel fet de que: nosaltres (.) t'hem estat seguint tota: durant tota l'assignatura? o:	... have you changed anything regarding: (.) regarding methodology or assessment / because of the fact that: we (.) have been following you the whole: during the whole course? or:
ISA	no de:	no of:
BAL	o t'ha influenciat d'alguna manera?	or were you influenced somehow?
ISA	d'avaluació no (.) d'avaluació no (.) / bueno sí que vaig canviar una cosa és veritat (.) sí (.) / vaig canviar que el: (.) que l'informe de practiques / aquest any els vaig obligar a fer-los en anglès / (.) perquè els altres anys els hi deixava triar i ho feien tots en català o castellà / i aquest any sí que / con que també vam pensar que estaria bé tenir algo escrit no? / d'ells / doncs aquest any això sí / i penso que ho seguiré fent a partir d'ara de d'aquesta manera (.) / tampoc han d'escriure tant (.) no? / un guió de practiques / per tant e: ja està / això sí / i de metodologia no: /l'únic que bueno tch / sabent que també veníeu i que us interese- / que pensava	regarding the assessment no (.) regarding the assessment no (.) / well yes I did change one thing it's true (.) yes (.) / I changed the fact that the: (.) the practicum reports / this year it was obligatory to do them in English / (.) because in past years I let them choose and they all did it in Catalan or Spanish / and this year yes / as we also thought it was good to have something in writing no? / by them /so this year this yes / and I think that I will continue like this from now on (.) / it's not like they have to write a lot (.) no? / a practicum report / so e: that's it / in this sense yes / and regarding methodology no: / the only thing that

	que us podien interessar també diferents activitats metodològiques no? / doncs he aprofitat l'excusa de que hi éreu per muntar alguna activitat més / que ja la tens muntada i que et pot servir per altres anys no? / cada any acabes	well tch / knowing that you were also coming and that you were interes- / I mean I thought that you would be interested also in different methodological activities no? / so I took advantage of you being there to try some more activities / so now I have it prepared and can use it in years to come no? / every year you end up
DER	sí	yes
ISA	fent algo nou / doncs a lo millor aquest any en lloc de fer una cosa nova / n'he fet (.) dues o tres no? però no: m: bueno	doing something new / so maybe this year instead of one new thing / I've done (.) two or three no? but no: m: well

Table 13 ISA interview excerpt 6

We can see in this excerpt how Isabel positions herself as *participant in research*, this positioning had led her to further develop the category CLILised EMI lecturer as she has changed her teaching practices from EMI to CLILised EMI. This is a result of her exposure to the interviewers' (at the same time language experts and the project managers) knowledge on pedagogy and their encouragement to reflect on her EMI practices. Therefore, researchers' presence and project participation through interview, class observation and log writing might have been the necessary catalyst for lecturers to adopt a self-reflective perspective on their teaching practice in the future. From the above interview excerpt and the MCA table, we can see how she has adopted new CBAs that have contributed to a pedagogical change in her EMI practice.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They require students to write reports in English • They create different methodological activities
	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They allow students to choose between Spanish, Catalan or English to write reports

Table 14 MCA ISA interview excerpt 6

In the following excerpt (also from the post-interview), we see how the interviewer establishes a storyline where Isabel is positioned as a language student, which then leads her to be re-positioned as an EMI lecturer. Although she acknowledges the ELT gaze and the assets it may imply to adopt a disciplinary-language facilitator position, Isabel

nevertheless does “*not feel like doing it*”, that is, she does not feel like becoming a CLILised EMI lecturer:

	Original	Translation to English
DER	però pensant (.) en tu com a alumna en anglès / tu: (.) / això: és una / és una pregunta que podríem fer en alguna entrevista / però: quan vam parlar de: / diguem el teu historial i tot això / però (.) m: / te'n recordes d'alguna activitat / algunes activitats que fèiem servir els profes d'anglès segurament / profes que tu consideraries els millors potser no? / interessants (.) / maneres interessants d'organitzar el contingut (.) / que: (.) que / veuries alguna possibilitat d'adaptar (.) al que fas (.) ara?	but thinking (.) about yourself as an English student / you: (.) / this: is a / it's a question that we could ask in an interview / but: when we talked about: / let's say your background and all this / but (.) m: / do you remember any activity / some activities that the English teachers for probably used / teachers that you'd consider as the best ones maybe no? / interesting (.) / interesting ways to organise the content (.) / that: (.) that / would you see a chance to adapt (.) to what you do now?
ISA	segurament tot el que és el tema aquest de: / o establir debat a classe / o: fer presentacions orals (.) / tch jo crec que a mi / al menys com alumna / era el que em feia més por no?	for sure anything to do with the topic of: / or trying to establish a debate in class / or: doing oral presentations (.) / tch I think that I / at least as a student / this was what I was most scared of no?
DER	sí	yes
ISA	per tant segurament <@> és el que m'ajudava / @ és el XXX </@> / t'has d'espavilar no? / en aquell moment el cervell ha d'anar (.) / ha d'anar ràpid	then probably <@> it was what helped me the most / @ it's the XXX </@> / you have to wise up no? / in that moment your brain has to go (.) / it has to go fast
DER	sí	yes
ISA	quan escrius tens més temps / pots buscar al diccionari no? / bueno ara hi ha internet no? / abans ho buscàvem al diccionari (.) / per tant tot el que sigui participar a classe (.) / jo crec que aquestes activitats són: / son bones (.) / són bones no només en anglès / també ho serien en català no?	when you write you have more time / you can look for words in the dictionary no? / well now there is internet no? / before we used to make use of the dictionary (.) / so all that is class participation (.) / I think that these activities are: / are good (.) / they're good not only in English / they'd also be good in Catalan no?
DER	ja	I see

ISA	però: clar en anglès / en anglès potser encara més perquè els obligaria a ells a	but: of course in English / in English maybe even better because you force them to
DER	mhm	mhm
ISA	a haver de buscar els recursos / i: i expressar-se / però: m: clar / tu també veus el perfil d'alumnat que tens / si tu et curres allà una activitat / i arribes allà/ i: i és {yes no}	to look for resources / and: and express themselves / but: m: of course / you also see the student profile that you have / if you work hard on an activity / and you get there / and: and it's {yes no}
DER	ja	I see
ISA	tch llavors / no sé a mi / de moment m'ha fet mandra	tch then / I don't know / for now I don't feel like doing it

Table 15 ISA interview excerpt 7

The interviewer asks her to reflect on her experience as a language student, in particular the kind of activities that her language teachers used to employ in language classrooms and that were regarded as the best ones by her. The interviewer is imposing the ELT gaze on Isabel, as he wants her to extrapolate these kinds of activities to her EMI classes (if they were useful in a language class, they can also be useful in an EMI class). Instead of replying with what were for her the best activities, Isabel reports that debates and oral presentations were the ones that scared her the most, and that was the reason why these kind of activities were helpful because she had to respond to circumstances faster. Then, she positions herself again as a lecturer and we can see how the ELT gaze has had an influence on her: any activity that involves students' participation in class is good either in English or in Catalan. We can see here how there is an implicit reference to language learning as tasks that require students to use the language and put their speaking skills to practice will most probably have a positive impact on their linguistic competence and so improve their language proficiency. Actually, Isabel comments that language learning tasks in an L2 are even more effective than in the L1 since students need to put to work their limited linguistic resources to express themselves, and that is where language development takes place. Consequently, Isabel is aware of the ELT gaze and the kind of activities that might position her as a DLF in a CLILised EMI subject. Nevertheless, the storyline ends with Isabel's resistance to the acquisition of such responsibility and duty due to students' passivity. Therefore, we can see how the relational aspect of identity influences the negotiation of Isabel's professional identity: EMI students are a key aspect

in the negotiation of lecturers' own professional identity and in particular in the process of moving from a solely EMI lecturer position to a CLILised EMI position.

MCD	Category	CBAs/ CBPs
Types of teachers	Language teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They use debates and oral presentations
	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They put in a lot effort • They work hard to create such activities
	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not feel like introducing them (speaking activities) in their teaching
Types of students	Language student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are scared of debates and oral presentations
	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are passive • They answer with yes or no
	CLILised EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have to find the resources and express themselves
Types of activities	Speaking activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are more helpful • They make students smarten up • They make your brain work faster • They are good in either English or in Catalan • They are even better in English • They force students to find resources and express themselves

Table 16 MCA ISA interview excerpt 7

5.4 Isabel's summary

In a nutshell, we can see a progress in Isabel's interviews as she first started talking about her experience as a language student and then as an EMI student. These experiences have informed her own identity as EMI lecturer. Because of her experience as EMI student, Isabel seems to be more sensitive to how her students might feel about EMI and while doing EMI. She accepts the use of the L1 in class because as a student, she herself and her classmates used to speak in Catalan to communicate between them and to ask question to the lecturer. Isabel seems to self-inhabit an EMI lecturer identity: she is certain about the disciplinary knowledge and the English specific terminology used in her field but she is not that confident in terms of her English competence (see *Table 7* and *Table 8*).

Although the interviewers try to impose the ELT gaze and ascribe Isabel the DLF role, she resists this position (*Table 9* and *Table 10*). Nevertheless, due to the interactional nature of identity, we can see how being exposed to the interviewers' discourse Isabel gradually negotiates her identity and starts to name activities that seem to CLILised her EMI practice (see *Table 11* and *Table 12* as well as *Table 13* and *Table 14*). Isabel navigates between her self-inhabited EMI lecturer identity, an identity she seems to accept and be comfortable with, and the other-ascribed and somehow accepted CLILised EMI lecturer identity, which seems to be rather peripheral. Although the ELT discourse is introduced by the interviewers and certain activities of the CLILised EMI lecturer category may have been mentioned by the interviewers, Isabel's professional identity has not only arisen throughout the interaction but has also undergone a process of re-negotiation and transformation.

Chapter 6. Raquel's case

Moving now to the next informant, a glance at Raquel's interviews (pre-interview on 16th February 2017 and post-interview 12th July 2018) shows how she embraces the EMI gaze of the institution. She does so both by favouring the implementation of activities offered in English by the university, and also by welcoming international students, who are viewed as a resource for EMI subject. Raquel also reflects on her identity as an L1 lecturer and as an EMI lecturer; when she is positioned as a CLILised EMI lecturer she categorically denies this role. Nevertheless, she then seems to view EMI in its CLILised nature. Finally, we will look at excerpts where Raquel is positioned as a CLILised EMI lecturer and how her position as a research participant has influenced her EMI practices. These are the main themes that arose in Raquel's pre-interview and post-interview:

Theme 1 Raquel as a lecturer in favour of Englishisation

Theme 2 Raquel as an L1 lecturer and as an EMI lecturer

Theme 3 Raquel's refusal of the ELT position but positioning EMI as CLILised

6.1 Raquel as a lecturer in favour of Englishisation

This storyline is about Raquel's views on the Englishisation of higher education institutions and her embrace and reinforcement of the EMI gaze. In this excerpt, from the pre-interview, Raquel makes reference to the fact the UdL established a requirement for students in 2016 to obtain a Common European Framework Reference for Languages (CEFR) B2 level in English. The B2 requirement, however, was postponed in short period of time just when we were setting up our study (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018; University of Lleida, 2017). Raquel presents herself as a pro-Englishisation lecturer, even if she wishes the university to develop a clearer policy:

	Original	Translation to English
RAQ	les coses han canviat bastant de del moment que jo estudiava a la facultat no? / perquè ara jo trobo que està molt bé que als nanos se'l hi demani un mínim nivell d'anglès o d'una llengua estrangera	things have changed a lot from from when I was studying at the university no? / because now I think that it's very positive that students are required a minimum level of English or of any other foreign language
DER	ja	I see

<p>RAQ</p>	<p>abans d'acabar la una carrera / perquè sí que és veritat que formem professionals / amb el meu cas pos perquè formen veterinaris / i probablement aquest veterinari no es mourà de: de Centelles la resta de la seva vida / baixarà fins a Vic a comprar medicament / però això no vol dir que no hagi de tenir uns nivells de de d'altres llengües / que li serveixen per accedir informació fora d'aquí / i això està molt bé que se'l hi demani (.) / el que passa que (1) això és bastant desacompanyat / que no dic pas que sigui dolent / perquè si tu saps que has d'arribar aquí amb aquest B2 / doncs busca't la vida per arribar en aquest B2 / no tens perquè acompanyar a tothom de la ma d'acord? / i crec que donar les classes amb anglès ajuden a incentivar / a motivar / crec a que els nanos acabin de: traient-se aquest nivell / això és una de les coses / l'altra és que jo crec que és bo que tinguin l'anglès / i que facin alguna experiència d'estada a l'estranger (.) ja sigui professional o d'estudis / o / però crec que aporta moltíssim marxar / marxar fora / aleshores que és el? / que com veig m (.) un / t'ho diré d'una altra manera perquè m'hi vaig ficar jo? /perquè m'agrada / perquè em van dir que tenia la possibilitat de fer cosses en anglès (.) / m'agrada incentivar que els els nanos l'estudiïn / i la puguin fer servir / i puguin marxar fora que és molt important per ells / i per això m'hi vaig ficar / ho vaig fer perquè hi hagi un incentiu pel del: del: rectorat de docència? /no / jo no veig que hi hagi cap mena d'incentiu / de fet et penalitzen amb algunes coses / per part dels estudiants perquè si no encares m (.) / si no tens en compte que estàs fent</p>	<p>before finishing the degree / because it's true that we're preparing professionals / so in my case because we prepare veterinarians / and probably this veterinarian is not going to move from: of Centelles during his entire life / he'll go to Vic to buy medicines / but this doesn't mean that he doesn't need knowledge of of other languages / that will help him to access information not from here / and this requirement is very positive (.) / what happens is that (1) this is really detached / by which I don't mean it's bad / because if you know that you have to get here with this B2 / then find a way to get to this B2 / you don't have to hold everyone's hand right? / and I think that teaching in English helps to stimulate / to motivate / I think that students end up with: achieving this level / this is one of the things / the other is that I think it's good that they have English / and that they do a stay abroad (.) either for work or for study / or / but I think that going contributes / going abroad / so what is the? / how do I see m (.) a / I'll tell in another way why I got into this? / because I like it / because I was told that I had the chance to do things in English (.) / I like to motivate the the students to study it /and that they can use it / and that they can go abroad which is very important for them / and that's why I got into this / did I do it because of incentives offered by: by the dean of teaching? / no / I don't see any kind of incentive / in fact it penalises you in certain ways / from the student side because if you don't deal with (.) / if you don't take into account that you're using a foreign language / and</p>
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	servir un idioma estranger / i que per tant has de baixar una mica el nivell de les classes m canviar la programació i adaptar-ho (.) / a ells se'ls hi fa molt farragós / i acaben no matriculant-se si és una optativa / o avaluant-te fatal a les avaluacions	so you have to lower the level of classes m change the structuring and adapt it (.) / it will be difficult for them / and they end up not enrolling if it's an optional subject / or giving you a bad mark in the teacher evaluations
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Table 17 RAQ interview excerpt 1

Here we see how Raquel embraces the internationalisation and Englishisation discourses that permeate higher education institutions. For her, English is not only key for her professional identity as an academic, it is also important that students subsume to English, regardless of whether or not this language is present in their future professional careers. From Raquel's words, we can see that her professional identity is mediated by a powerful EMI narrative that, in a way, imposes certain duties and expectations on her as a higher education lecturer, hence conforming to cultural traditions and dominant social discourses. Her thoughts and actions are therefore conditioned and determined by the EMI gaze and the internationalisation and Englishisation discourses that accompany it. As Block (2017a: 34) states:

social structures in day-to-day life, are real and mighty shapers of what individual can and cannot do (or, indeed be). More broadly, the LTIs [language teacher identities] emerge from social milieux, which are part of larger social structures constituting society at large.

Nevertheless, it seems that what policy administrators and lecturers promote does not go conjointly with the majority of students' needs and future (imagined) professional identities, at least not those of the local students. It is clear from Raquel's words that being a professional does not only imply knowing the content of her field but also having competence in another language, usually English. However, local students do not seem to worry about knowing a foreign language and do not deem learning English as a key necessity for their professional future.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They prepare professionals • They do not have to accompany students in their language learning

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They like having the possibility to do things in English • They like to motivate students to study and use the language • They like to motivate students to go abroad • They do not do EMI because of an incentive • They need to lower the level of the lesson because they are teaching in a foreign language • They need to change the programme and adapt it
	Lecturer adherent to Englishisation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They think it is good for students to have EMI subjects • They think it is good for students to do a research stay, be it a professional or an academic stay
Types of subjects	EMI subject		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is detached (language learning) • It helps to motivate students to achieve the B2
Types of policies	HE policy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It requires students a minimum level of English or other language before graduating • It does not require lecturers to accompany students in their language learning process • It does not give lecturers an incentive • It even penalises lecturers because of the students' evaluation forms
Types of students	EMI student	Local student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They need a minimum competence in other languages • They need to access international information • They know they have to achieve a B2 • They have to find on their own a way to achieve a B2 • They find EMI difficult • They tend not to enrol in EMI if it is an optional subject

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They assess EMI lecturers negatively
Types of English learning settings	Research stay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It enriches you a lot • It is important for students

Table 18 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 1

As the pre-interview continues, she insists on the fact that study abroad experiences are key for students:

	Original	Translation to English
RAQ	de fet em em sorprèn / crec que aquest any ha canviat una mica / però (.) en general les meves carreres són gent gent que tenen poques ganes de marxar fora (.) / jo els insisteixo {aneu ma- / aneu fora / marxeu tot un estiu / aneu a ficar copes / no cal que sigui un escorxador}	actually it it surprises me / I think this year it's changed a little / but (.) in general in my degrees there are people who really don't feel like studying abroad (.) / I insist {go ma- / go abroad / go for an entire summer / go and serve drinks / it doesn't have to be a slaughterhouse}
DER	ja	I see
RAQ	{proveu-ho / que us anirà molt bé} / i tal / i sí (.) / me miren me miren però després fer el pas els hi costa molta	{try it out / it will be very good for you} / and so on / and yes (.) / they look at me but then they have a hard time making a move

Table 19 RAQ interview excerpt 2

Raquel considers that going abroad is positive, even if it is not an academic stay but to work in the hospitality industry as a beverage manager. We can see how much emphasis she places on sojourn experiences so that students can practice their English skills. Raquel self-positions as an advocate of internationalisation and Englishisation discourses that promote students' mobility, so she is not only in favour of the internationalisation of her faculty through the introduction of EMI subjects (as seen in *Table 17*), she also views study abroad as essential for a true international experience. Raquel is in favor of students learning English, suggesting ways that they might do this. Nevertheless, she will not be an active agent in such learning processes. She probably values study abroad over local formal environments because in her own experience as a student of English, the latter were not what got her to where she is now with English; it was stays abroad what Raquel reports as a real enriching learning experience for her.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of students	Local student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some do not feel like studying abroad
Types of lecturers	Lecturer adherent to Englishisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They insist on doing study abroad experiences

Table 20 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 2

When asked again about her opinion towards the implementation of EMI in the post-interview, Raquel continues to regard it as something positive for students:

	Original	Translation to English
DER	o: al menys deies que et semblava molt bé / segueixes / ha canviat alguna cosa aquesta experiència d'aquesta assignatura? / t'ha fet canviar d'opinió: respecte a aquesta practica? / o no ?	or: at least you said before that you regarded it as something really good / do you still / has teaching this subject changed anything? / has it made you change your opinion: towards this practice? / or not?
RAQ	... segueixo pensant que és molt bo (.) oferir coses en: en un altre idioma / i que per tant s'habituin a un llenguatge tècnic (.) / i: habituïn l'orella: / i es vegin capaços de: de moure's en un ENTORN que no sigui la seua pròpia llengua	... I still think it's very positive (.) to offer things in: in another language / and this way they get used to a technical language (.) / and: that they get used to hearing it: / and that they feel capable of: moving around in an ENVIRONMENT where their own language is not used

Table 21 RAQ interview excerpt 3

In this excerpt, Raquel is also positioning EMI not only as an internationalisation and Englishisation strategy but also as an opportunity for students to familiarise themselves with the language and improve their technical vocabulary and their listening skills. This exposure to the language through an EMI subject is viewed therefore as an opportunity to actually learn and improve the language. Here we can see how implicitly and unconsciously Raquel is referring to the CLILised nature of EMI. Nevertheless, she still persists in the idea that EMI can serve to encourage and motivate students to take up opportunities for international experience and she does not address the English language learning angle. She therefore sees EMI as a way of promoting local students' mobility abroad for their academic future careers as a way to motivate them to do an Erasmus or an international master degree.

MCD	Category	CBA/CBPs
Types of subject	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is good to offer things in another language
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They get used to the technical language They get used to hearing the English language They feel able to go to new settings where they cannot use their L1

Table 22 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 3

In the following pre-interview excerpt, we see how the interviewer brings to the storyline international students and the extent to which more often than not local students, with whom lecturers share their L1, are the ones who enrol in EMI subjects.

	Original	Translation to English
DER	però en general és gent d'aquí no? / et pots trobar / vull dir / que et pots trobar una situació que el profe es d'aquí i tots els estudiants són d'aquí	but in general it's people from here no? / you might find yourself/ I mean / you might find yourself a situation where the teacher is from here and all students are from here
RAQ	jo d'anglès dono dues optatives / una al grau de biotecnologia i un altra al grau de veterinària / i (.) en general tinc una vintena d'estudiants dels quals entre dos i sis són Erasmus depenent de l'any (.) / més o menys	I teach two optional subjects in English / one in the biotechnology degree and the other in the veterinary degree / and (.) in general I have around twenty students of which between two and six are Erasmus depending on the year (.) / more or less
DER	ja	I see
RAQ	i és enriquidor eh? / perquè com tens Erasmus / aleshores ja no és /ja no tens cap raó per canviar l'idioma	and it's enriching eh? / because as you have an Erasmus / then it's not / you don't have any reason to change the language anymore
DER	ja	I see
RAQ	jo tampoc ho faig però ja tampoc tenen la:	anyway I don't do that but they no longer have the:
DER	sí	yes
RAQ	i és enriquidor per ells també / tenir-los allà / el que passa que / també et diré que a al campus ETSEA hi ha poques assignatures en anglès	and it's enriching for them too / having them there / the thing is that / I'll also tell you that on on the ETSEA campus there are few subjects in English

Table 23 RAQ interview excerpt 4

Raquel does not directly address the interviewer’s initial remark, simply stating that she usually has some international students in her classes. Therefore, she ratifies that one of the objectives of EMI is accomplished as EMI subjects do attract students from abroad, at least in her classes (even if this number is just limited). Therefore, we found a two-fold objective for the implementation of EMI: first, it responds to an already existing diverse student body and, secondly, it further attracts international students. Raquel positions Erasmus students as an asset for EMI subjects as twice she says that it is “enriching” to have Erasmus students. According to Raquel, their presence has an influence on lectures’ performance: when there are international students, lecturers have no reason to resort to the L1 that they share with local students. The exclusive use of English seems to be crucial for Raquel in EMI. Therefore, Raquel is positioning herself in favour of the English-only policy within the classroom as she also justifies herself by saying “*anyway I don’t do it*”, referring to the shift to the L1 during EMI teaching, a practice that she does not plead to. According to Raquel, international students’ attendance to EMI subject does not only influence lecturers but it also has a positive impact on local students. However, she does not specify how Erasmus students’ presence in class is beneficial for students, as she does not talk of any example in particular. Nevertheless, we can assume that she is referring to local students’ increased number of opportunities to use the language and interact in English; ergo, an implicit language learning opportunity. Finally, Raquel finishes with a critique to the faculty. According to her, it does not provide a wide offer of EMI subjects, which are rather limited; hence suggesting that more EMI subjects are necessary to in turn attract more international students and at the same time have a better EMI offer. In fact, she is drawing on the Englishisation discourse: this excerpt again reinforces the EMI gaze and the assumption that the reason why EMI is being implemented at university level is to increase the number of students from abroad.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of students	Erasmus student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are enriching for local students • They assure the use of English

Table 24 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 4

6.2 Raquel as an L1 lecturer and as an EMI lecturer

In the next pre-interview excerpt, the interviewer prompts Raquel to think about her role as an L1 lecturer and to compare it with her practices as an EMI lecturer:

	Original	Translation to English
DER	i tu creus que aquesta gent / si: / clar és difícil comparar perquè no pots tornar a: a a fer-los passar per la mateixa assignatura en català o castellà / però creus que en algun casos estan perdent bastant a nivell de en / o sigui de de: / diguem-ne en matèria d'aprendre coses? / (.) e o acaben aprenent igual que haguessin après a una classe en català? / o: o:	and do you think these people / if: / of course it's difficult to compare because you can't go back to: to to get them to go through the same subject in Catalan or Spanish / but do you think in some cases they're losing quite a lot with regard to in / I mean of of: / let's say in terms of learning things? / (.) e or do they end up learning the same as if they had learnt it in a class done in Catalan? / or: or:
RAQ	si ho hagués fet en català (.) potser hagués fet una miqueta més de matèria	if I'd done it in Catalan (.) maybe I would've done a little bit more content
DER	hm	hm
RAQ	hagués ficat una mica més de contingut	I would've added a bit more of content
DER	mhm	mhm
RAQ	però: (.) redueixo els continguts i potser: e trio lo de la de la palla / saps?	but: (.) I cut down the content and maybe: e I separate the wheat from the chaff / you know?
DER	sí	yes
RAQ	i no (.) / a base de fer molts exercicis i fer moltes contribucions petites de cadascú: (.) / dinamitzo molt la classe / fins al nivell de que: sembla que estiguis a l'ESO (.) entens? / vull dir hi ha gent que els hi fico un sticker que hi fica very good (.) entens? / però els hi fa gràcia	and not (.) / from doing a lot of exercises and a lot of small contributions from everyone: (.) / I make the class more dynamic / to the point that: it seems that you are in secondary school (.) right? / I mean I out a <i>sticker</i> on some people that says <i>very good</i> (.) right? / but they think it's funny
DER	ja sí	I see yes
RAQ	i així sembla que han fet algo / i així et diuen dos paraules més en anglès (.) / i van participant / i sobretot si el grup és una miqueta gran (.) / l'any passat en tenia vint-i-vuit (.) / vam acabar fent: (.) molt molt bon ambient / saps?	and this way it seems like they've accomplished something / and this way they tell you two more words in English (.) / and they participate / and above all if the group is a bit bigger (.) / last year I had twenty-eight students (.) / we ended up creating: (.) a very very nice environment / you know?

Table 25 RAQ interview excerpt 5

Raquel admits in this excerpt that when she teaches in her L1, Catalan, there is more disciplinary content. Apparently, when doing EMI she only focuses on the essential knowledge that students really need and obviates extra material, as she puts it “*I separate the wheat from the chaff*”, instead if the subject would have been taught in the L1 then she “*would’ve added a bit more of content*”. Therefore, it seems that the language shift is at the expense of content. Although the perception that in EMI teaching there is fewer subject matter may be just a self-perception and not actually the reality, other studies address the same issue. In Vinke, Snippe and Jochems’s (1998: 383) study, they found that teaching content subject in English “reduced the redundancy of lecturers’ subject matter presentation”. Elsewhere Wilkinson (2005) studies the impact of EMI on instructional methods and one of the results points that emphasis was different when teaching in EMI because in lectures, lecturers tend to reduce the density of new subject matter. In addition Wilkinson (2013: 14) states that in EMI “[i]t is, as it were, as if the narrowness of depth that one might expect in an L1 programme has been replaced by a shallower breadth”. In addition, as Raquel reports, when she is teaching EMI her teaching practices also change and she is implicitly positioning herself as a secondary school teacher using stickers because it is fun for students and in this way she ensures that students at least learn two new words in English. In a way, she is downplaying the status of not only higher education subjects but also EMI subjects in particular since her approach in EMI seems to take a puerile perspective towards students. In fact, this comment also implies a ‘reduction’ of her students’ position: from a university status to a secondary or high school status. By equalling her teaching practices in EMI to those of secondary school, Raquel seems to be looking down on practices that are more interactive and rewarding for students – implying that these ways of proceeding are for younger learners. Actually, she states, “*this way it seems that they’ve done something*”, again insinuating that these practices are not really useful or effective. The fact that she associates her teaching practices in EMI to secondary school teaching practices might be related to the CLIL-course that she attended where she learned about the English language pedagogy world. It seems that for Raquel implementing ELT-practices lessens her status, which is higher when she acts solely as a disciplinary lecturer. Her status as university teacher professional might be affected by the practices learned during CLIL courses offered at the UdL. Although she implements what she learnt from this teacher development course, her comment “*it seems that you are in secondary school*” does not seem to reflect a positive view towards the CLIL-like activities and exercises suggested

in this course that can be implemented in EMI to create a more participatory teaching environment. In her discourse, there seems to appear an implied hierarchy where STEM lecturers are positioned at the top and university language teachers and their teaching practices occupy a lower position comparable to secondary school.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They cut down on content • They separate the wheat from the chaff • They bolster the lessons by making students do a lot of exercises and small contributions from everyone • They use stickers because it's fun for students
	L1 lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They add a bit more content
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It looks like secondary school

Table 26 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 5

In the post-interview, the interviewer also asks Raquel to reflect on her practices and to consider what practices make her a *good* EMI lecturer:

	Original	Translation to English
DER	i: tu / tu mateixa com a: com a: professora EMI (.) / XXX e: / la pregunta que posava que (.) quines que creus que són les les teves bones característiques no? / què (.) què és el que fa que tu ets una persona: no només adient per fer aquesta feina si no: (.) m: una persona que: (.) ho fa bé i tal	and: you / yourself as a: as an: EMI teacher (.) / XXX e: / the question that said what (.) according to you what are your good characteristics no? / what (.) what is it that makes you a person: not only appropriate to do this job but also: (.) m: a person who: does a good job and so on
RAQ	bueno jo crec que necessites varies coses / una (.) has de ser una persona dinàmica	well I think that you need several things / one (.) you have to be a dynamic person
DER	sí	yes
RAQ	perquè significa pel que / (.) aquesta assignatura (.) em: em comporta molts de canvis cada any / perquè cada any proves alguna cosa nova que no t'acaba de funciona:r / o veus com et pot funcionar millor l'any següent /	because it means that for / (.) this subject (.) / it means making a lot of changes every year / because every year you try something new that doesn't fully work: / or you see how it can work better for the following

	<p>per tant tot el que són els materials didàctics els vas (.) actualitzant o renovant o fent coses absolutament diferents cada any (.) / lo qual necessita ser una persona dinàmica / després jo crec que t'has de sentir còmode amb l'anglès / no és allò de dir {tinc un B1 i: i sé moure'm per una ciutat}/ si no que: (.) és igual el nivell que tinguis però t'has de sentir còmode (.) / hi ha gent que en poc o menys nivell del que tinc jo se sent còmode / i hi ha gent que té més nivell que jo i no se'n sent (.) / jo crec que això potser és lo més important</p>	<p>year / so whatever is teaching material you are (.) updating or renewing or doing absolutely different things every year (.) / so that's why you need to be dynamic / then I think you need to feel comfortable with your English / it's not about saying: {I have a B1 and: and I can move around the city}/ instead it doesn't: (.) matter the level that you have but you need to feel comfortable (.) / there're people who with little or less than my own level they feel comfortable / and there are people who have a higher level than I do and they don't feel (.) / I think it's this is maybe the most important thing</p>
(...)		
RAQ	<p>perquè: el el que: /el que he vist tch no es una cosa exclusiva del fet de fer una assignatura en anglès (.) / el que he vist és que (.) quan fas una assignatura en un idioma que no és el seu realment / necessites canviar de tasca molt més sovint / i realment has de donar la mateixa informació de qua- per quatre vies diferents (.) perquè els hi arribi amb més claredat</p>	<p>because: the what: / what I've seen tch it's not exclusive to a subject in English (.) / what I've seen is that (.) when you do a subject in a language that it's not really your / you need to change the tasks more often / and really you need to give the same information of qua- from four different angles (.) so that they get it more clearly</p>
GER	<p>als alumnes fas?</p>	<p>to students you do it?</p>
RAQ	<p>sí (.) en lo qual realment (.) he de diversificar molt més les activitats de les que faria en una classe en català o en castellà (1) / o sigui (.) també podria fer moltes més activitats en</p>	<p>yes (.) for this reason really (.) I have to diversify the activities much more than I normally do in Catalan or in Spanish (1) / I mean (.) I could also do many more activities in</p>
DER	<p>sí</p>	<p>yes</p>
RAQ	<p>en classes que faig a segon en català per exemple / però: és moltíssima més feina i no tinc la necessitat de fer-ho perquè sé que amb dues maneres de explicar-ho ja els hi arriba prou / i en canvi aquí veig que tinc l'obligació de fer-ho perquè si no no els hi arribaria</p>	<p>in second year classes that I do in Catalan for example / but: it's a lot more work and I don't have the need to do it because I know that with just two ways of explaining it they will have enough / and on the other hand here I see that I have the duty to do it</p>

	tota la informació que els hi vull passar	because if not they won't get all the information that I want to transmit to them
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Table 27 RAQ interview excerpt 6

First, she reflects on the good teaching practices of an EMI lecturer. According to Raquel, an EMI lecturer needs to be dynamic in the sense that lecturers need to adapt, update, renew and even change the teaching material. Further to this, she also mentions that a good EMI lecturer qualifies if he or she feels confident with her English. Therefore, Raquel does not place importance to a certain B2 or C1 level requirement for teachers. The confidence and reassurance that lecturers have on their own English competence is crucial for Raquel when it comes to EMI teaching. As the interview goes on, she again makes reference to this need of adapting and being dynamic when it comes to EMI. In fact, in this interaction we can see how Raquel presents two subject positions: herself as an EMI lecturer and herself when teaching through her L1. Her professional identity thus varies according to the language of instruction as she approaches the subject differently and adopts different teaching practices. This variance occurs because Raquel sees a change in her institutional role, which derives directly from the language of instruction. When she is teaching in English, one of her roles is to make sure that students receive and understand the content regardless of their difficulties with the language. When she teaches in Catalan, the language that she shares with students, she does not need to worry about this because students do not struggle as much. While being an EMI lecturer, she seems to have more responsibility for students' understanding; on the other hand, this duty or responsibility does not seem to be central when Raquel self-positions as an L1 lecturer. In her own self-positioning as an EMI lecturer, Raquel also self-assigns a teaching duty: she assumes that students will have problems processing the content and so she self-appropriates the responsibility to be more dynamic when engaged in EMI teaching. Therefore, Raquel seems to place a lot of emphasis to this good EMI teaching practice, namely to make sure that students understand the subject matter by making it accessible adopting different teaching approaches and explaining the same concept from different perspective to guarantee that a higher number of students grasp the disciplinary topic.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are dynamic • They try new things every year

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They update the teaching material every year • They need to feel comfortable with their English • They need to change the tasks more often • They have to give the same information from four different perspectives • They have to diversify more the activities
	L1 lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not have the necessity to diversify activities • They give the same information from two different perspectives
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It implies changes every year

Table 28 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 6

6.3 Raquel's refusal of the ELT position but positioning EMI as CLILised

In this post-interview excerpt, we see how the interviewer positions Raquel as an English teacher due to her classroom practices. When doing EMI, Raquel does not resort to the L1 when students have difficulties to understand concepts; instead, she breaks down the language and simplifies the sentence structure so that they can follow her more easily:

	Original	Translation to English
RAQ	... aquella persona no el pot captar llavors el que intento es trencar-ho en frases més curtes de dir bueno pues anem als conceptes poquet a poquet	... that person who doesn't get it then what I try to do it to break it down into smaller sentences and say well let's get into the concept step by step
DER	ja	I see
RAQ	no? {aquest XXX aquesta manera quan ho fas d'aquesta manera passa lo altre} i trencar-ho en trossets més petits i normalment ajuda (.) però passa	no? {this XXX this way when you do it this way /this other way happens this other thing} and break it down in much smaller pieces and it normally helps (.) but it happens
DER	i i ets conscient en general de utilitzar altres estratègies que et posarien en una situació que estàs actuant com a profe d'anglès e: efectivament (.) / perquè: simplifica:r el llenguatge en anglès és una cosa que podria fer un profe d'anglès per exemple / en lloc	and and you're aware of using different strategies that will put you in a situation of acting e: effectively as an English teacher (.) / because simplifying: the language in English is something that an English language teacher could do for example / instead

	de canvia:r (.) al català o al castellà / pues intentar	of changing: (.) to Catalan or to Spanish / so to try
RAQ	però jo ho faig d'una manera intuïtiva / a mi ningú m'ha ensenyat a: m'entens? / per això no em ficaria mai en aquell nivell	but I do it in a very intuitive manner / no one has taught me to: you know? / that's why I wouldn't put myself in this level
DER	però: entens el que vull dir? / que també es podria interpretar com: en aquell moment e: estàs actuant una mica com a profe d'anglès perquè no estàs abandonant l'anglès davant el dubte de l'alumne o davant del la falta d'enteniment no? / e: (.) en canvi e: / i i una altra cosa / tu ets conscient de fer servir alguna altra estratègia (.) e: en el / diguem / en el teu repertori total que tens com a profe que que et podria qualificar com a: / actuar d'aquesta manera una mica per clarificar qüestions de llengua / o: o se- sempre penses que estàs fent contingut	but do you understand what I want to say? / it could also be interpreted like: in that moment e: you're acting a bit as an English teacher because you aren't abandoning English in front of the student's doubt or in front of a lack of understanding no? / e: (.) instead e: / and and another thing / you're aware of using some other strategy (.) e: in the / let's say / in your total repertoire that you have as a teacher that that it could qualify you as a: / acting this way a bit to clarify questions of language / or: or se- do you always think that you are doing content
RAQ	no	no
DER	i dona la casualitat de donar en anglès?	and just by chance you're doing it in English?
RAQ	jo m: / em centro bastant en el contingut / em centro molt en el vocabulari però sobretot vo- vocabulari tècnic lògicament	I m: / I focus a lot on the content / I focus a lot on the vocabulary but above all vo- technical vocabulary logically

Table 29 RAQ interview excerpt 7

Raquel is explaining a teaching strategy of her teaching repertoire that involves breaking down the information into smaller and more comprehensible units of meanings so that the concept can be more easily understood by students. Because of this, the interviewer positions Raquel as an English teacher because she is actually implementing a practice typically associated with language teachers, as they tend to paraphrase instead of translate when students have difficulties understanding. Nevertheless, Raquel refuses this positioning as she states that it is something that she does instinctively but she does not really have the requisite knowledge to adopt this language teacher position. Actually, she states that she would not dare to assume this English language teacher position by saying “*I wouldn't put myself in this level*”. Here we can see how Raquel associates the category

of language teacher with having training in language pedagogy and without this specific training, language-teacher bound activities as such cannot be adopted. However, the interviewer insists on the fact that these practices could be interpreted as language teacher practices because she sticks to English and she is in fact aware that she is using a teaching strategy that makes the content more accessible to learners by simplifying the language and breaking it down into more comprehensible units of meanings. Although Raquel is other-assigned this language teacher identity, she continues to claim her content lecturer identity since she emphasises that her focus is content and technical vocabulary. With this statement, Raquel self-inhabits a content lecturer identity and despite the interviewer's efforts, she denies the assumption of an English-language teacher role in her EMI classroom, as there is no actual forethought or planning of her (by chance) ELT practices. As she reports, she has not received training in language teaching, hence her denial of the ELT identity.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They break down the sentences into smaller ones • They get into the concepts step by step • They do it (language teaching) intuitively • They do not have the training (in language pedagogy) • They focus on content • They focus mainly on technical vocabulary
	Language teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They simplify the language in English instead of changing to Spanish or Catalan • They stick to English

Table 30 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 7

A clearer refusal of the ELT practices and so the DLF position is seen in the following excerpt from the post-interview. The interviewer refers to different class episodes where Raquel has acted as a language teacher. In this instance, Raquel has either shown a slide with typical phrases to express opinions or she has explained differences between the meanings of verbs (“put” versus “load” and “take off” versus “remove”). For the interviewers, these practices are clearly CLIL-like since she is addressing linguistic features within the EMI class:

	Original	Translation to English
RAQ	sí / <i>they do don't remove the XXX take off</i> <sound of a plane taking off> / se'n va l'avió m'entens?	yes / <i>they do don't remove the XXX take off</i> <sound of a plane taking off> / the plane takes off do you understand?
GER	ah vale	ah okay
DER	però:	but:
RAQ	sí / que els hi dic [sí perquè clar però]	yes / because I tell them [because of course but]
DER	[entre ells perquè clar XXX]	[between them because of course XXX]
RAQ	perquè entenc que són coses molt puntuals de vocabulari i és una cosa certament tècnica (.) / ningú diu {put the samples in the gel} / tothom els load / aleshores jo crec que han d'entendre aque- aquesta paraula / però en canvi no no (.) / em costa molt però per perquè ho trobo absolutament condescendent e:m ensenyar-los-hi (1) a redactar o a ensenyar-los-hi coses molt bàsiques de: condicionals o de:	because I understand that there are very exceptional vocabulary and it's something certainly technic (.) / no one says { <i>put the samples in the gel</i> } everyone <i>loads</i> them / then I think that they have to understand this this word / but instead no no (.) / I have a hard time for because I find it absolutely condescending e:m to teach them this (1) to write or to teach them very basic things of: conditionals or of:
GER	sí [claro però]	yes [of course but]
RAQ	[XXX] un comentari	[XXX] a comment
GER	sí	yes
RAQ	XXX ja t'ho buscaràs tu si t'interessa	XXX they'll find it if they are interested
GER	però	but
RAQ	però és que crec que no és el meu lloc	but I don't think this is my place

Table 31 RAQ interview excerpt 8

As this extract shows, Raquel sticks to her refusal of the DLF position and hence the CLILised version of EMI that the interviewers attempt to impose. Raquel is of the view that such comments, teaching students that the correct verbs are *remove* and *load* instead of *take off* and *put* respectively, are specifically about disciplinary vocabulary. Therefore, more than acting as a language teacher she is transporting her identity as a researcher, who writes and presents academic papers in English at conferences, where such vocabulary is necessary, to the classroom setting. When Raquel says “*no one says*”, she is actually referring to her academic CoP to which she belongs to as a researcher, and so she views it as a necessity that students employ the correct disciplinary vocabulary – the

one used by the researchers in her CoP. In this teaching setting, she aims to put her students in touch with the correct vocabulary that they will need when they become professional veterinaries that need to socialise in their disciplinary field. Raquel points out that addressing the correct jargon used in her discipline is not a language teacher thing; rather, it is her duty as a researcher to teach students this vocabulary if they want to become researchers in this field in the future. According to Raquel, she is socialising students into her community of practice by showing them the correct vocabulary that they need to employ in international settings. Although she does comment on this specific technical vocabulary of the discipline, she also refers to conditionals and writing. On the one side, for Raquel to touch upon this linguistic matter in an EMI class would be *condescending* because it is a very basic grammatical topic according to her. On the other side, even the task of teaching students how to write in their discipline, following the conventions of the literacy genre of the specific discipline, is not her responsibility; or as she puts it, “*I don’t think this is my place*”. Raquel considers that language matters are students’ responsibility and if they are interested, they can learn independently. Nevertheless, if it is her duty as a researcher to teach student the correct vocabulary, then it should also be her duty to teach them or socialise them into the writing conventions of her discipline if students are to become future researchers too.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They need to understand the language used in the discipline • They have to find out about languages themselves if they are interested.
Types of teachers	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They find it condescending to teach students how to write or basic stuff as conditionals

Table 32 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 8

As the post-interview continues, Raquel describes her vision of the EMI subject as a closed space where students are exposed to English:

	Original	Translation to English
RAQ	el que intento és que quan entren / allò sigui: m un espai tancat on nosaltres parlem en anglès sobre un tema que és	what I try to do is that when they enter / that becomes: m a closed space where we speak in English about a topic

	<p>la biotecnologia / i que això els hi serveixi per FOMENTAR el que ja tenen ells / que jo crec que tenen més del que pensen del que creuen d'entrada (.) / és una mica com l'excusa (.) la biotecnologia per per per (.) consolidar el que ja tenen d'anglès però no pretenc que aprengui:n molt més anglès a part del vocabulari / tch sí que aprenen per per orella eh? perquè com que tu vas fent servir la mateixa estructura reiteradament jo sé que això /perquè jo he après així te- t'acaba quedant</p>	<p>which is biotechnology / and so this helps to PROMOTE what they already have / which I think they have more than what they think they have from the beginning (.) / it's a bit as an excuse (.) biotechnology for for for (.) consolidating what they already have in English but I don't expect that they learn: much more about English apart from the vocabulary / tch yes they learn by listening eh? because as you keep using the same structure repeatedly I know that this / because I myself I've learn this way you you end up learning it</p>
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Table 33 RAQ interview excerpt 9

Raquel talks about the EMI subject as a closed space where students can communicate the knowledge they learn in English. According to Raquel, EMI subjects give learners the opportunity to stimulate their English proficiency and the skills they already have and hence these subjects consolidate their English level. Nevertheless, Raquel does not view EMI as a chance to learn much more English, apart from vocabulary and listening skills. Raquel's belief that being exposed to the language will be sufficient for students to strengthen their level draws on a theory of language learning that reinforces monolingualism and homogeneity as efficient and successful practices for language learning (Krashen, 1981; Krashen & Terrell, 1982). The combination of exposure to input in English, sticking to the L2 and avoiding multilingual practices are seen by Raquel as two elements of the EMI classroom that ensure implicit language learning. In fact, Raquel adopts a student position when she says "*I've learnt like this*" and uses her experience as a student to preserve her point of view. Raquel is taking into account her experience as a learner to develop her teaching practices. In the interview, we learnt that Raquel was a very active student who had several mobility experiences and also she used to take notes in English even when classes were taught in Catalan. For Raquel, exposure to input in English is the key element for learning a language. In this sense, she is unconsciously drawing on Krashen's (1981) theories of second language acquisition and his 'natural approach' (Krashen & Terrell, 1982), which proposes that there is no need for an explicit focus on grammar or vocabulary as the provision and exposure to comprehensible input is sufficient for acquiring the language spontaneously and unconsciously. Although she

is not aware of such theories of language learning, this is evidence of how identities are not constructed from scratch, but they are influenced by culturally and socially embedded discourses to which individuals are exposed. Raquel aligns herself with the general common-sense views that determines that exposure to language input is sufficient to acquire the language. Although there were SLA theories that backed up this notion, further SLA research has shown that other than input, learners also need to produce output, for instance. Raquel seems to be acting in accordance to the “old” theories of SLA unconsciously, the comprehensible input gaze has an effect on her and she is implementing it – even if latently - in her teaching practices.

MCD	Category	CBA/CBP
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is a close space to speak about the discipline in English • It serves to consolidate students’ English level • It uses the discipline as an excuse to strengthen students’ English
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not intend that students learn much more English apart from vocabulary and listening skills • They use the same structures repeatedly
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have a higher English level than what they think

Table 34 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 9

Towards the end of the post-interview, one of the interviewers asks Raquel about her corrections in students’ assessment. The interviewer invites her to reflect on the extent to which her comments have an impact on students’ learning:

	Original	Translation to English
GER	tu creus que això cala per a: / tch per a que e: les properes vegades que fan anar aquest tipus de construccions les facin correctament?	do you think this leaves a mark for a: / tch for a that e: on future occasions that they use this kind of structures they use them correctly?
RAQ	jo crec que n- (.) això només funciona en gent que ja té un cert nivell /quan són tantes (.) tants errors un a darrera l’altre no fa falta senyalar res / però quan són pocs crec que està bé / perquè: (.) tu els hi retornes m: una practica	I think that n- (.) this only works with people who already have a certain level / when there are so many (.) so many errors one after the other it’s not necessary to mark anything / but when there are few errors I think it’s

	<p>corregida el que sigui on poden veure la seva nota poden veure on s'han equivocat i en lloc d'haver-hi un tres hi havia d'haver-hi un dos / però si hi ha tres errors gramaticals així grans / tres hi els assenyaies / això els hi quedarà / si senyales tots el errors que hi ha no els hi quedarà / llavors prefereixo aquestes que són grosses assenyalar allò es a dir {al menys que et quedi això} / i tot lo petit deixar-ho córrer perquè tampoc no tch s'atabalaran i: es perdran en el que és important / o sigui que s'hagin deixa't la essa de: de la tercera persona: del singular d'un verb doncs m'és ben igual no? / però prefereixo que em fiqui al menys la (.) la preposició és? la preposició que toca quan toca</p>	<p>okay / because: (.) you give it back to them m: a marked report or whatever where they can see their grade they can see where they did wrong and instead of a three it should've been a two / but if there are three grammatical errors like big ones / you mark three / this they will get it / if you mark all the errors they won't get them / so I prefer to mark those big errors like saying {at least learn this} / and forget about all the small things because no no tch it will overwhelm them and: they will get lost in what it's really important / so if they forgot the s of the third person: singular of a verb so I don't really care no? / but I prefer that they at least put (.) / is it the preposition? / the preposition when necessary</p>
GER	<p>vale vale i tu els permets apuntar-se els e:ls alumnes els errors que tu els has corregit?</p>	<p>okay okay and do you allow you're your: students to write down the errors that you correct?</p>
RAQ	<p>no m'ho han demanat mai / no sé si ho fan / no m'he fixat</p>	<p>they have never asked me / I don't know if they do it / I haven't paid attention</p>
GER	<p>estaria estaria bé podeu fer no?</p>	<p>it'd be it'd be good to do it no?</p>
RAQ	<p>ah pos mira no és mala idea (.) / però ja et dic que prefereixo fer-ne tres i que els hi quedi que no: emplenar-se tota la pagina de vermell perquè és que no:</p>	<p>ah well yes it's not a bad idea (.) / but I'm telling you I prefer to correct three and so they get it than not: to fill in red the page because it's not like:</p>
GER	<p>ja</p>	<p>I see</p>
RAQ	<p>o si fan alguna frase d'aquesta especialment dèbil sí perquè tot lo demás no es pot llegir</p>	<p>I mean if they write a specially weak sentence yes because everything else you can read it</p>
<p>(...)</p>		
RAQ	<p>però crec que les de contingut les si són greus les he de ficar totes / però les de forma les d'anglès només allò que els hi pugui servir per alguna cosa (.) perquè és que crec que si no els atabales massa (1) de totes maneres no és mala idea pregunta'ls-hi eh? {que voleu que</p>	<p>but I think that the the content ones if they are big I have to mark them all / but the ones about form about English only those that can be really useful (.) because I think that if not you overwhelm them (1) anyway it's not a bad idea to ask them eh? {what do</p>

	faci? us ho senyalo tot o només us senyalo les tres coses?}	you want me to do? Should I mark everything or just the three things?}
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Table 35 RAQ interview excerpt 10

Although Raquel does not clearly take on a CLILised EMI lecturer position, the description of her practices are resonant with this category. While her primary concern is that students understand and learn the disciplinary knowledge, there is a secondary objective in her teaching as well. This objective is oriented towards students' language development; Raquel would like her students actually to use the language correctly and to speak knowledgeably and authoritatively. Subtly, she is therefore CLILising her EMI teaching practices; she is aware of language pedagogy and as she describes, her approach towards error correction is not one that involves pointing out every single mistake that students make. Instead, she takes into consideration both content and language errors, placing a greater emphasis on content while selecting among the language errors the ones that need to be addressed (e.g. use of prepositions, sentence structure over third person singular). Although she had previously denied the position of language teacher and any knowledge to act in such a manner, Raquel's speech acts are conveying the idea that she has the identity of a DLF. This can be gleaned from how her correction procedures resemble those typical in English language teaching. Raquel is accepting and acknowledging a practice typically associated with language teacher and at the same time, she is also resisting and contesting a CLILised version of EMI. This struggle shows that her content lecturer identity is not in harmony with an implicit emerging language teacher identity. The new EMI lecturer role poses a challenge to lecturers who are required to rethink their professional identity and change their behaviour. As Pennington and Richards (2016: 7) point out, "[s]uch times of identity stress or crisis are times when identity is open to change through self-reflection and examination". In fact, conversations with researchers lead Raquel to rethink her practices as seen at the end of the excerpt when she says that it could be good to ask students themselves what error correction method they would prefer. Therefore, EMI lecturers' contact with researchers, language experts, has led to an open self-reflection of their professional identities, with more or less changes.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of corrections	Language corrections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are only successful if students already have a certain level

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have to be marked when there are only a few language errors • They have different degrees of importance: prepositions are more important than the third person singular –s • They have to be marked if they are useful for them
	Content corrections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They all have to be marked if there are big content errors
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They get the correction when there are only three big grammatical errors marked • They don't get the corrections if you mark everything • They get overwhelmed and lost if all the errors are marked
Types of teachers	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They prefer to mark three big errors so students get them • They let the small errors slide • They don't care if students forget to add the third person singular –s • they prefer that students choose the right preposition • They have to mark all the content corrections

Table 36 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 10

Towards the end of the post-interview, Raquel talks about her position as a research participant in ASSEMID and how this experience has changed her behaviour and, as a result, her EMI practices:

	Original	Translation to English
RAQ	de fet em tch n'he tret moltes coses de parlar amb vosaltres / una vegada em sembla que era amb tu Derek que vam parlar de: (.) dels: els reports que els hi deixo que els hi vull que escriguin / i dic {és que no escriuen bons reports} i dius {però els hi has ensenyat mai? com és un mal report?} {no} / bueno	in fact em tch I've learnt a lot from talking to you / once I think it was you Derek that we talked about: (.) about: the reports that I give them that I want them to write / and I say {they don't write good reports} and you say {but have you ever taught them how? what is a bad report?} {no} / well so then I will also incorporate this next year

	pues això també ho incorporarem aquest any	
(...)		
RAQ	bueno he vist moltes coses / molts punts de millora / vull dir / preguntes a vegades vostres bastant naïve (.) per mi no ho eren tant	well I've seen a lot of things / a lot of things to improve / I mean / some of your questions that for you were quite naïve (.) for me they weren't so naïve
DER	@@@@	@@@@
RAQ	d'acord? / coses que donàveu per sentades o que són més habituals a les vostres disciplines per mi no ho són i no tinc tant de contacte amb amb tota la part de: de didàctica de docència etcètera / i això m'ha ajudat molt a mi com a: com a professora sobretot / després a veure també una cosa que parlàvem amb tu de:1 quins són els objectius de l'assignatura i com l'avaluo / veure que hi ha coses que: són una competència que jo dic que han de tenir però no la estic avaluant en cap moment / sí hi ha moltes coses que he vist amb l'assignatura que: que podria fer	right? / things that you took for granted or that are more common in your disciplines for me they weren't and I'm not as much in contact with with all the part about: about teaching about instruction etcetera / and this has helped me a lot as a: as a teacher above all / also let's see one thing that we talked about which: are the objectives for the course and how I assess it / realising that there are things that: are competencies that I say they have to have but I don't' evaluate ever / yes there are a lot of things that I've seen with the subject that: that I could do
GER	mhm	mhm
RAQ	que passa que clar m: també faig molta recerca i: canviar-ho tot és complicat eh?	which means that of course m: I also do a lot of research and: changing everything is complicated eh?

Table 37 RAQ interview excerpt 11

Thanks to the interactions with the researchers, Raquel has been made aware of practices typically used in the language pedagogy. We see how Raquel positions the researchers as belonging to another discipline and, in doing so, she positions herself *outside* this category. She does not self-inhabit a language teacher identity as she other-positions the interviewers and she does not align with them. Nevertheless, thanks to this contact with language experts, not only does she become conscious of some language teaching strategies, but she is also willing to implement them in her future teaching. For example, she mentions that in the past she simply expected students to be able to write good reports, but she did not give them any guidelines on how to actually write them. The researchers show her that there is room for improvement, in this case, how to develop students' academic writing skills. This means moving beyond taking for granted that students know

how to write academically and towards showing them how to approach the process of writing an academic paper, addressing matters such as the structure that needs to be followed and the language that needs to be used. Therefore, her position as a research participant has meant a change in her self-positioning as an EMI lecturer and the incorporation of a least some ELT pedagogy, hence an emerging DLF role. Participation in research has therefore been a learning experience as lecturers are involved in the process of understanding and discovering what it actually means for them to be EMI lecturers by means of reflecting on their teaching practices. The positioning of research participant has reinforced the EMI lecturer category, which has, to some extent evolved into the CLILised EMI lecturer position. Nevertheless, the language teacher identity still seems to be downplayed and is, in fact, challenged.

MCD	Category	CBA/CBPs
Types of teachers	Lecturer and researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do a lot of research so changing everything (in their teaching) is complicated.
	Lecturer and research participant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They know now that there's room for improvement
	Language teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They take for granted certain things that EMI lecturers do not know
	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not have contact with the pedagogic part

Table 38 MCA RAQ interview excerpt 11

6.4 Raquel's summary

In this chapter, I have examined Raquel's pre-interview and post-interview excerpts. We have seen how she is in favour of Englishisation and its consequences, for example, the attraction of more Erasmus students that internationalise her classes, thus positioning international students as a resource for EMI subjects. Raquel also compared her practices when she teaches in her L1 and when she teaches in English. Finally, we have seen that when she is ascribed a DLF role by the interviewers she refuses to inhabit such position. Nevertheless, Raquel CLILises EMI as she equalises exposure to a language with its acquisition. Finally, we have seen how interviewers insist on the CLILised EMI lecturer position, and although Raquel does not clearly assume this identity, she does comment that being a research participant in the project has made her more aware of language

pedagogy notions and practices. Raquel presents a firm self-inhabited identity of a lecturer adherent to internationalisation and Englishisation processes (*Table 17* and *Table 18* as well as *Table 19* and *Table 20*). She actually places a lot of emphasis on both EMI subjects (*Table 21* and *Table 22*) and study abroad experiences (*Table 19* and *Table 20*) as they provide students the chance to be exposed to the English language and so improve their competence and skills. Nevertheless, Raquel also takes up the EMI lecturer category over the CLILised EMI lecturer one as she argues that students are the ones who have to take responsibility for their own language learning and not lecturers (see *Table 17* and *Table 18*). However, at the same time, she implicitly regards EMI subjects as a chance for students to learn the technical language of the discipline and even improve their listening skills (*Table 21* and *Table 22*). From this, we can argue that Raquel self-inhabits an EMI identity and denies the CLILised EMI lecturer identity as she finds it “condescending” to teach certain linguistic aspects (*Table 31* and *Table 32*). Nevertheless, she then marks both content errors and certain language errors in students’ assignments (*Table 35* and *Table 36*). Her self-inhabited EMI lecturer identity is hence ascribed activities that ensure that the content will be accessible and she actually views EMI teaching as distinct from L1 teaching (*Table 27* and *Table 28*) At the same time, Raquel seems to other-ascribe the EMI subject characteristics and attributes of a CLIL-like course (*Table 33* and *Table 34*). Although Raquel resists openly accepting and inhabiting a DLF role, she seems to CLILise the EMI subject.

Chapter 7. Jaime's case

Our last informant, Jaime reflects on his identity comparing his teaching practices in the L1 and in English during his interviews (pre-interview on 29th January 2018 and post-interview on 29th June 2018). Although in favour of the EMI gaze and the internationalisation and Englishisation discourses, Jaime refutes the ELT gaze and so to inhabit a DLF position when doing EMI as he considers that students are the ones responsible for language learning. These are the three themes that are developed in Jaime's pre-interview and post-interview:

Theme 1 Jaime as an L1 lecturer and as an EMI lecturer

Theme 2 Jaime as a lecturer in favour of Englishisation

Theme 3 Jaime's refusal of the ELT position and ascribing students the duty to CLILise EMI

7.1 Jaime as an L1 lecturer and as an EMI lecturer

In the following pre-interview excerpt, the interviewer asks Jaime to reflect on how his positioning as an EMI lecturer and L1 lecturer affect his practices:

	Original	Translation to English
GER	vale vale si tú comparas te comparas como profe no? / cuando das clases en: ca- en tu L1 en castellano catalán o en inglés / qué diferencias hay?/ cuando la preparas durante qué:?	okay okay if you compare if you compare yourself as a teacher no? / when you teach in: Spa- in your L1 in Spanish Catalan or in English what are the differences? / when you prepare during what?
JAI	pues que: puedes hacer mucho más contenido en menos tiempo	well so: you can do much more content in less time
GER	en en español?	in in Spanish?
JAI	en español o en catalán	in Spanish or in Catalan
GER	catalán	Catalan
JAI	tú puedes avanzas mucho más rápido (.) que cuando: en inglés	you can proceed much faster (.) than when: in English
GER	por qué?	why?
JAI	porque no sé / la clase es más lenta / el desarrollo de la clase es más lento porque (.) porque clarifi- / no sé si es	because I don't know / the class is slower/ the development of the class is slower because (.) because clarif- /

	<p>porque hay que clarificar más términos / o porque: intentas que queden claras cosas / más cosas / y pasas menos cosas: o das menos cosas por sabidas / y: (1) tienes yo creo hay que seleccionar mucho más mensajes clave (.) / y menos: / y no puedes hacer una clase tan (.) tan: con tanta prosa o tan / tienes que hacerlo de otra forma o sea / yo he visto que / ahora tenía que ir seleccionando el: las cosas del material que había en castellano / pues seleccionando cosillas formu- / había muchas más fórmulas que no estaban puestas pero pues qué es lo más importante (.) y: y quedarte con eso</p>	<p>I don't know if it's because you have to clarify more terms / or because: you try to make things clear / more things are clear /and you take fewer things for granted and you take less things for granted / and: (1) you have I think you have to select much more the key message (.) / and less: / and you cannot do the class so (.) so: with so much prose or so / you have to do it in a different way I mean / I've seen that /now I had to select the: the things the material in Spanish / so selecting little things formu- / there were a lot of formulas that weren't there but you have to stick to the most important (.) and: and: stick to that</p>
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Table 39 JAI interview excerpt 2

EMI lecturers face the challenge of shifting the language of instruction when teaching subject content, and this, in turn, may require them to develop new expertise in the specific area of language pedagogy. “Identity shapes pedagogical practice” (Canagarajah, 2017: 70) and this is seen in Jaime’s narrative as depending on his positioning, EMI or L1 lecturer, his practices vary due to the language of instruction. His identity as EMI lecturer is still under construction and so he still needs to develop new essential competencies that he otherwise possesses in his L1. From the activities associated with the EMI lecturer category, we can infer that the positioning as EMI lecturer implies more effort towards ensuring that the content is actually comprehended. This is achieved by making use of clarifications, simplifying explanations, as he puts it “*less prose*” and selecting only the important formulas and concepts. This is similar to what Raquel also said in one of her interview excerpt (*RAQ interview excerpt 5*). Even though there is less prose and content is reduced in EMI subjects, Jaime claims that he can teach more content in less time and move forward from one topic to another faster when teaching in his L1. Jaime seems to present a fully capable and functional position as a veterinary professor when teaching in Spanish or Catalan. On the other hand, his EMI lecturer identity seems to present some uncertainties due to his self-perception as being less competent when teaching in another language. His identity as a STEM L1 lecturer is constructed and strengthened through the activities that he assigns to this category, the EMI positioning is

nevertheless questioned due to the difficulties that he encounters when acting as such because of his self-reported limited language pedagogy skills. For him, the lack of these skills does not grant him enough authenticity and authority to inhabit the EMI lecturer position.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have to clarify concepts • They make sure that concepts are clearly understood • They do not take it for granted that students know the concepts • They have to choose the key message • They cannot teach the class with so much prose • They have to select the important formulas and stick with them
	L1 lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They can teach more content in less time • They advance faster
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is slower

Table 40 MCA JAI interview excerpt 2

In the following storyline found in the pre-interview, one of the interviewers invites Jaime to compare and contrast the two positionings that emerge due to the shift in language of instruction. Jaime is asked to reflect on how language affects his identity and his practices and to what extent the language change creates a new version of himself:

	Original	Translation to English
DER	e iba a preguntar una cosa porque como has dicho (2) em bueno el ha has hecho referencia antes a lo que es explicar en castellano y explicar en inglés / y: alguna vez te has plantado / bueno tú como te si si comparas {yo soy Jaime / profesor de esos temas que estoy dando / soy biólogo de estudios / y luego especialista y tal y tal y tal / y me veo en castellano así de esta manera y en inglés me veo de esta manera} com-	e I was going to ask one thing because you've said (2) em well the you have have made reference before to what it is to explain in Spanish and explain in English / and: have you ever thought about / well you you as if if you compared {I am Jaime / teacher of those topics that I'm teaching wer're doing / I am a biologist with studies / and then expert and so on and so on and so on / and I see myself in Spanish

	cómo: sería esta comparación? hay dos Jaimes aquí:	this way and in English I see myself this other way} / wha- what: would this comparison look like? / there are two Jaimes here:
JAI	sí te tienes que disfrazar un poco no? / hombre / yo intento intentas ser el mismo no?/ intentas ser el mismo de las dos: maneras pero: (.) claro (.) en en en inglés estás (.) estás utilizando unos términos que no has tocado en la vida real por ejemplo / vamos a ir a una granja el martes ... entonces allí la lengua que vamos a utilizar es el catalán castellano / ... ellos ahora ellos van a tener que hacer un doble ejercicio porque con los técnicos y ganaderos que vamos a encontrar / ellos se nos van a dirigir a nosotros en catalán y castellano / nos van a explicar pues lo que están haciendo ellos allí en catalán y castellano / yo les traduciré a los coreanos y a: las erasmus tal / pero ellos ahí sí que se van a sentir muy bien porque es su lengua materna y: y no hay esa ese disfraz	yes you have to disguise yourself a bit no? / well /I try you try to be the same no? / you try to be the same in two: ways but: (.) of course (.) in in in English you are (.) you are using certain terms that you've never used in your real life for example / we're going to go to a farm on Tuesday ... then there the language that we'll use is Catalan Spanish ... they now they'll have to do a double exercise because with the technicians and the farmers we'll find there / they'll talk to us in Catalan and Spanish / they'll explain what they're doing there in Catalan and Spanish / I will translate to the Koreans and to: the Erasmus / but there yes they'll feel very comfortable because it's their mother tongue and: and there is no disguise

Table 41 JAI interview excerpt 3

We see how Jaime has a core identity, his L1 lecturer identity, and his EMI lecturer identity seems to be peripheral. His EMI lecturer identity is something akin to a disguise, as judging from his words, Jaime is not actually *being himself* when he teaches in English. This parallel or dual identity that arises due to the shift in language of instruction acts as a mask because he is not accustomed to using English terminology in his everyday life. Therefore, Jaime does not position EMI as something core in his identity but rather peripheral in that he is still getting used to this teaching modality. Similar to Isabel (*ISA interview excerpt 4*), here we find again the idea of EMI as a theatre because both lecturer and local students are forced to change the language of teaching and learning creating a theatrical situation because they cannot use the language that they probably feel more comfortable with, their L1. Hence, he is still undergoing a process of identity negotiation or identity construction in relation to EMI.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have to disguise a little • They are using terminology that they have never used in real life
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They feel better in their mother tongue
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is a disguise

Table 42 MCA JAI interview excerpt 3

7.2 Jaime positioning as a pro-Englishisation lecturer

In the following pre-interview excerpt, Jaime reflects on the reason why EMI subjects are necessary and beneficial for students:

	Original	Translation to English
JAI	<p>... el poder llegar a una información global que yo lo la parte más chula es luego puedes irte a internet y buscar información sobre algo y que no sólo te salga la información Iberoamérica cuando España tiene / o sea cuando: a nivel de España hay poca cosa pero tú buscas en español te salen un montón de cosas pero aún puedes encontrar muchas más / te pierdes mucho de: si solo o sea si tú luego puedes introducir esos términos en Google en inglés y te da todo lo demás pues solo con / para eso ya tiene mucho valor / ... entonces ellos el día que necesiten algo de: de otra cosa y sepan buscar ... y saben todas esas palabras en inglés y /... mi objetivo es que puedan entender la información de que se genera a nivel internacional sobre ese tema / entonces desde el punto de vista es muy válido</p>	<p>... the fact that you can get global information that for me the most cool thing is that then you can go to internet and search for information about something and not only do you get the information from Ibero-America when Spain has / I mean when: there isn't much at the Spanish level but if you search in Spanish you get a lot of things but you can even find much many more / you miss a lot of : if you only I mean if you then can introduce that term in google in English and you get everything else only with just / for this it is very valuable / ... then when they need something about: about something else and they know how to search ... and they know all the words in English and ... / my objective is for them to be able to understand the information that is generated at an international level about about that</p>

		topic / so from that point of view it's quite valid
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Table 43 JAI interview excerpt 4

Here the lecturer is making reference to the EMI gaze. We can see how Jaime embraces, accepts and reinforces the EMI gaze, that is to say, the internationalisation and Englishisation of the university through the offering of EMI subjects. He is thus supportive of the internationalisation of higher education, and he positions himself as a lecturer who is willing to take on and invest in the international policy of the university to benefit students' professional future. This storyline unfolds Jaime's point of view about the Englishisation of the university, and his positive view towards the implementation of the EMI gaze suggests that he is a pro-internationalisation and pro-Englishisation lecturer. Jaime deems necessary that students have the technical vocabulary of their discipline in English so that they have access to a wider range of information. His identity is mediated by institutional narratives, which state that English is key to access knowledge and to succeed professionally. His identity is therefore subjected to the EMI gaze.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of subjects	EMI subjects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It allows students to access global information • It is valid
Types of information	Information in English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has a lot of value • It is generated at an international level
Types of students	EMI students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They will know words in English
Types of teachers	EMI lecturers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They aim that students understand the information produced at international level

Table 44 MCA JAI interview excerpt 4

7.3 Jaime's refusal of the ELT position and ascribing students the duty to CLILised EMI

In the next storyline from the post-interview, the interviewer requests Jaime to reflect about what extent he thinks EMI is useful for students in terms of language learning:

	Original	Translation to English
GER	claro hacer este seguimiento más (.) / bueno en definitiva lo que hacemos los	of course doing this monitoring more (.) / well in short what we the English

	de inglés / el el darles darles más em: hacerles que escriban que produzcan no? / nosotros entonces les damos feedback {ojo aquí: ojo allá} / y m: se supone que eso les sirve pues para ser conscientes de sus problemas y e: y e: y con el tiempo aprenderlas	specialists do / giving giving more em: get them to write to produce no? / we then give them <i>feedback</i> {careful here: careful there} / and m: in theory this helps them well to make them aware of their problems and e: and e: and with time learn them
JAI	lo que pasa claro yo eso me daba cosa porque (2) tú me puedes decir a mí {quien eres tú (.) para decirle que: que esto se pone de esta forma o de esta otra} / o sea tch que: si yo les digo {venga pongo esta gráfica y me la interpretáis en cuatro líneas qué es lo que veis} no? / de: ahí ya demuestras además de competencias de contenido de lenguas no? / vale pero: (.) tch en este sentido (1) cito a una compañera no? Raquel siente que tiene y tiene muy buen nivel de inglés no? entonces yo sé ella no le importaría pero a mí (.) ponerme a decirle /{no / aquí es was y aquí esto con una passive voice te quedaría mejor} / @ claro yo no soy (.) / e: tú me puedes decir eso de que / o vienes tú a ver mi clase y: me dirás {quien es este para: decir que:}	what happens of course is that it makes you feel strange because (2) you can tell me {who are you (.) to tell them that: that this way is not correct it's the other} / I mean tch that: if I tell them {come on I show them this graph and you interpret what you see in four lines} no? / from: there you can already demonstrate apart from content competencies language competencies no? / okay but: (.) tch in that sense (.) and I quote one of my workmates no? Raquel feels that she has and she does have a very good English level no? so I know she wouldn't mind but for me (.) saying /{no / here it's <i>was</i> and here it would be better to use <i>passive voice</i> } @ of course I'm not (.) / e: you can tell me this thing about /or you come to observe my class and you'll say {who is this guy to: say that:}
GER	claro me centro en vocabulario no? ese vocabulario que tú has introducido que tú has TRAducido / o sea que el alumno ya lo sabe / entonces em cómo verías la posibilidad de dar situaciones en las cuales en público (.) no? se esforzaran a comuni- a a usar ese vocabulario no? y así tch ayudarles a a:	of course I focus on vocabulary no? that vocabulary that you've introduced that you've TRANSLated / I mean that the student already knows / so em: what would you think about the possibility of creating si- situations in which in public (.) no? they make an effort to communi- to to use that vocabulary no? and so tch help them to to:
JAI	a interiorizar el sí (.) / bueno (.) que para eso lo que se me: (.) ocurría era el tema del del del trabajo o incluso pues de: el seminario aquel / que intenté	to interiorise it yes (.) / well (.) for that what occurred to me: (.) is the issue of the of the of the task or even well the: the that seminar / I tried to do this year

<p>hacer este año tampoco vino nadie de: / entonces un poco hablar de eso de: aspectos sociales de la producción para ver pues retos y: y debilidades / pues que el año que viene lo repetiremos y si deciden asistir a clase pues entonces ahí sí que puede haber más debate o: o puedes corregir más cosas de intervenciones que hagan o: entonces (.) con algún seminario o de interpretar esta gráfica pero: claro si le di- tch bueno algunas veces sí que les he intentado sacar cosas en inglés (.) pero si les digo {a ver explícame esta gráfica} y te dicen que no @ pues es que no entonces ya tratas de buscar las situaciones donde va a haber menos incomodidad</p>	<p>and again no one came from: / so talking about that about: the social aspects of production to see the challenges and: and the weaknesses / so next year we'll do it again and if they decide to attend class then there can be debate there or: or you can correct more things in their interventions or: then (.) with some seminar or interpreting this graph but: of course if you te- tc well sometimes I have tried to get them to produce things in English (.) but if I tell them {let's see explain this graph} and they say no @ well then you don't even try to create situations that are less discomforting</p>
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Table 45 JAI interview excerpt 5

As Moncada-Comas and Block (2019: 14) observe elsewhere, “Jaime positions himself as EMI lecturer in opposition to the interviewers, all of whom have background in English language teaching, referring to them as ‘you’, assigning to this category the CBP ‘having superior linguistic knowledge’”. From the beginning, the interviewer positions in opposition to Jaime, he is an English language teacher and as such, he performs certain activities typically associated with this category; activities that Jaime, as an EMI lecturer, is not really expected to carry out. In fact, Jaime ratifies the interviewer’s position as he then positions accordingly in opposition to the interviewer. If Jaime were to attempt to act in such a manner, as an English language teacher, he would not have authority or competence. Because of this, he continues by stating that the interviewer, as a language-teaching expert, would not approve if Jaime took up such activities (typically ascribed to language teachers) because he is *not* a language teacher. This derives from a possible lack of confidence in their ability to tackle language matters. Either lecturers tend to self-evaluate their English language competence negatively, or they argue that they do not have the disciplinary training in language pedagogy, and hence they are not English language experts and cannot pronounce on whether language is being used (or not) appropriately and correctly. Jaime even seems to believe that a language expert would criticise him if he dared to assume such identity, giving advice on linguistic matters

without having the knowledge or the skills to teach them, because as he puts it “*who is he?*” to act in such manner. Jaime is therefore questioning an emergent ELT positioning in his EMI teaching, and even seems to be suppressing it. As Moncada-Comas and Block (2019: 11) suggest, “Jaime does not consider teaching language as one of his professional responsibilities (or in PT terms, duties) because language does not appear explicitly as the goal in disciplinary content subjects”. Nevertheless, it seems that Jaime believes that offering an opinion about language means talking about grammar (he mentions the past form of the verb to be and the passive voice). At this point, the interviewer points out that he could focus on vocabulary, the specific academic terminology of the discipline, and create opportunities for students to practice communicatively these new nomenclatures. This points to the fact that individuals who are not part of the language discipline tend to draw on discourses that associate language matters with only grammar. By contrast, language experts do not limit language learning to teaching grammar as it involves other aspects, for example, oral communication, as the interviewer mentions. This excerpt illustrates the circulating discourse that the main activity that language teachers perform is teaching grammar, a discourse that EMI lecturers use to avoid the ELT position. However, the interviewees, whose core professional identity is that of language experts, position themselves against the narrative that downplays the language teacher category. They work towards the validation of the language teaching profession beyond the idea that it is just about teaching grammar. The interviewees therefore self-position as language experts who aim at raising EMI lecturers’ awareness that language pedagogy is about oral communication and comprehension, about teaching genre convention of a specific discipline, teaching subject-specific vocabulary and teaching students how to read and understand academic papers. The interviewees are putting forward a DLF role.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	Language teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They follow-up students’ performance • They make students write and produce in English • They give students feedback
	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They introduce vocabulary • They try to create situations that are less discomforting

	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They create situations where students speak in public • They help students to interiorise the vocabulary • They can correct more things of students' contributions • They try that students produce in English
Types of students	Language student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They become aware of their language problems
	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not attend seminars • They say no to contribute in English
	CLILised EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They use the vocabulary • They put an effort to communicate • They use the vocabulary
Types of classes	Seminar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It creates debate

Table 46 MCA JAI interview excerpt 5

In the following excerpt, also from the post-interview, Jaime has been asked about the extent to which the language teachers that he has had through his life have influenced the way he teaches EMI. In other words, the question is if he has adopted any of the strategies used by language teachers in his EMI practice:

	Original	Translation to English
JAI	sí que vas cogiendo cosas igual que los cursos de: del ICE <Institut de Ciències de l'Educació> de formación pedagógica no? / pues que hay distintos métodos que la gente no puede estar / tch pero no sólo de inno sólo por ser de inglés / es que e claro (.) es que no es una asignatura de aprender inglés de: / y te te fijas igual que me he fijado en esos profesores que me han enseñado inglés me he fijado en otros profesores que te enseñan metodologías de: de: de enseñanza de transmisión de conocimiento (1) pero	yes you start getting things from the courses from: from ICE <Science Education Institute> about pedagogical preparation no? / so there are different methods that people can't be: / tch but not only in Eng- not only because ti's about English / it's e of course (.) it's not a subject for learning English: of: / and you you focus as I have focused on those teachers who taught me English / I've focused on other teachers who teach methodologies for: for teaching for knowledge transmission (1) but of

	que claro tch yo (.) e yo no les enseño inglés entonces e	course tch I (.) e I don't teach them English so e
GER	qui- quizás no: quizás no directamente pero sí indirectamente con lo cual en qué medida	may- maybe not: maybe not directly but yes indirectly so then to what extent
JAI	claro	of course
GER	esa metodología que: que tú has observado la puedes incorporar tú en tus (.) en tus clases no?	that methodology that: that you've observed you can incorporate in your (.) in your classes no?
JAI	(4) sí	(4) yes
GER	yo si supiera eso tch e e esa opinión de que (.) yo no soy profesor de inglés no? / yo no estoy hablando de corregir eh? / si no	if I knew that tch e e that opinion of of (.) I'm not an English teacher no? / I'm not talking about correcting eh? / but about
JAI	pero claro tch pero claro una clase de / pero en general las clases de: lengua inglesa pues tiene su libro un método o sea una: tch un manual en el que vas siguiendo: / los de lengua cuando vas así a: y entonces tch e (1) bueno no sé / seguro que te: transmiten cosas que tú intentas luego tras- / pero: (1) pero no sé si: si: (2) si me he fija:- / yo qué sé (.) es que: ... tú vas más a que aprendan el contenido de la asignatura que no que: que no que:	but of course tch but of course a class in / but in general English language classes well there's a book a method I mean a: tch a guide where you follow: / language teachers when you go to a: and then tch e (1) well I don't know / I'm sure they transmit things that you then try to tra- / but: (1) but I don't know if: if: (2) if I've noti:- / I don't know (.) it's ... you aim at them learning the content of the subject rather than: than not that:
GER	pero que aprendan a comunicarlo el contenido también no?	but they need to learn how to communicate the content too no?
JAI	tam- pero no lo / eso lo hacemos mal y lo hago mal aunque hicieron el trabajo y esto tch que: / yo creo que no salen de la asignatura sabiendo: comunicar nada en inglés / yo creo que lo mucho como máximo habrán conseguido tener tch pues eso / un dominio de: de términos / que sepan cómo suenan esos términos en inglés y enlazarlos más o menos pero: tch pero a comunicarlo:	als- but no / we do it wrong and I do it wrong even when they do a task and that tch that: / I don't think they finish the subject knowing: how to communicate anything in English / I believe that at the most at most they've managed to get tch well that / a command of: of terms in English / they know how these terms sound in English and how to connect them more or less but: tch but to communicate:
GER	por qué no se puede conseguir ese objetivo pues? / crees (1) de de aprender a comunicar ese ese	why can't this objective be achieved then? / do you think (1) of of learning to communicate that that knowledge

	conocimiento que aprenden? / pregunto eh? / un poco	that they learn? / I'm just asking eh? / a bit
JAI	porque yo creo que: es la parte: más difícil de la competencia lingüística el: la comunicación oral y:	because I think that: it's the most difficult part: of linguistic competence: oral communication and:
GER	o escrita no? / o qué? / (.) por escrito quizás?	or written no? or what? (.) in writing maybe?
JAI	más la oral porque escrita / yo que sé tch e: escrita:	more the oral because written / I don't know tch e: written:
DER	hacen como informes no? / o informes cortos quizá? / en inglés? / o:	they do like reports no? / or short reports maybe? / in English? or:
GER	un trabajo no? / hacen	a task no? / they do
JAI	hicieron un trabajo sí (.) pero: (2) tch ff / yo no sé si e / es que en este tipo de asignaturas técnicas no ves ahí que: / los trabajos en inglés (.) pueden ser tch o sea a lo mejor no han no han puesto ninguna tercera persona bien @ pero bueno han escrito bien los términos	they did a task yes (.) but: (2) tch ff / I don't know if e / it's just that in this type of technical subjects you don't see there that: / the tasks in English (.) they can be tch I mean maybe they haven't they haven't written any third person correctly @ but they have written correctly the terms

Table 47 JAI interview excerpt 6

Jaime clearly rejects the positioning of EMI as an opportunity to teach the English language. He clearly makes a distinction between an English-language subject and an EMI subject. While a language subject follows a methodology for language pedagogy, the focus in an EMI subject is to learn the disciplinary knowledge. In fact, Jaime assumes that EMI lecturers probably do things 'badly' and students do not learn how to communicate content in English. At most, lecturers manage to convey to students the new specific terminology of the discipline, but teaching how to successfully communicate is not among the activities associated with EMI lecturers. The interviewer is the one who develops the category and the activities associated with CLILised EMI, implicitly pointing to how EMI lecturers can CLILise their practices. First, he suggests that Jaime may not be teaching language *directly*, but that he may be doing so to some extent *indirectly* and implicitly. The interviewer would like Jaime to reflect on his practices and acknowledge that he has actually adopted, adapted and incorporated strategies employed by language teachers into his EMI subject. However, Jaime responds by making a clear distinction between language and content subjects and he positions himself as a content lecturer whose focus and main goal is that students finish the course knowing about

content. Despite this, the interviewer continues to pressure Jaime about teaching students how to actually communicate this disciplinary knowledge, how to develop students' disciplinary literacy. We can see how the interviewer takes on the ELT gaze, as he seems to want Jaime to take on this CLILised version of EMI by assuming a DLF role. On the contrary, Jaime admits that he is not doing a good job because students do not finish EMI course knowing how to communicate in English. Jaime can only refer to the development of disciplinary vocabulary as the one aspect associated with language gains in EMI subjects. Again, here we can see how vocabulary bridges the gap between content and language in EMI subjects. The storyline ends with a clear positioning of EMI subjects as an opportunity for students to expand the specific technical lexicon, not as an opportunity to focus, improve and strengthen grammatical and communicative aspects of the language. As Moncada-Comas and Block (2019) observe, Jaime clearly positions as an EMI content teacher: he is not comfortable with the category CLILised EMI lecturer and the implied English teacher category ascribed to it, the DLF role. He self-inhabits a disciplinary expert identity, for this reason he feels his duty towards students is to teach subject content. As Moncada-Comas and Block (2019: 22-23) put it, “[h]is identity as an EMI lecturer is in conflict with a potential English teacher identity, the latter being an identity to which he does not affiliate because he does not consider teaching language as part of his EMI lecturer identity”.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of teachers	EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not teach English • They want students to learn the content • They do it (teach communication) wrong
	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They teach English indirectly • They want students to learn how to communicate the content
Types of subjects	EMI subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is not about learning English
	Language subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has a book with a method or a manual to follow
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not know how to communicate anything in English at the end of the course • They manage to master the terminology

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They know how the terminology sounds in English • They know how to link terms more or less • They may miss all the third person singular –s • They may write the terms correctly
Types of language competences	Oral communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is the most difficult linguistic competence
	Written communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is about written short reports

Table 48 MCA JAI interview excerpt 6

In the next post-interview extract, Jaime talks about assessment. He states that there is no need to actually use the language in his exams, to this the interviewer asks him to what extent students are learning language in his subject and how Jaime could change the methodology so that students can learn language alongside content:

	Original	Translation to English
GER	has adaptado la evaluación em: a ese nivel de inglés? / en en principio de los alumnos (.) / qué te parece? (.) / tipo de pregunta:s para que fueran más	have you adapted the assessment em: to that level of English? / in respect to the students (.) / what do you think? (.) / type of questions: so that they were more
JAI	en el segun- en el segundo examen el segundo examen era la mayoría practico (.) entonces sin saber inglés podías hacerlo porque de: de de esto había muy poco / entonces en el segundo examen hay muchos que han sacado mejor nota porque tch más o menos el enunciado no era nada entonces era ir haciendo todos los cálculos de: hacer una granja de cerdos de engorde: y la balsa del purín y el no sé qué / y si te veías más o menos allí cuatro palabras (.) entonces el segundo examen (.) no necesitabas saber lengua como en el primero	in the segun- in the second exam the second exam was mostly practice (.) so without knowing English you could do it because of: of of there was little of this / then in the second there are a lot of students who got a better mark because tch more or less the exercise description was nothing so it was about doing all the calculations of: to construct a farm for pigs for slaughter: and the manure ponds and whatever / and if you saw more or less four words there (.) then the second exam (.) you didn't need to know the language as was the case in the first
(...)		

GER	entonces qué han aprendido de inglés estos chicos? porque	so what have these kids learnt in terms of English? because
JAI	pues ellos dicen {no aprendo nada no sé nada} y: y entonces / (6) PERO ALGO / esto es como muchas veces te vas al extranjero porque dices que aprenderás inglés y hay mucha gente que pasa por allí vuelve tch y no ha aprendido inglés no? / pues es que tch hace falta muchas cosas para aprender inglés	well they say {I don't learn anything I don't know anything} and: and then / (6) BUT SOMETHING / this is like a lot of times when you go abroad because you say that you'll learn English and there are a lot of people who go there and come back tch and they haven't learnt any English no? / so it's tch it takes a lot of things to learn English
GER	@@@ muy bien	@@@ very good
JAI	claro tch o a veces el tema de / es que está muy bien porque ha estado en el extranjero / JODER / pero ha venido y no sabía inglés o sea	of course tch or sometimes it's a matter of / it's very good that he has been abroad / SCREW IT / but he came back and he didn't know English, so
GER	entonces qué?	so then what?
JAI	esto es lo mismo / ha pasado por una asignatura en inglés	this is the same / he has done a subject in English
GER	sí sí sí sí	yes yes yes yes
JAI	e: se supone que: la: el: tch el <i>back</i> no sé e: (.) / la literatura dice que de algo ha servido esa inmersión no? / pero: para algunos más y para otros menos	e: it is assumed that: the: the: tch the <i>back</i> I don't know e: (.) / the literature says that this immersion is somehow useful no? / but: for some more and for others less
GER	o sea que que si bien en cuanto contenido van aprobando con lo cual / si (.) no me equivoco (.) / ahí han aprendido contenido pero no han aprendido lengua entonces (.) si: quisieras pudieras hacer alguna modificación en tu metodología para que (.) los alumnos aprendieran inglés junto con contenido (.) / qué qué cambiarías de lo que has hecho? / (2) en el ca- carta a los reyes eh? / una	so that that although in terms of content they pass and so / if (.) I'm not wrong (.) / there they've learnt content but they haven't learnt language then (.) if: you would like to if you could make some changes in your methodology so that (.) students could learn English alongside content (.) / what what would you change that you have done? / (2) in the le- letter to the wise men eh? / a
JAI	NO / ya ya (5) / claro es que aquí entiendo que las asignaturas de: (.) tch de co:ntenido en inglés (.) pues lo primero que tienen que aprender es el vocabulario: básico de la materia no?	NO / I know I know (5) of course here I understand that the subjects of: (.) tch with con:tent in English (.) well the first thing they have to learn is the basic vocabulary: of the subject no?

<p>y: y a partir de allí ya puedes a: a ir a más no? / pues a que sean capaces de: ya de describir sabiendo el vocabulario no? / con lo que saben ellos de: redactar una frase con sujeto verbo y predicado y luego ahí ya / y dentro de lo que redactan pues algunos ya redactaran cosas má:s complejas y otros menos no? / pero (.) pero falta esa: ese nivel de vocabulario: básico / que al final es estudiar (.) pues como siempre se han aprendido pues tch incluso / yo qué sé / con hoy en día con los videos con no sé qué con no sé cuánto (.) si: tch / es echarle horas / hay muchos que no habían entrado en la página web ha: casi final de curso (.) que estaba enlazada en el campu:s tienen presentacione:s</p>	<p>and: and from there you can: go further no? / so that they are able to: already to describe knowing the vocabulary no? / with what they know about: writing a sentence with a subject verb and predicate and then from there / and within what they write well some will write mo:re complex things and others less so no? / but (.) this level of basic vocabulary: is missing / which is basically about studying (.) so as always they've learnt tch even / I don't know / nowadays with videos with this and that (.) if: tch / it's about spending hours / a lot of students didn't even get into the website unt: almost at the end of the course (.) which was connected in the virtual campu:s where they have presentations:</p>
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Table 49 JAI interview excerpt 7

Similar to the other lecturers, Jaime places responsibility for learning English and improving competence on students. He equates a subject taught in English to a study abroad experience. Jaime is aware and acknowledges the existing discourses about language learning, as he mentions, “*according to what the literature says*”; therefore, a discourse about language learning exercises influence on Jaime as he believes and states that immersion results in language development, without any explicit focus on form or error correction. Nevertheless, he is also of the view that students cannot depend on EMI subjects to improve their English competence as this exposure does not guarantee language learning. Above all, Jaime views vocabulary learning as the key area to develop and then other skills such as writing may follow. Nevertheless, students are deemed responsible for language learning, as Jaime states, “*in the end it's about studying*”, so students are responsible for their own language development, they need to “*put in hours of work*”. Jaime positions students as responsible for their own linguistic development and the EMI subject is positioned as an opportunity to be immersed in and exposed to the language. However, EMI lecturers are not ascribed accountability for students' English competence. Although Jaime implicitly acknowledges that EMI functions as an

immersion experience from which students can benefit and improve their English, he nevertheless does not ascribe himself duties for a CLILisation of the EMI subject.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of students	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They do not need the language to answer some exams • They can answer some exams without knowing anything about the language • They have to learn first the basic vocabulary of the subject • They have to be able to write knowing the vocabulary

Table 50 MCA JAI interview excerpt 7

7.4 Jaime's summary

We have seen how Jaime reflects on his L1- and his EMI lecturer identities. Not only does he feel more strengthened when teaching in his L1, he also considers doing EMI a kind of disguise, like performing some kind of theatre, hence his EMI lecturer identity is more peripheral than his L1 lecturer identity. Nevertheless, we have seen how Jaime is a pro-Englishisation lecturer as he embraces the EMI gaze as something beneficial for students' future academic careers. Finally, similarly to Raquel, Jaime also discredits and suppresses a DLF role when doing EMI because of his lack of training in language pedagogy and his lack of confidence in his own English proficiency. Throughout the different interview excerpts, we see how Jaime rejects any responsibility to teach English to students; actually, he finishes by positioning his students as the ones responsible for their own language learning.

Jaime's core identity is that of the L1 lecturer identity but he does inhabit an EMI lecturer identity, more peripheral, which is being (re)negotiated and (re)constructed (*Table 41* and *Table 42*). He definitely seems more comfortable and confident when engaged in L1 lecturing (*Table 39* and *Table 40*). Similar to Raquel, Jaime places a lot of value on EMI subjects as they expose students to international information published in English (*Table 43* and *Table 44*). Jaime refuses the other-ascription of the CLILised EMI lecturer category (*Table 45* and *Table 46*) as he does not inhabit a language-related identity by

suppressing it. Nevertheless, he does try to CLILise his EMI teaching by implementing debates in his seminars so that students can participate and communicate, and so put into practice, their English skills (*Table 45* and *Table 46*). Jaime again rejects a CLILised EMI lecturer identity and so sticks to his EMI lecturer identity as his aim is to teach content and he is not confident that students finish the subject knowing how to communicate in English (*Table 47* and *Table 48*).

Chapter 8. Summary of Section A: Interview Data

The main aim of the interviewers was to obtain lecturers' own perspectives about their professional teacher identity after shifting the language of instruction from their L1 to English. The participants addressed that English is a key aspect in their professional academic lives as they use English for article writing and conference communication. From the interviews, it can be argued that they find as their responsibility and duty to ascribe to EMI practices for both the institution and students' sake as English is the language for scientific research and competence in English has become an essential skill for researchers working in academia and higher education.

The analysis of both pre- and post-interviews showed that the participants self-inhabit an EMI lecturer identity. The participants described the various activities and attributes typically ascribed to EMI practices. To this end, they appear in line with the EMI gaze that impregnates tertiary school institutions. The participants were also exposed by interviewers to the ELT gaze that results in the CLILised version of EMI. Participants did not position themselves as English-language teachers, although there were instances where they can be seen as disciplinary-language facilitators. Nevertheless, there was not a true acceptance of a CLILised EMI lecturer subject position. While in these interviews lecturers show an awareness of language teaching discourses and practices and they may implicitly and unconsciously address language matters in EMI, they nonetheless challenge, deny and even refute interviewers' other-positioning as CLILised EMI lecturers.

Finally, this Section A of the Results part provides much food-for-thought on how the absence of clearly articulated EMI policy on the part of the university and lecturers' understanding of their role as EMI lecturers (but not CLILised EMI lecturers) together have an impact on the construction and negotiation of lecturers' professional teacher identities. In the scenario examined here, we see how lecturers view English as a tool used to communicate and to transmit disciplinary knowledge, but it is not seen as a co-objective at the same level as content teaching, hence EMI, here referred as CLILised EMI, does not achieve its full potential as language learning opportunities are neglected.

Section B: Classroom Data

Section B, which deals with classroom data, is divided into five chapters. Chapter 9 presents the specific analytical procedure employed to analyse. Then, Chapter 10, 11 and 12 correspond respectively to Isabel's, Raquel's and Jaime's subjects:

- Chapter 10 – Services II
- Chapter 11 – Animal biotechnology
- Chapter 12 – Swine production

These three analytical chapters will first explain in detail the EMI subjects study guides and then will examine lecturers' classroom practices, the use or not of the L1 in the EMI class, the teaching strategies employed by the distinct lecturers, and the extent to which their classroom practices reflect the DLF role and hence a CLILised version of EMI. Finally, Chapter 13 is a summary of this section.

Chapter 9. EMI lecturers' identities revealed by their practices

This introductory chapter of Section B gives more detail of the analytical procedure that will be employed in the following chapters (10, 11 and 12), where EMI lecturers' teaching practices will be analysed. First, the research questions of this section will be outlined, related to the study of the teaching practices that unfold in EMI, such as compensatory strategies or techniques to trigger student participation, and also the multilingual practices that raise from the use of the L1 in the EMI class. For this reason, there is a focus on the presence of the shared-L1 between the lecturer and the local students. This chapter then looks into the specifics of the analytical procedure, illustrating how language-alternation can be analysed from an MCA perspective and so then reflect the positioning of lecturers and in turn their teacher professional identities. Finally, this preliminary chapter finishes with a justification of how classes have been selected and an explanation of what I understand as teaching strategy.

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores lecturers' identities from the researcher's perspective by analysing their classroom practices. The research questions I wished to address via the observation of EMI classes are concerned with performance, language choice, classroom management, teaching and learning and agency in an interactive context. After specifically analysing how participants self-reported their inhabited identities in relation to EMI and the DLF position (see Section A above), I was interested in studying how both English and the L1s (Catalan and/or Spanish) would be used by both lecturers and students, and if the choice of one language over the other would serve a specific function. I wanted to investigate what went on linguistically in EMI classrooms in terms of language teaching. Another layer of analysis is to compare what the lecturers reported in terms of their identity and practices in the interviews and what the observation of classes actually reveals.

In the previous section the focus was on how lecturers perceived their professional identity, this section examines the classroom practices they engage in when doing EMI. This leads to the following research questions:

- What are the EMI teaching practices that lecturers employ when engaged in EMI teaching that construct them as particular types of EMI instructors, influencing the making of their EMI lecturer identity?
- To what extent are multilingual practices present in EMI teaching and how does language alternation influence identity positioning?
- To what extent do self-perceived and actual practices in EMI differ?

Barkhuizen and de Klerk (2006: 279) state that “intrinsically related to identity is language”. In classroom contexts, therefore, language will also be positioned and used to construct and fashion users’ own identities (Gu, 2011). Language choice can express solidarity or signal authority; it can indicate lack of confidence in the target language, and so a reason to avoid it in communication. Therefore, language choice can convey the take-up of different positions, hence employed for identification purposes (one language may be linked to symbolic power and another to social value, for instance).

Rose and Galloway (2019) state that the use of language is highly relevant in EMI because of the co-existence (or the lack of it) between the L1 and English in the classroom setting. If the sole goal of EMI is the teaching and learning of disciplinary content knowledge, then there should not be an opposing position towards the use of other languages in the classroom, principally because learners can benefit from the use of their L1 due to its facilitating role in relation to learning. In fact, McMillan and Turnbull (2009: 15) state that current research favours a “judicious and theoretically principled L1 use”. In addition, code-switching is a natural behaviour as individuals have a multilingual repertoire, hence, its use may be invaluable for students and useful for teachers as it can help to relieve comprehension problems present in EMI. For example, translation of terms is viewed by Dailey-O’Cain and Liebscher (2009) as a teacher’s strategy to anticipate students’ difficulties with lexical terminology. Hence, switching to the L1 is a scaffolding strategy, “a device that allows the teacher to take control of those portions of a task that are beyond the learners’ current level of competence and allow them to focus on the elements within his or her ability” (Dailey-O’Cain & Liebscher, 2009: 138). This can also be referred as mentoring, a term employed by Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976), which can be defined as the engagement of active agents in collaborative interaction to construct knowledge. In addition, Vygostky defined this kind of episode as a ZPD – zone of proximal development – episode, defined as:

... the zone of proximal development. It is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers

(Vygostky, 1978: 86)

Dafouz, Hüttner and Smit (2018) also consider translation as a relevant strategy in EMI classrooms as the shared-L1 can solve language-related gaps. Meanwhile, San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2019) and Pérez-Vidal (2002) argue that it is natural for students to resort to their whole linguistic repertoire – which includes L1 knowledge – when they face a linguistically challenging task. Therefore, as Cashman (2008: 275) points out, code-switching “is a normal, functional communicative practice found in virtually every bilingual context around the world”. Accordingly, the use of this strategy cannot be regarded as either correct or incorrect, instead the goal is to explain how and why individuals switch between languages.

Nevertheless, EMI research is often accompanied by debates around allowing (or not) the use of the L1. Lasagabaster (2017: 251) notes that “current practices are arbitrary and that most teachers make decisions based on their beliefs, teaching experience and intuition”. To these practices, Rose and Galloway (2019: 217) advocate viewing the L1 “as a tool for education – especially when the outcomes of education revolve around the learning of content, rather than the language itself”. Actually, if the English-only monolingual ideology that exists around EMI derives from the notion that exposure to the target languages results in language development, then they state that “it is necessary to problematise this largely untested and unsubstantiated relationship” (Rose & Galloway, 2019: 218). Similarly, McMillan and Turnbull (2009: 17) recommend avoiding the strict English-only perspective and assert that the L1 can boost comprehension of cognitively difficult content.

Macaro (2009) classifies the use (or not) of the L1 according to three positions: virtual, maximal and optimal. Teachers who favour the virtual position mirror the classroom setting to that of an L1 environment, hence pushing the exclusive use of the L2. This position derives from the idea that “language learning derives from innate properties and functions in the brain” (Macaro, 2009: 36-37) and the notion that with comprehensible

(interactionally modified) input, learners can acquire the L2. The dominance of the target language is based on a) the belief that L2 learning processes can be affected by L2 presence and b) the idea that more exposure to the target language is equated to better proficiency. From this derives the assumption the L1 is regarded as unnecessary and its role is ignored. The maximal position exposes learners to as much L2 as possible but there is some L1 present too, which is nevertheless viewed as a “sin” (Macaro, 2009: 36). Finally, the optimal position values the use of the first language suggesting that “at certain moments during the teaching and learning process the use of the first language might actually enhance learning more than by sticking to the second language” (Macaro, 2009: 36). This position derives from Ellis’s (2005) cognitive processing theory that stated that the L1 and the L2 are not separated cognitively and that there are connections established between languages. Therefore, “to ignore the first language during the process of second language learning is to ignore an essential tool at the learner’s disposal” (Macaro, 2009: 37). As Macaro (2009: 38) explains, “optimal use is where codeswitching in broadly communicative classrooms can enhance second language acquisition and/or proficiency better than second language exclusivity”, thus the L1 possesses a facilitative effect when it comes to learning.

In this thesis I have, by now, used the term code-switching several times and not translanguaging. Dailey-O’Cain and Liebscher (2009: 131) define code-switching “as the systematic, alternating use of two languages or language varieties within a single conversation or utterance” and they believe that “codeswitching is a normal part of bilingual linguistic behaviour” (Dailey-O’Cain & Liebscher, 2009: 132). Similarly, San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2019: 337, emphasis in original) define code-switching as “a bilingualism-related activity in which more than one language – most typically the learner’s first language and additional language – are used in either *intrasententially* or *intersententially*”. Although I might equally have used ‘translanguaging’ as the currently more widespread term of use to refer to multilingual acts of communication and meaning making (see García and Li Wei, 2014), I am using code-switching in this thesis because I understand code-switching as the moving back and forth between the L1 and the L2. Actually, San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2019: 338) actually state “[t]ranslanguaging is, the same as code-switching, about multilingual speakers’ changing between languages”. Nonetheless, translanguaging seems to be ascribed to a methodical and organised change between the L1 and the L2. I consider that the lecturers’ multilingual practices analysed

in this thesis do not respond to this strategic and systematic already-planned teaching strategies (San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2019).

Lin (2015) discusses the potential that the use of the L1 can bring into an L2 classroom as the L1 plays a role in making the L2 input more accessible and comprehensible for students, hence it cannot be neglected. First, it has an ideational function as with the L1 lecturers and students can unpack “field-specific meaning of academic content” (Lin, 2015: 79), such as vocabulary. Second, Lin refers to the interpersonal function and the textual function, which suggests that the L1 can mark “boundaries and transitions” (Lin, 2015: 79) between stages, activities or focuses, even subject positions. Therefore, L1 practices can represent a resource for both lecturers and students as they can build new knowledge from previously known one, provide translations of difficult terminology and compare the different languages involved. Kim, Kweon and Kim (2017) are also of the view that L1 needs to be allowed as it serves as a bridge between students’ L2 proficiency and the target proficiency they need to perform effectively in classroom taught in the L2. On the one hand, the use of the L1 can be effective for building rapport (jokes, personal stories) and classroom management. On the other hand, the L1 may create a more relaxed atmosphere, hence facilitating the bounding between teacher and students and keeping students’ attention. Moreover, as Kim *et al.* (2017: 143) conclude:

L1 can function as an effective academic tool for clarification, emphasis, and repetition of important content; as an affective reserve for building and solidifying rapport between the instructor and students who share the same L1; and as an effective strategy for classroom management. ... L1 use in a bilingual or multilingual situation is a natural phenomenon and must be recognised and utilised as a legitimate, effective instructional strategy.

9.2 Analytical procedure for classroom data

According to Bonacina-Pugh (2013: 298), “language choice is a category-bound activity” since language alternation can reveal shifts in identity performance (see also Gafaranga, 2001, 2005). Bonacina-Pugh (2013: 311) concludes, “the orientation to different aspects of identity produced different language choice patterns”. Code-switching can demarcate talk because, as Levine (2009) states, the use of the L1 can display particular identities. Using an MCA perspective to classroom discourse interaction, we can view how language

alternation is used to ascribe, accept and reject group membership and how social identities are linked to practices such as code-switching and language preference because “speakers ‘do’ social identities using language alternation and language preference as a resource” (Cashman, 2005: 305). Torras and Gafaranga (2002) also advocate that instances of language alternation reflect identities. Cashman (2005: 307; see also Cashman, 2008) agrees that:

Language preference is a membership categorisation device, it is a resource used by speakers to ascribe and accept or reject membership in groups, or ‘collections of things’, the negotiation of which constitutes practical social actions.

Gafaranga (2001: 1915, emphasis in original) explains that by adopting an MCA perspective to investigate language alternation, language choice is viewed as a “*practical social action*”, an activity. He suggests that:

language alternation is made possible by participants’ locally negotiated *linguistic identities*... in order to accomplish medium-related activities, speakers fit themselves and one another in a *language-based categorisation device*. That is to say, speakers define themselves and one another as monolingual or as bilingual and in which language(s).

(Gafaranga, 2001: 1916, emphasis in original)

Therefore, language preference can be seen as an MCD that makes medium-related activities possible. Language preference may have competence-related reasons; for example, when speakers decide on language choice, they take into account the other’s preference as they categorise one another in relation to what language they prefer, hence creating “language-based categories” either based on common-sense knowledge or decided in situ as the conversation unfolds (Gafaranga, 2010: 249).

Bonacina-Pugh (2013: 299) came up with the term “‘teacher-hood’ to refer to what it is to be ‘doing being’ the teacher and to differentiate this performance from the term ‘teacher’, which is a label that commonly refers to the adult in the class and not to a set of actions”. Therefore, from an MCA methodology perspective, ‘language choice’ would be a CBA within the category ‘language preference’ (Gafaranga, 2001, 2005). As Bonacina-Pugh (2013: 299) puts it, “[s]peakers ascribe each other to a language

preference category and use therefore that language in interaction”. Language alternation can be used to accept, ascribe and/or reject group membership: “since language choice acts are bound to certain categories, bilingual speakers choose and alternate between languages to perform different identities or to challenge the category they have been ascribed by others” (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013: 299). In addition, Richards (2006: 59) states that categories such as ‘teacher’ and ‘student’ are enacted through different interactional patterns that hint specific social identities.

Default identities derive from the context where the interaction is produced and so there are interactional patterns expected to take place. Therefore, in a classroom setting, participants are expected to orient towards the default recognised identities of teacher and student (Richards, 2006). Therefore, taking into account the form of conduct observed in the study, we can differentiate between:

a) ‘doing being’ the teacher

- Starting/Finishing the class session
- Assessing/correcting students’ answers
- Controlling the floor
- Asking known information questions
- Issuing instructions
- Prompting
- Using IRF sequence
- Providing explanations
- Providing clues that lead students to correct answers
- Standing in front of the class
- Writing on the board
- Choosing the medium of classroom interaction
- Knowing more than students (Asymmetry of knowledge)

b) ‘doing being’ the student

- Sitting at their desks
- Replying to teacher’s prompts or elicitations
- Taking notes
- Doing exams
- Following instructions

- Asking for feedback

Nevertheless, Richards (2006: 60) reminds that “such identities are not binding, but it nevertheless seems analytically relevant to recognise their pre-eminent position within the range of possible options”. This means that the positioning options listed above might or might not be invoked or acted out at a given point in time, hence not necessarily all will occur.

Students construct the teacher “as the one in the position to decide what medium will be used” (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013: 303, see also Gafaranga, 2010). For example, in EMI choosing English may be considered “as an activity bound to performing ‘teacher-hood’” (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013: 303). However, other classroom participants such as the students themselves may also be performing ‘teacher-hood’ even when using a language other than English, their L1, as the medium of interaction for scaffolding reasons, suggesting that English is not bound to ‘teacher-hood’. When one student is scaffolding a peer in their L1 that is not English, it can be argued that “the language(s) of whoever is performing ‘teacher-hood’ can be adopted as the medium of classroom interaction” (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013: 303). As a result, students themselves can perform ‘teacher-hood’ when correcting each other or when opening a repair sequence establishing an expert/novice relationship due to the asymmetry of knowledge. Even lecturers may use at times the shared L1 with their students, showing that performing ‘teacher-hood’ is “not associated with enacting the declared language policy of the school and imposing ... [English] as the medium” (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013: 304).

The existence of more than one language in class does not mean that one language is going to be the unmarked language and any other language other than that one is noticeable and accountable. It can also happen that “the two languages are seemingly equal and equally interesting because they perform different tasks” (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011: 324). Hence, in EMI although English is established as the default medium of instruction language, Catalan and Spanish do not necessarily need to be accounted as the deviant and accountable languages. This is because interaction may be conducted in the “deviant” language without being regarded as a diverging language choice and so “interaction proceeds smoothly as if nothing unusual has occurred” (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011: 329). For this reason, the Catalan/English alternation may not be marked if “*participants are locally doing being bilingual ...* Because of this

identity, the alternated use of both languages is left to be an ordinary category-bound activity” (Gafaranga, 2001: 1922, emphasis in original). Therefore, although English may be the prescribed medium of instruction in EMI, that is to say, the base code, Catalan can also serve as the medium for specific functional purposes, thus allowing the alternation between English and Catalan. In that event, the main stakeholders involved in EMI may deviate from the medium of instruction established by the official university policy and their teaching guides (where the language of instruction is established) as they install their own linguistic code, one where a medium of classroom interaction policy takes into account their linguistic repertoires (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011).

Having done this, now I turn into the reasons why certain classes have been selected to be included and analysed in this thesis. Then, I focus on classroom teaching strategies that lecturers may use in their classroom.

9.3 Class selection

In the analysis that follows in the following chapters (10, 11 and 12), I will focus on four classes for each informant:

1. Lecture towards the beginning of the course
2. Lab session or Computer session
3. Seminar (students working in pairs/groups)
4. Lecture towards the end of the course

I chose a lecture from the beginning and a lecture from the end of the course with the intention of comparing and contrasting the development in lecturers’ teaching practices over time. However, once I was able to examine the data, I did not find big changes between the beginning lecture and the ending lecture, such as shifts in the lecturers’ teaching methodology or the amount of L1 used over English. For this reason, the two lectures are treated in the analysis not as points of comparison and contrast, but simply as complementary, good examples of lecturers’ teaching practices and teaching strategies employed in EMI in action. In addition, the selection of the other two sessions, lab/computer session and seminar, is because they are relevant for the courses, they provide another context (lab and computer) and also ensure student interaction (seminar). The seminar and the lab/computer sessions might reveal different teaching strategies as they provide different classroom contexts, other than the traditional lecture.

In order to analyse these different classroom contexts (lecture, lab session, computer session, and seminar) and the lecturers' practices, I refer to Khan (2018). She uses "the terms *teaching strategy* or *instructional strategy* ... to refer to techniques, tasks or activities teachers use to help students achieve learning goals and become more autonomous learners, guided by underlying theories of learning" (Khan, 2018: 66). She creates a list of lecturing strategies, which are used in the HE context that include, communication, pragmatic and discourse strategies. These strategies may be consciously or unconsciously used as lecturers anticipate possible learning difficulties that students may encounter. I will use Khan's (2018) list of lecture strategies to analyse classroom discourse:

a) Strategies to help communicate the message during monologic speech

1. Signposting: commenting on discourse structure
2. Emphasising: signalling importance
3. Paraphrasing: elaborating and redefining
4. Evaluating content: developing metacognition
5. Defining: commenting on terms and concepts
6. Indicating prior knowledge: bridging
7. Giving an examples: modelling
8. Analogy: contextualising
9. Commenting on course structure
10. Rhetorical question
11. Cultural reference
12. Repetition
13. Referring to students by name
14. Asides (small talk)
15. Commenting of affective state
16. Commenting on evaluation
17. Commenting on own affective state

b) Strategies used during interactive episodes

1. Prompting: elicitation
2. Eliciting: elicitation
3. Checking comprehension
4. Recasts

5. Referential questions
6. Evaluating students
7. Clarification
8. Requesting clarification

Taking into account this list of strategies, the aim is to identify the ones used by EMI lecturers and identify their repertoire of effective teaching strategies that can contribute to their EMI lecturer identity construction.

In addition to teaching strategies, the analysis of classroom data also needs to take into account ‘main talk’ and ‘side talk’ (Smit, 2018). Linked to these two concepts and of interest here are Goffman’s (1959, see also Burns 1992; Manning, 1992) notions of ‘frontstage’ and ‘backstage’ to understand the classroom dynamics. While main talk appears in frontstage as the lecturer and the whole student group are involved; side talk is often consigned to the backstage as it takes place during the main classroom activities and it includes one or a number of students without the lecturer (for a discussion of Goffman’s dramaturgical metaphor applied to the classroom setting see Moncada-Comas, to appear). This dramaturgical metaphor can be applied within the classroom setting as students’ performances may belong to “two distinct social domains: the public and the private”, as Thornborrow and Haarman (2012: 376) put it. As Goffman (1959: 35) suggests, it is in the frontstage where “the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the official accredited values”. On the other hand, individuals can “drop their front” and “step out of character” (Goffman, 1959: 112) in the backstage area, hidden or at least not shared with the entire audience. Therefore, Goffman’s dramaturgical concepts of frontstage and backstage can also shed light on students’ presentations of their selves in classroom contexts and make us reflect on what needs to be implemented in EMI teaching. Although in a classroom setting students and teacher cannot move physically from the frontstage to the backstage or vice versa, what defines frontstage is the combination of the teacher’s presence and the students’ actions. The notions of back and front regions are dynamically dependable on participants’ decisions to either make their actions a) public and exposed to both teachers and all students or b) private and only visible and available to a reduced audience, even no one. This is particularly relevant for the context of lab and computer sessions, where all students are doing a task and the teacher walks around checking comprehension or clarifying doubts. In short, it is the students’ and lecturer’s agencies what shapes these

distinct regions. Taking into account the previously mentioned notions (main talk vs. side talk and frontstage vs. backstage), the analysis will examine critical episodes where students' performances are the key to monitoring how they behave in the face of their lecturers' teaching strategies. By doing so, the aim to include these concepts in the analysis is to review how lecturers' teaching practices impact on students and also to determine to what extent these are successful or not.

Finally, VOICE transcription conventions have also been followed and adapted for the transcription of classroom discourse. Although these conventions are similar to those used for the interview data, there are also some differences and particularities (see *Appendix G*).

9.4 Conclusion

This introductory chapter of section B has first tackled the debate often associated with EMI teaching and the use or not of the L1 in the classroom, introducing Macaro's (2009) classification and defining the term code-switching (Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher, 2009; San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2019). These will be of relevance in the following three analytical chapters where classroom practices in action are examined in detail. This led to a more precise description of the analytical procedure as for this analysis MCA is used in relation to language use and how the use of one language over the other may affect one's positioning and professional identity. By identifying lecturers' teaching strategies in the frontstage and some of students' reactions in the backstage, we will identify how lecturers' professional identity emerges through their teaching repertoire.

In the following three chapters, I introduce the analysis of the three lecturers' teaching practices. Similar to Section A, the following chapters proceed in an analogous manner: I analyse in order the three subjects, *Services II*, *Animal Biotechnology* and *Swine Production*, giving some general information of the subjects first before moving into the analysis of classroom excerpts. Each chapter outlines the characteristic teaching strategies that each lecturer takes on when engaged in EMI teaching. Through different extracts, we will see what EMI classroom practices lecturers implement and in turn how these teaching practices construct them as particular types of EMI lecturers. By means of looking at the categorisations and positioning that emerge in the EMI classroom, it will be possible to understand how social and cultural discourses that permeate higher education institutions

are materialised in class and how they influence the actual teaching practices of EMI lecturers. By examining classroom data from both an MCA perspective and a PT stance, we will distinguish how informants employ different practices that mobilise and manifest particular EMI lecturer identities. As a result, the actual lecturers' activities (MCA) will display specific positionings and so their identities in action. Again, the combination of these methodological tools will illustrate how their activities, their behaviours and their classroom practices are in fact instances of identity performance and identity construction in action while engaged in EMI teaching, hence a manifest of their self-inhabited identity.

Chapter 10. Services II

In this chapter, I will examine Isabel's subject. Isabel taught during the second semester of 2017-18 the subject Services II within the bachelor degree in Mechanical Engineering. It is an optional subject and its modality is attendance-based continuous assessment. There is a total of 6 ECTS credits for the subject, 3 of which were theoretical and 3 practical. In terms of teaching load distribution, the subject was 40% lecture-based (60 hours) and 60% autonomous independent student work (90 hours) (Study Guide for Services II, 2017-18).

The learning objectives stated in the subject study guide were the following:

- To show good English level in both regular classes and evaluation activities.
- To show learning skills needed to access to a master or other superior studies.
- To work in-group in both regular classes and evaluation activities.
- To perform climatization installation calculus.
- To study systems of generation of energy such as combustion, conventional energies (nuclear, fossil fuels ...) as well as more complex systems such as cogeneration ones.
- To demonstrate good skills and critical thinking when analysing energetic systems.

(Study Guide for Services II, 2017-18: 3)

It is interesting to note that among the strategic competences developed with this subject is "Command of a foreign language" (Study Guide for Services II, 2017-18: 3). Therefore, the subject guide explicitly states that language competence will be addressed and developed. In addition, we also find other transversal and specific competences related to content:

- To have the skills required to undertake new studies or improve the training with self-direction.
- Capacity for uni-disciplinary and multidisciplinary teamwork.
- Capacity to design HVAC installations (heating, ventilation and air conditioning).
- Applied knowledge to distributed energy generation and energy use.

- Capacity of analysis of energy systems, optimisation and integration of them and reduction of the environmental burden.

(Adapted from Study Guide for Services II, 2017-18: 3)

As far as methodology is concerned, this subject is divided into three parts that complement each other: lectures, visits and seminars, and problem-solving and lab activity:

- Lectures: teachers exposes students to the contents of the subject orally, there is no need for the active participation of students in these sessions.
- Visits and seminars: practical sessions where students will play an active role with individual or in-group activities.
- Problem solving: In problem solving sessions teacher presents a complex issue that students should solve, working individually or in pairs.
- Lab activity: Practical sessions in small groups in the laboratory

(Adapted from Study Guide for Services II, 2017-18: 5)

The continuous assessment comprises the following activities:

- Evaluation activity 1 (Partial Exam 1): Practical examination of the contents worked from week 1 to 8. This activity contributes 35% of the total mark of the subject; Minimum score to be considered for final grade ≥ 3.0 points.
- Evaluation activity 2(Partial exam 2): Practical examination of the contents worked from week 10 until the end of the course. This activity contributes 35% of the total mark of the subject; Minimum score to be considered for final grade ≥ 3.0 points.
- Evaluation activity 3: Individual test about the contents of a scientific paper in English. This test contributes 15% of the total mark of the subject; Minimum score to be considered for final grade ≥ 4.0 points.
- Evaluation activity 4: Delivery in groups of a report of lab activities as well as in-class activities. These tests contribute 15% of the total mark of the subject; Minimum score to be considered for final grade ≥ 4.0 points.

(Adapted from Study Guide for Services II, 2017-18: 5-6)

Out of the 24 classes (excluding exam days and holidays), 15 classes were both audio- and video-recorded, the remaining 8 classes were just audio-recorded using just one recorder. In this chapter, from the classes that were observed and recorded, I will focus on the following ones:

1. Lecture 1: 12/02/2018
2. Lab session: 14/03/2018
3. Seminar 11/01/18
4. Lecture 2: 21/05/18

10.1 Lecture 1 – ISA

The first class analysed is a classic lecture format class, where the lecturer talks for long stretches of time about combustion. In the following exchange, we see how Isabel asks all students one by one whether or not they will obtain more substances after a chemical reaction. Isabel addresses students by their name asking if they agree with the other students. The majority of the students respond with one or two words, or even some respond with gestures (moving their head, for instance):

1	ISA	first thing to do identify fuel type (.) / so tell me (.) what do we have here? [solid?]
2	NAR	[solid]
3	ING	solid (.) thanks / write and balance chemical reactions involved we already did this but let's do it again <writes on the board> / so the problem is asking for those cubic meters here (3) / so you can think if you don't see it clear you can think of the combustion and the chimney <draws on the board> / and here have this this and this and if we put this in contact with oxygen actually with air (2) okay? not with pure oxygen but with air / and then you have to think what you will obtain (.) you will obtain for sure these three (5) and now I'm gonna ask you / am I gonna (.) am I going to obtain something else here or not? Or this is it?
4	VID	nitrogen
5	ISA	nitrogen you said? (.) do you agree Carlos or not? do you agree with him?
6	NAR	oxygen
7	ISA	oxygen
8	GEN	<says no with head>
9	ISA	Ge- Genis says no (.) Marc (.) what do you think?
10	MAR	I think no more than that
11	ISA	this is it? you agree Narcís? You agree with Narcís?
12	MAR	yes

13	ISA	Amira
14	AMI	no oxygen
15	ISA	no oxygen (.) so oxygen we are not sure about this (.) Carlos
16	CAR	no oxygen
17	ISA	no oxygen (.) Gregorio?
18	GRE	no oxygen in this case
19	ISA	okay no oxygen in this case (.) Vidal?
20	VID	<@> no oxygen </@>
21	ING	and now the the important question (.) WHY? (.) otherwise just fifty per cent <i>que sí</i> {that yes} yes I don't know (.) <i>alguna encertaré</i> {I'll get something right}
22	NAR to JAU	<parallel conversation between students> <i>no hi haurà oxigen perquè tot l'oxigen es crema</i> (.) <i>perquè no tenim excés d'oxigen enlloc</i> {there won't be oxygen because all the oxygen is burnt (.) because we don't have anywhere excess of oxygen}
23	GEN	because oxygen reacts with the fuel (.) so there are no excess
24	ISA	he is right okay? / when we are working with a EXCESS OF AIR what means is that we are putting exactly the MINIMUM amount of oxygen or the minimum amount of AIR for the combus- for the fuel to react / so we are consuming all the oxygen in the to burn / this three / okay so without excess of air we just have these four species and we have right for sure these three that's clear (.) / WHY we are having nitrogen? ... WHY do we have nitrogen here? WE ALL AGREE nitrogen will be here (.) do we?
25	NAR	<i>perquè l'aire no: no reacciona</i> {because the air doesn't: doesn't react}
26	ISA	nitrogen is an inner substance remember that doesn't react with the fuel (.) / <i>no reacciona val? és a dir l'aire què té? / l'aire té a veure deixem-ho clar això</i> (.) <i>l'aire té oxigen i nitrogen</i> (.) / <i>el nitrogen és un inert és allò que us vaig dir el primer dia és és asocial completament no li interessa relacionar-se amb ningú / per tant ell entra</i> (.) <i>entra aquí hola què tal? surt i surt igual eh? surt impoluto vale? surt perfecte no li passa res</i> (.) / <i>quan tinc nitrogen? quan no compro una bombona d'oxigen</i> (.) <i>si jo compro una bombona d'oxigen i pago un dineral per una bombona d'oxigen</i> (.) <i>aquí no hi ha nitrogen perquè si m'han fotut nitrogen aquí és que m'han timat</i> (.) <i>vale? / per tant quan em diuen</i> {it doesn't react okay? I mean what has the air? / the air has let's see let's make this clear (.) the air has oxygen and nitrogen (.) / nitrogen is an inert it's what I told you the first day it's completely asocial it's not interested to connect with anyone / so it enters (.) it enters here hello how are you? it leaves and it goes out the same eh? it leaves spotless okay? it goes out perfectly nothing happened to it (.) / when do I have nitrogen? when I don't buy a gas bottle of oxygen (.) if I buy a gas bottle of oxygen and I pay a fortune for this gas bottle of oxygen (.) here there won't be nitrogen because it there is nitrogen here it means that I've been fooled (.) okay? / so when they tell

	me} AIR air mean means oxygen plus nitrogen (.) that's what AIR is / if it would say without excess of oxygen then I would not have this (.) yes or not? / but since it says AIR means oxygen plus nitrogen at the beginning oxygen and nitrogen are at the beginning / what happens at the end? / nitrogen will be there because it doesn't react (.) <i>pasa mira I fot el camp vale?</i> {it goes through looks and leave okay?} / what about oxygen? / if I'm using not excess of air means that all the oxygen will be consumed burning the fuel so then no oxygen here let's do second part
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Table 51 ISA practices LEC1-1

Isabel uses the lecturing strategy “referring to students by name”, creating opportunities for all students to answer her question and allowing enough waiting time for students to answer her question, supposedly due to the cognitive overload assumed when teaching and learning in the L2. Not only does she include students in the interaction, she then urges them to expand on their answer: “*and now the the important question why?*”. Isabel seems to be aware that by asking students an either/or question they will not reflect and justify their answer. Hence, she does not want their students to guess. So after allowing the one-word answer, she then requires an explanation, deep academic reasoning in the L2. We observe how Isabel pushes her students to reason and justify their answer academically in English.

In addition, the Goffmanian distinction between frontstage and backstage is relevant here (see discussion in Chapter 9). Although in the frontstage we can hear Genís answering in English to the lecturer and so the whole class, there were also backstage exchanges between other students. From one of the student's recorder, we could also hear Narcís explaining to Jaume in Catalan (turn 22). In this turn, we see how Narcís adopts a ‘teacherhood’ position because he is peer-scaffolding and showing content knowledge to his classmate Jaume in the backstage region, even if this is done in Catalan. Moreover, there is also a frontstage intervention by Genís in English, showing his academic identity and his expert academic knowledge (turn 25). Although Genís adheres to the language choice established by the lecturer, that is English (turn 23), Isabel starts teaching in a bilingual mode in the last turn as she switches back and forth between Catalan and English. Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) categorised translation in a bilingual class into three different groups:

1. Translation (for the whole class): the teacher switches from one language selectively during instruction to explain subject content. The aim is to ensure

understanding of content among all pupils but not necessarily strict 50:50 translation.

2. Translation for L2 learner: it includes responsible code-switching when the teacher explains aspects of the lesson to some pupils in their first language which is different from the intended language medium of the lesson.
3. Translation of subject-related terminology: which can be identified as a scaffolding approach to help pupils complete tasks undertaken in the classroom, for example, the teacher provides curriculum scaffolding in Catalan/Spanish to aid understanding in English medium lessons.

(Adapted from Lewis *et al.*, 2012: 659)

In this case, it can be observed that when Isabel starts teaching in a bilingual mode she uses type 1 translation, as she switches from English to Catalan selectively during instruction to continue explaining and clarifying subject content. In MCA terms, Isabel can be categorised as a “Code-switcher lecturer” in contrast with an “English-only lecturer”. This category, code-switcher lecturer, can be assigned the corresponding activities and predicates: “to allow herself L1 moments”, “to be flexible with the English-only policy” and “to use the L1 for explanation purposes”. Although Isabel in turn 26 tries to resist the switch to Catalan by starting her explanation in English, she then aligns with the student, Narcís, who has answered in Catalan (turn 25). In fact, Isabel replicates the last words of his answer, “*it doesn't react*” in Catalan, and may stick to the L1 to make sure students in general and Narcís in particular understand this specific information. She is addressing the whole class, therefore, she is ensuring that all students are processing and understanding the disciplinary content. Isabel is using bilingual teaching strategies by code-switching into the students’ stronger language (Catalan) to ensure that they understand (Lewis *et al.*, 2012: 659). Isabel seems to recognise the students’ L1 as an additional meaning-making resource and so she uses it to ease comprehension of complex concepts. By resorting to Catalan during her explanations, she makes the content accessible to all her students. As one of the participants in McMillan and Turnbull (2009: 24), Isabel seems to believe in the need to relate target language with first language knowledge and the use of translations “as a means of ensuring or verifying comprehension, and of reducing any feelings students may have of being lost”. Once she considers the explanation in Catalan has made the content more accessible, she switches back to English, aligning again with the EMI policy, that is, to teach in English.

Despite the fact that Isabel herself has used the L1 for explaining academic content, in the next excerpt, Isabel again requires students to reason and give arguments for their answer and not just give a one-word answer or answer with yes/no. However, in this case she recommends the use of English – even though the L1 seems to still be allowed. In this interactional episode, the participants involved are Isabel, Narcís and Genís:

1	ISA	let me ask you one more question to make it a little bit (.) more difficult (.) / cubic meters (.) cubic meters now okay? cubic meters of these three species (.) okay? / (.) am (.) what do you think? (.) are we gonna get exactly the same (.) / imagine that I have here ten cubic meters (.) of these three species (.) / I will have ten cubic meters here? of these three species? / (5) ha it's getting interesting
2	NAR	yes
3	ISA	yes (.) yes <i>perquè</i> {because} yes o yes <i>perquè ho sé</i> {because I know it}
4	NAR	<i>perquè utilitzarem la mateixa quantitat d'oxigen (.) per fer la reacció i el trenta per cent és el que sobrarà no?</i> {because we'll use the same quantity of oxygen (.) to do the reaction and this thirty per cent is what is leftover no?}
5	ISA	very good (.) next time in English?
6	NAR	okay @
7	ISA	very good Narcís / yes I will we will have exactly the same amount because at the end these substances doesn't care (.) / okay they just take the oxygen that they need they don't get it if there is an extra oxygen or not (.) yes? / let me ask you one more question what about nitrogen? (.) are you gonna get (.) the exact cubic meters here than here?
8	NAR	no
9	ISA	no (.) Narcís says no what about the others?
10	GEN	yes
11	ISA	good good (.) yes no (.) somebody I don't know
12	GEN	because nitrogen em doesn't react with anything
13	ISA	nitrogen doesn't react with anything (.) / imagine that we have here five cubic meters of nitrogen (.) those five cubic meters enter to the combustion chamber / wow this is too dark I'm gonna go out / go out I'm five cubic meters (.) WITH excess of air (.) / now thirty per cent more of air (.) are you having (.) five cubic meters of nitrogen when I'm introducing an excess of air or not?

Table 52 ISA practices LEC1-2

In the previous excerpt, Isabel switched to Catalan during an explanation. Now that a student intervenes in Catalan (turn 4), Isabel appraises his responds but adds “*next time in English?*” (turn 5). Therefore, taking into account her words, Isabel could be now

categorised as an “English-only lecturer”, with the corresponding CBA - “to encourage the use of English over the L1”. With this activity, she seems to enforce an EMI policy where the only language allowed is the L2, that is, English. Isabel is positioning English as the language for classroom participation and interaction. It seems that she is favouring the virtual position (Macaro, 2009) where a target-language-only policy is the goal. This is a rare and very ELT-like ‘speak English’ moment for Isabel. Nevertheless, she herself had introduced words in Catalan in turn 3 when asking students to develop the answer, which might have led Narcís to respond to Catalan. Therefore, her own activity “to mix English with the L1” that previously categorised her as a “code-switcher lecturer” may be what led Narcís to actually respond in his L1. There is an ambivalent use of Catalan: Isabel sometimes sticks to English and students do not respond to her code choice, here Narcís uses Catalan, and even though she does not enforce the use of the target language, she does recommend the use of English for the next interventions. Although students do not align to Isabel’s code choice, they are still allowed to use their preferred language, hence there seems to be an equal distribution of power as students become active actors and can make their own language choices without being penalised. Again, we see how Isabel requests students to explain their answer, an explanation that she then expands.

Nevertheless, not all the L1 use is successful. In the following excerpt during her monologic speech, Isabel explains the meaning of the acronym FMIN, which means minimum combustion heat output:

ISA	we call it fmin in Catalan / <i>fums</i> {fumes} meaning <i>fums</i> {fumes} / but it’s funny because in English they also write f and would be smoke or I don’t know but f (.) fmin
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Table 53 ISA practices LEC1-3

Isabel is suggesting that an English term is using the initial of a Catalan term as *fum* in Catalan is *smoke* and so the correct English term should be *SMIN*. Isabel appears not to be aware of the existence of the term *fumes* in English, meaning a smoke-like exhalation of matter or substances.

10.2 Lab session – ISA

During the lab session class, students were divided into three groups. The first group was working with the lab equipment to study how a simple compression refrigeration cycle works; the second one watched two videos about heat pump and refrigeration and

answered some questions about them; and the last group took a quiz on refrigeration. In this session, there is a higher use of Catalan compared to the lecture. As we saw in the first lecture, Isabel did not banish the use of the L1 but she did encourage students to use English instead of Catalan when answering. In the lab session, this implied policy is abandoned and there is an increased use of Catalan. The types of interaction patterns in the laboratory session, and specifically the group working with the lab equipment, might be influenced by its particular context – the lab. Therefore, students might be more active and participative due to the fact that they are actually in the lab.

First of all, Isabel does not know the word *hoses* in English. She comments on this lack of knowledge in Catalan. In addition, in this excerpt, we also find how she is trying to use the word *yellowish* but instead she uses a deviation from the standard form, *yellish*:

ISA	<p>so then this is probably liquid (.) not probably for sure (.) liquid and liquid / (2) so what you are observing there is this (.) at the beginning we ha- you have a mixture o: or some liquid with bubbles so that's a mixture and then you are evaporating this mixture and at the end you just have vapour / so that yellow thing that yellish thing is your refrigerant and inside the coil the cylindrical coil (2) this copper coil here this is where water is circulating (.) because this and this / <i>no sé com es diu mangueres amb anglès vale? vosaltres ho sabeu? manguera amb anglès jo no sé com es diu ho sento ho sabia alguna vegada al la meua vida ho he degut saber però a partir dels quaranta les neurones es van morint sabeu? i llavors ja (.) / això i això aquestes mangueres són les d'aigua val? per tant això que veieu aquí és el el refrigerant que s'evapora i el que veieu aquí: de fet si mireu aquí d'alt no? sembla que sigui vapor no? / i llavors clar aquí comença a gotejar però d'alt encara no goteja per tant està condensant el refrigerant si? {I don't know how to say hoses in English okay? do you know? hose in English I don't know how it's called sorry I knew one day in my life I must've know this term but once you are forty years old your neurons start dying you know? and then that's it (.) / this and this these hoses are the water ones okay? so this thing you see here is the the refrigerant that evaporates and this thing you see here: in fact if you look up here no? it seems like it's vapour no? / and so of course here it starts dripping so the refrigerant condensates right?}</i></p>
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Table 54 ISA practices LAB-1

In this excerpt, English is being used as the language of education; she is transmitting her specific expert knowledge in the field in English. However, there is a shift in the language of classroom interaction when Isabel realises she does not know a word in English, when she notices she lacks a term in the lexicon of the discipline. From an MCA perspective, Isabel can be categorised again as a “code-switcher lecturer”, in this case because of the

CBA “to resort to the L1 because of lack of English terminology”. Before acknowledging aloud this lack of knowledge, she uses the word “*this and this*” to refer to the object without saying the name.

The switch to Catalan to express lack of knowledge may reflect that she has the tools in Catalan and she also recognises her lack of knowledge. She seems to adopt a closer position to that of students as she accepts her deficiency as something normal and natural. In this sense, it is interesting that she uses her age as an excuse to explain why she forgot about a word – a word that in the past, when she was younger, she (might) have known. In addition, by recognising that she does not know this term and actually encouraging students to intervene if they happened to know the word, she actually cedes the floor to students with superior linguistic knowledge, hence positioning them as more knowledgeable than she is in terms of language – a positioning that students do not take on as none of them gives the term in English. In addition, this episode shows that her identity as a multilingual professional is not diminished because she does not present this gap in her lexicon as a problem, rather she states it and continues sharing her expert knowledge on the topic with students without any short of (at least) apparent anxiety. Therefore, Isabel’s EMI lecturer identity is constructed and strengthened by her L1 expertise, since she resorts to Catalan to prevent any sort of communication breakdown and to facilitate the transfer of disciplinary content knowledge.

In the lab session, Isabel was moving between the three groups of students, mediating whenever she deemed it necessary or when students asked her. Nevertheless, one language-related episode involved one of the students, Narcís, and the technician on the project who accompanied the researcher for data collection, instead of Isabel. This excerpt shows the follow-up of the question as the technician is checking that he understood correctly the word that the students wished to use:

TEC	<i>què m’has preguntat abans convertir o invertir?</i> {what did you ask me before convert or invest?}
NAR	<i>invertir</i> {invest}
TEC	<i>invertir?</i> {invest?}
NAR	<i>sí per invertir un benefici</i> {yes to invest a profit}
TEC	to invest
NAR	<i>ah vale invest (.) no ho canvio</i> {ah okay invest (.) I don’t change it}

Table 55 ISA practices LAB-2

Students establish the researcher and the technician as language experts. However, Isabel is available and students resort to her whenever they are having problems – even if she is busy with another group; for this linguistic doubt the student chooses to ask the technician of the project present in the lesson. In terms of MCA, the student may be categorising the technician as a “language expert” because the student cohort is aware that the researchers belong to the language faculty and so Narcís asks him for a word in English because he assigns him the CBP “to have superior linguistic knowledge”. Therefore, students may not assign the content lecturer who teaches in English this CBP as language issues are seldom (if ever) discussed.

In the following excerpt, Isabel is working with the students that are using the laboratory equipment. She is asking a question about the fluid involved in the experiment, and we see how she switches from English to Catalan:

ISA	what fluid is this?
SX-m	water
NAR	water
ISA	water? (.) yellow?
NAR	refrigerant
ISA	<i>sí mira si no és blanc és negre i si no és gris i si no vaig dient</i> {yes of course if it's not white it's black and if not it's grey and if not I just keep saying} / okay think a little bit more about this (.) / <i>home si si això / si no em dieu que això és l'evaporador jo ja dimiteixo ja directament / vale la pregunta important és això que esteu veient aquí això que s'està evaporant / què és?</i> {come on if if this / if you don't say that this is the evaporator I'll just quit immediately / okay the big question is this thing that you see here this thing that is evaporating / what is it?}
SX-m	<i>això és el refrigerant</i> {this is the refrigerant}
ISA	<i>és aigua o és refrigerant? aquesta és la pregunta important (.) venga teniu un minut per discutir</i> {is it water or is it refrigerant? this is the big question (.) come on you have a minute to discuss}

Table 56 ISA practices LAB-3

According to Isabel, students are just guessing the answer but they are not actually reflecting and reasoning about what they are looking at. This is the reason why she switches the language of interaction to Catalan. The shift in language also implies a shift in the pedagogical function as from teaching/questioning mode, she moves to a rather punitive or disciplinary function as she is criticising students' behaviour: they are giving answers without any real deep thinking. Nevertheless, she does not do it in a negative

manner as she is in a way joking when she comments: “*come on if if this if you don’t say that this is the evaporator I’ll just quit immediately*”. Catalan seems to be more effective for Isabel when it comes to censure students’ behaviour with a touch of humour to alleviate the disciplinary function. Therefore, from an MCA perspective, it can be stated that the medium-related activity associated with the Catalan-language choice, at least in Isabel’s case, has disciplinary and humour purposes.

This language alternation may be due to the fact that Isabel is making reference to her L1 lecturer identity, a position she feels more powerful and knowledgeable due to the language of instruction. The alternation between languages thus means that she moves back and forth between her L1 and her EMI lecturer identities as the former may grant her more authority and she may feel more comfortable to make reference to students’ behaviour in the shared-L1. The EMI disciplinary identity can stand as long as it can work to the fullest. However, as soon as there is a problem, Isabel maintains her authority by switching into her Catalan-mediated-lecturer identity. Nevertheless, the latter is not the same as it would be in a course in which Catalan were the medium of instruction. Therefore, we need to think that this Catalan-mediated identity, enveloped in an EMI context, is different in some way (or ways).

After two minutes and seventeen seconds, Isabel comes back to the group:

ISA	so (.) do we already know <i>perdona</i> {sorry} do we already know the if this is the: refrigerant or water?
SX-m	refrigerant
ISA	refrigerant (.) why? want another minute?
NAR	<i>perquè lo que passa pel circuit sempre és refrigerant</i> {because what goes through the circuit is always refrigerant}
ISA	<i>per quin circuit?</i> {through which circuit?}
NAR	<i>o sigui pel:</i> {I mean through:}
ISA	<i>el</i> {the}closed-
NAR	<i>per l’evaporador</i> {through the evaporator}
ISA	<i>el</i> {the} closed-loop
DAM	<i>sí</i> {yes}
NAR	<i>sí bueno el circuit tancat evaporador condensador i:</i> {yes well the closed circuit evaporator condenser and:}
ISA	<i>per què heu dubtat si era aigua?</i> {why did you hesitate if it was water?}
DAM	<i>pel color</i> {because of the colour}
SX-m	XXX

ISA	XXX <i>l'heu cagat</i> {you're all screwed} @
NAR	XXX <i>ara es veu més transparent</i> {now it's more transparent }
ISA	<i>però penseu una mica és a dir (.) aquí tenim vapor val? (.) si fos aigua (.) com es produeix aquest vapor?</i> {but think a little bit I mean (.) here we have vapour okay? (.) if it were water how is this vapour produced?}
SX-m	<i>bullint l'aigua</i> {boiling the water}
ISA	sorry?
SX-m	<i>bullint l'aigua</i> {boiling the water}
ISA	<i>bullint l'aigua (.) tenim algun boiler aquí? estem bullint alguna cosa? (.) / vale llavors si mirem el si mirem el: l'esquema no? clar el Narcís diu (.) correctament tu dius el fluid refrigerant circula en el closed-loop no? / vale en el cicle en el se- cicle tancat a l'evaporador hi ha hi ha: realment hi ha intercanvi entre els dos fluids és a dir dintre de l'evaporador(.) els dos fluids es posen en intercanvi / com es posen aquí en intercanvi? doncs un (.) està està diguem-ho si voleu a la part externa (.) i l'altre és el coil aquest que que està aquí dintre (.) / clar si no tenim un lloc on bullir l'aigua i aquí està entrant aigua líquida (.) i surt aigua líquida perquè vosaltres podeu veure que aquí surt aigua líquida (.) e: hauria d'haver algun lloc que li donéssim calor a l'aigua (.) perquè l'aigua fins i arribés a bullir no? / llavors o tindríem aigua bullint aquí dintre (.) o seria l'aigua bullint aquesta ... {boiling the water (.) do we have a boiler here? are we boiling anything? / okay so if we look at the if we look at the: scheme no? but Narcís says (.) correctly you say the refrigerant fluid circulates through a closed-loop no? / okay in the circuit in the se- in the closed circuit in the evaporator there's there's really there's an exchange between fluids I mean in the evaporator (.) the two fluids are interchanged / how do they get into interchange here? so one (.) it's it's let's say if you want in the external part (.) and the other one is this coil, this one that that it's in here (.) / but if we don't have any place to boil the water and here there's liquid water coming in (.) and liquid water coming out because you can see that here there's liquid water coming out (.) e: there'd have to be some place where the water is heated (.) so that the water gets here boiling no? / so we'd either have boiling water inside here (.) or it would be this boiling water ... }</i>

Table 57 ISA practices LAB-4

Although Isabel approaches the group with an English-language choice, this choice is not followed up. In the first turn, one student does stick to the medium of classroom interaction established by Isabel. Nevertheless, when Isabel asks students to demonstrate their answer by asking “why?”, Narcís establishes a new language choice: Catalan. From then on, the interaction between the group of students and Isabel is carried on in Catalan – with some technical lexical terms in English inserted in their speech (*closed-loop, boiler, coil*). This excerpt shows that the L1 is present during a lecturer-students dyad interaction where all the individuals involved are on-task. Actually, in terms of who

chooses the medium of classroom interaction, this is a clear example where a student takes control and decides the medium that will be used for the explanation. Instead of switching back to English, Isabel sticks to the language choice established by Narcís and proceeds to perform her ‘teacher-hood’ in the L1. In fact, the category “code-switcher lecturer” can be thus further developed with the activity “to align with student’s preferred medium-choice ” and with the predicate “to be lenient with the L1 use”. Therefore, during this episode the Catalan-language choice is established by a student with a pedagogical purpose and as Isabel permits it, she positions herself as a code-switcher lecturer who allows the presence and the use of the L1 on the part of the students.

During this session, Isabel uses the board to explain some disciplinary knowledge. While drawing the diagram on the board and in the middle of her explanation in English, she inserts a sentence in Catalan:

ISA	<p>what I’m trying to say here maybe it’s not clear enough is when looking at the energy balances here and here (.) / <i>si em donessin un euro per cada vegada que dibuixo això no em caldria treballar mai més</i> {if they gave me a euro for every time I draw this I wouldn’t need to work anymore} em: / what I’m trying to answer what I want you to think about is (.) is the: when calculating this work this compression work (.) / this compression work depends on the energy balance or what is happening here in the expansion valve or not? / this is what I’m trying you to answer so: you can decide if this statement is true or not and then please justify your answer I think that the other ones are pretty clear okay?</p>
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Table 58 ISA practices LAB-5

Isabel also uses small doses of humour in her classes to get students’ attention, a function that she usually assigns to the Catalan-language choice. Using humour in Catalan may reduce tensions associated with the established language and it may create a more relaxed classroom environment. By adding comments as the one in the excerpt above, Isabel creates an optimal reality in the EMI classroom where both L1 and L2 are allowed. In fact, she seems to assign to Catalan the function of building relationships (Levine, 2009) as the use of the L1 serves the purpose of fostering a connection with the students. As Gee (2005: 99) writes: we “use language to signal what sort of relationship we have, want to have, or are trying to have with our listener(s), reader(s), or other people, groups, or institutions about whom we are communicating; that is, we use language to build social relationships”. Therefore, within the MCD “languages”, the category “use of Catalan” is

assigned the activities “to create humour”, “to create a more relaxed classroom environment” and “to build social relationships with students”.

Finally, one critical episode from the lab session occurs when a student was thinking about how to write an answer in English and Isabel responded in this way:

GRE	<i>estava pensant com escriure XXX</i> {I was thinking about how to write XXX}
ISA	<i>fica-ho en català si t'és més fàcil / ja esta / venga no trigueu més de dos tres minuts més perquè no tindreu temps de fer val?</i> {write it in Catalan if it's easier for you / that's it / come on don't spend more than two three minutes because you won't have time to do it okay?}

Table 59 ISA practices LAB-6

Gregorio chooses English as the language to complete the test, but he finds it difficult to actually compose his answer. Although he is indirectly seeking help from Isabel, she does not praise him for trying to write in English, does not assist him in the writing-up of his response and, in turn, actually encourages him to use Catalan. One of the reasons why Isabel suggests the use of Catalan is that it would be easier for the student and, as a result, it would not take him as much time since he was running out of time to complete the test. The category “use of Catalan” is here further developed as it is attributed the activity “to facilitate the writing of answers” and “to write/answer faster”. Isabel therefore positions both languages, English and Catalan, as appropriate to answer a test in an EMI class since she accepts both languages. An optimal position is established and both languages, L1 and L2, are at the same level since both can be used for evaluation purposes. In a way, she actually positions Catalan as the superior, or *real*, language. Therefore, Isabel indirectly positions the entire EMI undertaking as theatre, as somehow an unreal universe in which she and her students can operate as long as there is no serious threat to the teaching of content or to students understanding content and completing their work in a timely manner.

10.3 Seminar – ISA

The seminar session lasted an hour. Students were given an assessment activity that they had to complete during classroom time. Isabel gave assistance when students asked her. It is interesting that although this was an assessment activity and there were some questions requiring students to develop and justify their responses, Isabel at one point made the following comment while reading the rubric of *Section F* of the test:

ISA	F / in any process / would you recommend to use pure oxygen / or air? / not in this pharmaceutical one / in ANY / in any industrial process / e: please / justify your answer / couple of sentences / or three or four sentences / no more than four / (.) too long to correct them
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Table 60 ISA practices SEM-1

Before starting the assessment activity, Isabel went through the different tasks of the test. In *Section F*, similarly to the previous sections, she says that students are required to explain their answer. Nevertheless, Isabel does not encourage students to write a lot, a maximum of four sentences. What is more, she states that if they write more, it will take her a long time to correct the activity. This suggests that written production is not an important competence, neither for the subject nor for the lecturer herself. This contrasts with the fact that the study guide for the subject specifies that one strategic competences for this subject is *Command of a foreign language*, but then this competence does not seem to be addressed in assessment activities. On the one hand, Isabel seems to encourage the use of the target language in the beginning lecture – when she suggests that a student to intervene in English when contributing to classroom discussion (*Table 52 ISA practices LEC1-2*). On the other hand, both in the lab session and in the seminar, Isabel seems to downplay the use of English: in the lab by suggesting answers can be written in Catalan if students have difficulties in English (*Table 59 ISA practices LAB-6*) and now in the seminar by indicating that English written production is not really necessary. In this case, the category “use of English” arises with the CBA “to write short answers”. In terms of EMI methodology, this excerpt shows that even though this is an English-medium class, lecturers do not encourage using the language (or at least Isabel just encourages a minimum use of it). There is a minimum amount of English being used in terms of written production, a skill which presumably is an important aim of EMI. This excerpt then raises the question of what purpose EMI serves here.

Nevertheless, in some interactions, Isabel sticks to English even when students’ code-switch to their L1:

1	ISA	<i>digues</i> {yes}
2	MUS	<i>seria això no? (.) seria fer (.)</i> {it would be this right (.) I would do (.)}
3	ISA	mhm
4	MUS	<i>XXX més diòxid de carbono</i> {more carbon dioxide}
5	ISA	that’s right

6	VID	<i>perquè el que tenim al depòsit (.) què son els productes?</i> {because what we have in the deposit (.) is it the products?}
7	ISA	but depending (.) whether you are using pure oxygen or air or excess or non (.) there are difference- different species (.) and that's why I'm asking which substances and I want you to justify why we only have this or think if we have some and explain me why (.) this is what I'm asking
8	MUS	<i>perquè si utilitzem cent per cent de oxigen pur obtenim només això (.) perquè és la: la el balanç químic</i> {because if we use a hundred per cent of pure oxygen we'll only get this (.) because it's the: the chemical balance }
9	ISA	so yeah so okay so it's clear for you (.) so perfect (.) that's the discussion (.) to see if you are working with pure oxygen or air and in case of pure oxygen (.)
10	MUS	<i>vale</i> {okay}
11	ISA	and the exact amount of oxygen those are the substances that you obtain okay? this is it okay good

Table 61 ISA practices SEM-2

Although Isabel sticks to English (except in turn 1), all Mustafa's turns and also Vidal's turns are in Catalan. Both students position Isabel as the teacher, the content expert, as they resort to her for help in the completion of the task – turns 2 and 6. Students may be challenging the category that Isabel is ascribing them, that of EMI students, because they do not use English. While Isabel as the lecturer should be the one choosing and establishing the linguistic medium of classroom interaction, Mustafa and Vidal do not grant Isabel the power to decide upon the code used in their interaction. Consequently, even if she sticks to English (either because this is an EMI course and so she has to use English or because she attempts that students actually use the language by her sticking to it), students do not align with her and keep using Catalan throughout the interaction, in contrast with Isabel who uses English. One reason why Isabel may stick to English in this interaction, even if students' medium preference is Catalan, is that her explanation is quite straightforward and simple. She is not giving students too much information and so she may believe that they can follow this information in English without the need to resort to Catalan. This can be seen in Isabel's turns 7, 9 and 11, which are short explanations in English, and in Mustafa's turns 4, 8 and 10 as he shows understanding of Isabel's comments. Here, it could be argued that Isabel can still be categorised as “code-switcher lecturer” as, although she does not switch herself, she does allow the use of Catalan during the interaction, so the interaction itself has a code-switching nature as English and Catalan are being alternated between speakers. Hence, the activities associated with the category “code-switcher lecturer” are “to allow students the use of the L1” and “to allow

interactions that combine English and L1”. Nevertheless, the use of Catalan is normatively perceived because Isabel accepts as appropriate students’ switches to the L1 even if she sticks to English. Isabel does not encourage the use of English and continues the conversation with students, suggesting that Catalan is not a deviant language choice.

Nevertheless, Isabel does not always stick to English during her explanations. In the next excerpt, we see how she voluntarily switches to Catalan to continue her explanation and she only goes back to English to check understanding:

ISA	<p>well I think I’ve already explained it to you okay? / the chemical reaction is only one (2) and even the the this chemical reaction works for the three cases when you are working with pure oxygen when you are working with minimum air and when you are working with excess of air (.) / this is the chemical reaction and is / this is the one that you have to balance you don’t have to balance this one you don’t have to include this one with extra oxygen or extra nitrogen you don’t have to (.) / you work with this one because if you try to balance this one then stoichiometry will be wrong (2) okay? you just have to know which species which extra species are involved / but in a chemical reaction what we only write is the components the components that react (.) transformation of components (.) but not those components that are there to catalyse the reaction for example <i>els les reaccions catalítiques suposo que això ho heu sentit a parlar alguna vegada què és? / és una substància inert que fa que la reacció vagi més ràpid no? / ... un catalitzador es una substància INERT que no reacciona però que tu afegeixes allà com si tu en un plat hi afegeixis sal no? / la sal reacciona no? però si en un plat hi afegissis algo (.) / perquè: perquè: vagi més ràpid però allò no reacciona / llavors la reacció química s’escriu sense el catalitzador perquè: la substància que entra passa per allà i surt/ no entra en una reacció {the the catalytic reactions I guess you’ve heard about what this is? / it’s an inert substance that makes the reaction go faster no? / ... a catalyst is an INERT substance that doesn’t react but that you add there like if you add salt to a dish no? / salt reacts doesn’t it? / but if you add something to a dish (.) because: because: to make it go faster but it doesn’t react / so the chemical reaction is written without the catalyst because: the substance that enters goes through there and then comes out / it doesn’t enter into a reaction }</i></p>
GRE	<p><i>com al nitrogen {as nitrogen }</i></p>
ISA	<p><i>com al nitrogen (.) per tant {as nitrogen (.) therefore} this one aquesta és incorrecta / no no podem escriure això (.) / si tu perquè a tu: et va bé per aclarir-te / vols ficar això entre parèntesis doncs vale (.) / a mi m’agrada més la idea aquesta de / faig una xemeneia faig un globus i m’imagino que hi ha aquí / i aquí poso les espècies que hi ha i després escric la reacció només en aquells components que canvien / que es transformen / però això ja depèn del</i></p>

	<i>gust del consumidor</i> (.) {this one this is incorrect / we cannot write this (.) / if you because to you: it works well for you to understand / you want to put this in parentheses then ok (.) / I prefer the idea that / I draw a chimney I draw a balloon and I imagine what's in here / and I put the spices that I have here and then I write the reaction only with those components that change / that are transformed / but this depends on the individual's taste (.)} clear now?
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Table 62 ISA practices SEM-3

It may be argued that Isabel switches to Catalan when the content starts getting more complicated and heavy and she wants to make sure that she is understood. Therefore, another activity is found for the category “code-switcher lecturer”, that is, “to use L1 when content gets too difficult”. Despite the fact that Isabel switches the language of instruction, she is still engaged with the business of doing education. Therefore, language alternation here does not imply a suspension of teacher-hood, given that Catalan is regarded as an additional default medium of instruction. In fact, Isabel’s student group is a homogenous Spanish-Catalan bilingual group, which enables Isabel to resort to Catalan to explain complex concepts without worrying about an international group of students not following. Since Isabel, as the lecturer, is the one performing teacher-hood, the language or languages that she uses are allowed.

On other occasions, the language switch does imply a categorisation change as well:

ISA	a lot (.) thank you (.) <i>nois despertem eh? venga això ho sabem eh? no? sou sou sou enginyers de: tèrmics / que voleu? / voleu alguna cosa que us produeixi molta energia molta calor tenir moltes calories per quilo perquè després vosaltres això ho passeu per un procés o feu el que vulgueu i obteniu aigua calenta o obteniu electricitat / obteniu el que us vingui de gust</i> (.) / {guys wake up eh? come on we know eh? no? you're you're you're thermal engineers / what do you want? / you want something that produces a lot of energy a lot of heat to have a lot of calories per kilo so that later you can go through a process or do whatever you want and get hot water or electricity / you get what you want} okay so preferably fuels that are in this area okay?
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Table 63 ISA practices SEM-4

This intervention can also be interpreted in terms of Goffman’s (1981) notion of *footing*. Although similar to positioning, footing specifically refers to how a speaker aligns with their co-conversationalists in interactions. As Burns (1992: 324) explains, “the alignment of speaker to audience may change quite frequently and, consequently, has to be repeatedly defined and redefined”. Goffman (1981: 151) explains that footing occurs

“when as speakers we project ourselves in a current and locally active capacity, then our co-participants in the encounter are the ones who will have their selves partly determined correspondingly”. In addition, Burns (1992: 325) points out that changes in tone or accent and even changes in embodiment are examples of changes in footings. Footing and positioning “grasp different types of metamesages”, as Ribeiro (2006: 49) notes. Ribeiro (2006: 74) explains:

positioning characterizes speaker and hearer’s most prominent stances (or projected selves) in interaction, the ones that participants would clearly be identified with or would use to identify the other ... [footings] refer to the very micro interactional shifts, which would ultimately constitute positioning. Thus, a shift in pronoun use ... and a shift in register ... would be a shift in footing but would not necessarily entail a repositioning.

While engaged in interaction, we can observe changes in footing when participants shift alignment, for example from an academic register to a more social and informal register. For this reason, we can observe how Isabel shifts her alignment from a more professional to a more personal footing. In this last excerpt, we can notice how a language change entails a more equal status between the lecturer and the students. There is a momentarily suspension of teacher-hood correlated with the medium suspension. As Bonacina-Pugh (2013: 308) notes, “‘teacher-hood’ is relevant to language alternation acts since a categorisation suspension triggers a medium suspension”. By shifting from English to Catalan and back to English again, Isabel is orienting towards a different aspect of her identity, an orientation produced due to the language choice pattern. With Catalan, Isabel creates a closer relationship with students and attracts their attention. Actually, this type of more affective and informal talk on Isabel’s part may be seen as a teaching strategy as well. She seems to make these switches fairly self-consciously and they serve a particular function within the ongoing flow of classroom interaction.

Finally, an important episode that took place during the seminar while students were answering the assessment activity in pairs was a language-related episode (LRE):

1	MUS	<i>escric jo? (.) no escriu tu</i> {shall I write? (.) no you write }
2	VID	<i>però que fem?</i> {but what do we write? }
3	MUS	pure oxygen XXX
4	VID	<i>s’ha de justificar</i> {we have to justify }

5	MUS	<i>perquè hi ha menys productes</i> {because there are fewer products }
6	VID	<i>sí però més car</i> {yes but it's more expensive }
7	MUS	<i>és igual</i> {it doesn't matter }
8	VID	<i>què fico?</i> {what do I write? }
9	MUS	XXX (.) we prefer
10	VID	we
11	MUS	prefer
12	VID	we recommend
13	MUS	eh?
14	VID	we recommend
15	MUS	we recommend (.) using pure
16	VID	use?
17	MUS	use
18	VID	to use
19	MUS	U SE <using Spanish pronunciation> U SE <using Spanish pronunciation>
20	VID	U-SE <using Spanish pronunciation> o {or} to
21	MUS	no (.) to use
22	VID	<i>veus?</i> {you see? }
23	MUS	pure oxygen
24	VID	<i>com s'escriu?</i> {how is it spelled? }
25	GEN	<i>i grega</i> {wye }
26	MUS	<i>i grega</i> {wye} (4)
27	VID	[because]
28	MUS	[beca U SE] <using Spanish pronunciation> (3) has (2) has (2) a
29	VID	hasal?
30	MUS	a (.) a (.) <i>fica</i> {write} a (1) lower (3) environmental impact (.) environmental impact
31	VID	environment?
32	MUS	environmental impact
33	VID	<i>que s'escriu en una o dos emes?</i> {is it spelled with one or two M's? }
34	MUS	<i>amb una</i> {with one }

Table 64 ISA practices SEM-5

Here we can see how Mustafa and Vidal (and Genís) are discussing how to write a sentence in the backstage region without requesting the lecturer's interference. There are several LRE. The sentence that they come up with in the end is “*we recommend to use pure oxygen because has a lower environmental impact*”. In lecturer's absence, Mustafa seems to adopt a teacher position and he is actually willing to maintain such position by enacting this identity when he is the one who gives aloud the answer for Vidal to write it down. Mustafa's self-positioning as the teacher in this student-student dyad only

functions because Vidal himself also accepts this positioning. Therefore, Vidal seems to accommodate himself within the discourse of student and he also accommodates to Mustafa's enactment of the teacher position. Nevertheless, when Mustafa delivers "We recommend using", Vidal challenges Mustafa's position and he gives two alternatives to Mustafa's formulation: *use* or *to use*. As Mustafa agrees with Vidal and accepts *to use* instead of *using*, as he had suggested in the first place, Vidal recovers some authority and knowledge as he says aloud "you see?", claiming expertise in this LRE. As their conversation continues, Vidal however loses this language expertise because he does not know how to spell the words *oxygen* and *environmental* and twice he resorts to Mustafa for answers.

If we apply an MCA analysis, the two categories that arose from this conversation are "expert student" and "non-expert student". While activities such as "to suggest an answer" or "to correct spelling" can be assigned to the expert category, the activity "to ask what to do" is appropriate of the non-expert category. In turns 2, 4 and 8, Vidal is reiteratively asking what to write as an answer, he himself adopts the category of non-expert through his speech acts: he does not seem to know the answer even in his L1. Nevertheless, in turn 12 Vidal tries to assume the category of the expert peer as he suggest an alternative to Mustafa's answer. His self-positioning as expert is then reinforced by his comment in turn 22 (you see?) where Vidal is displaying that his suggestion (to use) is the one that they finally decide upon. Despite this act of attempting to acquire an expert position, Vidal is again categorised as the non-expert in this dyad because of his interventions in turns 24, 29, 31 and 33 that show that he has problems with spelling and vocabulary. Therefore, there is an inconsistent positioning of content and language expertise and knowledge between students. What is important from this excerpt is that in EMI classroom students do encounter difficulties when writing in English, which lead them to have LRE discussions. Nevertheless, they do not resort to the lecturer to solve these problems, which may be explained by the fact that students position lecturers as content-experts, but they do not grant them language expertise or authority or they may not see Isabel as interested in this sort of thing.

10.4 Lecture 2 - ISA

In the lecture towards the end of the course, I found two instances of LREs. In the first LRE, Isabel stresses the final syllable in the word *exercise* and she then self-repairs and stresses the first syllable.

ISA	this is the heat exchanger of the exerc <u>ise</u> (.) of the <u>ex</u> ercise (.) not the exerc <u>ise</u> the <u>ex</u> ercise
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Table 65 ISA practices LEC2-1

As the class continues, the second LRE takes place. She produces another pronunciation error, the word *latent*. However, in this case, she does not self-repair and throughout the class she repeatedly uses this pronunciation /*lætent*/ for the word latent, instead of /*leitənt*/: In addition, she tries to construct an adverb from the adjective strict, producing *strictic* and *stricticly*, and she ends up resorting to the Catalan word *estricament*:

ISA	this one is sensible and the other one is latent <lætent> (.) so if we do it e: from a strictic point of view a strict point of view so stricticly <i>o com és digui estricament</i> {or whatever strictly}
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Table 66 ISA practices LEC2-2

These two excerpts show that lecturers, or, in any case, Isabel, are aware of language issues. What is more, lecturers actually make reference to English as an object of study. Isabel often focuses on her non-native status that she shares with her students, highlighting certain gaps in her language competence. Since she does not always feel fully comfortable in English, she uses a form of self-effacement (humour to remove the knowledge asymmetry) to exteriorise and objectify her English. When she does so, it is one of the few occasion that the English language is the focus of the conversation. Using humour as a self-effacing strategy may reduce tensions associated with the language and create a more relaxed classroom environment (Savage, Lujan, Thipparthi & DiCario, 2017). In fact, Deiter (2000: 26) defines self-effacing comments as “the most convenient, safe, and non-offensive form of humor ... Revealing your faults and weaknesses gives students a feeling of comfort in knowing that maybe you’re not perfect and so they’re not expected to be either”. By referring to her own problems pronouncing a word in English, she demonstrates to students that although the class is in English, it is okay if their English is not completely correct because she sometimes makes mistakes too. By sharing her experience with the language, she manifests to students that they are all in EMI together.

In addition, although she tries to find the English word (*strictly*), she ends up resorting to Catalan, hence the L1 is seen as an additional meaning-making resource because it eases comprehension of complex concepts or words.

In addition, even at the end of the course, students still have problems with the pronunciation of some field-specific terminology, vocabulary that they have been exposed to during four months. In the next example, Damià has trouble pronouncing *PH diagram*:

DAM	but with a: a a PH </pi:/ /f/> dia- diagram </' dɪ. æ.græm/> you: you can fix the two points and
ISA	yes if you have a PH diagram then you can also do that okay? ...

Table 67 ISA practices LEC2-3

Isabel does not explicitly address this pronunciation problem, but she does repeat the term providing the correct pronunciation /pi: /etʃ/. Therefore, she can be said to be scaffolding the student's output. This episode might be proof that just by exposing learners to disciplinary content through English in EMI does not mean that it also serves as conduit for the learning of English. The incidental learning belief often connected with EMI may be questioned since subject specialist knowledge in the target language (TL) has not been successfully acquired through osmosis after fifteen weeks. I will return to this point in the final part of the thesis, where I will discuss the finding of this research, and this is in particular points to the need for an explicit focus on formal aspects of language at some point in EMI classes.

In the next excerpt, we see how Catalan becomes the language of classroom interaction as it makes the content more accessible to all students:

1	ISA	I hope that with this exercise e: (2) you know how to deal with e: this intermediate heat exchanger okay? the concept of the efficiency in the heat exchanger as well as concepts of latent and sensible heat (.) this is it (.) <i>digues</i> {tell me}
2	DAM	<i>llavors el valors d'aquestes entalpies d'on les has tret? del gràfic?</i> {so from where did you get the values of these enthalpies? from the graph?}
3	ISA	from tables you have to look at a: at table okay? you have (.) the exercise is giving a pressure and temperatures (.) values so then with that you can go to tables and: if I don't pro- if I don't give this data then you: will have to look at tables and (.) look for it

4	VID	<i>i el to- i el que val un màxim de vint kilograms per quinze segons?</i> {and the to- and what is a maximum of twenty kilograms for fifteen seconds?}
5	ISA	oh yeah this is okay yeah yeah that's right what (.) / the data that you have here is e: (.) cubic meters per second (.) and you need kilograms per second (.) yes so then remember that (6) and according to (24) <writing on board> you can find out here the density using the: e the: ideal equation the ideal gas equation and then we know that (.) this is volume per density okay? so finally is <i>quaranta set vint-i-quatre</i> {forty seven twenty-four} (.) cubic meters per second (6) and this is e: twenty kilograms per second ...
6	ARN	<i>Isabel què és la temperatura 1?</i> {Isabel what's temperature 1}
7	ISA	e: the exercise is also giving this e: but here at sic bars and three hundred from subco- e: (2) <i>no espera 't no ho sé</i> (12) <checks exercise> <i>sí el cinc-cents cinquanta aquests no? perquè estem mirant el gas / per tant aquests estàs mirant el corrent del gas</i> (.) / <i>per tant la temperatura e: és aquesta d'aquí / que son els cinc-cents cinquanta:</i> (.) <i>graus centígrads passats a kelvin que son</i> (.) {no wait I don't know (12) <checks exercise> yes these five hundred no? because we are looking at the gas / so these you're looking at the gas current (.) / so the temperature e: is this one here / this five hundred fifty: (.) degrees converted into kelvins are (.)}
8	MUS	<i>la cos- la constant R quina és?</i> {the cos- which is the constant R?}
9	ISA	<i>la que està?</i> {the one that is?}
10	MUS	<i>la constant e: la R</i> {the constant e: R}
11	ISA	<i>la R és la constant dels gasos ideals</i> (.) <i>té la dona l'exercici vale?</i> (.) <i>juls per grams és igual que quilo-juls per per quilo vale?</i> (2) <i>sabem que / bueno la pots escriure així no?</i> { the R is the ideal gas constant (.) the exercises give you this constant okay? (.) joules per grams is the same as kilo-joules per kilo okay? (.) we know that / well you can write it like this okay?}
12	NAR	<i>però una cosa Isabel</i> {but one thing Isabel}
13	ISA	<i>mana</i> {yes}
14	NAR	<i>aquí quan trobes T1 menos T2? T1 compte-</i> {here when you find T1 minus T2? T1 compte-}
15	ISA	<i>com es / perdó eh?</i> / <i>com es nota que s'acosta l'examen</i> (.) <i>avui pregunteu / MILAGRO @@@ digues</i> {how do you / pardon eh? / you can tell that the exam is approaching (.) today you ask / A MIRACLE @@@ OK ask me}
16	NAR	<i>aquí a T1 menos T2</i> {here T1 minus T2}
17	ISA	<i>sí</i> {yes}
18	NAR	<i>T1 també consideres que és cinc-cents cinquanta graus centígrads</i> {you also consider that T1 is five hundred fifty degrees}
19	ISA	<i>estem mirant aquí no? és a dir T</i> {we are looking at here no? so to say T}
20	NAR	<i>ah vale que està en kèlvins ja està</i> {ah okay it's in kelvins that's it}
...		

21	ISA	<i>vale queda clar doncs? ara sí? molt bé</i> {okay is it clear now? now yes? very good } so: now e I'm gonna show you this is a: an exercise from an exam ...
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Table 68 ISA practices LEC2-4

Again, here we see her switching to English when the content gets a little tough, or in any case, when she detects problems. So, similarly to what happened in the seminar, Isabel is switching to Catalan because of the activity “to use L1 when content gets too difficult” that corresponds to the category “code-switcher lecturer”. As complex disciplinary knowledge is being dealt with, then English appears to be relegated to a second plane of importance. The switch back to English at the very end may be explained because a new activity sequence is about to begin. In this excerpt, we can see how Damià, Vidal, Arnau, Mustafa and finally Narcís are initiating non-IRF sequences, requesting for clarification of content mater. While this class discussion is “dialogic, interactive and includes both students and teacher” (Fortanet-Gómez, 2012: 53), this does not happen in English. Therefore, high-level oral skills and the spontaneity in the TL are not put into practice and developed. Although Isabel is explaining the exercise in English, all student interventions are in Catalan. Therefore, the choice of medium of classroom interaction is shared among the classroom participants, as both lecturer and students have the same authority to establish a new medium. We thus can see how students establish Catalan as the medium of interaction, even if they are not performing ‘teacher-hood’ since they are not peer-scaffolding or adding new disciplinary information.

In addition, although the asymmetry of knowledge is still evident because students are the ones opening the question sequence, requesting explanation and clarification, and the lecturer is positioned as the knowledgeable one, there is equality in terms of who is in the position to decide what medium will be used. Indeed, the fact that all students resort to the L1 has an impact on Isabel as she then switches from English to Catalan instead of sticking to the TL during the interaction. With the first two student turns (Damià and Vidal), Isabel adheres to English and only uses Catalan to read two numbers (turn 5). Nevertheless, with Arnau’s intervention there is a change. While Isabel first tries to maintain English as the classroom code, there is juncture that prompts her to switch into Catalan (turn 7). Isabel seems to not know the answer (*no wait I don’t know*) and after 12 seconds of silence that she spends looking at the equation on the board and re-reading the rubric, she then re-gains knowledge and her authority. Nevertheless, she does so resorting

to Catalan. Then, Mustafa's question is in Catalan and Isabel seems to also assign the pedagogical function to Catalan, a function often assigned to English in EMI. When Narcís comes into the interaction, Isabel stops him and comments that it is obvious that the exam is approaching because students are asking questions, which is seen by Isabel as "a miracle", as she puts it.

With this statement, and her laughter, Isabel seems to be both reprimanding students' behaviour but at the same time praising it. First, with this comment Isabel positions students as generally passive and non-participative because it is rare that they ask questions in class. Second, students are positioned as active just for today because of the exam, so there seems to be a correlation between how active students are and how close the exam is. Isabel more than censuring students is joking due to the laughter at the end of her judgement. Then, Narcís continues with his question and their conversation is again carried out in Catalan. At the end of this classroom interaction, Isabel finishes with some final follow-up questions in turn 21 (*okay is it clear now? now yes?*) and praising students (*very good*) in Catalan (turn 21).

However, there is then a language choice to mark the beginning of a new activity of the session (*so: now e I'm gonna show you this is a: an exercise from an exam, also turn 21*). Isabel is expressing a language preference, she is regaining her position as an EMI lecturer that teaches in English, hence ascribing herself group membership within EMI. This language choice, according to an MCA perspective, suggests that Isabel's language alternation is a social action as Isabel is navigating between her L1 lecturer subject position and her EMI lecturer subject position. It seems that English is ascribed to the pedagogical function of lecturing – a teaching mode that is authoritative and does not require interaction because it only involves the lecturer – and Catalan is allowed in classroom discussion – when students and lecturer engage in an interactive dialogue. This may be associated with Isabel's identity as she may feel more comfortable and confident using English when her speech is prepared in advance and interaction is reduced to a minimum. However, when she is not fully prepared for a classroom discussion that requires spontaneous conversation between students and the use of oral skills, she resorts to her L1 lecturer position.

Nevertheless, we can also find Isabel lecturing in Catalan. In the next excerpt, she spends from minute 1.28.00 to the end of the classroom 1.46.55 mostly using Catalan. In this excerpt, the more informal phrases have been highlighted in bold and underlined:

	Original	Translation to English
ISA	<p><i>potser potser bueno què estem fent a veure (.) / si mirem el diagrama MTS / va parem un moment (.) / si mires el dia- si mireu el diagrama TS (.) teniu dues pressions no? (.) i llavors el que estem fent és entre tres i quatre e- estem baixant vale? / estem aquí (.) el ranking és aquest que té aquesta forma així rara / el cicle <clac> (.) cap aquí: (.) puja baixa dintre la campana val? aquesta és la putada que ens baixa dintre la campana val? / per tant aquí: tenim una X tenim un títol de vapor (.) val? ... el: el: quan: tinc un: un procés irreversible és a dir que no és isentròpic / aquest punt hem dit que es mou cap a la dreta (.) bueno cagada lemus perquè hauria d'estar dintre de la campana encara vale? però imagina't que la campana va cap allà val? (.) el que faig és en lloc d'estar en el lloc ideal (.) m'he de moure a la dreta (.) això ja passa en alguns països ens podem cap a la dreta vale? / a la dreta llavors això és 4S i això és 4 (3) okay? (.) sí? per tant estem a la dreta / estem ja gairebé radicalitzant-nos / estem aquí i llavors aquest punt d'aquí (.) / això és entalpia 4 / torno a dibuixar PH val? (2) per tant quan he de calcular l'entalpia 4 he de passar per pebrots per l'entalpia (.) e: del procés ideal val? / per nassos / PERÒ (.) aquí (.) / torno aquí / hem calculat l'entalpia del estat IDEAL (.) sí? ara he de trobar l'entalpia del estat REAL (.) del mon real vale? (.)</i></p>	<p>maybe maybe well what are we doing let's see (.) / if we look at the MTS diagram / okay let's stop for a moment (.) / if you look at the dia- if you look at the TS diagram (.) you have two pressures no? (.) so what we are doing is between three and four e – we're going down okay? / we're here (.) the ranking is this one that looks funny / the cycle <clac> (.) this way: (.) goes up and down inside the bell ok? this is the nasty trick that it goes down inside the bell, okay? / so here: we have a X we have a high level of steam (.) okay? ... the: the: when: I have one: an irreversible process that is to say that it is not isentropic / we have said that this point it is moving to the right (.) well a shitstorm because it should still be inside the bell okay? but imagine the bell goes in that direction okay? (.) what I do is instead of being in the ideal place (.) I have to move to the right (.) this already happens in some countries where we move to the right okay? / to the right then this is 4S and this is 4 (3) okay? (.) okay? so we are on the right / we are just about radicalised / we are here and then this point here (.) / this is enthalpy 4 / I'll redraw PH okay? (2) therefore when I have to calculate enthalpy 4 I'll just have to go through enthalpy (.) e: of the ideal process okay? / just have to / BUT (.) here (.) / I'm back here / we have calculated the enthalpy of the IDEAL state (.) right? now I have to find the enthalpy of the REAL state (.) of the real world okay? (.) and the real world is a piece of shit right? / so the real</p>

<p><i>i el mon real és una merda no? llavors al mon real (.) / doncs resulta que he d'aplicar aquesta formula (.) que és (.) l'enta- la: diferencia d'entalpies reals dividit per la diferencia d'entalpies ideals (.) i d'aquí trobem H4 aplicant que? / la el rendiment isentròpic i posant aquí el valor de l'entalpia IDEAL (2) torno a repetir? o: queda més clara? / això ho heu fet cen- bueno cent vegades no diria / però deu o dotze segurament sí a la vostra vida @@ sí? / per tant és simplement / és que és aplicació això cada vegada (.) és me- és mecànic (2) val? i tot això és la tocada de nassos / que aquest punt està entre la campana (.) val? la vida s' il·lumina quan al problema et donen directament l'entalpia aquesta / no has de fer tot això val? / però si no tenim l'entalpia de l'estat 4 hem de passar per aquí / hem de calcular (.) títol de vapor (.) ens permet calcular l'entalpia de l'estat IDEAL / i l'entalpia de l'estat ideal ens permet calcular l'entalpia de l'estat real (.) sí? (.) veus la termo és com la vida (2) algo més? / seguim? sí? (.) once we have this we have already calculate the thermal efficiency of the cycle (.) okay? ...</i></p>	<p>world (.) / it turns out that I have to apply this formula (.) which is (.) the enta- the: difference of real divided by the difference of idea enthalpies (.) and from here we find H4 applying what? / the Isentropic performance and putting here the value of the IDEAL enthalpy (2) shall I repeat? or: is it clearer now? / you have done this a hun- well I wouldn't say a hundred times / but yes probably ten or twelve times in your life @@ okay? / so it's it's simply / it's applying this every time (.) it's me- it's mechanical (2) okay? and all this is a pain in the ass / that this point is between the bell (.) okay? life is illuminated when the problem gives this enthalpy directly / you don't have to do all this okay? / but if we don't have the enthalpy of state 4 we have to go through here / we have to calculate (.) the high level of steam (.) it allows us to calculate the enthalpy of the IDEAL state / and the enthalpy of the ideal state allows us to calculate the enthalpy of the real state (.) yes? (.) you see thermodynamics is like life (2) anything else? / shall we continue? yes? (.) once we have this we have already calculate the thermal efficiency of the cycle (.) okay? ...</p>
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Table 69 ISA practices LEC2-5

It is interesting to note that during this monologue in Catalan, Isabel tends to use more colloquial language when speaking in Catalan, a variety that is closer to students. Examples of an informal variety of English are not found in her classes, suggesting that Catalan grants her a position to be in a more equal level to that of the students. The category “use of Catalan” is hence further elaborated with the CBP “to be more colloquial” and the CBA “to create a more equal status between lecturer and students”. Therefore, it may be argued that she is not only resorting to Catalan, she is also resorting to a more informal variety of Catalan to (maybe) create an equal status between her

students. Isabel therefore has an ambivalent/dual linguistic system when it comes to Catalan as a medium of classroom interaction, as she seems to present two Catalan registers, the formal and the informal one. Therefore, she even brings to the frontstage of the classroom the informal variety of her Catalan, a variety that is usually relegated to the backstage of her personal life. In a way Isabel follows a trend in the field of scientific communication whereby scientists in public (e.g. on TV) try to demystify what they do by talking to the public with ‘normal’ language. Isabel does this through her colloquial language. What we do not know is how each and every student in the class received this.

The previous excerpt finishes with Isabel’s shift to English, which is then followed by a subsequent change again to Catalan her explanation. Then she is back to teaching in English but Genís asks in Catalan and their whole interaction is in the L1. Once their interaction is over, however, Isabel continues in Catalan until she realises she is using the L1 and suddenly says “*okay in English*” to finish the class in the TL:

ISA	<p><i>... si em dona dades de: de l'eficiència isentròpica llavors haure d'anar primer al estat ideal i després calcular el real (.) / tothom o: ens hem perdut? vale doncs e: ja està e: per avui llavors / el que faré el proper dia (.) e ja (.) us vaig dir que faríem un exercici de cicle combinat es e {if you give me data about: about isentropic efficiency then I have to go to the ideal state first and then calculate the real (.) / everyone or: have we got lost? okay so e: that's it e: for today then / what I will do the next time (.) e (.) I've already told you that we would do a combined cycle exercise is e} / okay in English / if you don't give me any input okay? if there's e: anything specific that you want that we do here in class / my idea is to solve a complex and very long e: a combined cycle with a gas turbine and intermediate heat exchanger and also a: m: vapour turbine to see how to: combine everything that we have studied and we will also look at the: / well it's a part if you want to take a look at the slides let me show you in in a couple of minutes what I want you to look at (.) and I let you go ...</i></p>
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Table 70 ISA practices LEC2-6

In this excerpt, we can see how she realises that she is off-script as she has been teaching for a long stretch of time in Catalan. Suddenly, she becomes aware of this and explicitly says “*okay in English*”. From an MCA perspective, the category “code-switcher lecturer” does not imply that Isabel regards no importance to the use of English, hence the code-switcher lecturer also wants English to be used in class – CBA “to ensure the switch-back to English after using the L1”. In a way, this comment makes visible and apparent the theatricality of EMI as there were not any complaints about the use of Catalan or any

communication breakdown that lead her to switch back to English. Instead, the pure label of EMI subject appears to be the catalyst in this situation to move back to English.

10.5 Summary Isabel's classroom practices

Although the use of English on the lecturer's part is maximised, Isabel makes use of code-switching and translation. The L1 is seen as a natural and habitual resource through which students can create meaning while being exposed to new disciplinary content in English without an arbitrary separation of their language systems. In Isabel's classes, the L1 is regarded as an ally, a short-cut. For this reason, the majority of the episodes where lecturer and/or students switch to the shared mother tongue are regarded as a "learning aid to enhance communicative competence in the foreign language" (Butzkamm, 1998: 81). Therefore, the L1 is used in Isabel's lessons as a "conversational lubricant", in Butzkamm's (1998: 95) terms, since thanks to the L1 students can process the content and internalise the data and the L1 allows the conversation to carry on, getting the message across.

A summary of the MCDs, categories and CBAs/CBPs found throughout Isabel's classroom practices can be found in the following table:

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of EMI lecturers	English-only lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to encourage the use of English over the L1
	Code-switcher lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to allow herself L1 moments to be flexible with the English-only policy to use the L1 for explanation purposes to mix English with the L1 to resort to the L1 because of lack of English terminology to align with student's preferred medium-choice to be lenient with the L1 use to allow students the use of the L1 to allow interactions that combine English and L1 to use L1 when content gets too difficult

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ensure the switch-back to English after using the L1
Types of teachers	Language expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to have superior linguistic knowledge
Types of students	Expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to suggest an answer to correct spelling
	Non-expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ask what to do
Languages	use of Catalan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to create humour to create a more relaxed classroom environment to build social relationships with students to facilitate the writing of answers” and “to write/answer faster to be more colloquial to create a more equal status between lecturer and students”
	use of English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to write short answers

Table 71 MCA practices: ISA

Chapter 11. Animal biotechnology

This chapter will look at Raquel's subject. During the first semester of the academic year 2017-2018, Raquel taught the subject Animal Biotechnology, which was part of the BSc degree programme Veterinary and Animal Science and Production. Animal Biotechnology is an optional subject and its modality is attendance-based continuous assessment. There is a total of 6 ECTS credits for the subject. In terms of teaching load distribution between lecturers and independent student work, the subject has 60 hours of on-site work and 90 hours of off-site autonomous independent student work (Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18).

In the study guide of the subject, one finds the following statement: “although there are no official prerequisites, it is advisable that students know fundamental concepts of genetics and are able to read scientific texts in English” (Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 3). Therefore, students will be expected to already have skills in reading scientific articles, which implies not only knowing how a scientific article is structured but also understanding the specific subject-matter vocabulary of the discipline. Therefore, Raquel seems to expect that students can work independently when it comes to comprehending a scientific text.

Subject objectives are divided into two categories: learning objectives stated as “students who pass the course *must* ...”, and capacity objectives, stated as “students who pass the course *should be able to* ...” (Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 3, emphasis added). In the learning objectives list, there is no reference to language; instead they all make reference to disciplinary knowledge. Among others, we find:

- To distinguish the molecular techniques used in genome analysis (mapping, genotyping of polymorphisms and functional genomics studies) and the proteome.
- To recognise patterns of inheritance and the genetic basis of Mendelian and complex characters.
- To know some applications of transgenesis in animal production and biomedicine

(Adapted from Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 3)

In the list of capacity objectives, however, the last two are directly related to language:

- “To communicate orally and in writing in English”
- “To display / communicate clearly and in an organised manner both orally and in writing.”

(Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 4)

In addition, there are three other capacity objectives that are indirectly connected to language since they suggest that students should be able to describe, explain and give personal opinions (although it is not explicitly stated that this would be required in English): “Give personal opinion on the application of transgenesis in production and biomedicine” (Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 3).

Similar to Services II, here we find again the strategic competence “Command of a foreign language” and also we find these two transversal competences:

- “To understand and express themselves with the right terms”
- “To discuss and argue on a variety of topics”

(Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 4)

Therefore, the subject guide explicitly states that one of the competences that will be addressed and developed is language-related. In addition, we also find other transversal and specific competences related to content:

- “To apply the scientific method to solve situations and maintain a critical and innovative spirit”
- “To apply the concepts of biotechnology to animal breeding”
- “To learn the basic principles of biotechnology and genetic population genetics”

(Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 4)

As far as methodology is concerned, the teaching is divided into theoretical and practical sessions. The lectures are based on presentations of theory and are intended to introduce the main points of each topic. They also include cooperative learning activities such as interspersed short activities during presentations of the topic. In fact, the description of lectures states that “Support for the use of oral and written English will be provided in the form of specific hand-outs to backup both grammar and vocabulary topics” (Study Guide

for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 6). Therefore, we find again a reference to linguistic matters. The practicals consist of laboratory sessions, computer lab sessions, problem solving sessions and seminars. In addition, in small groups, students must develop a project, the results of which they will be required to present audio-visually (slideshow, video) and in written report format. These practical activities are:

- Practical: 1 computer room, 2 laboratory and 1 genomic tools (total of 14 hours)
- Project: design a diagnostic protocol for animal production (12 hours)
- Seminars: 2 seminars (total of 4 hours)

The continuous assessment comprises the following activities:

- Exams (40%): exams are divided into two parts. Part A consists of True/False multiple choice questions and Part B has short questions that require students to develop, reflect, reason and analyse.
- Reporting practices (30%): after the four practicals, students must fill a report with the resolution of issues and a summary and an interpretation of the results.
- Project (30%): students need to submit a written report, a summary leaflet and an oral presentation. For the evaluation of the project, the lecturer will take into account the consultation of bibliographical sources, the ability to argue and to organise the oral and written presentation and the ability to defend the work publicly.

(Adapted from Study Guide for Animal Biotechnology, 2017-18: 7)

In the research, eight out of the 28 classes were both audio- and video-recorded and ten classes were just audio-recorded using one or more recorders. In this chapter, I will focus on four classes that were observed and recorded:

1. Lecture 1: 21/09/2017
2. Lab session: 05/10/2017
3. Seminar: 11/01/2018
4. Lecture 2: 11/12/2017

Nevertheless, before going into detail with regard to the four classes observed, I would like to make reference to an episode that occurred in one of other Raquel's classes

(18/09/17) that is not among the four selected ones for analysis here. This particular episode is of importance as it is a defining feature of her self-inhabited EMI lecturer identity that she advocated for in the interviews, aligning that positioning with her classroom practices:

RAQ	don't be shy / or don't be afraid to ask / because I assume you cannot remember everything
ELE	<i>perdona / o sigui / són altres gens / els que: controlen:</i> {sorry / so / they are other genes / the ones that: control:}
RAQ	can you say that in English / because we have English-speaking people?
ELE	em (3) other? gens? gens

Table 72 RAQ practices extra

This episode is crucial as it categorises Raquel as an “English-only lecturer”, as one of the key activities of this category is “to force students to use English”. In fact, that day there were two international students, which may have influenced her as well to prompt students to use English instead of their L1. It is important to note, however, that the presence of these two international students was not consistent throughout the course and towards the end of the course neither of them attended her classes. This contrasts with Isabel’s classroom practices and we will see how this category is further expanded with the following Raquel’s EMI practices.

11.1 Lecture 1 – RAQ

This lecture deals with the disciplinary content of basic techniques in molecular genetics with topics related to isolation of genomic DNA and RNA, electrophoresis and restriction enzymes. In the following three excerpts, we can see how Raquel adapts her language to make it more accessible to her students:

RAQ	so you're gonna got fragments that are small (.) fragments that are intermediate and fragments that are large (.) / you're gonna have all types of fragments and that's when you have a smear (1) / if the smear goes to the bottom of the of the gel that means that DNA is very very very degraded (1) very much broken down into pieces (.) / if the smear is still on the top of the gel that means only a little bit of the DNA is degraded (.) okay?
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Table 73 RAQ practices LEC1-1

In this first example, Raquel refers to the DNA in the bottom gel as “*very very very degraded*”, she emphasises through repetition of the adverb “*very*” that DNA is broken

down or chemically deteriorated. Next, she uses a synonym for the repetition of “*very*” (very much) and “*degraded*” (broken down into pieces): “*very much broken down into pieces*”. Finally, she uses a comparison, contrasting the result of the DNA with the bottom and the top gel, with the latter the DNA is “*only a little bit degraded*”. She uses the same structure changing the treble “*very*” with “*a little bit*” and maintains the verb.

SX-f13	but is the same (.) buffer [and]
RAQ	[for- as in] for PCR for instance [or:]
SX-f13	[yes] for for the: (1) the: DNA? no?
RAQ	ah for the DNA isolation?
SX-f13	yes
RAQ	no because e the lyase buffer that we used before for isolating the DNA a:nd there what I needed were reagents that were able to break down the d- the: cell to destroy the cell to destroy the membranes to break (.) the protein structures etcetera and to protect the DNA of course (.) / so there are not (.) concerned about if the enzymes are happy or not (.) / there I’m concerned that the DNA is preserved and that all the structure is broken (.) / here I want this enzyme to be happy / I want this (.) enzyme to be in the right environment in the optimal environment for its activity and most of these enzymes are actually (.) very easy to make happy / you don’t need very sophisticated buffers / other enzymes that you use in: in biochemistry especially they might need e buffers that are more difficult to (.) to to produce but these these enzymes they work even in the: in the PCR buffers ...

Table 74 RAQ practices LEC1-2

In the example above, Raquel is in a way personalising the enzyme as she says “*here I want this enzyme to be happy*”. In fact, it could be argued that Raquel is using simplified speech and although she then slightly increases the complexity of the level, her explanation is still simple: “*in the right environment in the optimal environment*”. In this instance, she first uses the word “*right*” and then she gives the more technical term “*optimal*” through synonymy. Finally, she goes back to the simplified language as she repeats again, “*enzymes are actually (.) very easy to make happy*”. In fact, the use of anthropomorphism of entities as enzymes is quite common in her teaching, where she attributes human traits, emotions, or intentions to non-human entities. So, where Isabel uses colloquial Catalan to connect with her students, Raquel simplifies her English explanations.

In the following example she uses another strategy, that of exemplification and comparison:

RAQ	BSA: is bovine serum albumin / so that's albumin albumin isolated from serum bovine that's a protein and it helps stabilising ... it's like e chaperone it's called (.) it's like tin do you know when y- / especially in labs I see this (.) that you open a package and is full of this polys- polystyrene (1) e clouds (.) that e em when you have something very fragile usually wrapped it in something that hold it together so that the box doesn't f- (.) / what is in the box doesn't break if something happens / well this BSA this albumin is what it does it helps the protein to be stable and to be comfortable it's like cushions for them
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Table 75 RAQ practices LEC1-3

In this last example, Raquel is making accessible to all students the verb “*stabilise*”. To do so, she first compares the albumin to a “*chaperone*” defined as “a person who accompanies and looks after another person or group of people”. Actually, the choice of this word could make the content even more difficult for students as this is not a basic word most students know. Therefore, this instance could be an example of how, although Raquel has a good command of English, she sometimes is not in control of how to make the language more comprehensible for students. Then, she uses the strategy of exemplification as she compares the albumin to the polystyrene that comes in packages, explaining that thanks to polystyrene, fragile objects do not break. Next, Raquel goes back again to the technical term, from the verb “*stabilise*” she now uses the adjective “*stable*”, which is then assigned the synonym “*comfortable*”. Finally, she ends with another comparison, this time, a more understandable one, as she compares the albumin to “*cushions*”.

The three examples show that Raquel’s classroom practices align with what she admitted in the interview: when doing EMI she has to be more dynamic when teaching, she has to explain things from more different perspectives than she does when teaching in her L1 to make sure students understand the new concepts. This can be seen here as she uses a more basic language. From an MCA perspective, we can argue that the category “English-only lecturer” can be attributed the activity “to use simplified language” and “to use anthropomorphisation of the objects of her explanations”. Raquel can be described as an EMI lecturer that does not allow the use of Catalan or Spanish in class because she views her EMI lessons as an opportunity for students to be immersed in English. Therefore, through the implementation of her classroom practices she is in a way approaching the

practices performed by language teachers as they tend to rephrase and simplify when students do not understand. Therefore, while Isabel resorts to the use of the L1, Raquel sticks to English, modelling and shaping her explanations to a level that may be more comfortable for students.

However, it is her students' responsibility to take advantage of the situation. Interestingly, Raquel does not encourage students to speak in English when they are working in pairs and when they address to her individually (not a whole class intervention), this can be seen in the following excerpt:

1	SX-m2	<i>hem de fer això?</i> {do we have to do this?}
2	RAQ	yes beautiful
3	SX-f10	[@@@]
4	SX-m2	[<i>ah bueno</i>]{ <i>ah okay</i> }
5	RAQ	no (.) actually horrible
6	SX-f10	[@@@]
7	SX-m2	[@@@]
8	RAQ	no / it's not right
9	SX-m2	no?
10	RAQ	no (.) because that's time / so that's less time / and that's more time (.) / do you have to wait less time or more time? / to get the two hundred base pair pick?
11	SX-m2	more time no?
12	RAQ	no
13	SX-f10	<i>ah està al revés / crec</i> {ah I think / it's the other way around}
14	RAQ	so
15	SX-f10	<i>si primer és [menos]</i> {if first it's [less]}
16	RAQ	[that] would be your electrophoresis system XXX here here would be your- your laser your laser okay? that's an i (.) also that's where electrophoresis starts that's where your DNA gets injected (.) and then the DNA travels along this capillar and gets here (.) so which which DNA is gonna go faster?
17	SX-m2	ah
18	RAQ	which X [which-]
19	SX-m2	[<i>vale</i>]{okay}
20	RAQ	DNA is gonna le- take less time to get here?
21	SX-m2	smaller

Table 76 RAQ practices LEC1-4

This excerpt occurs after setting up a task, Raquel gives some time to students to work in pairs and then she walks around the class checking answers and responding to students' questions. Here she approaches a pair of students as they ask her if what they did is what the exercise was asking for. First, Raquel thought it was correct “*yes beautiful*”, but then she realises in turn 5 that they have made a mistake and confirms it turn 8 that their answer is not right. Although student SX-m2 starts the interaction using Catalan (turns 1 and 4), he then switches to English in turn 11 after Raquel’s explanation in English. Raquel’s 10th turn may have led SX-m2 to switch to English and align with the lecturer’s code-choice, which is English. Nevertheless, this is not the case for student SX-f10, as she keeps using Catalan in turns 13 and 15. Raquel does not however comment on the use of the L1 and she continues with her explanation in turn 16. The student SX-m2 seems to understand and he ends the interaction in turn 21 with a response to Raquel’s question in English.

This excerpt shows that alignment to the lecturer’s code-choice does not always occur. Although Raquel had established an English-only policy in her previous classes (*Table 72 RAQ practices extra*), it is interesting to note that this policy is applicable in whole classroom discussions. Nonetheless, in individual interaction between lecturer and student(s), Raquel does not force the use of English, she does not even comment or encourage to use it. Therefore, even though Raquel aims to apply a virtual reality (Macaro, 2001), students “codeswitch even when rules or policy ban them from doing so” (Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009: 183). What is more, she is aware of this use of the L1 (in student-student dyad and the one that we have just analysed) and she does not make it explicit that during these conversations the use of English is also obligatory. Therefore, in a way, her English-only bubble bursts.

Another example of students using their L1, in this case Spanish, is found in this backstage, side talk episode:

		Original	Translation to English
1	RAQ	yea (.) it’s fine so once you have your standard done (.) you see this one is one two three about the:- (.) the band the third band so XXX the size of the third band (.) these are smaller and smaller and smaller smaller smaller very good ah you	yea (.) it’s fine so once you have your standard done (.) you see this one is one two three about the:- (.) the band the third band so XXX the size of the third band (.) these are smaller and smaller and smaller smaller smaller very good ah you

		can draw that yea have a volunteer already (.) excellent	can draw that yea have a volunteer already (.) excellent
2	ESM	<i>yo no sé cómo se hace esta mierda eh?</i>	I don't know how to do this shit eh?
3	ELE	<i>cómo que no? que sí [hombre]</i>	what do you mean you don't know? of course you do [man]
4	ESM	<i>[que no]</i>	<i>[no I don't]</i>
5	ELE	<i>cópiale al chaval @@</i>	copy it from him @@
6	GAB	<i>sí o sea (2) si yo cuánto más lejos</i>	yes I mean (2) the further away I get
7	ESM	<i>brillan más?</i>	they shine more?
8	GAB	<i>no si llegan más lejos (2) es decir que son más pequeñas (.) entonces</i>	no if they get further away (2) that's it they are smaller (.) then
9	ESM	<i>llegarán antes?</i>	they'll arrive sooner?
10	GAB	<i>sí / si este es el tiempo (.) éstas / están más lejos / son las que van primeras (.) y si brillan más / es que el pico es más alto</i>	yes / if this is the time (.) you are / they are further away / they're the ones that go first (.) and if they shine brighter /it means that's the peak is higher
11	ESM	<i>pero no tiene nada no tiene nada que ver con lo de la distancia entre</i>	but it has nothing it has nothing to do with the distance between
12	GAB	<i>no</i>	no
13	ESM	<i>no?</i>	no?
14	GAB	<i>o sea / yo que sé / pon (.) em las primeras aquí y pones trescientos y quinientos [y aquí mil]</i>	so / I don't know / let's say (.) em the first ones here and you put three hundred and five hundred [and here a thousand]
15	ESM	<i>[ah vale]</i>	<i>[ah okay]</i>
16	GAB	<i>y más o menos / todas tienen que ir</i>	and more or less / they all have to go
17	ESM	<i>vale o sea así (.) yo ahora por ejemplo aquí que hay pues pongo un piquito</i>	okay so this way (.) now I for example here there is so I put a little peak
18	GAB	<i>o sea (.) [antes]</i>	so [before]
19	ESM	<i>[aquí no hay]</i>	<i>[there aren't here]</i>
20	GAB	<i>antes del doscientos / un piquito pequeño / así / trescientos un poquito más grande / o sea / solo tch primero haz (.) la ele (.) y luego X que te coincida la primera (.) el pico que irá después del doscientos que te coincidan y vas haciendo / o sea tch / primero haz la ele</i>	before the two hundred / a tiny little peak / this way / three hundred a little bit bigger / I mean / only tch first do (.) the el (.) and then X once it coincides with the first (.) the peak that goes after two hundred you have to make them coincide

			and you keep doing / so tch / first do the L
21	ESM	<whispering> vale gracias </whispering>	<whispering> okay thanks </whispering>

Table 77 RAQ practices LEC1-5

In this excerpt, we can see how one student, Esmeralda, prefers to admit her lack of understanding to Elena and Gabriel even when Raquel was standing next to them. Instead of taking advantage of the lecturer's knowledge and mentioning her doubts to her, she prefers to wait for Raquel to leave their area and then admit to her classmates that she does not understand the problem (turns 2 and 4). The activity "to admit lack of knowledge" categorises Esmeralda in this student dyad as the "non-expert" student. Elena tries to encourage and actually states to copy the solution from Gabriel, so she is positioning Gabriel as the expert student. In fact, Raquel herself positions Gabriel as expert because she makes him volunteer to correct the exercise when she says that he "can draw" (turn 1). Therefore, his category as "expert student" is not only stated by Raquel, but also reinforced by the other students. Throughout their interaction, we can see how Esmeralda is the one performing the activity "to ask for further clarification" in turns 7, 9 and 13 and Gabriel, on the contrary, is the one who displays the CBA "to bridge the gap and clarify" as seen in turns 6, 8, 10, 14 and 20. At the end of their interaction, Esmeralda shows understanding by responding "okay thanks", hence again acknowledging his expert content knowledge.

In this excerpt, Gabriel is performing teacher-hood, as he is engaged in the business of doing being the teacher as he scaffolds Esmeralda. In this mentoring role, Gabriel acts as expert as he helps and assists Esmeralda, hence stimulating the understanding and learning of the non-expert peer. Both students engage in a dialogue initiated by Esmeralda's seek of assistance and Gabriel's response to her request for help. The collaboration in a student-student dyad results in a social dialogue that leads to mediated learning through guidance. It is important to note as well that the medium of interaction selected is Spanish. This language choice suggests that after Esmeralda establishes Spanish, Gabriel then defines her as monolingual in Spanish and so he stick to her code-choice (Gafaranga, 2001). These kind of episodes show how individuals negotiate their linguistic identities as the activity of peer-scaffolding between students is accomplished through a language-preference choice, in this case Spanish.

11.2 Lab session – RAQ

This laboratory practicum focussed on methods for genotyping molecular markers (PCR-RFLP, qPCR) and it involved three days of work in the lab. Students were required to take DNA samples already prepared by the lecturer and test three mutations by three different approaches that had been presented and discussed in previous classes. After the practicum, students were asked to write a report about the analysed samples with the results and some general conclusions. Students had to pipette (to measure or transfer a quantity of a liquid with a pipette, which is a slender graduated tube used for measuring and transferring liquids from one container to another) the samples and centrifuge them, and then, with a spectrophotometer called NanoDrop they had to quantify the concentration of contamination. During the setting up of the laboratory experiment, Raquel implicitly directs attention to a language issue by uttering a specific term with emphasis:

RAQ	so what you do: you take YOUR sample (.) you take your small pipette (.) and we LOAD two microliters of your DNA directly to the NanoDrop
-----	---

Table 78 RAQ practices LAB-1

This excerpt is important because it contradicts what we saw from the interview excerpts: Raquel’s clear refusal to inhabit a DLF position and her rejection to the CLILised version of EMI put forward by the interviewers. Nevertheless, it can be seen from this lab session excerpt that she is clearly acting as a DLF. In this excerpt, Raquel is emphasising a linguistic issue, marking that the correct collocation is “*to load the samples*”. Although she does not expressly state that she is talking about a language issue, this is implied as there is clear stress or importance attached to the word “*load*” as she raises her voice volume to say this word. In this sense, Raquel can be categorised as a CLILised EMI lecturer as the activity that she performs is “to implicitly and indirectly refer to language issues” as she is directing attention to the correct jargon employed in her field, to the appropriate disciplinary vocabulary. In fact, this episode was discussed during the interview (Table 31 RAQ interview excerpt 8), where she explains this precise point to the researchers and argues that she is dealing with disciplinary vocabulary. Her argument is that she does not act as a language teacher or as a DLF, rather she transports her identity as a researcher to the classroom setting, where she aims to put her students in touch with the correct vocabulary that they will need when they become professional veterinaries that need to socialise in their disciplinary field. Therefore, reference to correct jargon is

not language teaching for Raquel. Her position as a researcher makes her responsible as a content teacher to make visible and teach the suitable specialised language of the field. Therefore, her researcher subject position is central to her professional identity, rather than a DLF position. As a researcher, she wants to make sure that her students employ the appropriate vocabulary if they ever become researchers in this field in the future.

As she continues with her explanation of the tasks that students have to perform in this practicum, Raquel acts as she did in the lecture sequence above, using synonymy and again adopting a kind of simplified language through the use of anthropomorphisation to describe the types of results:

RAQ	(10) from the NanoDrop you will get three (2) no two types of information (.) / one is the concentration (.) in nanograms per microliter and you need to: to register that (.) you need to (.) to make sure you note that in a paper somewhere (.) / and the other one is the purity level (5) / to know if your DNA is pure (.) is clean (.) it has no contaminants (.) no proteins / remember these are (.) the types of contaminants that you could get from a DNA isolation event (.) we measure the ratio of XXX at two sixty and two eighty nanometers / (.) and if that ratio is over one point eight (.) you are very happy (.) / if it's between one point five and one point eight you're alright (.) / and if it's less than one point five (2) you cry (.) because it's not good it's a lot of contaminants
-----	---

Table 79 RAQ practices LAB-2

First, she first uses the word “*pure*” which may be more adequate for the context, but she immediately assigns the synonym “*clean*” to give students a more common term that has an equivalent meaning. In addition, she then also adds “*it has no contaminants*”, hence further developing the meaning of the word “*pure*” and further commenting “*no proteins*”, hence equating “*contaminants*” and “*proteins*” for this case. In addition, we find another example of lowering the level by associating the measurements of the ratio to the students’ state of happiness (or lack of this one): “*you are very happy*”, “*you’re alright*” or “*you cry*”. In fact, the last state “*you cry*” is then expanded, as she makes clear that it is because the measurement means that the sample has too many contaminants and “*it’s not good*”. Therefore, we find three expressions - “*you cry*”, “*it’s not good*” and “*it’s a lot of contaminants*” – to explain that a certain purity level is not the desired one. It could be argued that her goal to maintain a virtual classroom environment leads her to frequently use synonymy and also use this kind of basic, simplified language to make the content clear and accessible to the lowest level students.

Although we cannot compare her EMI practices to her L1 classroom performance as this data is not available, we might believe, with some reason, that Raquel probably does not use this kind of simplified language when teaching in her L1. In this particular case, she might just say that “*if the measurement is less than one point five it means that it has many contaminants*” in Catalan – without the over-simplification “*you cry*” and “*it’s not good*”. This aligns with her account in the interview where she states that when she teaches in English she has to explain concepts from different perspectives and using different angles to make the concept more explicit, transparent and straightforward for students. Again, we can observe how anthropomorphising and using simplified language is very common in her classes. What Raquel shows in doing this is that she acts much like an L1 English-speaking lecturer would in the same situation. Her greater confidence and more developed English allows her this, as she has more registers than the other lecturers, both Isabel, and as we shall see below, Jaime.

In the following excerpt, there is an interaction between one of the students and Raquel during the lab session. During this exchange, surprisingly, Raquel uses the L1. Besides, we can see another of her frequent teaching strategies, that of defining:

SX-m	is that: that thing? X DN-
RAQ	that’s our DNA yes from: (1) <i>CARNE CRUDA</i> {RAW MEAT} <playful “creepy” tone> (.) that’s it
SX-m	it’s a little XXX
RAQ	you could mix it yeah if it’s up to you / I haven’t done it today actually (.) it’s full of RNA I can see because it foams it makes like bubbles

Table 80 RAQ practices LAB-3

This is a rare episode for Raquel as she usually sticks to English and there is no apparent reason for her to use the L1 to say “*raw meat*”. In fact, as she says it, she changes her tone to a more playful tone, imitating a creepy “horror movie” voice. It could be argued that the change in medium-choice also derives in a specific medium-related activity or pedagogical function. In this case, Raquel’s choice of the Catalan medium is for a specific functional purpose: building relationship (Levine, 2009). Similar to Isabel (*Table 54 ISA practices LAB-1*), Raquel is also using the L1, in this case Spanish, to foster a connection with her students as she is also assigning to the category “the use of Catalan” the same activities, “to create humour”, “to create a more relaxed classroom environment” and “to build social relationships with students”. In addition, as the interaction continues, we find

another instance of Raquel’s definition of the technical term “*to foam*”, describe as “*to make like bubbles*”. Both synonymy and definition are frequently employed strategies by Raquel as she aims to maintain a virtual position in her classes. Therefore, instead of switching to the L1 when terminology or concepts get complicated, she remains in the target language but lowering the language level. By using basic and common words, she gives students both the technical term and the familiar term, hence making sure that without leaving the “English bubble” class, students are still following and understanding her. From an MCA analysis, the “English-only lecturer” can be further allotted activities such as “to use synonymy” and “to use definitions”.

Nevertheless, Raquel on another occasion gives the Catalan translation of “raw meat”:

1	ESM	this is meat?
2	RAQ	yeah
3	ESM	meat
4	RAQ	<i>carn crua</i> {raw meat}

Table 81 RAQ practices LAB-4

However, the translation in this excerpt is not really necessary for the students as the student herself provides the English term “*meat*”, which then Raquel confirms in turn 2. It is again exceptional that Raquel gives the English translation in Catalan. It could be argued that she wants to make clear for students that the type of meat that they are analysing is “*raw*”, and that is why she reiterates the fact that it is “*raw*” – *cruda* and *crua* in Spanish and Catalan, respectively. Nonetheless, she has not provided the English term herself in both cases discussed above. In fact, the term “raw meat”, even if technical for the situation, it is quite accessible for students, as they already know the word “*meat*”, being a basic level word. Students could have had problems with the meaning of “*raw*” which could have been solved by contrasting it with the word “*cooked*”, hence making explicit the different meaning between *raw meat* and *cooked meat*. Instead, as we have seen from both excerpts, Raquel alternates between English and the L1(s) for this specific terminology.

In the following excerpt, we can see how Raquel inserts an L1 comment to illustrate what one label means:

RAQ	so what you do is you mix up the water and whatever DNA volume that you work out (.) to make fifty (.) yes? that’s one thing and on the other side you
-----	--

	prepare another tube and you mix two microliters of your raw DNA to concentrated one plus water plus loading buffer which is label TC <i>amb poca carga</i> {with a light load} okay? it's label TC
--	---

Table 82 RAQ practices LAB-5

Here, she resorts to Catalan to explain the meaning of “TC” and again she could have chosen to explain its meaning in English as it does not imply a long or complex explanation. Therefore, even Raquel, who defends and self-inhabits an “English-only lecturer” identity when doing EMI, uses the L1 suggesting that a completely virtual position and a strict avoidance of the language shared with students is not a feasible scenario for EMI practice.

In the following interaction with students, Raquel again adopts a CLILised EMI lecturer identity correcting implicitly a language-related episode:

MIR	this volume (.) of DNA and the rest were until fifty
RAQ	UP to fifty yes exactly

Table 83 RAQ practices LAB-6

Raquel rephrases the student’s response and stresses the correct preposition “up”, hence she is giving importance to the correct use of grammatical features. The activity attached to the CLILised EMI lecturer category reappears again in this excerpt as she originates an implicit LRE.

In the following episode, Raquel uses another strategy other than synonymy and definition to make the content more accessible for a student:

RAQ	which is the volume that you want to prepare of diluted DNA?
SX-f	ne (.) no?
RAQ	no (.) because that would have the same concentration (2) / you’ve got a bottle of whiskey (.) and it’s raw whiskey (.) and you want to make something (.) SOFTER isn’t it? if you move it to smaller glass (.) it’s still as strong as isn’t it? you need to add some coke isn’t it?/ then you need to add water otherwise don’t (.) don’t dilute the sample (.) you’re just moving it from the bottle to the XXX
SX-f	but e:m: (.) what what quantity of water?
RAQ	well the remaining up to fifty

Table 84 RAQ practices LAB-7

Raquel here is using exemplification: she is modelling the laboratory content and fits in an “every-day” activity to make it easier for the student to comprehend it. After a two-

second pause, Raquel notices that the student is not grasping what she wants to convey. For this reason, she moves away from the academic vocabulary and explanation and compares the experiment in the laboratory to mixing alcohol with a soft drink. Whiskey is equated with the DNA and the soft drink is compared to water, the latter makes the former become softer and dilute respectively. By using this simple and everyday example, Raquel makes the disciplinary knowledge more accessible to the student who eventually understands what to do. Therefore, the category “English-only lecturer” can be designate the activity “to use exemplification”.

There are few instances where students address Raquel in Catalan. In the first example, Miriam asks a question in Catalan:

MIR	<i>les del gel les centrifuguem primer?</i> {do we first centrifuge the gel ones?}
RAQ	no you can spin them like this okay?

Table 85 RAQ practices LAB-8

In the second example, we see two students starting the interaction in English and then switching into Catalan:

SX-f1	in this one (.) this will be forty
RAQ	exactly
SX-f1	and if we: want to put forty-eight we have to put with a:
RAQ	no (.) forty-eight (.) there
SX-f1	ah
SX-f2	<i>XXX coma seis</i> {XXX point six}
SX-f1	<i>no son decimales no?</i> {they aren't decimals are they?}
RAQ	it will make a difference on your dilution

Table 86 RAQ practices LAB-9

Even when Raquel makes it clear that in her classes there is an English-only policy (see *Table 23 RAQ interview excerpt 4* and also *Table 72 RAQ practices extra*), students choose to use their L1s, Catalan and Spanish as the medium of interaction. Although Raquel in *Table 72* encourages students to use English, pushing one student to retract her medium-choice and urging her to repeat her question in English, this is not the case in this excerpt. Therefore, even Raquel, who self-inhabited an English-only lecturer identity, does not view Catalan as a marked language. In these short interactions, Raquel does not regard the L1 as a diverging language choice and interactions proceed without any explicit

reference to the students' L1 preference over English. Therefore, this shows that the English-only lecturer category is not as strict as it may first seem.

Nevertheless, the majority of the interactions within the dyad lecturer-students were carried out in English:

1	MIR	but we don't know how to make it / like in here (.) we are confused with the decimals
2	RAQ	okay so what you do here (.) first of all (.) that goes from twenty onwards so never never never ever ever again in your life go under twenty
3	MIR	Oh
4	RAQ	so that would be twenty-one that's twenty and a half
5	MIR	that's twenty: and a half?
6	RAQ	twenty (.) twenty-one (.) twenty and a half twenty point five
7	MIR	a: okay
8	RAQ	that's fine so don't worry because that (.) half microliter that you haven't add will not change your: your concentration very much instead of twenty maybe it will be nineteen point eight / so it's okay
9	MIR	so if we want to put here forty-eight it would be (.) four and then here-
10	RAQ	eight and something
11	MIR	a: okay

Table 87 RAQ practices LAB-10

In this excerpt, Miriam needs help as stated in turn 1 “*we don't know how to*” and “*we are confused*”. In MCA terms, Miriam presents herself as a “non-expert” student as she seeks the lecturer’s assistance. In the next turn, Raquel makes it clear through repetition that they have made a mistake that cannot be repeated again: “*never never never ever ever again in your life*”. Again, we can see how Raquel fluctuates between the academic language and the basic language to express emphasis through the repetition of *never* three times and *ever* twice and in addition to this she finishes with “*again in your life*”, in a way using drama here. This suggests that both the mistake is quite serious and there is a need to avoid it from happening again. The explanations in turns 6 and 8 receive a positive response in turns 7 and 11 respectively, showing that the student has understood her mistake. Therefore, Miriam’s state of confusion at the beginning positioned her as a “non-expert” student. However, there is a shift towards the end, as Raquel’s explanation leads her to a state of understanding, and Miriam emerges at the end of the interaction as an “expert” student thanks to the lecturer’s scaffolding.

In the following example, Raquel approaches another group of students:

1	RAQ	how is it going?
2	ESM	we just e:
3	RAQ	you worked out
4	ESM	the XXX
5	RAQ	mhm
6	ESM	and that (.) that (.) XX is this one
7	RAQ	mhm yes
8	ESM	and then (.) we: (.) can we (.) we have to dis- just make this one?
9	RAQ	exactly so
10	ESM	the volume is alright?
11	RAQ	yes that's the volume that's the DNA that you have used for the NanoDrop/ and for this you need to prepare another tube which would be diluted DNA XXX DNA (.) / and with this volume of DNA (.) plus how much water? to get to fifty (5) to work that out (3) plus forty-eight point eight of water isn't it?
12	ESM	a: sí {a: yes}
13	RAQ	because together it would make fifty isn't it? so you need to make the dilution of your DNA one and the dilution of DNA two
14	ESM	a: and (.) that DNA we- we XXX
15	RAQ	no / this is the concentrated one / the ones that you have here / that one (.) on another tube you mix DNA water that you have over there and the loading buffer which is this one
16	ESM	a:

Table 88 RAQ practices LAB-11

The interaction is initiated in turn 1 by Raquel in English and she thus establishes the medium of interaction, which the student accepts. She sticks to English throughout the conversation, except for turn 12 when she says “*a yes*” in Spanish or Catalan. In addition, we can also observe how Raquel supports the student as she has problems formulating her sentences: in turn 2 the student does not seem to find a verb and in the following turn, Raquel herself provides an option “*work out*”. Then, Raquel adopts in turn 11 the expert position as the lecturer and explains the problem to the student, who shows uptake in turn 12. Raquel continues to provide disciplinary knowledge in turns 13 and 15, which again seems to have been assimilated by the student in turn 16.

Nevertheless, if we compare *Table 87 Raquel practices LAB-10* and *Table 88 Raquel practices LAB-11*, we can see a difference between these two students (MIR and ESM). While Miriam was able to formulate complete sentences, Esmeralda’s English level emerges as low as she has difficulties to produce a whole sentence. For example, Esmeralda in turn 8 provides two false starts: 1) “*and then (.) we:*” and 2) “*can we-*”,

before producing the sentence “*we have to dis- just make this one?*”. Comparing different interactions of different students demonstrates the reality of the EMI classroom: lecturers need to adapt their teaching to different and varied students’ English proficiency levels.

After finishing with the first experiment, Raquel proceeds with a revision of the main steps students have followed to perform the lab test:

RAQ	<p>okay just to review what we are doing here / I gave you a tube of DNA and you trust me and you believe it’s good DNA but you can NOT trust me that’s why you need to check if it’s a good DNA (.) / you need to check the quality and HOW do you check that quality? / (2) basically (.) with the concentration so a DNA that is completely DILUTE that is very very low dilution maybe would not be: / well you need to make some alteration in the protocol to make it work so you need to make sure it’s the right concentration and you need to know as well that it’s pure that has no contaminants (3) / and you need to know (7) the integrity if it’s one piece of DNA or if it’s been broken down by DNAs / now you have a smear you have degraded DNA so that’s what we are checking here (.) we are checking the concentration with the NanoDrop (.) we are checking the purity with the NanoDrop (.) / did you all get that landa two sixty two eighty ratio (2) / if somebody forgot we can go back to the computer and get the number (2) and then we check the integrity on the gels that’s why we are loading a gel (.) okay? / so it’s clear we are just checking if the DNA is fine to work</p>
-----	--

Table 89 RAQ practices LAB-12

In this excerpt, we can evidence some of Raquel’s teaching strategies. For example, she signposts at the beginning “*just to review what we are doing*”, hence organising her discourse structure and facilitating students’ understanding. Therefore, as an “English-only” lecturer, the activity “to signpost” assists in the students’ learning process as the lecturer’s spoken discourse is organised with phrases that structure the speech, hence indicating the audience the direction the lesson is taking. Repeatedly, we see Raquel using paraphrasing: she first uses basic language “*check if it’s good DNA*” and then she provides the technical academic term “*check the quality*”. Therefore, another typical activity of the English-only lecturer is “to accompany technical academic language with basic one”. In fact, we can see two more instances of this activity: “*it’s pure*” and “*has not contaminants*”; and “*broken down by DNAs*”, “*smear*” and “*degraded (sic) DNA*”.

In the following excerpt, we see Raquel using exemplification again:

RAQ	so it might be that if you multiple two times (.) / it will be just (.) / the volume will be just too (.) too narrow too small for two samples so you make it for an extra one / so that means that's gonna be too much volume (.) / some of the volume of the master mix is not going to be used (.) doesn't matter okay? you throw it away (.) / as I always say it's like cooking you never cook an omelette only for two you make it slightly bigger just in case somebody is more hungry
-----	---

Table 90 RAQ practices LAB-13

She uses an everyday activity, “*it’s like cooking*”, to explain why they need to have extra volume. In addition, we also find synonymy in “*too narrow*” and “*too small*”. These activities are common in her teaching practices because they make more accessible the disciplinary content to students without the need to switch to the shared L1. Although there are a few instances of L1 use, Raquel favours the use of these teaching strategies, hence guaranteeing “The Maxim of Target Language Maximization” (McMillan & Turnbull, 2009: 22), she uses and sticks to English – even if the disciplinary matter is complex – “in order to maximize students’ exposure to target language input” (McMillan & Turnbull, 2009: 22).

11.3 Seminar – RAQ

This seminar is about the social implications of animal biotechnology. Students visualise a video about animal biotechnology and then there is a discussion on the content and views expressed in the documentary. In fact, students themselves also have to express their views, and give their opinion about certain statements related to biotechnology, adopting a position (agree, not sure or disagree) taking into account and balancing advantages and disadvantages of the topic discussed. Before the activity starts, Raquel refers to the slide projected on the board, this slide was shown during the realisation of the activity and students could look at it if necessary:

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5. Revision Activity

I agree

Don't know
Not sure

I disagree

- You're absolutely right
- Yes, I agree.
- I think so too.
- I agree with you entirely.

- I don't agree with you.
- However...
- That's not entirely true.
- On the contrary...

I agree/disagree with this because...

- ✓ **General opinion**
 - "I think..."
 - "In my opinion..."
 - "As I see it..."
 - "I'm convinced that..."
 - "I'm sure that..."
 - "I have no doubt that..."

- ✓ **Addition:**
also, besides, in addition
- ✓ **Consequence:**
as a result, consequently, for this reason, therefore
- ✓ **Contrast and Comparison:**
Although , It also true that....
Instead, on the contrary, in contrast
Likewise, similarly,
On one hand on the other hand...

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Figure 2 RAQ practices SEM-1

In reference to this slide, Raquel said at the beginning of the activity:

RAQ	and I have here on the screen some basic (.) structures that that you can use to give your opinion but (1) just check them if you want (.) / I'm sure you have enough English to: to speak about (.) your mind
-----	--

Table 91 RAQ practices SEM-2

As we can see from this excerpt, Raquel does not place emphasis on language. Although she is performing the activity of a language teacher (and so she adopts a DLF role), that is, “to teach students about language functions and discourse markers” so that they can organise and structure their speech at the same time, Raquel says “*check them if you want*”, hence playing the linguistic matter down. Similar to what she said in the interview, even though she tries to implement a space where students are exposed to English and can use the language, this experience is just to foster the level that they already have, as she puts it “*I’m sure you have enough English*”. Therefore, this indicates that she presupposes that students already have the linguistic means to communicate in English. In this sense, it seems that language is pushed into the background; it only occupies a secondary position in her priorities, as what really matters for Raquel is not so much that they use these expressions to give their opinion but that they know the disciplinary issues related to each statement.

The first statement that students need to express an opinion to is “gene transfer represents a very efficient way to improve production traits in livestock” and this is the interaction that arises:

1	RAQ	why do you agree? somebody (.) / why do you agree that gene transfer is very efficient way to improve production?
2	VAL	beca- because you can choose (.) what do you want to improve (.) from that type of production /do you want
3	RAQ	but you can only do that if you know the gene that's responsible isn't it?
4	VAL	of course
5	RAQ	what happens if you don't know the gene?
6	VAL	that you have to know first the gene
7	RAQ	but if you don't know the gene you can NOT do gene transfer
8	VAL	and then you are not doing a gene transfer @
9	RAQ	okay and what do you disagree?
10	ELE	em: (.) I disagree becau:se em: (.) you can improve the: the production but I don't think that these are the efficient methods because em: you need a lot of time to improve it (.) to improve the production
11	RAQ	XXX you do classical selection in the XXX gene transfer (.) most of the genes related production / you can (.) you can improve through: classical selection (.) in the MIDDLE of time
12	ELE	yes but with transgenesis (.) I think you need more time because first you have to: select the gene then you have to: transgene e:m: you need to: to prove this animal and (.) all the: time you:
13	RAQ	spend?
14	ELE	you spend em: (.) for the final product em: for me it's not efficient
...		
15	RAQ	I have my own opinion / I think gene transfer is a very efficient way to improve production traits ONLY sometimes (.) / very very very (.) e few occasions most of the times classical selection works best because you don't know the genes that are responsible (.) / so I wouldn't be either there or there I would probably be in the middle / I think they are (.) okay they are very efficient m: in very few occasions but most of the time you don't know what you are doing okay?

Table 92 RAQ practices SEM-3

In this excerpt, we can see the dynamics of the task. Once students position themselves with regard to the statement, Raquel then asks them to argue their choice. Similar to Isabel, Raquel also urges students to reflect, develop and justify their answers, hence pushing them to reason academically in the target language, as seen in Raquel's turns 1 and 9. In turn 12, Elena has difficulties finding a verb and Raquel provides the words that the student was trying to use in the following turn (turn 13). Raquel here acts as a CLILised EMI lecturer as she assists the student in the construction of her answer. This action can be seen as more language-teacher-related behaviour because Raquel is providing a basic term. Probably if this task had been carried out in the L1, the student

would not have had any problem expressing this idea. If, instead of having problems recalling a common word, the student had struggled with a technical word, then Raquel's assistance could be considered either more content-teacher-related or a typical English for specific purposes (ESP) practice of language teachers. At the end, Raquel also provides students with a model answer as she expresses her own opinion on the matter.

Although the task requires students to put into practice their speaking skills and produce output, students' messages are sometimes confusing:

1	RAQ	so why do you all agree? (.) that it's a good (.) a good thing (.) for the ma- for the farmers? (7) why can help (.) / why can a new product or a: (.) product of added value (.) / what it's a product of added value? (.) what do you think?
2	SX-f	better than (.) better than
3	RAQ	for instance?
4	SX-f	m: the corn maybe em: the transgenic corn that have (.) em resistance to some: bacterias or:
5	RAQ	some pest
6	SX-f	yes
7	SX-m	and the composition of XXX acids of of the meat
8	RAQ	yea I'm I'm thinking more about this type of thing /a product that was not in the market before
9	ABE	or milk with omega three no?
10	RAQ	or: milk with omega three or: maybe even em: pharmaceuticals like therapeutic drugs inside the milk that you can use and: and separate them and sell them as pharmaceuticals / of course not that you are gonna start and do the milk (.) okay? / so do you think transgenic animals can (.) can help these farmers to market new products if add value? ... so if it's an omega three milk (.) that has been done industrially you don't know how (.) / it's a magic powder that goes into the milk and now it's got omega three a: / the consumers will buy it from the supermarkets very happily because there's probably a happy family in the cartoon as well in the e? / but if you say it comes from a transgenic animal I don't think people will buy it (.) so it's not gonna help that in that case the farmer
11	SX-m2	but you need to to explain to the population that (.) em: that way of production (.) it it it isn't: bad (.) e you you have a: a: already sma-organism modi- genetic modified but / and the milk (2) em: doesn't em tch will not be e: worse that that don't want that had been em: done in the
12	RAQ	in the industry
13	SX-m2	yea

Table 93 RAQ practices SEM-4

It could be argued that students are encouraged to speak in English, hence producing their own language in turns 2, 4 and 11. Even though lecturers, and specifically Raquel as we saw in one of the interview excerpts (*Table 31 RAQ interview excerpt 8*), take for granted that students already know English and so they do not need assistance with the language, their responses clearly demonstrate the contrary. In Raquel’s interview excerpt 9 (*Table 33*), Raquel advocates that EMI serves as an immersive experience for students, placing a lot of emphasis on the input that the students receive in EMI classrooms. Nonetheless, this episode suggests that when it comes to output, students do not receive the necessary support to re-phrase and re-transmit their message successfully. Hence, they are not acquiring the correct target language forms. Although the task is meant to practice students’ speaking skills, they do not become conscious of their own linguistic production. First, the lecturer does not give feedback for students to improve; and, as a result, there is no real processing of semantic, grammatical and discursive features. Therefore, the extent to which this output triggers students to notice the target form is debatable. If we focus on turn 11, the student’s response is not linguistically well-constructed, neither grammatically nor discursively. The student does not convey their message straightforwardly and the content becomes incomprehensible. Despite this, the lecturer does not address this issue and does not trigger a dialogue where lecturer and student discuss and modify the learner’s answer so as to stimulate a positive effect on the student’s language system and improve his English competence. From an MCA perspective, Raquel remains in the “English-only lecturer” category and even when students do not express meaningfully in English, there is not a switch to the L1 to help produce a clearer and more appropriate answer. Therefore, the “English-only lecturer” category can be assigned the CBA “to persist using the target language even when students’ productions are not clear”. This teaching behaviour could have been influenced by the presence of researchers, who are language experts. Further observation should be made to know whether such behaviour is typical of the “English-only lecturer”.

The last half of the lesson consisted of students sitting in groups to continue working and writing their assignment. Meanwhile, the lecturer walked around the groups answering doubts. When students were working on their own, their interactions were in the L1:

1	BAR	<i>esto está mal</i> {this is wrong} (.) implementing interesting
2	VAL	interest
...		

3	BAR	<i>esto fuera?</i> {this out?}
4	VAL	<i>yo pondría</i> {I would say}(.) e: (.) for this o for this reason the chemic instrument is possible or the constant evolution and <i>no sé qué</i> {I don't know} (.) e (.) and this allows us to (.) e: (3) and this shows <i>bueno</i> {well} @@ <i>no sé com posar-ho</i> {I don't know how to write it}(.) e: (9) e: (29)
5	BAR	<i>si no? / así ya está bien</i> {yes right? / it's fine like this}

Table 94 RAQ practices SEM-5

When students are working without the lecturer's supervision or support, the L1 becomes the medium of interaction and they only use English when they are reading their own answers. From the excerpt, it is evident that student do have language-related discussions as they are debating how to write the assignment. In turn 1, for example, Barbara notes that there is something wrong in “*implementing interesting*”, and Valerio provides the correct answer – it should be a noun not an adjective. Valerio in turn 4 tries to position himself as the expert as he is trying to reformulate the writing and he starts by “*I would say*”, suggesting that he is going to provide a better option. After trying, he then admits twice “*I don't know*” and “*I don't know how to write it*”. Therefore, Valerio renounces the “expert” student category and his words imply that he is positioning himself as “the non-expert” student. In fact, Barbara, after a 29-second pause, states that the answer is okay so there is no need for Valerio to reformulate it anyway, hence taking on the “expert” position as she is validating the previous answer.

It is interesting to note how language alternation from L1 to English shows ascription and rejection of group membership. While they are working on their own, students choose the L1, thus rejecting their EMI student category and disavowing the English-only policy stated by the lecturer. Nevertheless, their social identity changes once the lecturer approaches. Suddenly, they become EMI students who engage in the interaction in English:

RAQ	halo
BAR	hi
VAL	we have a question here (.) em: (2) here says that that are forty-four twenty-four samples XX ... and the difference between a qualified technician and a working?
RAQ	a support technician will probably do most of the work in the lab like e: isolating DNA preparing a PCR XX an electrophoresis and so so so (.) a qualified technician is the one that has the capacity to INTERPRET all that (.) and to write a report

Table 95 RAQ practices SEM-6

Language preference changes with Raquel’s presence and her preference for English. By using English and sticking to the medium-choice laid down by the lecturer, students ascribe themselves the EMI-related identity and accept the activities associated within the EMI group membership, that is “to use English” (at least with the lecturer’s presence). Once Raquel responds to students’ questions and leaves, students’ medium-choice changes again to their preferred L1.

EDU	so <i>podem fer XXX a l'altra</i> { we can do XXX the other }
VAL	<i>sí aq- aquel hay que cambiar la veinte-quatre</i> (.) <i>vale entonces:s veinticuatro</i> {yes we have to change that one the twenty-four (.) okay so: twenty-four} ...

Table 96 RAQ practices SEM-7

Once Raquel leaves, Edurne begins her turn with the English word “so” but directly changes to her L1 to continue the interaction. Similarly, Valerio also starts the discussion with Catalan and Spanish. Consequently, the medium-choice seems to depend on whether or not students are talking with the lecturer. If they are working without the lecturer support and discussing the possible answers amongst themselves, the preference is L1 use. In fact, Raquel does not instigate them to speak in English when she is not present, hence the English-only policy is not fully implemented as in student-student dyads the un-marked language is the L1.

11.4 Lecture 2 – RAQ

In this lecture, Raquel deals with the topic of genome engineering. As opposed to both the lab session and the seminar, here we find again Raquel in lecturing mode, but using similar teaching strategies. For example, one of her most used strategies, synonymy:

RAQ	that’s another technique which is actually extremely simple but it has a: a caveat it has a problem (.) that it only works (.) it has only worked for one group
-----	--

Table 97 RAQ practices LEC2-1

This commonly used technique that Raquel resorts to shows that, by acting as an English-only lecturer, she teaches low-frequency words such as *caveat* through the use of more high-frequency words. In this manner, she helps students to associate words that have similar meaning, hence facilitating students’ intake of more technical words. Another example of synonymy alongside repetition is found in the following excerpt:

RAQ	so imagine / I'm an embryo / and suddenly they send this CRISPR/Cas system to me / and they BREAK the DNA / and a specific gene (.) / that's all it does / the embryo tries to recover that situation / tries to survive / and to survive they attach the ends again / (.) at- attaching this together / it usually makes mistakes / and that's how you can destroy / you can knock out (.) a gene / in a: / in a fish / in a plant / in a human / in a person / whatever / em very very specifically (.) / you don't add any extra DNA / you are not generating a transgenic animal / you are editing / editing the animal / you're editing the DNA / directly in the animal / (3) okay?
-----	---

Table 98 RAQ practices LEC2-2

Here, Raquel is using again synonymy when she first says “*destroy*” and then uses the phrasal verb “*knock out*”, students may be more familiar with the former term, which is also a cognate to both Spanish and Catalan (*destruir* for both languages). Therefore, she decides to give them first the already-known, high-frequency word and then she accompanies it with a synonym, an informal phrasal verb “*knock out*”, meaning “*to eliminate*” in this context. In addition, she also resorts to rephrasing techniques, as observed in “*tries to recover that situation tries to survive*”, where “*recover that situation*” is replaced by “*survive*”. Finally, at the end of her explanation, we also find another example of paraphrasing: “*don't add any extra DNA*” and “*not generating a transgenic animal*”. With this last paraphrase, Raquel is actually explaining and describing a technical concept as her commentary implies the disciplinary knowledge that “*adding extra DNA results in the generation of transgenic animals*”. Finally, the excerpt finishes with the repetition of the term “*editing*” three times to make clear the distinction between two disciplinary concepts, generating and editing DNA.

Interestingly, another teaching strategy that Raquel uses in this lecture is that of cultural reference:

RAQ	so this methodology is called CRISPR/Cas (2) it's got a very funny name / em: I was laughing my head off when on Saturday or on I think was on Tuesday or on Saturday cannot remember em I was back home in Girona I was looking at em: (.) <i>El Punt Avui</i> which is a local newspaper and / there in the middle of one of the pages there was a: a an article talking about exactly CRISPR/Cas is got a new methodology for doing transgenic animals or for modifying the genetic of / so I could never believe that they would read an article on CRISPR/Cas en <i>El Punt Avui</i> (.) / I was surprised very very much surprised and why is this / because this is the methodology that people are using nowadays not only for animals not only for plants but more importantly to do em: gene therapy in a:
-----	--

	<p>in people (.) / the: I don't know if you: you saw about a month or a month and a half ago (.) the story was on the news of a boy who had something that that's called something like butterfly-skin (.) is a skin that when you touch it (.) it: it it damages it just breaks away because there's no dermis basically / (.) em: (.) horses also have this (.) /e well this this boy what they did they covered some of the skin cells they treated the cells with CRISPR/Cas in the lab basically they REPLACED the gene that was defective with the new gene and that skin was then e slowly slowly slowly injected back into the: into the person into the boy (.) and that's how they cured the a- the person / they could do that because the cells were grown in-vitro what they are now trying to develop is this technique to be injected directly into live person (.) not into the cells</p>
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Table 99 RAQ practices LEC2-3

In this excerpt, Raquel makes reference to *El Punt Avui*, a local newspaper in her hometown, to introduce the description of what a new methodology consists of. In the middle of this cultural reference, Raquel also hints what CRISPR/Cas is: a new methodology that involves genetic modification for the production of transgenic animals. Then, Raquel uses an anecdote to explain that this gene editing method, CRISPR/Cas, can also be used on humans, citing the story of a boy whose illness was treated with this methodology. Therefore, the lecturer is resorting to both a cultural reference and a real-life example to explain disciplinary content, making the content matter easier to approach for students. Although Raquel usually sticks to English, and is thus categorised as an “English-only lecturer”, she teaches the content knowledge from different perspectives, as she stated in the interview, so as to make it more comprehensible for learners. From this excerpt, the CBA that arises is “to use cultural references” so as to move the content closer to the students, thus making learning more relevant and meaningful as it is connected to the real world outside of the classroom setting. Raquel is aware that learning in English can be more challenging for students and, although she tries to maximise the exposure to English input, she also aims at making it as intelligible as possible by using different teaching strategies. Therefore, Raquel scaffolds students’ subject knowledge acquisition through different instructional techniques, such as synonymy, definitions, paraphrases, cultural references and/or anecdotes. In this way, she supports the processing of disciplinary content and helps students to reach progressively higher levels of understanding.

In the next except, we see an interaction initiated by two students, Esmeralda and Elena:

1	ESM	yes e: you editing (.) cut and:
---	-----	---------------------------------

2	RAQ	and paste yes
3	ESM	yes (.) or cut and addi:ng another: (.) PA (.) PB:
4	RAQ	another?
5	ESM	e: (.) m: nucleotide </'nju:kli.ə.tid/>
6	RAQ	nucleotide
7	ESM	nucleotide </'nju:kli.ə.taid/>
8	RAQ	no you just cut
9	ESM	cut and:
10	RAQ	no: nothing else
11	ESM	okay
12	RAQ	the: the tool is a nucleis (.) / the tool TARGETS a specific gene / and cuts /that's all it does
13	ESM	I think
14	RAQ	and then the body / the cell itself wants to recover from that situation (.) / wants to survive / the cell does not like having broken DNA / so it's the cell who activates the DNA / repairing system and / repairs this (.) it's not my CRISPR/Cas thing
15	ESM	I think that e: if you cut and: e: nucleotides </'nju:kli.ə.tidz/> (.) e: (.) were was e: (2) <i>no sé @ da igual</i> {I don't know @ never mind}
16	RAQ	but the nucleotides are already there / you have nucleotides in the cell / you don't need to add them (.) / em in a: in in: / in a natural system / in a biological system / you already have this (.) / these nucleotides inside the: / the nucleus / you don't need to add them (3) okay?
17	ESM	okay
18	ELE	and you cut em: you only got e: (1) a fragment or only cut
19	RAQ	you just cut (.)
20	ELE	okay
21	RAQ	the nucleus just cuts the DNA and this is the system in: (.) in bacteria...

Table 100 RAQ practices LEC2-4

In turn 6, we can see Raquel using a recast as she corrects Esmeralda's pronunciation error of the technical word "nucleotide", she corrects the student without obstructing communication as she repeats the word back to the learner in a corrected form, hence providing the correct English pronunciation. Raquel could be said to act as a language teacher in this turn as she is addressing a linguistic feature of the word, its correct pronunciation. Therefore, she is adopting a DLF position, a disciplinary-language facilitator role, as she is addressing both content (a disciplinary term of the subject) and language (pronunciation). This explicit correction seems to have a positive effect as Esmeralda, in turn 7, repeats the words with the right pronunciation. Nevertheless, she then in turn 15 repeats again the wrong pronunciation, hence suggesting that the recast

has not been effective after all. In fact, turn 15 shows the difficulties that Esmeralda has constructing a sentence in English as she gives up and finishes with “*never mind*” because of her impossibility to construct and produce her question. It is clear that Esmeralda has problems constructing a question as she shows signs of ambiguity and confusion: she hesitates as she repeats several times the filler “*e*”. In addition, after the two-second pause, she drops the question and says “*I don’t know*” in Spanish. What is more, she states “*never mind*”, so she belittles her question as one that is not important. Again, we can see how Esmeralda can be categorised as a “non-expert student” as she has both difficulties with understanding the content matter and also with the language (as seen with the wrong pronunciation and her frustration to construct a sentence). After this unsuccessful attempt on the student’s part, Raquel tries to explain the concept again in turn 16. She uses repetition and rephrases the same idea: “*the nucleotides are already there*”, “*you have nucleotides in the cell*”, “*you don’t need to add them*”, “*you already have these nucleotides inside the nucleus*” and “*you don’t need to add them*”. Therefore, as she sticks to the “English-only lecturer” category, the CBA that she is performing is “to repeat and rephrase the explanation of the same concept from different perspectives”. Although Esmeralda in turn 17 confirms understanding, a new student, Elena, in turn 18 asks a similar question to Esmeralda’s in turn 1 and 3. Therefore, Raquel repeats again her answer: “*no you just cut*” and “*nothing else*” (turns 8 and 10) and “*you just cut*” (turn 19). It could be argued that a simple explanation, as the one she is giving, needs to be repeated several times and reported in different manners for students to actually process and understand the new concept because Raquel sticks to English (no resort to the shared-L1) and arguably to the actual students’ low level of English.

The following excerpt is a combination of Raquel’s speech and the visuals used. First, we can observe Raquel using repetition:

RAQ	... well you will see that the transgenic animal will grow after one year will be as big as that (.) the non-transgenic will be as small as this (.) it’s not a monster (.) it’s an adult-size but yo- (.) but you get to the adult-size (.) quicker (.) okay? so it’s not different from the size of an adult salmon it’s only that you need LESS time to get there
-----	--

Table 101 RAQ practices LEC2-5

In addition, her speech is accompanied by visuals from her PowerPoint presentation (something that she does throughout the entire course). Therefore, students receive the

same information from different angles, Raquel tries to make the disciplinary content more intelligible for students:

1. Enhancement of animal production

A. Meat production

Growth enhancement – production of animals with transgenic growth hormone

3. Fish – very good results depending on the species and the rearing conditions (**growth, resistance to disease, tolerance to low temperatures**)

- ✓ The transgene used to increase growth utilizes an antifreeze protein promoter connected to the GH cDNA
- ✓ As water temperature drops the GH gene is turned on
- ✓ The fish continue to grow when normally they would not

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Figure 3 RAQ practices LEC2-6

Raquel explains the concept of “*growth enhancement*” using different wordings:

- “*the transgenic animal will grow after one year*”
- “*the transgenic animal will be as big as that*”,
- “*it’s not a monster*”
- “*it’s not different from the size of an adult salmon*”
- “*it’s an adult-size*”
- “*you get the adult size quicker*”
- “*you need less time*”.

We see how she rephrases: for instance, she first says “*quicker*” and then this is rephrased with “*need less time*”. In addition, Raquel uses visuals in her slides to support her explanation and to facilitate student processing of the new concept. Similarly, Raquel can be said to act as a CLILised EMI lecturer as she adapts the language and adopts a DLF role again, as she is facilitating language processing in her EMI practice. Therefore, the CBAs that can be associated to this category are “to rephrase to facilitate language processing” and “to use visuals to support language processing”. With these strategies, Raquel is implicitly helping students to develop their language processing ability: Raquel may believe that some of the language terms she uses is beyond students’ existing

linguistic knowledge; hence by paraphrasing and adding visual support, she is bridging the gap between the students' current level and the expected level of English.

In the next excerpt, we can observe another instance of the DLF role displayed by Raquel when a student, Abel, asks a question:

ABE	so they are transgenic by: but there are (.) e there aren't: labelled <labelled> like like transgenic
RAQ	they are commercialised (.) normally they are they don't have a special label <leɪ.bəl> as GMO

Table 102 RAQ practices LEC2-6

Although Abel has difficulties constructing the question, he eventually gets the message through. Abel is checking that he has properly understood the disciplinary content. Nevertheless, he uses the wrong pronunciation for the word “*labelled*”. Raquel confirms his interpretation of the subject matter by rephrasing the student’s statement with “*they are commercialised normally*” and she also provides the correct pronunciation of the word “*label*”. Therefore, she may be adopting here again a DLF role as she uses a recast, she repeats the term back in the corrected form, hence providing Abel the appropriate pronunciation. Nevertheless, Abel does not participate again and so I could not confirm whether or not there was intake of the correct pronunciation of the term.

11.5 Summary Raquel’s classroom practices

Through all Raquel’s classroom practices, it can be argued that Raquel uses most of the time “only the target language as the MOI [medium of instruction] in the classroom with the hope that students will become bilingual through monolingual immersion classes” (Lin, 2015: 76). Although she tries to create an English-only bubble, she does not completely exclude the use of the L1(s), as seen in some excerpts. In fact, she also allows students to use their L1 for interaction when working together in student-student dyad. In contrast to Isabel, Raquel seems to implement an English “monolingual principle” in her EMI classes, which means that she implements and enforces the comprehensible input gaze (see Table 33 RAQ interview excerpt 9). We can see here the assumption derived from Krashen’s theories according to which language teaching is about pedagogical immersion and exposure to only L2 input as there exists the idea that learners need to be exposed to a maximum amount of L2 input for language acquisition to take place (Lin, 2015: 78). For this reason, Raquel can be categorised as an English-only lecturer as she

adopts an “exclusive target language use” position (McMillan & Turnbull, 2009: 16). Similar to one of the participants in their study, Raquel “believes second language learning to be most effective when kept separate from the existing first language system, essentially equating second-language learning with first language learning” (McMillan & Turnbull, 2009: 21). Hence, she adopts a virtual position (Macaro, 2001) where she aims to create an English-only environment as she pushes the exclusive use of the L2.

Taking into account Isabel’s MCD summary table and the categories and activities that arise from Raquel’s classroom practices, the table is now updated:

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of EMI lecturers	English-only lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to encourage the use of English over the L1 • to force students to use English • to use simplified language • to use synonymy • to use definitions • to use exemplification • to signpost • to accompany technical academic language with basic one • to use cultural references • to repeat and rephrase the explanation of the same concept from different perspectives • to use anthropomorphisation of the objects of explanations • to persist using the target language even when students’ productions are not clear
	Code-switcher lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to allow herself L1 moments • to be flexible with the English-only policy • to use the L1 for explanation purposes • to mix English with the L1 • to resort to the L1 because of lack of English terminology

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to align with student's preferred medium-choice • to be lenient with the L1 use • to allow students the use of the L1 • to allow interactions that combine English and L1 • to use L1 when content gets too difficult • to ensure the switch-back to English after using the L1
	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to implicitly and indirectly refer to language issues • to rephrase to facilitate language processing • to use visuals to support language processing
Types of teachers	Language-teaching expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to have superior linguistic knowledge • to teach students about language function and discourse markers
Types of students	Expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to suggest an answer • to correct spelling • to bridge the gap and clarify
	Non-expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to ask what to do • to admit lack of knowledge • to ask for further clarification
	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to use English with the lecturer
Languages	use of Catalan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to create humour • to create a more relaxed classroom environment • to build social relationships with students • to facilitate the writing of answers • to write/answer faster • to be more colloquial

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to create a more equal status between lecturer and students
	<p>use of English</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to write short answers

Table 103 MCA practices: ISA and RAQ

Chapter 12. Swine Production

This chapter will examine the third case study, Jaime's subject. Jaime taught the subject Swine Production in the BSc in Agricultural and Food Engineering during the second semester of the 2017-18 academic year. Swine Production is a compulsory subject and its modality is attendance-based continued evaluation. There is a total of 6 ECTS credits for the subject. In terms of teaching load distribution, the subject has 60 hours of on-site work and 90 hours of off-site independent student work. In the information provided to students, it is clearly stated that the language of instruction is 100% English.

Objectives and learning outcomes are all related to content disciplinary knowledge, all of them related to the academic matter "swine farming". For example, we found:

- Importance and characteristics of the different swine breeds and crossbreeds.
- Physiological basis and the guidelines of handling of the animals in each production phase.
- Design and planning of swine farms.
- Nutritional and housing requirements according to physiological phase and genetics.
- Feed formulation and design of nutritional strategies to improve carcass and meat quality.
- Evaluation of the environmental and welfare requirements of the animals.
- Assessment of the technical, economic and social implications released by the different swine production systems.

(Study Guide for Swine Production, 2017-2018: 3)

In this subject, competences are divided into *General Scope* and *Specific Scope*. Interestingly, there are two general scope competences that state, "the graduate must be able to":

- Understand and express yourself with the appropriate terminology
- Present oral and written information

(Study Guide for Swine Production, 2017-2018: 4)

These two competences are directly linked to linguistic matters as they suggest that students will be expected to already have skills in processing and producing academic

genres, which implies not only having the academic vocabulary but also having the specific subject-matter vocabulary of the discipline to be able to both understand texts and express appropriately in both writing and speaking. Therefore, Jaime seems to expect that students can work independently when it comes to comprehending texts and communicating in English. In a sense, it implies a fairly high level of English as it is assumed that students do not need linguistic scaffolding for the processing of specific subject-matter vocabulary. Therefore, the subject guide explicitly includes competences that are language-related.

As far as methodology is concerned, the teaching is divided into lectures and practical assignments. The lectures are both theory-based and case studies, with a total of 80 hours (30 hours of in-site work and 50 hours of homework time). The practice class sessions consist of seminars, computer tools, problem-based learning and oral discussion with a total of 150 hours (30 hours of in-site work and 40 hours of homework time).

The continuous assessment comprises the following activities:

- Exams (60%): two exams dealing with lesson contents and/or practice
- problem-based learning reports (30%): two reports of allocated case studies (one individual and one in groups)
- Presentations of practice assignments (10%): oral presentation where oral communication (speaking and use of graphics slide support skills), as well as text layout and reference formatting will be assessed.

(Adapted from Study Guide for Swine Production, 2017-2018: 5)

Again, the last type of activity (presentation of practice assignments) takes into account and considers language within the mark weight. Although the study guide ends stating, “The course will be taught and assessed in English” (Study Guide for Swine Production, 2017-2018: 5) there is limited reference to language in the document.

Out of the 27 classes, 12 classes were both audio- and video-recorded and the remaining 15 classes were just audio-recorded using one or more recorders. In this section, from the classes that were both observed and recorded, I will focus on the following ones:

1. Lecture 1: 22/02/2018

2. Lab session: 20/03/2018
3. Seminar: 15/05/2018
4. Lecture 2: 29/05/2017

12.1 Lecture 1 – JAI

In this lecture from the beginning of the course, Jaime deals with the following disciplinary concepts: reproduction management, swine handling, sow and boar breeding management, breeding systems, farrowing management and processing procedures for neonatal piglets. In this first excerpt, we can observe Jaime using the lecturing strategy of signposting and also initiating an interaction with students as he revises an already taught concept:

1	JAI	the second thing is to remind some: (2) some of the: (3) topics or some of the concepts that w- we: deal with last day / the first thing is (.) remember types of swine farms / which types of swine farms can we find on the (.) field the first one farrow-to-finish farm model farrow-to-finish model (.) this do you know do you remember Rafael? yes? can you help German to: (.) to tell him what is a farrow-to-finish farm?
2	RAF	a farm with (.) have mothers
3	JAI	that have?
4	RAF	em: mothers
5	JAI	<i>madres? cómo son las madres? cómo son las cerdas?</i> {mothers? how are the mothers? how are the sows?} how do we: / sows okay? <i>vale?</i> <i>las madres son las sows</i> {okay the mothers are the sows} (2) m: <i>más o menos más o menos</i> {more or less more or less} @ anybody else can help him? for example (.) Ana? (1) <i>es una granja de madres: sí pero:</i> {it's a farm of mothers: yes but:} / what is a: the translation the exact translation? or (.) the farrow (.) is the: (.) the activity to give birth / so it's a sow farm but what has this farm as well?
6	ANA	it's it's a farm m: have a (.) to the beginning em
7	JAI	from the beginning to the end no? the whole cycle okay? (.) / it's a farm involving whole cycle not only the sow: the sows but also (.) the piglets the nursery and the growing-finishing area okay? the whole cycle (.) <i>nada de ciclo cerrado vale?</i> {not a closed-cycle okay?}

Table 104 JAI practices LEC1-1

Jaime signposts his speech by starting with “*the second thing is to remind*”, hence effectively structuring his classroom discourse as it is clear and easy for students to follow. This signposting phrase is used to help guide the learners throughout this section of the lesson. In addition, Jaime involves students as he does not give the definition of the

disciplinary concept himself. Instead, he asks students to explain the subject matter. In turn 1, Jaime asks Rafael, who only gives a part of the concept's definition. It is for this reason that in turn 5 Jaime is trying to elicit more knowledge. He does so resorting to the shared L1, Spanish, as he asks "*mothers? how are the mothers? how are the sows?*", so confirming that the information is right but it is not a complete answer as he again adds in Spanish "*more or less more or less*". In fact, not only does he use himself the L1, he also encourages students to use translation as he says "*what is the translation the exact translation?*" in turn 5. Therefore, Jaime does not follow a virtual classroom environment position, as Raquel for the most part did, but he adopts an optimal position, similar to Isabel (see Macaro (2009) and Chapter 9 for a discussion of "virtual" and "optimal" positions). On the other hand, Jaime openly and explicitly encourages students to use their Spanish language system; such an obvious reference to the use of the L1 was not found in Raquel's classroom practices. Then, Jaime gives the definition of the technical verb "*to farrow*" as "*the activity to give birth*" so as to induce a specific answer. It is then in turn 6 when Ana tries to give a response. Nevertheless, she does not finish her intervention and Jaime reformulates and completes her answer: "*from the beginning to the end*". In addition, he gives the technical word "*whole cycle*" and pinpoints the missing information: "*the sows but also (.) the piglets the nursery and the growing-finishing area*". Finally, he finishes this explanation in Spanish, "*not a closed-cycle*". From this excerpt, Jaime can be categorised as a "code-switcher lecturer" who adopts the following CBAs, "to encourage students to use translations" and "to translate subject-matter terminology".

In the following excerpt, we can see first how a student, Marcos, is not able to formulate an answer in the target language; and also another one, Robert, requesting confirmation of the translation of a technical term:

1	JAI	what is the nursery farm? a nursery farm
2	MAR	(5) a: (2) is: (4) <i>no em surt</i> {I don't know how to}
3	JAI	<i>bueno pues en català o castellà (.) no passa res</i> {well then in Catalan or Spanish (.) it's okay}
4	MAR	<i>una granja de truges</i> {a farm of sows}
5	JAI	<i>de truges?</i> {of sows}
6	MAR	no?
7	JAI	no (.) nursery <i>una</i> {a} nurse <i>es una infermera lo que passa que aquí</i> {is a nurse the thing here is that} / e: nurse (.) nurse <i>es criar també és la cria</i>

		<i>però el</i> {is also to nurture it's the breeding but the} nursery <i>o</i> (.) <i>és com la guarderia jo que sé @ d'alguna manera</i> (.) <i>vale?</i> {or (.) it's like kindergarten I don't know @ in a way (.) okay?} / it's the: it's the farm (.) for piglets after weaning okay? it's a: an an special farm (.) where piglets are kept after weaning with special environmental conditions okay? for it's it's a place a facility for piglets from six (.) to twenty kilos of life weight (.) more or less okay?
8	ROB	<i>seria un destete?</i> {would it be a weaning?}
9	JAI	<i>un destete</i> okay? (.) <i>la traducció de nursery seria m: destete però: destete perquè: aquí a: Catalunya utilitzem la paraula destete per aquestes arees també s'utilitza molt</i> {a weaning okay? (.) the translation of nursery would be: weaning but: weaning because: here in: Catalonia we use the word weaning for these areas it's very much used} (3) it is also very used this term (.) did you heard about do you heard about (.) <i>los</i> {the} isowean <i>los</i> {the} isowean / if you are: erm tch used with this e: if you are familiar with this e: swine e: argot the: they use very much the: isowean for this area okay? what what does it come from? it comes from the: American term isolated weaning okay' which means <i>un destete aisalado</i> {an isolated weaning}

Table 105 JAI practices LEC1-2

In turn 2, Marcos first tries to articulate his response in English “a: (2) is:” and after a four-second pause he switches to Catalan to state that he does not know how to construct the answer in English because the technical words do not come to mind. To this, Jaime replies that he can explain it in Catalan or Spanish. Therefore, the three languages are granted the same level by the lecturer: Catalan, Spanish and English can be all used as the language for education and interaction in his EMI classes. Therefore, as a code-switcher lecturer, Jaime can be assigned the CBA “to assign the target language and the L1 the same pedagogical function”. Once he is allowed to use his mother tongue, Marcos uses Catalan to answer Jaime’s question. However, his response is not correct, which prompts Jaime to try to explain it by translating the terms *nursery* and *nurse* in turn 7. He actually translates *nursery* as *kindergarten* (*guarderia* in both Catalan and Spanish), a translation he does not seem to be very convinced about as he then states “*I don't know @ in a way*”. It may be this the reason why he then switches back again to English. In fact, it is actually a student, Robert, in turn 8, who gives the correct translation “*destete*” (weaning), which is confirmed by Jaime in turn 9. In addition, he also gives them another technical term “*isowean*” which is an acronym for “*isolated weaning*” and Jaime again provides the translation at the end of the turn 9, “*un destete aislado*”. This excerpt shows how Jaime bases his classroom practices on translation of technical terminology.

More instances of Jaime in translating mode were also found in this lecture, for example, in the next excerpt he provides the Spanish term for the word “litter”:

JAI	we cannot wean any litter okay? litter? remember? (.) litter? <writes term on board> what was a litter? (.) <i>una camada vale?</i> {a litter okay?}
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Table 106 JAI practices LEC1-3

Although Jaime is actually trying to elicit an answer from the class as he checks comprehension and asks for the meaning of word, he does not allow waiting time and after posing four questions in a row: “*litter? remember? (.) litter? what was a litter?*” and writing the term on the board, he himself provides the L1 counterpart.

In the following excerpt, we can observe how Jaime gives the technical term in Spanish and defines and exemplifies it in English, but he does not actually give the technical word in English:

JAI	there is / we must be aided by boars to detect heat (.) okay? we use boars (.) normally they are boars that are: have been castrated or: or if not castrated they are reared in the same farm and they are not XX (.) okay? / (1) to detect heat okay? noso- we this is a in Spanish or in Catalan (.) this is a: an activity called <i>la recela</i> {heat detection} okay? <i>la:</i> (.) <i>recela</i> {the: (.) heat detection} okay? is the: the activity to detect heat in the farms with the X of boars during the morning during the: normally or in the morning and in the afternoon / there is a boar walking through the corridors inside in front of the: sows’ stalls (.) and then on the other corridors there are e: staff that are e: (.) checking the: standing behaviours in weaned sows okay? this is called <i>la recela</i> {heat detection}
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Table 107 JAI practices LEC1-4

Although Jaime provides the L1-term “*la recela*”, the corresponding English term is “*heat detection*”. Instead of specifying the term, Jaime provides the explanation of the term by specifying what this activity entails. First, he says “*the activity to detect heat in the farms with the X of boars during the morning during the: normally or in the morning and in the afternoon*”. Then, he provides further details with an exemplification “*there is a boar walking through the corridors inside in front of the: sows’ stalls (.) and then on the other corridors there are e: staff that are e: (.) checking the: standing behaviours in weaned sows okay?*”. He finishes making reference again to the technical term in Spanish.

In the next example, he does provide both the term in English and in Spanish:

JAI	e: nowadays it is interesting because on the farm studs okay? a farm stud <i>seria un centro de inseminación artificial</i> {it'd be an artificial insemination centre} the translation is the fa- is the: the facility where e boars se- reproductive boars are kept (.) and they are they are: e: (2) there are only boars there and the semen is collected there and seminal doses are prepared (.) there in these centres to be delivered on sows farms
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Table 108 JAI practices LEC1-5

In this case, he first provides the English term “*farm stud*” accompanied by the Spanish term “*un centro de inseminación*”. This is then followed by the explanation in English where “*farm*” is rephrased with “*the facility where*” and the technical term “*stud*” is developed as Jaime provides a synonym “*reproductive boars*” and then lists the different activities that take place in this facility.

In the next excerpt, we can see how Jaime does not only translate terminology, he also uses code-switching in his explanations:

JAI	the: tch (2) the shorter the weaning to oestrus interval (.) the longer the: heat length okay? (2) do you understand? / the the shorter the weaning to oestrus interval (.) <i>cuanto más corto es el periodo que hay desde el destete hasta el celo</i> (2) <i>más larga será la duración del celo</i> {the shorter the period between weaning and oestrus (2) the longer the oestrus period} (.) / so the sows that take more than: one week to resume ovarian activity they will have e: very short heat lengths
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Table 109 JAI practices LEC1-6

From all these examples, we can see how Jaime often resorts to translation, in particular to unsolicited translation (Moncada-Comas and Block, 2019). He seems to be extremely focused on lexis as he often translates terminology related to the subject matter, suggesting that he is interested in students knowing the technical terms both in Spanish and in English (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2019). Therefore, the CBAs that can be ascribed to “code-switcher lecturer” from Jaime’s classroom practices are: “to provide L1-translation and English definitions of terminology” and “to code-switch between L1 and TL during explanations”.

We can also observe the presence of the L1 during lecturer-students interactions:

JAI	how many: days (.) a sow required to: (2) to re- to: resume for ovarium resection (.) again? to to: (.) to be rebred (.) to to: to appear in oestrus again (2) do you understand me? <i>o cuantos dias tarda desde el destete hasta que sale en celo una cerda adulta? que ya ha parido otras veces</i> {or how many
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	days does an adult sow take from weaning to the end of the heat length? a sow that has already given birth other times}
SX-m	(3) seven days
JAI	around seven days very well

Table 110 JAI practices LECI-7

In this first example, the student does not engage in the interaction initiated by Jaime until he translates the question from English to Spanish. It is interesting to note that the student replies in English even when the lecturer himself has re-formulated the question in Spanish, hence establishing the L1 as an unmarked language, which can be used for classroom interaction. Nevertheless, as the student continues the interaction in English, he can be categorised as an “EMI student” as he is performing the CBA “to use English with the lecturer”. Actually, it may be the students’ adherence to English what causes Jaime to switch back again to English and maintain the TL as the language for classroom interaction.

There are also instances of solicited translation, when students explicitly and overtly ask for the translation of an explanation or of a term:

JOA	tail (.) tail doc- tail: docked (.) <i>què és em: (.) tallar la cua?</i> {what is it em: (.) cutting the tail?}
JAI	tail docking yes <i>tallar la cua</i> {to cut the tail}

Table 111 JAI practices LECI-8

In this excerpt, Joan asks Jaime to confirm the translation of a technical term. In addition, Jaime also recasts the technical term because Joan does not supply its correct form. This leads Jaime to recast from “*tail docked*” to “*tail docking*”.

The previous excerpt was an example of a solicited term translation, in the next we find both a solicited translation of a term and an explanation:

1	JAI	and finally (.) these piglets are identified okay? (3) either with e: (2) ear notching or: (.) with (.) ear tagging / do you understand? (1) theses (.) words (3) what is ear notching or ear tagging? (.) / I’ll I’ll try to (.) find (.) a picture (.) okay ear notching it’s a farming e: identification system okay? based on: on: small cuts on ears that refers to specific numbers okay? it’s a: it’s a farming rule okay? / e: (.) all if if there’s any farmer here / or specially it is done for example in ruminants or in sheep or some others but the farmers know if the notch is performed at an specific location in the ears indicates an specific number okay? / while ear tagging is just putting a tag (.) on the ear
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		(2) okay? ear tagging (.) is just putting a tag on the ear (3) it's putting a tag okay? (1) these are the main operations okay? that are: (.) being performed in piglets after birth
2	JOA	<i>el</i> : {the:} ear notching (.) <i>què és?</i> {what is it?}
3	JAI	<i>és un tall un</i> : {it's a cut a:}
4	JOA	<i>ah tall</i> {cut}
5	JAI	<i>sí és una marca una muesca</i> : (.) <i>un</i> : (.) <i>sí un</i> (.) <i>una muesca o una</i> : {yes it's a mark it's a notch: (.) a: (.) yes a (.) a mark or a:}
6	JOA	<i>pero per què bueno per què era?</i> {but why well what is it for?}
7	JAI	<i>per: per perquè en funció de: la zona de l'orella on sigui vol dir un número o un altre / llavors si tu vols identificar una camada a cadascú els hi fas el tall a un punt diferent de l'orella</i> {for: for because depending on the area of the ear where it is notched it means a number or another one / so if you want to identify every member of the litter you make a cut on different points of the ear}
8	JOA	<i>o sigui per diferenciar camades</i> {so to differentiate litters}
9	JAI	<i>per diferenciar el num- el animal dins de la camada per exemple o:</i> {to differentiate the num- the animal within the litter for example or:}(2) but it is no:t very used because we have lots of pigs in a farm it's for small farms this type of identification system okay?

Table 112 JAI practices LEC1-9

Although Jaime provides the definition of the technical term “*ear notching*” in English in turn 1, Joan requests further clarification in Catalan (turn 2). As Joan establishes Catalan as the medium of interaction, the lecturer sticks to the student’s medium-choice and provides the L1-translation in turns 3 and 5. Joan shows his understanding in turn 4 and then in turn 6 he asks the purpose of this farming strategy. The explanation is given in turns 7 and 9 in Catalan before Jaime goes back to English at the end of turn 9. Therefore, Jaime may stick to the L1 as a way to maintain communication between students and also to ensure the comprehension of subject matter.

12.2 Computer session – JAI

In this computer session, students practice a case-study with the feed formulation software called *Winfeed* and they have to solve some equations through linear programming to match the nutritive values of several feed ingredients with the nutrient requirements of growing pigs. To begin with, Jaime starts with a warm-up activity where students have a list of ingredients and they have to match each ingredient to the group they belong to:

JAI	do you understand (.) first of all (.) the me- the: the meaning of each ingredient or the translation? can you get the: translation? to each (.) just in: in pairs discuss (.) this first exercise
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Table 113 JAI practices COM-1

Again, we can observe through this excerpt how important the L1 is for Jaime as he encourages students to translate words if they do not know the meaning in English. His teaching practices seem to depend on the role that students' first language can play to assist them in the learning of disciplinary knowledge.

Nevertheless, not always does he resort to the L1, as at some points in his teaching we can identify Jaime using synonymy, as Raquel did in her classroom practices:

JAI	... search for each ingredient the threshold okay? do you understand this word? threshold?
SX-m	no
JAI	limit okay? the limit that is suggested for each ingredient in this type of e: e pigs okay?

Table 114 JAI practices COM-2

First, Jaime introduces a more technical term “*threshold*” and so he asks for comprehension. Then, he repeats the word again. One of the students reports that he does not know this word, to which Jaime gives a synonym “*limit*”, which is a cognate in both Spanish and Catalan (*límite* and *límit*, respectively). The fact that this word shares the same etymology in both Catalan and Spanish might be the reason why Jaime chooses to stick to English rather than translating the unknown word to the L1 (s). Therefore, even though he tends to act as a “code-switcher lecturer”, Jaime does sometimes opt to remain within the unstated EMI policy and adhere to English in this excerpt to clarify the meaning of a word. Therefore, even “code-switcher lecturers” can deploy activities often assigned to “English-only lecturer”, that is “to use synonymy”, as Raquel often did.

In the following excerpt, Jaime can be said to act as an English-language teacher as he makes reference to a language point:

JAI	what is the maximum for maize? that is recommended for maize?
ROB	maize: (.) forty
JAI	forty not fourteen eh? forty very well

Table 115 JAI practices COM-3

Here, he refers to the correct pronunciation of *forty* and *fourteen* to avoid misunderstandings. This is a typical language teacher activity that Jaime, as a content teacher, adopts for his EMI class. Students may have problems pronouncing numbers and so he repeats the number stated by the student and adds a comment on pronunciation. Therefore, as he makes reference to the distinct pronunciation between these numbers, Jaime is indirectly addressing the linguistic feature of stress or emphasis, as in “*forty*” the stress is on the first syllable and in “*fourteen*” is placed on the second syllable. By explicitly mentioning this language point, Jaime is adopting a DLF position, as he is addressing both content (the answer of a content question) and language (pronunciation).

In the following excerpt, we can observe how Jaime again sticks to English by rephrasing a question and allowing waiting time:

JAI	the amount that is provided is very low and then this one per cent variation is not: cannot be reached okay? / but we can see here some: ingredients with a great impact on the feed price and some others (.) that (2) e: do not affect the final cost of the: of the mixture (.) yes? / for example in this case what should what / which would be the impact of reducing lysing content zero point one per cent? / (2) imagine (4) that we reduce (3) lysing content (2) zero point one per cent (.) / which would be the: (.) the cost the: the impact on the: price? (.) / do you understand? (2) you can calculate it without any: (5) according to this information (.) which would be the impact on the price? / (4) do you understand? (1) what I: am I asking? (2) /how many euros the price will be reduced if we change the lysine content from (.) one point zero four per cent to (.) zero point ninety-four per cent?
SX-m	sixteen

Table 116 JAI practices COM-4

Jaime is trying to formulate a question. He asks and reformulates the question up to four times, and also asks if students are following him (“*do you understand?*”) doing so twice, as he does not get any response the first time. Between questions, there is some waiting time allowed (between two and four-second pauses) and he also encourages students to hypothesise to arrive to an answer, “*imagine*”. The same question is asked in different manners:

1. *Which would be the impact of reducing lysing content zero point one per cent?*
2. *Which would be the cost the impact on the price?*
3. *Which would be the impact on the price?*

4. *How many euros the price will be reduced if we change the lysine content from one point zero four per cent to zero point ninety-four per cent?*

The first three rewordings are similar as they all start with “*which would be the*”. In the first question, Jaime does not mention that the impact that he is asking for is on the cost, the price of the food. It is on the second version when he makes reference to this by inserting these two synonym words “*cost*” and “*price*”, to make it clearer for students. The third version is a simplification of the second one as he removes the word “*cost*”. The last reformulation of the question could be argued to be more complex and longer. To begin with, he reformulates the beginning of the question, from “*which would be*” to “*how many*”. In addition, he introduces and specifies that the price is in euros. In addition, he re-uses information from the first version as he again employs the verb “*reduce*”, giving a clue to students as the price is not incrementing but decreasing. Moreover, he also specifies the ingredient and the quantity that it is being altered “*the lysine content from one point zero four per cent to zero point ninety-four per cent*”. After the question being rephrased four times, a student gives the correct answer. It can be argued that Jaime here again sticks to the “English-only lecturer” category as he persists in the English verbalisation of the question and therefore the activity that can be assigned to this category is “to rephrase a question as many times as needed”, “to allow waiting-time” and “to check regularly for understating”. Therefore, Jaime could be said to fluctuate between two different categories, that of “English-only lecturer” and “code-switcher lecturer” depending on the CBAs that he performs.

Another strategy used by Jaime is to refer to the international students’ transportable identities (see Chapter 4 for a definition of the term by Zimmerman (1998)):

JAI	do you have rye in your country? do you have this type of winter cereal? rye? (.) rye is: this is not very common mo- more on mountains XX not on low lands but it can for example in your country there are @ there there are (.) it is very common okay? but here in Spain you have more barley as a winter cereal okay?
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Table 117 JAI practices COM-5

Through this strategy, Jaime is including the four international students in his EMI class, which is mainly composed of local students. What Jaime does is to connect their language identity with their nationality, he is creating a dichotomy *we* (local/national) and *they* (international), an interaction that is only possible because there are exchange students in

his EMI class. Jaime is therefore addressing the inter-culturality that exists in his class and so he integrates and includes them in the interaction by alluding to their different national identity and comparing the commercialisation of an ingredient in Spain and their country.

12.3 Seminar – JAI

In this practice session, students work in groups in the design of swine farms, hence applying their knowledge about batch constraints and accommodation requirements:

JAI	<p>first the: the ske- (.) think about the sketch of your farm / (.) <i>o sigui la (2) dibuixeu mentalment o: en un dibuix un (2) feu un: un croquis de:l numero de: (.) naus que necessitareu per la vostra granja (.) / perquè clar hi ha alguns de vosaltres que teniu reposició heu de tenir la: heu de tenir espai per la: per criar tota la reposició i altres no {that is the (2) draw mentally or: in a drawing a (2) make one: one sketch of the number of: (.) facilities that you will need for your farm (.) / because of course there are some of you who need a reposition you need to have the: you need to have a space for the: breeding of all the breeding and others don't} (2) / so the group number three and the group number four has to: (.) rear their own replacement gilts / so they need additional space finishing and or rearing space for gilts / whereas the remaining groups just need and adaptation room em a quarantine room for (.) the replacement the replacement gilts that are bought (.) at five six-months old / and then they will be breed at about (.) eight nine-months old okay?</i></p>
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Table 118 JAI practices SEM-1

In this excerpt, Jaime is in “code-switcher lecturer” mode. Although he starts in English and actually gives a simple instruction to students in English, which is “*think about the sketch of your farm*”, he does not seem convinced that students are following and so he decides to switch to Catalan. In this case, when he changes the medium of classroom interaction, Jaime also becomes more specific as he gives more information, pointing out that different groups need to design different farms and so they will need to take into account disciplinary knowledge to decide on the numbers of farm facilities. Once he has given this information in the students’ L1 and is therefore certain that they understand the task, he goes back to English. As he has introduced in Catalan that each group has to design a different farm, Jaime introduces technical terminology in English: *to rear, replacement gilt, adaptation room, quarantine room* and *to breed*. He thus shows a preference for English as he categorises his students as experts in highly specific terminology of their discipline in English. As he has taught these terms in English, the

pedagogical function related to the English medium-choice is that students may know this jargon in English due to the EMI.

Students work in groups and use their preferred L1. In the following excerpt, we can observe Didac, Roc and Joel interacting during the task and Didac requires the translation of a term:

1	DID	<i>què vol dir</i> {what does it mean} X of farm buildings?
2	ROC	<i>això ficau al traductor</i> {use the translation for this}
3	JOE	no (.) farm buildings <i>són edificis de la granja</i> {are the farm buildings}
4	DID	<i>ah bueno sí</i> {well yes}

Table 119 JAI practices SEM-2

Just as Jaime often encourages students to translate terminology, students also resort to this strategy to process information. In this case, Didac asks his classmates, Roc and Joel, what “*farm building*” means. Nevertheless, this would not be considered a highly-specific disciplinary term; rather, both words are fairly common. To this request, Roc neither provides the equivalent in Catalan or Spanish nor explains its meaning. It may thus be inferred that he does not know the meaning either. Instead, he suggests an online translation application. Therefore, both Didac and Roc can be assigned the category “non-expert” students as they are not able to infer the meaning of this low-complexity sentence. The student that comes in as the expert in this triad is Joel, as he provides the Catalan translation in turn 3. Therefore, the “non-expert” student category can be assigned the activity “to resort to translation applications” and the “expert student” can be assigned the CBA “to provide translations to non-expert students”. Through this excerpt then the medium-choice that students prefer when working in student dyads is the L1, apart from the few technical word that they say in English.

In the following excerpt, another group of students (Romeu, Monica and Ana) has problems understanding the task and so asks Jaime in English:

1	ROM	I don't understand this number of places (.) / there aren't the the number of stalls this
2	JAI	the number of e stalls yes (.) because if you only have fifty-seven (.) if you only have fifty-seven: stalls (.) three weeks (2)
3	ROM	<i>ah s'ajunten</i> {they come together}

4	JAI	no you will need (.) / a after three weeks you will receive another fifty-seve:n group (.) and then they don't have space because the: remain- the: tch the previous one remain there yet
5	MON	so is e one dot fifteen per two which is the number of rooms per fifty-eight / which is the number of sows per batch
6	JAI	yes (1) plus the e: e: (1) the fertility rate plus the: plus a fifteen per cent additional spaces
7	MON	<i>sí o</i> {yes} ne dot fifteen
8	JAI	yes
9	ROM	<i>o sigui has de sumar de més per si a cas no es queden prenyades</i> {so you have to add more in case they don't get pregnant}
10	JAI	<i>yes / és el quinze per cent addicional de més que: que tu has de tenir espai perquè hi ha algunes que et repetiran a sobre d'aquestes cinquanta-set potser que a la setmana al cap de tres setmanes necessites tenir les cinquanta-set que et venen més les que no s'han quedat prenyades</i> {it's the additional fifteen per cent more that: that you need to have space because some sows will repeat apart from the fifty-seven maybe that the following week after three weeks you need to have the fifty-seven that come plus the ones didn't get pregnant on the first round

Table 120 JAI practices SEM-3

Although Romeu starts in English in turn 1 and Jaime sticks to his medium-choice in turn 2, Romeu then in turn 3 switches to Catalan to show understanding. Nevertheless, Jaime still sticks to English and clarifies again Romeu's doubt in turn 4. Then, Monica in turn 5 gives the answer in English and Jaime confirms that it is correct in the following turn. Romeu, however, in turn 9 engages again in the interaction, but this time in Catalan: he checks that he has understood the disciplinary content in Catalan and explains in his own words why there needs to be more space in the farm building. This medium-alternation leads Jaime to switch to Catalan in turn 10 as he explains the content again but this time he explains it in the student's L1 to ensure understanding. Therefore, we can see that in lecturer-student interactions, there is language-alternation flexibility and both lecturer and student use the target language and the L1 in Jaime's class sessions. This suggests that all languages (English, Spanish and Catalan) occupy the same position in Jaime's EMI classes and none of them is identified as a marked option as Jaime neither explicitly notices the student's medium-choice nor requires the student to speak in English during the interaction.

In another lecturer-student dyad, the interaction proceeds from the beginning in Catalan without any medium alternation:

		Original	Translation to English
1	DID	<i>nosaltres necessitem</i>	we need
2	JAI	<i>quants edificis / teniu cicle tancat o:</i>	how many buildings / do you have closed-circle or:
3	DID	<i>u dos dos B</i>	one two two B
4	JAI	<i>eh?</i>	eh?
5	DID	<i>i sis</i>	and six
6	JAI	<i>vale perquè no teniu engorde ni: destete</i>	okay because you don't have fattening and: weaning
7	DID	<i>però al tres hi ha lo de quarantine area no no?</i>	but in three there isn't that thing of quarantine area is it?
8	JAI	<i>al sis què és?</i>	in six what is it?
9	DID	<i>al sis és la base de purín</i>	six is about the pig slurry base
10	JAI	<i>no pues també la quarantena perquè lo que no necessiteu és (.) / com que no feu auto reposició pues tu no necessites tenir un lloc per criar les truges des del: des del sis quilos fins al cent quilos / però a tu t'arribaran truges de cent quilos i les has de tenir fins als cent cinquanta que les cobriràs / si les has de tenir des de cinc o sis mesos fins als set o vuit mesos que les cobriràs per primera vegada...</i>	no so also the quarantine because what you need is (.) / as you don't do auto reposition then you don't need to have a space to breed the sows from the: from six kilos up to one hundred kilos / but you'll receive sows of one hundred kilos and you need to have them until they are one hundred fifty when you will cover them / if you need to have them from five or six months up to seven or eight months when you will cover them for the first time...

Table 121 JAI practices SEM-4

Didac starts the interaction with the lecturer in Catalan, who conforms to this medium-choice and also uses Catalan throughout their interaction. During this interaction, the lecturer uses technical terms in Spanish “*deteste*” and “*engorde*” in turn 6 and the student also uses a technical term in Spanish in turn 9, “*la base de purín*”, and even one in English in turn 7, “*quarantine area*”. Therefore, we can see how the three languages are all integrated in the conversation and as they speak in Catalan, they also mention disciplinary terminology in the other two languages, that is, English and Spanish. This suggests then that translation, a common strategy employed by Jaime, has an impact on students’ disciplinary knowledge as they know the vocabulary not only in English but also in their L1(s). In turn 10, Jaime provides a longer explanation of the subject matter, hence we can see a common activity used by the category “code-switcher lecturer” that of “to use the L1 for explanation purposes”.

Nevertheless, when Jaime gives a whole-class explanation the preferred language is English:

JAI	okay for the weaning to oestrus interval you can account for seven days because is the average in Spain (.) six seven days (.) more or less
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Table 122 JAI practices SEM-5

Here, Jaime gives subject matter data to all students from the board, that is from his “authoritative space” (Lim, O’Halloran & Podlasov, 2012) where he “is positioned to conduct formal teaching as well as to provide instruction to facilitate the lesson” (Lim *et al.*, 2012: 237). He has been walking around the class helping groups and as he returns to this position, he provides further guidance so that students can continue with the task assigned. Therefore, in the previous excerpts, Jaime was in the “interactional space” (Lim *et al.*, 2012) where the interpersonal distance was reduced and there was a closer proximity between students. In that interactional space, where students can personally ask and consult the lecturer and Jaime can also provide more individualised guidance. These two distinct spaces are also marked by the medium-choice. On the one hand, Jaime tends to stick to English when he is in the authoritative space addressing to the whole class. On the other hand, medium-alternation characterises the interactional space where both students and lecturer switch back and forth between English and Spanish/Catalan.

In the following excerpt, Romeu and Ana do not seem to understand one of the points of the task:

		Original	Translation to English
1	ROM	in the: for calculate the number of rooms it’s like ile- it’s like in the: <i>o sigui e XX que necessito dos rooms in the: in the lactation</i>	in the: for calculate the number of rooms it’s like ile- it’s like in the: <i>o so e XX I need two rooms in the: in the lactation</i>
2	JAI	<i>dos</i> two rooms	<i>two</i> two rooms
3	ROM	<i>però però si aquí no tens en compte o sigui només tens en compte els days of pre-farrowing (.) o sigui aquesta formula</i>	<i>but but if here you don’t take into account or I mean if you only take into account the days of pre-farrowing (.) I mean this formula</i>
4	JAI	yes	yes
5	ROM	<i>surt a nivell de: de legal de la normativa (.) o no?</i>	<i>is it at the level of: of the legal normativity (.) or not?</i>
6	JAI	m: n:o there	m: n:o there

7	ROM	<i>llavors com és o sigui no acabo d'entendre el perquè de tenir una paret</i>	<i>then how is I mean I still don't understand the reason why there's a wall here</i>
8	JAI	<i>perquè: amb una única: ah perquè per què no es fa només una única sala de lactació amb els diferents lots? Amb els dos lots? (.) perquè: a la lactació és molt important fer un vuit sanitari i netejar i desinfectar bé per reduir el risc de malalties pel lot següent</i>	<i>because: with just one: ah why why do we not only do a unique room for lactation for the different batches? With the two batches? (.) because: in lactation is very important to do a sanitary vacuum and clean and disinfect properly to reduce the risk of diseases for the following batch</i>
9	ANA	<i>o sigui la qüestió de ficar en diferents</i>	<i>so the thing is to put different</i>
10	JAI	<i>sales</i>	<i>rooms</i>
11	ANA	<i>sales és per la:</i>	<i>rooms for the:</i>
12	JAI	<i>per fer un vuit sanitari (.) perquè el vuit sanitari sobretot en lactació que es on hi ha mes risc de: de malalties per recient nascuts</i>	<i>for the sanitary vacuum (.) because the sanitary vacuum especially for lactation when there's a higher risk for: for diseases for the new-borns</i>

Table 123 JAI practices SEM-6

Although Romeu tries to formulate the question in turn 1 in English, he also uses some Catalan to express himself. It is important to note that although Romeu alternates the medium of interaction both in turn 1 and turn 3, code-switching between English and Catalan, the disciplinary terminology is disclosed in English: “*in the lactation*” and “*days of pre-farrowing*”. Although Romeu is presented as a “non-expert” student in terms of disciplinary knowledge, he does show that as an “EMI student” he knows the terminology in English, hence the CBA “to say subject-matter terminology in English”. In turn 7, Romeu still shows signs of non-understanding as he states “*I still don't understand the reason why there's a wall here*”, hence sticking to his position of “non-expert student” in terms of subject knowledge. Then, Jaime in turn 8 clarifies Romeu’s doubt in Catalan. Although Jaime has tried to stick to English in the previous turns (2, 4 and 6), when he has to provide a longer explanation, Jaime’s preferred language aligns with the student’s preferred language. Jaime’s medium-choice is justified because the student has admitted non-comprehension in several turns and so he is required to give an explanation that may require a higher complexity level. As the interaction continues, Ana joins the interaction showing uptake of Jaime’s response in turn 9. Nevertheless, Jaime interrupts Ana twice in turns 10 and 12 – she cannot finish her sentences – and Jaime repeats the explanation

in turn 12 again to make sure the task is clear now. Therefore, again we can see how Jaime, as a “code-switcher lecturer” often resorts to the activity “to use the L1 for explanation purposes”.

On some occasions, Jaime sticks to English even if the student starts the interaction in another medium:

MON	<i>una pregunta (.) quan hem de mirar el número aquest hem de: dir que o sigui si tenim que: XXX hem de mirar aquest no? (.) fa referència a això</i> {one question (.) when we have to look at this number we have to: say what I mean if we have to: XXX to look at this number no? (.) it refers to this}
JAI	if they are going to be: group-housed yes but if they are housed in small groups (2) you can you can: e house these gilts in small pens (2) you can have for example pens with ten or: twelve gilts (2) depending on the feeding system that you: design

Table 124 JAI practices SEM-7

Although Monica establishes Catalan as the medium of interaction as she starts the interaction with the lecturer, Jaime remains in English. This occurs despite the fact that Jaime, as a “code-switcher lecturer”, often adapts to students’ preferred language. Therefore, even if “code-switcher lecturers” resort to the L1 as a teaching strategy to assist in the understanding of disciplinary knowledge, they are also aware of the *E* in EMI, that is, English. For this reason, a category that can also be assigned to code-switchers is “to use English as often as possible”. In this case, Jaime may stick to English because the clarification does not require a high complexity explanation as he uses numbers and basic language such as “small”.

In the following excerpt, however, we can observe Jaime switching to Catalan because the student is not following:

1	JAI	so (.) every: in every batch you have to replace seventeen sows
2	SX-m	per year?
3	JAI	no per batch
4	SX-m	per batch
5	JAI	<i>vol dir que de cada lot</i> {this means that every batch}
6	SX-m	mhm
7	JAI	<i>hi haurà tu has de: tu has de:</i> {there’ll be you have to: you have to:}
8	SX-m	<i>tornar a posar tretze però</i> {to put it again to thirteen but}
9	JAI	<i>tornar</i> {to put it again}
10	SX-m	<i>però a llavors en tindras més</i> {but then you’ll have more}

11	JAI	<i>no la e- eliminaràs (.) eliminaràs el X</i> {no you will e. eliminate it (.) eliminate it the X} <i>sow és la: la de desvieje</i> {is the: the cull sow}
12	SX-m	<i>vale</i> {okay}
13	JAI	<i>entraran disset i sortiran disset (.) cada setmana perquè tu tens lots setmanals</i> {seventeen will come in and seventeen will come out (.) every week because you have weekly batches}

Table 125 JAI practices SEM-8

Although the first three turns are in English, Jaime in turn 5 decides to switch to Catalan to explain because the student seems confused (turn 2 and turn 4). The medium-alternation responds to a pedagogical function as it serves to clarify the student's doubt. The first explanation, in turn 1, is analogous to the Catalan explanation in turn 13 – what changes mainly is the language, from English to Catalan. Jaime repeats the number in both turn (“*disset*” and “*seventeen*”) and the verb “*replace*” used in turn 1 is rephrased with an explanation in turn 13 “*seventeen will come in and seventeen will come out*” in Catalan. Therefore, the explanation comes full circle as it is first given in English and as the student is not able to process the information in the target language, Jaime switches to the L1 and rephrases the same subject matter in Catalan. For this reason, a code-switcher lecturer may tend to perform the CBA “to first explain in English and then in the L1 if the student does not understand”. This activity contrasts with Raquel's lecturer profile – “English-only lecturer” – as she tended to use synonymy, simplified language or rephrasing in English, instead of resorting to students' L1 to clarify concepts. As Jaime switches to the L1, he then implicitly allows the student to use Catalan. Thus, in turn 2 the student sticks to English but in turn 8 he switches to Catalan too. Consequently, Jaime seems to be positioned as the one in control of the medium of interaction (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010) as the student adheres to his choices: first English in turns 3 and 4 and then Catalan in turns 8, 10 and 12.

In addition, there are also instances of unsolicited translation of technical terminology during the seminar session:

JAI	<i>pen és corral / pen és corral i estan en grups (.) / stall és gàbia...</i> {pes is pen / pen is pen and they are in groups (.) / stall is stall ...}
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Table 126 JAI practices SEM-9

Jaime translates two disciplinary-specific words, “*pen*” and “*stall*” to Catalan, as these terms appear to cause confusion between students as they have to calculate the number of animals that can go in rooms, pens and stalls to solve the task.

12.4 Lecture 2 – JAI

In this lecture, Jaime introduces the last unit of the course about technical performance herd data, benchmarking, cost of production assessment, market prices and budgeting for farming decision-making.

On occasions, students try to formulate their question in English but they rapidly switch to Catalan when they face difficulties. In the next excerpt, we see Monica asking Jaime a question. There is a false start of the question in English and then she changes to Catalan to ask her question:

MON	we have to: <i>o sigui hem de: dir el perquè o sigui per exemple el perquè dels vint-i-vuit el perquè</i> {I mean we have to: say the reason why I mean for example the reason of the twenty-eight the reason why}
JAI	no no no

Table 127 JAI practices LEC2-1

Although Monica attempts to develop her question in English, she ends up expressing her doubt in Catalan. Even though she wanted to inhabit the “EMI student” category as she was aiming to perform the activity “to use English with the lecturer”, she abandons this category as she switches the medium-choice and turns to Catalan to interact with Jaime. On the other hand, Jaime does not address this medium alternation and he just answers Monica’s doubt about content without making any reference to the switch to Catalan and without assisting the student to properly compose a question in English. Hence, a consistent CBA of “code-switcher lecturers” is that of “to allow students the use of the L1”.

In the following excerpt, we see a longer interaction between German and Jaime where Jaime sticks to English and the student fluctuates between Catalan and English during his interventions:

1	GER	<i>aquí surt quara-</i> {here it’s forty-} forty-three sows per tretze {by thirteen} piglets <i>cada</i> {each} batch
2	JAI	mhm
3	GER	<i>cinc-cents seixanta (.) però són</i> {five hundred sixty (.) but it’s} eighty-three weeks (2) <i>representa no? perquè si el</i> {isn’t it? because if the} batch interval <i>és</i> {is} three weeks <i>XX una setmana sí i dos no</i> {one week yes and two no}

4	JAI	but the three weeks are accounted here in this: (.) these are the places that you have to need for piglets in the nursery area
5	GER	but every week no
6	JAI	NO
7	GER	every three weeks every three
8	JAI	no every SIX weeks
9	GER	what (.) piglets per batch (2) every batch we have <i>o sigui cada cop que ho XX tindràs cent seixanta</i> {so every time that XX you'll have one hundred sixty} piglets <i>perquè són quaranta-tres</i> {because there're forty-three} sows
10	JAI	ah okay but now you have to: take the number of rooms (.) how many rooms do you need?
11	GER	rooms <i>de què?</i> {of what?}
12	JAI	for the nursery area
13	GER	<i>no ho sé</i> {I don't know}
14	JAI	this depends on the occupancy time of the nursery: area (.) how: long is the stay in the nursery area? for a nursery piglets
15	GER	<i>cinc sis</i> {five six}
16	JAI	six or even seven with the: sanitary break you can take (1) so seven weeks (.) or six if you want only two rooms (2) so?
17	GER	two rooms <i>ja tens amb</i> {you already have with} two rooms <i>de cinc cents seixanta ja en tens prou</i> {of five hundred sixty it's enough}
18	JAI	yes but you have to: to:
19	GER	to calculate
20	JAI	if (.) possible when you make a project you have to put final weight initial weight
21	GER	but formula we have to know it
22	JAI	yes but it's very simple (.) final minus initial divided by the: average daily gain

Table 128 JAI practices LEC2-2

German code-switches between Catalan and English. It is interesting to note that in the majority of his turns (in turns 1, 3, 9 and 11), he constructs the sentences in Catalan but he inserts the specific technical terms of the discipline in English, for instance: *sows*, *piglets* and *batch* (turn 1), *batch interval* (turn 3), *piglets per batch* and *sows* (turn 9) and *room* (turn 11). During the entire interaction, Jaime sticks to English to clarify German's doubts. In turn 9, German tries to formulate his question in English but then he switches to Catalan as he cannot successfully produce his question. In the following turn, Jaime poses a question but the student, German, is lost content-wise: "*rooms of what?*" (turn 11). Jaime then specifies his question in turn 12 by giving a specific technical term. Nevertheless, the student still shows lack of understanding in turn 13, hence hinting a

“non-expert” student position as he admittedly accepts lack of disciplinary knowledge. Nevertheless, Jaime’s intervention in turn 14 helps German to process the information as he activates the student’s previous knowledge by giving certain hints such as “occupancy time”, “nursery area” and “nursery piglets”. Jaime’s teaching strategy is successful as German is then able to answer the lecturer’s question in turn 15. Therefore, in EMI there are not only code-switcher lecturers, students themselves also code-switch. Another unusual moment occurs from turn 18 to 20 where German is the one who provides the lecturer a word. Jaime is giving an explanation in turn 18. Jaime has difficulties to find a verb as he repeats and elongates the word “*to: to:*”. The student then provides a verb in turn 19 “*to calculate*”, which enables Jaime to continue with his explanation. Therefore, this excerpt demonstrate that in EMI both lecturer and students assist each other when speaking in English to reach a final goal, the construction of disciplinary knowledge.

During this lecture, Jaime plays a video and he encourages students to write down the unknown words. He pauses the video and explains the word coughing:

JAI	coughing? coughing? coughing okay? <makes coughing sound> <i>tos</i> {cough}
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Table 129 JAI practices LEC2-3

This shows the emphasis and importance that Jaime places on vocabulary, not only on technical vocabulary but also on more general terms. It is interesting to note that before giving the translation, Jaime uses a multimodal strategy as he recreates the onomatopoeic sound when people cough and uses the representational gestures often ascribed to the action of coughing. In addition, he also provides the equivalent in Spanish and Catalan for the local students. Therefore, it could be argued that the multimodal strategy reaches all students regardless of their L1 as he is providing a universal onomatopoeia, he then directs his explanation to the local students as he resorts to translation into his L1 and so only the students who share his mother tongue can benefit from this strategy. Although Jaime is a code-switcher lecturer, he also uses other strategies apart from translation – multimodality in this case – to make sure that the content and the vocabulary is clear to all students – regardless of their L1. Therefore, the category “code-switcher” lecturer does not imply that lecturers are only resorting to L1 strategies, from this excerpt this category is further develop with the CBA “to use multimodal cues”.

During break time, students ask Jaime in Catalan and he sticks to this medium-choice:

		Original	Translation to English
1	SX-m	<i>una pregunta que: és que jo aquesta d'aquí al final no ho he acabat d'entendre del tot o sigui:</i>	<i>one question that: I don't understand this one here at the end I don't fully understand it so:</i>
2	JAI	<i>has de fer l'altura per l'amplada per l'allargada del:</i>	<i>you have to do height by width by length of:</i>
3	SX-m	<i>i tu pots dir lo que et sembli de la base o:</i>	<i>and you can say whatever you want about the base or:</i>
4	JAI	<i>bueno lo primer que fas es treure l'alçada</i>	<i>well the first thing you do is get the height</i>
5	SX-m	<i>sí</i>	<i>yes</i>
6	JAI	<i>llavors els metres quadrats els divideixes o quadrats o rectangulars depèn de la zona que tinguis</i>	<i>then the square metres divide them or square or rectangular depending on the zone you have</i>
7	SX-m	<i>vale</i>	<i>okay</i>
8	JAI	<i>lo més important és dir la: l'alçada</i>	<i>the most important thing is to find the: height</i>

Table 130 JAI practices LEC2-4

Although during classroom time Jaime tends to stick to English with less code-switching, when in break time, the L1 medium-choice established by students seems to be the preferred option. As the student starts in Catalan, Jaime sticks to this medium in turn 2 and he provides the explanation in Catalan. During this interaction, there is no switch to English, not even technical terminology in English. In addition, the student starts by saying in Catalan “*I don't fully understand it*”, the reason why this student has difficulties in understanding this specific idea may be due to the language. Nevertheless, in turn 3 the student seeks confirmation on how to apply the equation, so he might not have understood the explanation either because of a low level of English or because of a lack of disciplinary subject knowledge. Jaime has explained this subject matter during classroom time in English but the student did not ask during classroom time. It is in the break that the student approaches Jaime and establishes Catalan as the preferred language because English may cause him problems when it comes to process disciplinary knowledge. As the whole interaction is in Catalan because Jaime aligns with his code-choice, the student can deal with the subject matter and he eventually shows successful understanding in turn 7. Therefore, Jaime as a code-switcher lecturer is here performing the CBAs “to allow students the use of the L1” and “to align with student’s preferred medium-choice”.

12.5 Summary of Jaime's classroom practices

Through all Jaime's classroom practices, it can be argued that the use of English on the lecturer's part is maximised, but Jaime makes use of code-switching and translation. Jaime seems to assign a pedagogical value to the L1 as he code-switches and also uses translation strategies. In this scenario, the use of the L1 seems to serve the purpose of securing students' attention, maintaining communication and ensuring the comprehension of disciplinary knowledge. Similar to Isabel, in Jaime's EMI classes the L1 is seen as a common resource to process new disciplinary content in English without an arbitrary separation of their language systems. Jaime hence builds an optimal environment (Macaro, 2009) where the L1 is valued as it serves to enhance learning when students have difficulties in English. Jaime does not ignore the L1 in his EMI lessons because he views it as an essential tool not only for himself but also for students. For this reason, Jaime can be categorised as a "code-switcher lecturer" since there is not an exclusive English use in his classes and he integrates the L1 with the target language to aid the comprehension and intake of key disciplinary concepts.

Taking into account Isabel and Raquel's summary tables and adding Jaime's MCDs, categories, activities and predicates, the result is a final composite table for all three lecturers looks as follows. In the following chapter, I will take a closer look to the MCD "Types of EMI lecturers" and its categories, which are related to the emerging lecturers' professional identities in EMI, the ones that interest us in this thesis.

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of EMI lecturers	English-only lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to encourage the use of English over the L1 • to force students to use English • to use simplified language • to use synonymy • to use definitions • to use exemplification • to signpost • to accompany technical academic language with basic one • to use cultural references

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to repeat and rephrase the explanation of the same concept from different perspectives • to use anthropomorphisation of the objects of explanations • to persist using the target language even when students' productions are not clear • to rephrase a question as many times as needed • to allow waiting-time • to check regularly for understating
	<p style="text-align: center;">Code-switcher lecturer</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to allow oneself L1 moments • to be flexible with the English-only policy • to use the L1 for explanation purposes • to mix English with the L1 • to resort to the L1 because of lack of English terminology • to align with student's preferred medium-choice • to be lenient with the L1 use • to allow students the use of the L1 • to allow interactions that combine English and L1 • to use L1 when content gets too difficult • to ensure the switch-back to English after using the L1 • to encourage students to use translations • to translate subject-matter terminology • to assign the target language and the L1 the same pedagogical function • to provide L1-translation and English definitions of terminology • to code-switch between L1 and TL during explanations • to use English as often as possible

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to first explain in English and then in the L1 if the student does not understand • to use multimodal cues
	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to implicitly and indirectly refer to language issues • to rephrase to facilitate language processing • to use visuals to support language processing
Types of teachers	Language-teaching expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to have superior linguistic knowledge • to teach students about language function and discourse markers
Types of students	Expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to suggest an answer • to correct spelling • to bridge the gap and clarify • to provide translations to non-expert students
	Non-expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to ask what to do • to admit lack of knowledge • to ask for further clarification • to resort to translator devices
	EMI student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to use English with the lecturer • to say subject-matter terminology in English
Languages	use of Catalan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to create humour • to create a more relaxed classroom environment • to build social relationships with students • to facilitate the writing of answers • to write/answer faster • to be more colloquial

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to create a more equal status between lecturer and students
	<p>use of English</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to write short answers

Table 131 MCA practices: ISA, RAQ and JAI

Chapter 13. Summary of Section B: Classroom Data

In this section, I have explored and analysed lecturers' classroom practices so as to observe what these practices reveal about their identities. I have examined how both English and the L1s (Catalan and/or Spanish) are used by both lecturers and students, and if the choice of one language over the other serves a specific function. Therefore, the chapters in Section B have unveiled what goes on linguistically in EMI classrooms in terms of language choice, language teaching/learning and classroom management. While in Section A we obtained a picture of lecturers' self-reported professional teacher identity, this section has served the purpose to view closely and critically their actual EMI teaching practices and identify instances of identity performance through their ways of being, doing and acting in the EMI class. This section has looked at and examined three different lecturers – Isabel, Raquel and Jaime – and four classes taught by each lecturer – two lectures, one lab/computer session and one seminar. With a total of 12 classes analysed, the chapters in this section have added a new layer of analysis as it has enabled us to compare and contrast the actual classroom practices with the reported practices and identities lecturers revealed in the interviews (*Section A*). From the classroom observation, it can be argued that EMI lecturers' identity may fluctuate between three different positions: a) English-only lecturer, b) Code-switcher lecturer and c) CLILised EMI lecturer. See table below for the MCD “Types of EMI lecturers”:

MCD	Category	CBAs/CBPs
Types of EMI lecturers	CLILised EMI lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to implicitly and indirectly refer to language issues • to rephrase to facilitate language processing • to use visuals to support language processing
	English-only lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to encourage the use of English over the L1 • to force students to use English • to use simplified language • to use synonymy • to use definitions • to use exemplification • to signpost • to accompany technical academic language with basic one • to use cultural references • to repeat and rephrase the explanation of the same concept from different perspectives • to use anthropomorphisation of the objects of explanations • to persist using the target language even when students' productions are not clear • to rephrase a question as many times as needed • to allow waiting-time • to check regularly for understating

	Code-switcher lecturer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to allow oneself L1 moments • to be flexible with the English-only policy • to use the L1 for explanation purposes • to mix English with the L1 • to resort to the L1 because of lack of English terminology • to align with student's preferred medium-choice • to be lenient with the L1 use • to allow students the use of the L1 • to allow interactions that combine English and L1 • to use L1 when content gets too difficult • to ensure the switch-back to English after using the L1 • to encourage students to use translations • to translate subject-matter terminology • to assign the target language and the L1 the same pedagogical function • to provide L1-translation and English definitions of terminology • to code-switch between L1 and TL during explanations • to use English as often as possible • to first explain in English and then in the L1 if the student does not understand • to use multimodal cues
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Table 132 MCD: types of EMI lecturers

These categories are not static but dynamic and depending on the situation we have seen how lecturers adopt certain CBAs that define them as a particular kind of EMI lecturer and under other circumstances they perform some other CBAs that characterise them as another specific kind of EMI lecturer. This is to say that their agency shapes a fluid professional teacher identity. As the table above shows, some typical action of English-only lecturers are to encourage the use of English and make sure that students actually use the TL. Some of the typical teaching strategies are simplifying the language, using synonymy, providing definitions, rephrasing and exemplification. On the other hand, code-switcher lecturers are more of the tendency to allow the L1s in class, they themselves employ the L1, make use of translation and even align with students' preferred medium-choice. These code-switcher lecturers embrace a more flexible stance towards the English-only policy as the L1 is used for explanation and translation purposes and they even switch and stick to the L1 if it is the students' preferred language for interaction. In fact, this classification resonates with Rendinger's (2010) study of language attitudes and code-switching behaviour, which establishes different types of teachers according to their 'low', 'middle' or 'high' tolerance towards classroom code-switching. Finally, the implicit CLILised EMI lecturer category was also present in practice when lecturers tackle linguistic issues, even if implicitly or indirectly. In short, we have seen how the EMI gaze is present in the EMI, at least in Raquel's case, as the Englishisation discourse is present and implemented in her classes when she encourages the exclusive use of English in class.

In addition, the ELT gaze cast by researchers during the pre-interview phase may have had an impact in the classroom practices because, as we have seen, there are on occasion CLILised teaching strategies leading lecturers to actually adopt a DLF role. Finally, this section provides much food-for-thought on what EMI in action actually is and how EMI lecturers actually implement EMI teaching. Without an articulated EMI policy and training, lecturers engaged in EMI use their best efforts to teach their disciplinary content subject in English, which even if it is seen as a tool to communicate, it is also the means by which students need to understand and process the subject matter. In this scenario and taking into account the classroom excerpts examined in this section, EMI subjects are clearly not CLIL subjects. However, they do have linguistic aims and language issues are tackled in class. Therefore, we need to start contemplating how EMI also can have a dual-

focus teaching objective, like CLIL, but that the EMI idiosyncrasy is that content-based objectives are more important than language-based aims.

Part IV. DISCUSSION

Chapter 14. Discussion of the research findings

14.1 Introduction

This last part of the thesis contains one final chapter to discuss the findings in Sections A and B. I will discuss the findings in relation to the professional identity and classroom practices of experienced STEM EMI lecturers from the UdL. Little research has focused on university teachers' views of their professional identity as EMI lecturers (Kling Soren, 2013; Reynolds, 2016) and compared the extent to which their self-reported professional identity converges with or diverges from their actual performance in class and how this practice also constructs their identity. In fact, Korthagen (2004, 2009) states that who one is as a teacher (professional identity) has an impact on what one does (behaviour) and vice versa, suggesting that the inner levels (identity) influence the outer levels (behaviour) but also the other way around. Therefore, this study adds insights into research on professional identity in EMI which combines the analysis of interview-based data with an examination of classroom interactions data to see how lecturers construct themselves and how they are constructed both by others and by the activities they engage in. Throughout this thesis, a qualitative research approach has been employed to investigate interview data and classroom observation data. The data analysed in *Part III* derived from both the pre- and post-interviews conducted with the research informants as well as the follow-up of their EMI subjects and the observation of their actual teaching procedures. This final part will reflect on the key findings presented previously in relation to the underlying focus of the study and also in relation to previous research studies about EMI.

The chapter is structured on the basis of the data analysed (interview and classroom data) and it follows the research sub-questions outlined in the introduction. I will focus first on the impact of English-medium instruction experiences on the professional identities of EMI lecturers and then on the impact of these same experiences on the teaching practices of EMI lecturers.

14.2 Discussion of interview data

By discussing the data presented in Section A, I will shed light on the impact of the participation in English-medium instruction subjects on the professional identities of EMI

lecturers as reported by the three non-native STEM lecturers themselves and as observed by a researcher monitoring their teaching. Precisely, the sub-specific questions that organise this section are:

- What are the self-inhabited and other-ascribed positionings of EMI lecturers and how do these positionings affect their professional self-positioning?
- What changes in identities are experienced by EMI lecturers as a result of their EMI teaching experience and to what extent does EMI mediate a new emerging disciplinary-language facilitator (DLF) role?

14.2.1 Self-inhabited positionings

In terms of the self-inhabited positionings reported by the lecturers, it is important to recall that the three participants in this study self-position as EMI lecturers. One might conclude that the subject position of EMI lecturer is related to other subject positions. For example, Isabel builds her EMI lecturer identity by building on her positions as language student and EMI student. On the other hand, Raquel brings into play her L1 lecturer identity alongside her position as a lecturer in favour of Englishisation discourses and participation in research communities. Finally, Jaime combines his position as L1 lecturer and his pro-Englishisation position to construct his EMI lecturer subject position. As Wilkinson (2018: 610) notes, “[l]earning through a second language in essence is a complex process that engages and reorganises the identities of both learner and teacher”. It is obvious that the internationalisation and Englishisation discourses have influenced the self-inhabited identity of lecturers who embrace the EMI gaze that permeates higher education institutions. Their belief in the importance of internationalisation and English as the language to ensure this process is evident from several interview excerpts, for example *Table 17 RAQ interview excerpt 1* and *Table 19 RAQ interview excerpt 2*. Actually, Jaime sees English as a necessary tool for a successful academic and professional future (*Table 4 JAI interview excerpt 1*).

In this way, the globalisation, internationalisation and Englishisation discourses (see *Chapter 1*) that have constitute the EMI gaze do have an impact on lecturers self-positioning, even if they are not aware and fully understand this influence (Block, 2007b; 2009; 2013a). This self-positioning in favour of the Englishisation of higher education institutions categorises them as pro-Englishisation lecturers who assert that EMI subjects

are beneficial for students. Therefore, we can see in our lecturers the acceptance of English as the international language for research (Bocanegra-Valle, 2014). In addition, Jaime (*Table 43 JAI interview excerpt 4*) talks about the importance of having access to information in English as being generated at an international level seems to be more valuable. This evokes Phillipson's (2016) argument according to which there is a general belief that English is the language needed to succeed, and instead of promoting multilingualism, linguistic diversity and cosmopolitanism, EMI as an Englishisation process simply means that English has become the dominant language (Doiz et al, 2013a; Phillipson, 2016). The three lecturers involved in this study had had previous study abroad experiences which may have had influenced their positive stance towards Englishisation and EMI, a result also found in Dearden and Macaro (2016). Therefore, as noted by Jensen and Thøgersen (2011), one of the reasons why these lecturers are so positively predisposed to the implementation of EMI in their faculties is that they already had a positive attitude towards the use of English in university and academia before EMI was introduced at the UdL. In fact, the results presented in this thesis differ from Cots's (2013) findings as he identified that his informants – also from the UdL – showed little identification with EMI, saying that they were required to adopt EMI for professional and institutional reasons. On the contrary, my three informants report that it was a personal choice and they were not forced into EMI.

One could say that this predisposition towards EMI is an acquiescence to the EMI gaze, that is to say, the internationalisation and Englishisation discourses that permeate higher education. To a certain extent, these lecturers' individual action is constrained by the EMI gaze, as they are unconsciously motivated by institutional discourses. These lecturers also view EMI as an investment opportunity (Norton, 2016): they are committed to provide students a high quality and international education. In addition to this, they also invest in themselves as EMI adds cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1991) as they become internationalisers of their institution, which in turn may have a positive impact on the university's international profile. The role of agency is of crucial importance for their identity construction because they were not forced into the EMI path, but instead actively chose it (Block, 2015b). This choice legitimises, empowers them and strengthens their professional identity as they feel they are making a difference. Since they intentionally choose EMI, their professional identity creates a sub-identity, a peripheral EMI professional identity in relation to their L1-lecturer identity, which is more central. The

top-down introduction and implementation of EMI occurs on the first place, meaning that lecturers first undergo a “behavioural change (teaching in English)” before actually enduring a “cognitive change (understanding of the new situation)” (Henriksen, *et al.*, 2019: 134). For this reason, once they have accepted teaching in English, then they encounter themselves in the EMI classroom with its complexities and challenges, as they need to reconsider their teaching and pedagogical approach. This new situation may lead to a redefinition or a reconstruction of their professional identity.

In fact, if we take into account the CBAs and CBPs associated with the category EMI lecturer, which the three participants have invoked in their conversations with the language specialists, we find similarities. For example, Isabel admitted, “*You don’t feel you have enough authority to teach English*”; Raquel asserted “*We don’t have to accompany students in their language learning*”; and Jaime stated more bluntly, “*We don’t teach English*”. Different ways to express the same idea, but they all share the same knowledge about what EMI-lecturers are expected to do and not to do. From these and other comments, it is clear that the three lectures do not see teaching English and helping students to develop their linguistic competence as part of the role expectations of the EMI lecturer category.

I have also found another analogous aspect in relation to vocabulary teaching and EMI. Isabel mentions that “*EMI lecturers have the scientific vocabulary*”; Raquel is of the view that “*EMI lecturers focus mainly on technical vocabulary*”; and Jaime also says “*EMI lecturers introduce vocabulary*”. The three participants refer to the importance of teaching the scientific and technical vocabulary of the discipline as a key and central activity for EMI lecturers. The EMI lecturer category seems to be part of higher education professors’ cultural knowledge due to the shift in the language of instruction to English. This category is developed throughout the different respondents’ interviews accounts. In fact, the hinted-at and the stated activities and predicates are not specific of just one lecturer, but reappear in the three interviews analysed in this chapter. Hence, iterativity (Georgakopoulou, 2013; Diert-Boté and Martín-Rubió 2018) is found in the different interviews carried out with the three lecturers as they are accounting for the same situation. There is a shared understanding of EMI and what it is to be, teach and act as an EMI lecturer. The iterative nature of the results implies that the category of EMI lecturer and its ascribed attributions is social action because they give us information about how actors do, perform and could or should behave and act.

In addition, EMI lecturers are implicitly part of an EMI CoP, their similar practices have a common purpose to achieve the same goal. As active EMI lecturers, the three informants in this study have developed certain practices that actually construct their identity in relation to EMI. There is a “mutual engagement” (Wenger, 1998: 73) within the same task: the teaching of disciplinary content subjects in English. Furthermore, these lectures has also take part in EMI/CLIL professional training offered by the university, which reveals their immersion within the EMI culture and way of doing (Lauridsen, 2017; Nikula *et al.*, 2016). Engagement in their own development as EMI lecturers through training offered by the university will expose them to teaching strategies, scaffolding techniques and practices that focus on subject-relevant language. Moreover, the participation in this research project has exposed them to views of language specialists about EMI and their conception that EMI is also a place for language learning. A small and localised EMI CoP has been created somehow as these lecturers have not only developed as EMI professionals but also have built a CLILised awareness towards EMI. Even Raquel in the post-interview was asked about the possibility to continue with regular meetings with other EMI lecturers from different faculties once the project finished. To this, she commented these sessions would work as a “group therapy meeting” and she observed that they would be more successful with us, language specialists, because we can bring a completely different and practical point of view to EMI. There is therefore an imagined identity and an imagined EMI CoP (Norton, 2016). We can talk about a localised EMI CoP where lecturers involved in the practice of EMI of the same faculty or even university meet regularly to talk about their experiences as EMI lecturers and how to achieve their common goal. This is in line with Guarda and Helm (2017) who found that CoPs provide lecturers to collaborate with and learn from each other (see also Thornborrow, 2004 and Lasagabaster, 2018). The existence of such CoP would give them the opportunity to reflect further on their practice, to continue negotiating and co-constructing their professional identity. In fact, the lack itself of an established CoP hinders the development of the CLILised professional identity that interviewers so much advocate for.

14.2.2 Other-ascribed positionings and the DLF role

Nevertheless, throughout the interviews it is noticeable how EMI lecturers are other-ascribed a new category with new activities by the researchers: the CLILised EMI lecturer category. This re-positioning of EMI lecturers as CLILised EMI lecturers affects their

professional identity because on several occasions we can see how researchers act as the implementers of the ELT gaze and in doing so they CLILise EMI and also assign a DLF role to EMI lecturers. This does not occur without a consequence: lecturers become aware of the ELT gaze and the teaching methodologies usually implemented in the linguistic field. Hence, these interviews have allowed us to see how lecturers accept and validate, or even deny and reject other identity choices (Andenaes, 2017; Miller, 2009)

In the case of Isabel (see *Table 7 ISA interview excerpt 3*), interviewers try to convince her that language teaching could also be part of EMI if one of the objectives is to also improve the disciplinary linguistic competence of students. As the CLILised version of EMI is often introduced by the researchers, lecturers often maintain a resistance to embrace this re-positioning of EMI but at the same time it serves them to self-reflect and probably re-negotiate their professional identity. What is more, even Isabel implicitly inhabits the CLILised EMI category and contributes to the ascription of activities and predicates in *Table 11 ISA interview excerpt 5*. This excerpt shows the impact of the researchers' discourse. In this case, Isabel other-positioning and self-positioning as DLF derives from the fact that students bring different English proficiency levels – hence there is a need to adapt. In fact, in this excerpt, she contributes to the development of the CLILised EMI lecturers identity with activities such as “*I try to design activities that give them the opportunity to communicate in English*”, “*I try to walk around and listen to what they say*”, “*I make an effort to ensure that students use and talk English during class*” and “*I encourage students to write in English*”. This is then further expanded with the interviewer's ascription of activities “*You guide students when they have difficulties finding a word*”, and “*You guide students when they have difficulties arranging ideas*”. The CLILised EMI category is therefore co-constructed between interviewer and interviewee. Even Isabel seems to be convinced about the need for a true CLILisation of EMI (*Table 13 ISA interview excerpt 6*). In this excerpt, the CLILised EMI lecturer category is again further described as one creates different methodological activities and one that encourages and requires the use of English on the part of students. Nevertheless, this CLILised EMI professional identity is still highly peripheral or under construction because its complete acceptance and embrace does not occur as we can see in *Table 15 ISA interview excerpt 7*. Again, we can see the interviewers' effort to impose the ELT gaze by other-positioning EMI lecturers as CLILised EMI lecturers. Although they admit that activities that require students to participate and use English in class are useful and

beneficial, lecturers resist self-inhabiting a disciplinary-language facilitator position placing responsibility on students' passivity (see *Table 15 ISA interview excerpt 7*). Therefore, the construction of lecturers' professional identity and the acceptance and resistance of certain positions depends on the relational aspects of identity construction, as Gray and Morton (2018) point out. In this case, how students behave in EMI, how students read lecturers, and who students are to lecturers themselves determines lecturers' professional identity. On account of this, it is true that lecturers are the ones who can take real action for the CLILisation of EMI subjects, but this re-interpretation of EMI cannot be fully accomplished without students' identity negotiation that leads to the assumption and acceptance of CLILised EMI students' obligations: actively participating in classroom activities that address language matters as motivated students.

Also Raquel, though more implicitly, at times describes a CLILised practice of EMI, for instance in *Table 133 RAQ interview excerpt 3*. In this excerpt, we saw Raquel referring to EMI as an opportunity to become familiar with the specific technical language of the discipline and to improve listening skills. Although Raquel rejects the other-ascription of the ELT or DLF role, she does position EMI as CLILised in *Table 134 RAQ interview excerpt 7*. According to the interviewers, Raquel adopts ELT teaching strategies as she breaks down the information into smaller units. This other-positioning is declined by Raquel as it is not a practice that she performs consciously. Nevertheless, the researcher insists on the other-ascription of ELT practices to Raquel, she firmly adheres to her EMI content lecturer identity, discrediting the other-positioning as CLILised EMI lecturer. Additionally, Raquel (*Table 31 RAQ interview excerpt 8*) refutes the interviewers' opinion that her practices are CLIL-like by projecting her researcher identity, her expert disciplinary content identity. Therefore again, the other-positioning as a CLILised EMI lecturer is denied arguing that she is socialising students into the discipline. Similar to Isabel, we can see again how Raquel's identity is relational in the sense that she other-ascribes students the responsibility to learn the language, which is why she does not self-inhabit this CLILised EMI position. In fact, Raquel (*Table 33 RAQ interview excerpt 9*) considers that a CLILised EMI class is condescending because she believes that teaching linguistic matters is about teaching basic grammatical point. Again, she points out that this is not her role and indicates that language issues are students' responsibility. Although the interviewer's efforts do not seem to have an impact on Raquel's own professional identity, there is actually an effect on how the EMI subject is positioned.

Whereas Raquel does not inhabit an ELT position or rather a DLF role, the way she behaves in her class CLILises the EMI subject. This is more clearly observed in *Table 35 RAQ interview excerpt 10* because Raquel aims at establishing EMI as a space where students can use the language, interact and communicate and so develop their English competence. The CLILisation of the EMI subject is contradictory with her refusal of a CLILised EMI lecturer identity. Nevertheless, we need to recall Pennington and Richards's (2016) point: EMI lecturers may be undergoing a process of identity dilemma because their professional identity is open to self-reflection and so, transformation.

In line with Raquel and Isabel, Jaime also rejects the ELT position (*Table 45 JAI interview excerpt 5*) by contrasting his content lecturer identity with the language teacher identity of the interviewers. His rejection of the ELT position derives from his lack of training in linguistic matters, thus he suppresses a CLILised EMI lecturer identity. Interviewers try to convince Jaime that language teaching is about discourse, genre and discipline language conventions, thus again trying to other-ascribe him the DLF role. Further to this, Jaime (see *Table 47 JAI interview excerpt 6*) presents himself to the interviews as an EMI lecturer whose focus is on content and not English. On the contrary, the interviewer is the one developing the CLILised EMI lecturer category by highlighting that English can be taught indirectly and so facilitate students to successfully communicate subject matter. Nevertheless, this other-ascription of activities is rejected by Jaime who insists that his main goal is that students learn disciplinary content. Although the interviewer is casting the ELT gaze and pressuring the acceptance of a CLILised EMI lecturer identity, Jaime does not accept it as he sticks to the EMI lecturer identity. Indeed, there is only a minimal acceptance of the CLILised version in terms of vocabulary teaching because as an EMI lecturer he does develop students' disciplinary lexicon. In addition, Jaime is not comfortable with the other-positioning as CLILised EMI lecturer. Repeatedly, we can see how lecturers' professional identity is relational to that of their students (*Table 49 JAI interview excerpt 7*) because, as we observed in the cases of Isabel and Raquel, Jaime also other-ascribes students the duty to learn English and improve their linguistic competence. It may be this other-positioning of students by EMI lecturers that makes the resistance towards the CLILisation of the EMI lecturer identity prevail. Further research on EMI student identity is required in this respect. Similarly to Raquel, Jaime does not accept this CLILised position, but he does CLILise the EMI subject by suggesting that it is an opportunity for students to be immersed in English and so learn the language.

Interviewers sometimes express the ELT gaze in a quite abrupt and unmitigated way. Although the interviewers are the language specialists, and so they have the knowledge, competence and authority regarding language matters, EMI lecturers still do not commit to future actions. On the contrary, they withhold commitment. Although they do not question the researchers' language pedagogy expertise, they do not embrace their "superior" knowledge on ELT matters. EMI lecturers refuse to inhabit an identity they believe they are being forced to assume and which they have not yet succeeded in negotiating themselves. Sometimes the refusal of a particular teacher identity (in EMI, the ELT subject position), is triggered by the difficulties in classroom management (ensure participation and learning of subject content). They find refuge in their content identity and their intermittent refusal to self-identify as disciplinary-language facilitators suggests that they are still in a process of negotiation.

Taking into account these three lecturers' accounts, their reason to adopt EMI was not language instruction (Saarinen & Nikula, 2013). Nevertheless, the student body is quite homogenous in terms of L1 – most students are local and share the same L1 with the lecturer. For this reason, ELF does not seem to be a strong reason to implement EMI at the UdL. Accordingly, this may be one of the reasons why these lecturers talk about the theatre-like nature of EMI (*Table 9 ISA interview excerpt 4* and *Table 43 JAI interview excerpt 4*) or refer to it as a closed space (*Table 33 RAQ interview excerpt 9*). An EMI setting where all students share the same L1 with the teacher and still there is no explicit English disciplinary-language learning objective, the class does not function either for an ELF or for an ELT reason. Given these circumstances, lecturers might ask themselves what purpose the EMI class serves in this scenario. Unless there is an implicit language learning objective that EMI lecturers resist to overtly admit. This is why it is necessary to establish a clear EMI approach as Valcke and Wilkinson (2007) stress. University, lecturers and students all need to be aware of the language opportunities that EMI provides them and be aware that EMI is not just for ELF reasons: ELT reasons are also there and so to fully take advantage of EMI, language learning needs to be promoted alongside content learning. It is important to note the key role that policies play here because if there were a clearer EMI policy that stated what EMI does and does not imply, lecturers would also have a clearer picture of who they are, what they have to do and why they have to do it. For example, Isabel (*Table 9 ISA interview excerpt 4*) mentions that the EMI policy does not ask lecturers to correct students' language. Therefore, lecturers

are left to take on individual choices in terms of EMI teaching performance since the official university policy does not state the particularities of EMI, as Mancho-Barés and Arnó-Macià (2017) point out. In fact, Mancho-Barés and Aguilar-Pérez (2016) note that the language policy documents of the UdL do not specify why and how EMI is beneficial for language learning. For this reason, lecturers are left with no official university policy document on EMI and a definite list of its objectives and benefits.

In terms of lecturers' English proficiency, the UdL does not have any proficiency test as, for example, the University of Copenhagen does with the TOEPAS (Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff). Instead, lecturers decide whether or not they can do EMI according to a self-evaluation of their English competence (see Hynninen, 2012, for an account of a similar case at the University of Helsinki). Nevertheless, some interviewees point out that they are not fully confident about their English proficiency. For example, Isabel (*Table 7 ISA interview excerpt 3*) talks about feeling shy when teaching in English because even when she has the technical vocabulary, she feels somehow limited in terms of English proficiency. Her professional identity is thus affected because she does not feel fully confident in this regard when teaching. This might influence negatively her professional identity, undermining her professionalism.

The fact that lecturers are not required to prove that they can teach in an EMI context may affect their confidence, authenticity and authority and so their professional identity. For this reason, the emerging EMI identity is not being validated and so a certain self-positioning as EMI lecturer and self-ascription of the types of activities of a successful EMI lecturer are not specifically stated by an external evaluation body of pedagogical and language specialists. Nevertheless, Raquel (*Table 27 RAQ interview excerpt 6*) argues that lecturers do not need to have a certified level, and she mentions that they need to be confident in and comfortable with their competence. However, it is important to mention here that Raquel was the most confident lecturer in terms of English proficiency and she seldom downplayed her linguistic abilities in English. Of importance here is that these three lecturers do not directly comment on their status as non-native speakers of English. It seems that the native/non-native debate that may influence EMI lecturers (see Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018) does not impact these lecturers or it may be so taken-for-granted that it does not need to be mentioned. For these lecturers, it is not a native-speaker status what gives authority and empowers a lecturer oneself in relation to language matters. Instead, it is having knowledge and training in language pedagogy, that is being a language

specialist (see for example Raquel's and Jaime's discussion in *Table 29 RAQ interview excerpt 7* and *Table 45 JAI interview excerpt 5*). In fact, this corresponds to what Pennington and Richards (2016) found in their research of novice teachers entering the field of language teaching about the notion of teacher identity and the competences needed for language teaching, that language-teacher identity is defined by having specific knowledge and expertise as well as being engaged in a CoP that contributes to engagement in a specific set of teaching practices. As they lack these features to constitute a language-teacher identity, their DLF identity is less salient compared to the content-lecturer identity and so are the activities and behaviours bound to it.

14.2.3 EMI lecturer professional identity

Therefore, the findings of this study imply that lecturers' professional identity has developed from a sole L1-content lecturer identity to a co-existence with and acceptance of the EMI lecturer identity – in line with Werther *et al.*'s (2014) research participants, who also felt qualified and skilled to teach both in the L1 and in English. However, when it comes to accepting a CLILised EMI lecturer identity, this is not the case as they view themselves as content but not language teachers (see also Dearden & Macaro, 2016, Dafouz, 2011; Aguilar, 2015). Nevertheless, it is important to note that whereas they deny and avoid this prospect, they positioned the EMI subject as a CLILised subject. Therefore, we can note Beijard *et al.*'s (2004) point that stresses that professional identity is dynamic and so is in a constant process of (re)interpretation (see also Zembylas, 2003). Being aware of the need to take on board an English-language pedagogy and a disciplinary-language facilitator role are a consequence of the contacts with the researchers. This leads lecturers to a self-reflection on their teaching practices and rethinking their pedagogical approach, influencing at least how they position the EMI subject into a more CLILised interpretation. Similar to Dafouz (2018b) and Henriksen *et al.* (2019), being involved with EMI teaching leads lecturers to rethink and possibly reconstruct their professional identity. However, an EMI class cannot be CLILised if lecturers do not implement CLIL-like practices themselves. For this reason, although a CLILised EMI lecturer professional identity is not accepted and embraced as such, their professional identity has indeed been re-constructed due to the rise of the DLF role, which becomes a mediation in the construction of their EMI professional identity and which leads to be in an identity crossroad. Similar to the informants in Airey (2011, 2012), neither Isabel, Raquel nor Jaime feel comfortable addressing and correcting students' English (for example Isabel

in *Table 7 ISA interview excerpt 3* and *Table 9 ISA interview excerpt 4*). Nevertheless, Raquel (*Table 35 RAQ interview excerpt 10*) comments her approach to correcting students' "big" or "important" language errors. Nevertheless, it is obvious from some of Raquel's comments (for example *Table 21 RAQ interview excerpt 3* and *Table 33 RAQ interview excerpt 9*) that there is a widespread assumption that incidental language learning occurs through osmosis (see also Briggs *et al.*, 2018; Hellekjaer & Hellekjaer, 2015; Hüttnner *et al.*, 2013; Turner, 2011) and that English-only in EMI is advantageous for students' linguistic development. On the contrary, Jaime (*Table 47 JAI interview excerpt 6*) has a more negative stance about language and believes that students do not finish the EMI subject knowing how to communicate in English, although he is of the view that they have acquired a good command of technical disciplinary vocabulary in English. Again, we can see the emphasis that is placed on vocabulary (Costa, 2012; Doiz *et al.*, 2013c). Therefore, both the shift in language of instruction to English and the engagement in EMI practice are catalysts for identity transformation and re-making (Graddol, 2006).

Basically, EMI/CLIL training, EMI teaching activity itself and the contact with researchers with a linguistic background have all had an impact on lecturers' professional identity and these experiences together have been transformative (Johnston and Johnson, 2005). Lecturers' EMI professional identity has undergone a process of both negotiation and construction derived from the social relationship they have established with the researchers. The emergence of the EMI lecturer identity seems to be at odds with a potential becoming into CLILised EMI lecturer identity. Although there is a resistance to adopt the latter, some occasional contradictions lead us to see their professional identity as dynamic and fluid (Kling Soren, 2013; Miller, 2009).

Lecturers definitely are not stable as through the interview we can see how they socially negotiate their professional identity with the interviewers (Block, 2015a; Danielsson & Warwick, 2016). We have seen how lecturers have constructed and co-constructed their professional identity through interactions that have exhibited through discourse that identity can be reconstituted (Miyahara, 2014; Weedon, 1997). Through this process of identity negotiation, lecturers have tried to maintain a sense of balance by sticking to their core and more stable EMI and content-lecturer qualities and identities. Nevertheless, due to the discursive nature of professional identity, we have seen how lecturers have been influenced by the interviewers' discourses, which in turn have prompted a dynamic and

fluid identity, even contradictory at times (Norton, 2013): acceptance of EMI as CLILised but rejection of a CLILised EMI professional identity. Being in touch with their professional identity, discussing it with lecturers and self-reflecting about who they are professionally have possibly contributed and triggered core identity negotiation and growth (Korthagen, 2009). Nevertheless, we need to keep in mind what Korthagen (2004) stresses, important changes do not take place straightforwardly and even small changes are minimal when it comes to professional identity. Also, if we take into account Simon's (2004) hierarchy of salience, we can see how the three lecturers' content-lecturers professional identity is always at play, but the salience of DLF identity, related to language teaching, is restricted because there is less commitment to the social role, duties and activities associated with it. For this reason, following Lasky' (2005) definition of professional identity, these lecturers present themselves to the interviewers as EMI content lecturers.

However, we can see the developing process of their professional identity – what Jenlink (2006) refers to as palimpsest. Their experience as research participants in this project alongside their own EMI teaching activity will inevitably build up their professional identity as this has signified a learning, self-reflexive and introspective process (Pennington & Richards, 2016). What these results signal is that participating in EMI, independently of the discipline, triggers certain role expectations, which have an impact in the identity negotiation that lecturers undergo. Therefore, it can be stated that EMI lecturers develop an awareness about the ways things work when engaged in EMI. The discourse formation around EMI is already in place, as the EMI gaze inherently exercises a power over individuals who then replicate the grids of specification of the categorisations of, in this case, the higher education arena.

However, the interviewers themselves bring another gaze into play: the ELT gaze. The application of this gaze onto EMI is, however, not achieved with success. Participants come in contact with this new gaze through the interviews and it is by means of these conversations that new categorisations and role expectations arose, which in turn also affect how the three lecturers see themselves, that is to say, their identity negotiation and constructions towards a CLILised EMI lecturer subject position. The interviewers, as language specialists and research managers, make the scenario complex. In fact, they are active constructors of the interview and so can influence the interviewee's responses. In all interviews, we see how the interviewers allude to their identities as English-language

teachers and bring into play the ELT gaze over content lecturers. Similar to the informants in Dearden and Macaro (2016) and Airey (2012), the CLILised version of EMI cannot be implemented if lecturers do not assume the role of English teachers (or at least English-language facilitators), hence viewing EMI as an opportunity to develop students' disciplinary linguistic competence. EMI lecturers need to take on the responsibility for students' English language development by implementing in their subjects direct and/or indirect teaching of content terminology and leaving behind the notion that English language learning will just happen incidentally, as a result from the exposure to input in English (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2019).

As Airey (2011) suggests, there is a need to socialise students into the discipline discourse. Salaberri and Sánchez (2015) also note that students need to be instructed into text and discourse discipline conventions. In another line, Wilkinson (2017: 610) argues that “[w]hile the goal of English-medium programmes will not be the achievement of native-speaker-like grammatical accuracy it is not unreasonable, given their focus on academic language, to expect such programmes to deliver measurable improvement in grammatical accuracy”. Lecturers are reticent to take on board these views, signalling that they are sticking to their comfort zone, the already-established core content identity, as they are uncertain about the required adjustments and adaptations that EMI practice entails. This study has pointed out the tensions that exist in the ongoing process of professional identity development since the other-positionings established by the interviewees act as a destabilising force. Following Beauchamp and Thomas (2011), the interviews with researchers have operated as a boundary-crossing, transition stage in their professional identity negotiation thanks to the new pedagogical and linguistic knowledge they have been exposed to. Although there is still a clear boundary between content-teacher and language-teacher identity, interviewees have put lecturers' professional identity into question and paved the way for developing the disciplinary-language facilitator identity – an identity closer to the content lecturer identity. In fact, we can see how they at times report and legitimise language practices, which resemble the activities ascribed to a DLF role, a position they constantly reject. For instance, Isabel talks about how she tries get her students to speak and write in English (*Table 11 ISA interview excerpt 5*); Raquel reports that she breaks down the message into smaller sentences (*Table 135 RAQ interview excerpt 7*); and Jaime mentions that he needs to make more clarifications (*Table 136 JAI interview excerpt 2*). In their accounts, they all aim to

legitimate these language-teacher-like teaching practices, in line with what De Costa (2015) suggests. Therefore, even when teaching in the L2 there is somehow a co-existence of the content-lecturer identity with at least an awareness of language issues that may arise due to students' English proficiency.

Beyond my discussion of Isabel, Raquel and Jaime's storylines in the previous sections, we can see how important it is for EMI lecturers to actually have conversations with language specialists with whom they can reflect about their teaching. The research project in which they have participated exposes EMI lecturers to knowledge on CLIL and English-language facilitator subject positions, as well as L2 user positions. In this way, it has the effect of allowing content lecturers doing EMI to re-imagine their professional identity, constructing themselves not only as content-lecturers but also as disciplinary-language facilitators, hence legitimising their L2 user identity. The CLILised EMI narrative along with the ELT subject position proposed to lecturers opened up a discursive space for participants, displacing the powerful discourse of "content expertise" (which constructs lecturers as content experts only, suppressing any chances for re-shaping their professional identity) and adding a new gaze on to STEM lecturers, the ELT gaze, that pushes them to re-negotiate their professional identities. This has been a critical experience for EMI lecturers who not only have been exposed to these new discourses due to the participation in the project but they have also had the chance to reflect on their professional identity and their teaching practices, engaging in discussion that seem to have led to a reconfiguration and reconstruction of their professional identity.

14.3 Discussion classroom data

What follows now is the discussion of the data presented in Section B, we will see how lecturers confront the EMI class and what techniques from their teaching repertoire they implement to make the content accessible for EMI students. The observations were a chance to see the emergence of lecturers' professional identity – either EMI or CLILised EMI – in action and compare it to what they had reported in the interviews. This discussion will look at how EMI practices unfold in the classroom and to what extent language alternation implies shifts in identity performance. The specific sub-questions that guide this discussion are:

- What are the EMI teaching practices that lecturers employ when engaged in EMI teaching that construct them as particular types of EMI instructors, influencing the making of their EMI lecturer identity?
- To what extent are multilingual practices present in EMI teaching and how does language alternation influence identity positioning?
- To what extent do self-perceived and actual practices in EMI differ?

14.3.1 EMI practices in the classroom

Concerning how EMI practices unfold in the classroom, it is important to emphasise that lecturers did not receive any specific instruction from researchers and, although our passive presence in the classroom setting may have influenced their teaching practices, we did neither recommend any specific teaching techniques nor commented on their classroom performance. It is important to have this in mind because the aim of the analysis of their classroom practices is not to prescribe a certain teaching repertoire or to implement a specific teaching practice. On the contrary, the objective was to see the typical practices that construct their EMI identities to better understand the negotiation of their professional identity. Having said this, lecturers' form of conduct has oriented and produced a default teacher professional identity in relation to what it is considered to be "doing being the teacher" and their teaching strategies repertoire (Khan, 2019). While acknowledging that EMI lecturers' teaching practices have not been analysed from a quantitative point of view, we can still recognise certain prevalent practices among our three lecturers.

In comparison to Tange's (2010) research participants, Isabel, Raquel and Jaime use jokes, anecdotes and everyday examples in their teaching. For instance, Isabel jokes about not knowing a word in English (Table 54). Also, when Raquel (Table 99) uses an anecdote to explain content, she is using a cultural reference as she refers to an article that appeared at a local newspaper. Similar to the findings in Tsai and Tsou (2015), the three lecturers in this study employ a range of effective accommodation strategies, encouraging and eliciting their students' participation. For instance, when Isabel engages in several interactive episodes (Tables 51 and 52), when she refers to students by name to elicit answers, she checks comprehension by prompting students to justify their response. We can see Jaime too referring to students by name when he is trying to indicate and elicit prior knowledge (Table 104). Also, there are also examples of Raquel eliciting

information (Table 92). Isabel (Tables 56 and 57) engages in the interactive episode with prompting and eliciting teaching strategies trying to get students to participate and answer her question. Moreover, we have also seen Raquel evaluating students' work and clarifying the content while engaged in interaction with her students (Tables 76 and 88) and she also prompts students to elicit and elaborate their answer (Table 93). This is similar to Isabel, who twice emphasises a technical word that seems to be essential to understanding content (Table 62). On the other hand, Jaime on several occasions elaborates on the definition of specific technical terminology, often accompanied by the L1-counterpart term (Table 107, 108, 109 and 110). In fact, Jaime often resorts to translation teaching strategy required by students in interactive episodes (Tables 111 and 112). Although he also elaborates in English and uses synonymy to explain and define terminology when asked by students (Table 114). We have also seen Jaime reformulating a question to check students' comprehension (Table 116) and clarifying students' doubts (Tables 120 and 124). Also, he has used prompting and eliciting questions as well as emphasis when engaged in an interaction with students (Table 128). Further to this, Jaime has also employed a reference to international students' culture (Table 117).

While engaged in monologic speech, lecturers define terminology by commenting on a specific term or concept (Table 53). On the other hand, Raquel uses quite often the technique of emphasising to signal importance when she makes the content very accessible to students, uses simple language and repetition (Tables 73 and 87) and she also signposts the class to trigger background knowledge (Table 89). Raquel also uses analogy when she connects the content with familiar and simple information as she personalises a substance (Table 74) and she also paraphrases by elaborating and redefining the content making it less hard for students to process it (Tables 79 and 80). Another teaching strategy used by Raquel is that of giving an example and modelling (Table 84) where she uses a real life example (packing protection and alcohol mixing respectively) to explain subject matter. In another extract she emphasises and rephrases, as well as elaborates the subject matter with more simple language (Table 84).

If we take into account all the above mentioned strategies, it seems that the three lecturers implement different teaching and linguistic strategies, even when putting them into effect is a challenging task, as noted by Dafouz *et al.* (2007). Nevertheless, these practices are not "standardised" as Dearden (2015) notes because there is no official EMI script for lecturers who initiate EMI practice. For this reason, these practices may be improvised,

and hence not be as successful as they could have been. An EMI script would not imply a specific way of doing EMI, instead it would serve lecturers to be exposed to successful EMI practices and so develop and enrich their own teaching repertoire. Overall, it can be argued that all these compensatory strategies used in class influence the making of their EMI lecturer identity and actually construct lecturers as particular types of EMI instructors. First, EMI lecturers, or at least Isabel, Raquel and Jaime, seem to be aware that students may need support to process and understand disciplinary content that is already complex in the L1 and so this complexity may be higher due to the shift in language of instruction. Second, though not particularly planned, adjustments are made in the lecturers' teaching methodology as they try to simplify their explanations (especially Raquel). For this reason, they seem to recognise that methodological and pedagogical adaptations are to be considered in EMI and they do so by emphasising the most important content, elaborating, redefining and paraphrasing their explanations, giving more definitions of important terminology, or giving the L1-counterparts of those terms and prompting students' prior knowledge. While these practices point towards a methodological adaptation, there are some other strategies that indicate a linguistic one too (see below *Self-reported EMI practices vs. Actual EMI practices*).

14.3.2 EMI multilingual practices: shifts in identity performance

As in Tampolsky and Goodman (2014), the practices examined in this thesis point to a co-existence of the L1 and English in the classroom both for students and lecturers. As Baker and Hüttnner (2019: 91) note with regard to a comparison of higher education institutes in the UK, Austria and Thailand where “there was much more multilingualism reported than seemingly consciously recognised by the participants, particularly in group work, side-talk and socialising”, the UdL context seems to allow space for the L1 and so an EMI class becomes a multilingual environment where English exists side-by-side with the students' L1s. This is also the case in other Spanish universities, for example in the Basque country (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2016) and in Catalonia (Ploettner, 2019): while English is the predominant language and lecturers tend to stick to its usage, the use of the L1 is permitted and not sanctioned. In terms of practices in the EMI classroom, lecturers differ in how they approach EMI depending on how comfortable they are using English and how confident they are about their L2 proficiency. There are mainly two distinct profiles: a) the code-switcher lecturer who adopts an optimal position where the L1 has a place in the EMI classroom and b) the English-only lecturer who opts for a

virtual classroom environment where there is exclusive use of the target language, that is, English by the lecturer, but not necessarily by the students (Raquel's case).

There are several instances where the three lecturers make use of the L1, although Raquel does so far less frequently. If we focus on Isabel first, we have observed that she tends to switch to the shared-language with students when content becomes more difficult to comprehend (*Table 51 ISA practices LEC-1*, *Table 57 ISA practices LAB-1* and *Table 62 ISA practices SEM-3*). During these three episodes, Isabel unsolicitedly switches to the common L1 without being asked by students. Instead, she may consider that the content is hard to process and her technique is to change to the L1 to make sure students understand the disciplinary subject. Nevertheless, Isabel favours the use of English on other occasions. For instance, in *Table 52 ISA practices LEC1-2* she encourages a student to use English next time he intervenes in the interaction. In *Table 61 ISA practices SEM-2* she allows the students to use Catalan as the medium of interaction but she sticks to English during their conversation. Thus, neither the students nor Isabel accommodates to the other's language choice. Therefore, Isabel seems to stick to her EMI lecturer identity and suppress the urge to resort to her L1-content lecturer identity. Even in *Table 70 ISA practices LEC2-6* she in a way tells herself to switch back to English and in the middle of her explanation in Catalan she says "okay in English" and she then continues explaining in English. Therefore, through her practices we can see a clash of EMI and L1-content lecturer identities at the core of her professional teacher identity.

Interestingly, Isabel's language alternation may also imply a shift in identity performance. Kim, Kweon and Kim (2017) note that the L1 can be used as a teaching practice to joke and so build rapport with students as well as manage the classroom. When Isabel jokes, she shifts the language of interaction from English to Catalan (*Table 58 ISA practices LAB-5*). In the middle of her explanation, she switches to Catalan to joke about how many times she draws the same diagram to explain the subject matter. Something similar also happens in *Table 68 ISA practices LEC2-4* where she is engaged in interaction with students. Here there are instances of moving back and forth between the L1 and English. In this case the interaction started in English; however, as different students engage in the conversation with Catalan as the medium of interaction, Isabel also eventually adopts the students' language choice and it is in Catalan when she again jokes about the situation. In this case, she jokes about the fact that students are asking questions about the content, something not that common during the course but now that the exam is approaching, all

students seem to have doubts. Both examples show us that language use is accompanied with a shift in identity as she might feel more confident to joke in her native language. Another activity she prefers to do in Catalan is that of chiding students (*Table 56 ISA practices LAB-3*). In this occasion, she is trying to elicit a specific answer from students but for Isabel they are just guessing the answer. It is for this reason, while she was asking in English, she then shifts to Catalan to chide or criticise students' behaviour – they seem to be giving random responses without thinking. This criticism however is accompanied by a subtle joke as she says that if they do not know the answer, she will just quit. Similarly, we can see again Isabel doing the same in *Table 63 ISA practices SEM-4*. Here again we observe the same pattern where she changes the medium of classroom interaction to chide and joke. Therefore, this shows again how language is directly linked to identity (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006) and so shifts in language use may also imply subtle identity changes. Interestingly enough is also *Table 69 ISA practices LEC2-5*, where Isabel is engaged in a long stretch of Catalan explanation. In this case, we can see her L1-content lecturer identity and how she teaches when this identity is salient: it can be argued that she becomes more relaxed and so is her language, which is more informal and colloquial. This seems to be in line with what Thøgersen and Airey (2011) point out, lecturers' language is more formal in English than in their L1. When Isabel teaches in her L1, she also uses a register closer to students.

Jaime also presents quite an active code-switcher lecturer identity as he does not only allow the use of the L1, he also uses Spanish and Catalan during his classes and even encourages students to translate content-specific terminology. In fact, translation seems to be one of the most common practices of Jaime, he uses both solicited and unsolicited translation (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2019). In fact, there are more instances of Jaime providing the translation without being asked for it than cases where students actually explicitly and overtly require the translation of terminology. The higher frequency of unsolicited translation may be explained by the fact that Jaime anticipates students' difficulties in processing technical terminology in the TL and so he provides in advance the L1 equivalent (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009; Dafouz, Huttner & Smit, 2018; see also Moncada-Comas & Block, 2019). In the following examples, we can find what Gierlinger (2017) terms "word-focused codeswitching". In fact, Söderlundh (2012: 95) notes that solicited-translations could be interpreted as LREs because there is a "kind of

linguistic interlude which briefly shifts the focus from the task-related discussion to a language question”:

- Solicited translation: *Table 104 JAI practices LEC1-1, Table 105 JAI practices LEC1-2, Table 106 JAI practices LEC1-3, Table 107 JAI practices LEC1-4, Table 108 JAI practices LEC1-5, Table 126 JAI practices SEM-9 and Table 129 JAI practices LEC2-3*
- Unsolicited translation: *Table 111 JAI practices LEC1-8, Table 112 JAI practices LEC1-9)*

Although we cannot know to what extent these translation LRE episodes were effective for students’ learning, Zhao and Macaro (2016: 91) point out that “[l]earning L2 vocabulary through L1 translations tends to occur in a comparatively straightforward manner, and such straightforwardness is likely to more easily and successfully facilitate learners’ retrievals of concrete and abstract word meaning”. This focus on vocabulary is in line with the results found in Basturkmen and Shackleford (2015) and Costa (2012). Nevertheless, this attention to vocabulary contrasts with an absence to grammatical, genre and discourse features.

Like Isabel, Jaime also turns to the L1 when content becomes complex, using Catalan or Spanish to make his explanations clearer (*Table 109 JAI practices LEC1-6 and Table 110 JAI practices LEC1-7*). By translating one sentence, he makes sure students follow him. On other occasions, and especially when he is engaged in interaction with students, Jaime switches to students’ medium choice, that is Catalan (*Table 120 JAI practices SEM-3, Table 121 JAI practices SEM-4, Table 123 JAI practices SEM-6 and Table 125 JAI practices SEM-8*). These excerpts serve as examples of Jaime accommodating to student’ language choice. In these excerpts, Jaime provides “concept-focused codeswitching” (Gierlinger, 2017) because of his longer explanations to make the subject matter accessible and clear for students. According to Lasagabaster and Garcia (2014), this may be explained by the fact that the L1 facilitates the understanding of the lesson and so Jaime not only accepts but also promotes the use of code-switching in class. However, this is not always the case since in other interactions, Jaime sticks to his code-choice, English, while students stick to the L1 (*Table 128 JAI practices LEC2-2*). Nevertheless, during break time when students and lecturer are in the backstage region, the theatricalisation of EMI is more evident. For example, during break time Jaime’s

medium-of-interaction is the L1 (*Table 130 JAI practices LEC2-4*). This is line with Söderlundh's (2012: 97) study of an EMI course at a Swedish university as when students and lecturer form spontaneous groupings "the course language English is rarely used".

Both Isabel and Jaime are examples of lecturers who are flexible in terms of L1 use in class, their practices do not follow an English-only policy and so their classes are not L1-free (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Shaw, 2013). In fact, their practices point towards a view of the common L1 with students as a "tool for education" (Rose and Galloway, 2018) as they explain in the L1 when students are faced with complex content and they also provide students with the L1-counterparts of content-specific terminology. By integrating the use of the L1 in their EMI lessons, both Isabel and Jaime scaffold the learning of disciplinary content with the shared L1, as they seem to view the native language as a powerful teaching strategy to acquire English vocabulary and better process the subject matter (Lasagabaster & García, 2014). They use the L1 to translate, to ensure understanding of difficult subject matter, to maintain a disciplined classroom environment and also to establish a positive relationship with students. According to Littlewood and Yu (2011: 69), all these "dimensions of pedagogical communication ... provide necessary scaffolding for classroom student learning". In fact, this is especially justified in the case of Isabel, who has a homogenous student body where all share the same L1, hence its use is justified (Macaro, 2019). Although Jaime's student cohort is not fully homogenous in that there are some international students, local students who are Catalan and Spanish bilinguals constitute the majority and Jaime has decided to use these languages as a teaching resource. In their cases, the intermittent use of the L1 can be considered as an additional teaching strategy that they implement because intrinsically bilingual practices are inherent in bilingual discourse (Nikula & Moore, 2019).

On the contrary, the instances of Raquel resorting to the shared-L1s with her students is more limited. In fact, she stated in the interview that her EMI classes provide a closed space where English is used. She constructs her EMI lecturer identity around the idea that English-only is necessary in EMI and so the result is a virtual position where the L1 is avoided when the EMI class begins. Nevertheless, while Raquel tried to establish this English-only policy (*Table 72 RAQ practices extra*), when she interacts with students she allows them to stick to an L1-medium choice while she sticks to English (*Table 76 RAQ practices LEC1-4*). In this interaction with students, Raquel sticks to English and allows students to remain in Catalan without urging them in this case to switch to English. On

one of the few occasions where Raquel uses the L1 to translate a term, she does so in a playful tone (*Table 80 RAQ practices LAB-3*). Therefore, it can be argued here to that the L1 choice entails also a shift in identity, with Catalan may being associated with a more relaxed identity that grants a more equal status with students (by joking).

In line with Doiz and Lasagabaster (2016), this study also found that the preferred language for instruction is English even when the L1(s) is allowed. Still, from this study two different lecturer types emerge with regard to classroom practices. On the one hand, Isabel and Jaime are examples of the “code-switcher lecturer” profile. Isabel, for example, uses self-effacement to exteriorise and objectify her English. When she does so, it is one of the few occasion that the English language is the focus of the conversation. Using humour as a self-effacing strategy may reduce tensions associated with the language and create a more relaxed classroom environment. By sharing her experience with the language, she demonstrates to students that she and they are in EMI together. Code-switcher lecturers do not stigmatise the L1 as both students and lecturers resort to the L1, hence ascribing a pedagogical value to the use of the L1. On the other hand, Raquel belongs to the “English-only lecturer” category as she hardly ever resorts to the L1 because she always projects confidence in her English competence. Although Raquel imposes from the beginning a monolingual English policy in her EMI classes, she does not enforce this policy when students are doing pair or group work. Therefore, when students have the opportunity to use and practice their English, they are not overtly and explicitly encouraged to do so.

Overall, language use seems to imply different subject positions (code-switcher lecturer vs. English-only lecturer). What is more, the use of the L1 or the TL plays an important role in the code-switcher lecturer identity as different languages arise in different activities. For this reason, we have seen how language choice can convey the up-take of different subject positions by respondents. Thus we can conclude that a playful, joking tone is linked to the L1-medium choice. In addition, these teaching practices also point out that the choice of medium of classroom interaction is somehow shared between lecturer and students. There are a few occasions where lecturers encourage the use of English but in general lecturers often adapt to students’ code choice and vice versa. Language use shapes lecturers identities because Raquel’s case differs in the sense that her non-use of the L1 positions her as an English-only lecturer, hence language practices construct one’s identity (Gu, 2011). The code-switcher lecturer and the English-only

lecturer categories derived from the analysis are in line with what Macaro (2009) calls ‘optimal’ and ‘virtual’ positions, respectively (see Chapter 4). The alternate use (or not) of English and the L1 reveals shifts in subject positions (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013; Gafaranga, 2001, 2005) because the orientation towards one language over the other also implies a specific function associated with a particular identity (e.g. the use of Catalan over English to joke is associated with L1-content lecturer identity). They all tend to stick to English to explain disciplinary content (e.g. the use of English over Catalan to explain accessible subject matter is associated with the EMI lecturer identity). Even so, if this content gets too complex they may switch to L1 and so at the same activate their L1-content-lecturer identity (e.g. the use of Catalan over English to explain highly complex subject matter activates again the L1-content lecturer identity on occasions). Actually, Raquel’s refusal to switch between Catalan/Spanish and English suggests that her language preference is actually acting as a way to ascribe herself an English-only EMI lecturer profile. In contrast, Isabel and Jaime’s often alternate languages reflecting their code-switcher EMI lecturer identity. Their choice to switch between Catalan and English may be dependent to how they perceive students’ English level. If they categorise students as having a lower proficiency level in English, they may tend to switch more into the L1. Apart from competence-related reasons, the use of the L1 may be for rapport-related reasons, such that lecturers associate the L1 to a more friendly-EMI environment. This is in line with what Gafaranga (2001, 2003) and Cashman (2005, 2008) highlight, language use does reveal group membership and social action because by choosing one language over the other or not using one language at all they are accepting one subject position over the other.

Further to this, EMI practices also point to what Cashman (2008), San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2019) and Pérez-Vidal (2012) suggest, students’ natural behaviour is to resort to their L1 and so switch between their native language repertoire and their target language repertoire. Apart from viewing how lecturers use the L1 with students, student-student dyads also point out that the use of the L1 is highly common and relevant in EMI (*Table 64 ISA practices SEM-5, Table 77 RAQ practices LEC1-5 and Table 119 JAI practices SEM-2*). We have seen examples of how some students switch to the lecturers’ medium choice. On the other hand, some learners stick to their L1 while the lecturer remains in English. Furthermore, sometimes the lecturer is the one who adapts, adopting the students’ medium choice. Therefore, lecturers are not the only ones who decide

medium-choice in interactions, as this license is also granted to students. Although it can be argued that on the students' part there is palpable preference to use the L1 – at least in student-student dyad. In this sense, in the EMI classroom – or at least in the ones examined in this thesis – students do not seem to position lecturers as the ones in the position to establish the medium choice (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010). What is more in the case of Isabel and Jaime, when they switch to Catalan to explain disciplinary subject-matter or to provide L1 equivalents of technical terminology, they are still performing teacher-hood, they are still doing 'being the teacher'. Therefore, the adoption of code-switching practices in turn indirectly positions both languages, the L1 and the TL, as languages for classroom interaction, hence linking both languages to "teacher-hood" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013) because a bilingual-language policy seems to be established at the classroom level – at least in Isabel and Jaime's classes – where the exclusive use of English is not imposed. Indeed, Raquel's case in a way also allows a bilingual-language policy in student-student dyad and also in student-lecturer interactions that do not occur in the frontstage region but occur on the backstage. Therefore, both languages seems to be allowed as their presence seems to account for particular tasks and even for different classroom regions (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011), hence suggesting that the L1 is not seen by lectures as a divergent, marked language that needs to be avoided.

14.3.3 Self-reported EMI practices vs. Actual EMI practices

Similar to Gierlinger (2017), while lecturers in the interviews minimise the emergence of the CLILised EMI lecturer identity, we have identified several instances in classroom observation data where they put an effort to provide linguistic information in their teaching practices, hence showing that they are aware of language matters. For instance, Raquel actually uses interactive episodes to recast students' pronunciation and to emphasise certain vocabulary by giving certain technical vocabulary prominence (*Table 100 RAQ practices LEC2-4* and also in *Table 102 RAQ practices LEC2-6*). Furthermore, Raquel also uses the teaching technique of emphasising to single importance of certain linguistic aspects: she draws students' attention into a key linguistic aspect (verb *load*: *Table 78 RAQ practices LAB-1*) and she also recasts the use of prepositions during an interactive dynamic with a student (preposition *up* instead of *until*: *Table 83 RAQ practices LAB-6*). In addition, we have also seen Raquel giving students expressions to agree and disagree during a discussion activity (*Figure 3 RAQ practices SEM-1*). In

addition, Jaime also uses the interactive episodes with students to emphasise certain linguistic issues, for example the different pronunciation between *forty* and *fourteen* (Table 115 JAI practices COM-3). During interactions, we have also observed Isabel employing the recast language teaching strategy as she corrects a learner's pronunciation error by repeating the error back in a corrected form, hence not obstructing the interaction (Table 67 ISA practices LEC2-3). Isabel also comments on where the stress goes in the word *exercise*, again a language point (Table 65 ISA practices LEC2-1). All these practices show that there are LREs episode present in EMI (see Basturkmen, 2018; Basturkmen & Shackledord, 2015). Although they may not recognise their role as DLF, the three lecturers indirectly see that language plays a salient role in those episodes by implementing LREs. These implicit episodes that pay attention to language matters point in the direction of a momentary adoption of the DLF role, a role that grants access to a language-related identity (LRI) and so a CLILised version of EMI.

Nevertheless, and especially with Isabel's case, we have seen how the asymmetry of knowledge where teachers often know more than students is somehow lost when for example, there are language problems and the lecturer cannot recall how to say a word in English (Table 54 ISA practices LAB-1). Also, in Table 66 ISA practices LEC2-2 Isabel pronounces a word incorrectly and she has problems saying the adverb *strictly*. What is more, on few occasions students positioned the researchers present in class as language experts (Table 55 ISA practices LAB-3). The ambivalence towards the CLILised EMI lecturer identity that we saw in the interviews also prevails in their teaching. For example, although Isabel had argued in the interview that she encourages students to write in English, we can see how the EMI lecturer identity is more prominent and prevails upon the CLILised EMI lecturer identity when Isabel actually discourages a student who was trying to write his response in English. The student is trying to elaborate his response in English, but instead of assisting him, she tells him instead to write the answer in Catalan as it is easier (Table 59 ISA practices LAB-6). Again, we can see that writing production is not as important for Isabel as she tells students that they can write short answers (Table 60 ISA practise SEM-1). On the contrary, we can see on several occasions how Raquel's CLILised EMI lecturer identity emerges, an identity which we could have concluded from the interviews was totally suppressed. First, she establishes English as the medium-choice in her EMI classes, encouraging students to reformulate their response if it is uttered in the L1 (Table 72 RAQ practices extra). All in all, these teaching strategies point to a

reinterpretation of their professional identity and their professional duties. EMI does influence their professional identity and they find themselves at a crossroads where they improvise different teaching techniques that both lead to reinforcement of their EMI lecturer identity but also seem to presage an emergent CLILised EMI lecturer identity.

14.4 Summary of discussion

The results of this study give insights related to the impact of the participation in EMI subject on the professional identities of EMI STEM lectures at the University of Lleida and their teaching practices. Lecturers' perception of their professional duties and professional identity as EMI lecturers has an impact on their EMI teaching practices. Although they seem to implement different strategies to scaffold classroom discourse, they report in the interviews that they do so intuitively. Actually, the lecturers involved in this study did attend CLIL methodology training carried out by one of the researchers, Gerard. This kind of training aims at developing strategies to linguistically scaffold learners and raise awareness of the need to focus not only on vocabulary but also on the disciplinary discourse of their field. Albeit subtly, Isabel, Jaime and Raquel have CLILised both their EMI lecturer professional identity as well as the EMI phenomenon, this might be a result of the CLIL training programmes and also the researchers' influence (ELT gaze).

There is an obvious gap between lecturers' identity and their practices. EMI in higher education has been implemented with little reflection (Dafouz, Haines & Pagèze, 2020) and this lack of guidelines for EMI lecturers needs to be addressed taking into account the particular context for each university. Taking into account the practices I have analysed in this thesis, lecturers use different practices when doing EMI depending on their levels of confidence in their teaching abilities in another language as well as the extent to which they feel comfortable about their English competence. There is therefore a gap between the university policy enacted and the micro-level practice implemented in the classroom setting. Regarding the status of the L1, as Aizawa and Rose (2018:3) put it:

it has been shown that stakeholders' language of instruction does not necessarily mean English-only instruction ... students' first language was often used

alongside English in most English-taught courses, with great variability between institutions and teachers

As a result, even if the university policy supports English-only in EMI classes, the reality at the classroom level resembles more a mixed-language environment. Therefore, the UdL case does not stand on its own. For instance, Aizawa and Rose (2018: 15) also found in Japanese universities that “while the university aims to increase the number of English-medium courses, it does not articulate what constitutes EMI in their policy document”. Consequently, EMI often results in a “poorly articulated meso-level policy” that does not take into consideration the challenges found when EMI is implemented in the micro-level context (Aizawa & Rose, 2018: 15). Regarding a methodological change, lecturers’ practices indicate that they adapt their explanations by resorting to different teaching strategies in their classroom discourse (e.g. emphasising, defining, paraphrasing, exemplifying, prompting, eliciting). They tend to explain the concept from different angles (Raquel), using the L1 (Isabel) or resorting to translation (Jaime). In this thesis I have not examined in detail students’ perceptions of EMI or their performance in EMI course as regards grades. However, the three different teaching styles seem to be adequate and acceptable in EMI as generally the logs from students were positive and did not make any negative reference to lectures’ teaching techniques. In addition, overall students were positive about and passed their EMI subjects. Even though lectures have not been engaged on Farrell’s (2020) five-stage framework for reflection on practices, the different interviews (pre- and post-interviews analysed in this thesis plus the mid-term interview on how they had designed their subject) have served as an encouragement to think about themselves as EMI professionals. This thesis has also served this purpose by comparing what lecturers say they do, their stated beliefs, with what they actually do in class, their classroom practices. In both cases, interview and classroom data seem to converge in the tension around the emergent idea of a CLILised version of EMI and the DLF role that derives from this new EMI version: the focus on language is accomplished minimally, timidly and indirectly. Their stated beliefs and practices also meet in terms of general teaching practices as they noted that content needs to be made more accessible and presented in different ways for students to process it.

This thesis has examined how experienced STEM lecturers from the University of Lleida understand, describe and negotiate their professional identity as it is affected by shifting the language of instruction from L1 to English-medium instruction and to what extent

their perception of themselves as EMI professionals affects their EMI practices, and vice versa. The theoretical framework suggested a new conception of EMI as CLILised, an EMI phenomenon that also takes into account the language of the discipline to fully take advantage of the EMI experience. It has also focused on the abstract concept of identity and teacher identity in relation to EMI. The departing point of this thesis was to examine the impact that the implementation of EMI at higher education institutions has on lecturers' identities. The thesis has gone beyond the focus on attitudes by looking at how EMI is actually implemented at the micro-level of the classroom. If we take into account Dafouz and Smit's (2016) ROAD-MAPPING framework, this thesis first started with a look at *internationalisation* (ING) processes and how these internationalisation and Englishisation discourses affect one of the *agents* (A) involved in EMI, the lecturers. In particular, the focus has been on how the *roles of English* (RO) and language *management* (M) affect the *practices and processes* (PP) of EMI lecturers with a particular focus on how *academic disciplines* (AD) are addressed in the classroom to socialise and acculturate students into the specialised discourses, genres and language of their academic field. The six different dimensions of the ROAD-MAPPING framework have been present throughout this study by analysing lecturers' discourse outside of the classroom context and inside. The study has been specifically concerned about the negotiation and construction of EMI lecturers' professional identity as well as the teaching practices that derive from the development of this identity: a possible emergent CLILised EMI lecturer identity due to a shift with regard to the medium of instruction.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been particularly motivated by the need to provide a comprehensive approach to the EMI phenomenon by bringing together lecturers' reflections on their professional identity in relation to the role that the English language plays and lecturers' practices that actually construct the EMI phenomenon itself. In doing so, the aim has been to draw attention to the necessity of EMI lecturer involvement in a well-defined EMI official policy with a realistic view of what EMI entails and clear guidelines for EMI practice. This thesis has tackled the need to explore how lecturers experience EMI due to the challenge that they may confront when engaged in teaching subject matter in English.

The data drawn on here came from an ethnomethodological study of three EMI STEM lecturers at the University of Lleida, all of which was collected during the academic year 2017-2018 from the EPS and the ETSEA campuses at the UdL. The three participants involved were Spanish and Catalan bilingual speakers of English, who had themselves self-evaluated their English competence as positive to and as sufficient to perform EMI. For this descriptive study of lecturers' professional identity and practice, I have used a qualitative research design. With a case study approach, I have collected data from multiple perspectives: semi-structured interviews and field research accompanied with the collection of video- and audio-tapped classroom data through observation. All the data has been analysed combining the perspectives of membership-categorisation analysis and positioning theory.

The findings reported in this thesis contribute to the growing body of research around university content subjects taught in English in countries where this language is not used by the majority of the population. The motivation behind this thesis is found in the desire to want to know more about the impact that English-medium instruction has on lecturers' professional identity as English is a foreign language for them (and more specifically a language of use in the *lingua franca* contexts that make up their academic life). The results fall into two general categories: 1) reflections and perceptions of lecturers' professional identity, and 2) teaching practices that influence and construct their professional identity. To start with, the study of teacher professional identity is a complex one due to its abstract and inward nature. To gain insights into lecturers' identity and their thoughts on teaching a disciplinary subject in a foreign language, the interviews created a space where lecturers could reflect on themselves as university professionals. The

interviews opened up a process in which I, as the researcher, was able to think about the discourses that permeate higher education institutions, to consider the role that the English language plays when engaged in EMI teaching and to examine the teaching practices implemented. During the interviews therefore I asked lecturers to look inwardly into what they knew (consciously or unconsciously) about who they were as EMI lecturers and what they did as EMI lecturers (also as L1 lecturers, as EMI students, as CLILised EMI lecturers if required), eliciting information about their positionings and their duties as well as a description of the activities associated with the practice of teaching an EMI subject. For this reason, the interviews provided an opportunity for lecturers to speak frankly of themselves as teaching professionals as well as to think about the different discourses they draw on at the same time. The interviews therefore exposed them to new ways of thinking about themselves and their practices. Therefore, both the pre-interview and the post-interview resulted in a process of self-reflection about themselves as lecturers but also was a reflection on their actions as lecturers. All this reflection process “means that EMI teachers subject their philosophy principles, theories and practice to a critical analysis so that they can take more responsibility for their actions” (Farrell, 2020).

Next, this thesis has also afforded the study of EMI teaching practices and how these teaching strategies make visible and, at the same time, (re)construct lecturers’ professional identity. By having access to the actual EMI phenomenon, I have gone beyond EMI lecturers’ beliefs and perceptions of their EMI professional identity to observe how this professional identity is performed in action. During classroom observations, lecturers are focused on and involved in delivering the disciplinary content. Therefore, while aware of my presence in class, they were acting instinctively and spontaneously, hence I collected this time the actual emerge of their EMI identity rather than a description of it. My presence in the class did not go unnoticed and so it could to an extent impact on lecturers’ classroom performance. Nonetheless, as we were present throughout the course, I believe they became more relaxed to the point that we became part of the classroom layout due to the prolonged engagement. Therefore, while the three participants in the research may had been more conscious about how they taught at the start of the classroom observation, the assumption is that with time our presence was overlooked and so they ended up acting intuitively. In fact, the prolonged contact may have served as a process of “habituation” defined as “the process by which people

gradually get used to an observer's presence and reduce their attention and responsiveness to him or her" (Heath, 2018: 129). Although the research could not have an unobtrusive nature because we needed the cameras and the recorders to tape the data, we did our best to not interfere and affect the behaviour of our research participants. The extended engagement through classroom observations may have led lecturers to be accustomed to our presence and so they were "less likely to feel self-conscious and ... [we were] more likely to see natural behaviour", as Heath (2018: 15) puts it. Taking into account this process of habituation, the assumption is that our presence in classroom observation had a null, or at least a relatively low, effect on the informants.

If I reflect on the methodology used in this thesis, I see that the analysis derived directly from both the interview interactions and the classroom data of EMI classes. Originally, I had aimed to include another source of data (students' logs) to include the other-positioning of EMI lecturers derived from students themselves. In fact, interviews with several students were carried out at the end of the course, some classroom notes were also collected and all the evaluation activities were gathered as well. Nevertheless, including this extra source of data – alongside its analytical procedure, analysis and discussion – would have made this thesis even longer than it already is. Although I had to leave aside the students' logs, the whole process of data collection included multiple data collection tools and a strong and prolonged engagement with the research participants. Further to the pre- and the post-interviews considered in this thesis, there was a third interview that was more centred on the instructional design of the EMI subjects as well as the continued contact with lecturers by email since they also sent audio-logs or written-logs to me after each class (a kind of reflective practice tool as Farrell (2020) points out). These two additional data collection procedures were valuable in that they added a supplementary level of analysis as they both provide opportunities for lectures to reflect on their EMI practices and to critically evaluate how successful their EMI classes were (e.g. they could think back about their performance, teaching strategies employed, students' participation, and other issues related to classroom practice). Although an additional data collection tool was suggested in the form of lecturer-centred reflective practice, it was necessary to limit the data in order to provide a detailed, comprehensive and thorough analysis. Ultimately, the design of data collection was highly ambitious resulting in an enormous amount of data.

Although one could argue that one of the limitations of this thesis is its individual nature, given the focus on just three lecturers' case studies, in my view it provides a depth that could not have been obtained otherwise. A more complete picture of each lecturer's professional identity in relation to their practices has been obtained by taking into account 1) the two interviews, 2) the in-depth examination of four classroom observations and 3) the knowledge acquired thanks to the ethnographic approach of the study. In fact, even when this thesis has an individualised (three lecturers) and contextualised (University of Lleida) nature, its findings resonate to what happens with EMI in other contexts. The "I am not a language teacher" recurrent discourse that EMI teachers draw on is present here and elsewhere (Airey, 2011, 2012; Aguilar, 2017; Costa, 2012; Dafouz, 2011; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2020; Werther *et al.*, 2014; Wilkinson, 2013). The three lecturers self-inhabit an EMI lecturer professional identity and resist the notion of CLILised EMI and so they somehow diminish the DLF role. Nevertheless, the thesis also points to what other studies have addressed, an indirect positioning of EMI as CLILised as they either consciously or unconsciously take into account their students' English proficiency to adapt their teaching, to emphasise technical vocabulary and other practices of a language-like teaching natures (Basturkmen, 2018; Basturkmen & Shackleford, 2015; Costa, 2012; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2013c; Gierlinger, 2017; Hynninen, 2012; Wilkinson, 2013). In this way, this thesis has also pointed out that EMI lecturers' professional identity is undergoing a profound negotiation and re-construction. This slow but important re-interpretation of their professional identity announces a CLILised EMI lecturer professional identity that includes the embrace of a DLF role. Overall, the findings described in this thesis suggest that the implications are not individualised and contextualised as it is the nature of the study.

Another shortcoming of this study is that it does not include a comparison of lectures' L1 and EMI teaching practices. This was not possible as there was not a parallel offer of the same subject by the same lecturer in Catalan/Spanish and in English. The three subjects analysed in this thesis were only offered as EMI subjects, hence I have not been able to investigate the lectures engaged in L1 teaching. This would have added an additional layer to the analysis because I could have contrasted 1) the extent to which the same teaching strategies are used in L1 and in English teaching, 2) whether or not the same teaching techniques have the same frequency when lecturers shift from L1 teaching to

EMI and 3) the extent to which there are teaching practices that only occur when they are in EMI teaching mode.

It is true that the thesis only provides the lectures' side of the EMI equation and students are also one of the key stakeholders involved in EMI. Nevertheless, alongside this thesis I have also been working on students' perceptions of EMI (Moncada-Comas, to appear). This publication takes on a multimodal analysis, dealing with students' frontstage and backstage practices. Its aims are to provide a better understanding of students' EMI classroom dynamics and how these practices construct them as particular types of EMI students. Therefore, in this publication I shift from lecture identities to student identities: how students construct and fluctuate between their subject positions both with the lecturer and between peers. Further to this, and as I mentioned above, my first intention was to add an additional section in the Results Part where I would have examined students' logs in an attempt to examine how they perceive the EMI phenomenon and how they other-position EMI lectures. While I have not included this angle in my thesis, I have started analysing students' logs, in particular the logs from Jaime's students. For this reason, I am planning to continue working on this topic in an attempt to explore the accounts of Catalan university students when they change from learning in their L1, Catalan and/or Spanish, to learning in English. A future publication will follow Airey's (2011) research on lecturers' EMI experiences, with one notable difference: my study will focus on students' experiences.

All in all, the findings in this thesis confirm the challenges also found in previous EMI research: engagement in EMI becomes a challenging time for lecturers' professional identity as they re-construct and re-interpret their professional duties and responsibilities. The implications of these findings point to a need to explicitly address instructional and linguistic difficulties typically found in EMI. If these challenges are acknowledged, then a clearer, more explicit and definite EMI policy can be elaborated, one that includes a guide for novice EMI lecturers. In addition, lecturers need to approach CLILised EMI training as something positive for their professional development as they will become more aware of the educational culture around language teaching. Being exposed consciously to the ELT discourse may have had an impact on how they perceive this new teaching practice. For instance, they may become aware that language teaching is not only about grammar and vocabulary or they may become more sceptical about the generalised discourse that language learning occurs just by students being exposed to TL input. Just

as the internationalisation and Englishisation discourses are understood and applied, the ELT discourse needs to be properly accessed if EMI is to undergo a suitable and legitimate CLILisation. However, this training can only derive from an official university policy, one that directly addresses that EMI subjects are also intended for the linguistic benefit of a largely homogenous group of local students. Nevertheless, a specific EMI policy and a CLILised EMI training do not mean that the administration provides a prescriptive script of what it is to be done and not in the EMI classroom. On the contrary, a more explicit policy and some specific guidelines 1) would facilitate the introduction into EMI of those novice lecturers who want to implement it and 2) would assist the more experienced EMI lectures to better understand what EMI practice involves and how it can be improved. In fact, another shortcoming of this thesis is that it has not included an examination of the EMI training sessions already offered at the UdL and their impact on EMI lecturers' practices. This is another future research line where the actual practices of EMI lecturers are compared to what they learn in the existing EMI professional development courses.

The results presented in this thesis also have implications for the role that the English language has in EMI lecturers' professional identity. For this reason, I believe that through EMI training with language specialists content lecturers can understand and develop a sense of DLF role and so implement it in their classes. From the interview interaction, we can see how the DLF role is regarded as a conflicting and ambivalent position that lecturers do not fully accept and embrace. The reason behind this may be a bewilderment towards or misunderstanding regarding what the duties and responsibilities of a DLF role imply. Lecturers often reject a focus on disciplinary language matters as they think it will get in the way of content teaching. Therefore, learning about the language of the discipline is not seen as something positive and enriching. Often language learning is associated with grammar teaching and students are either expected to learn the language autonomously, on their own, or by osmosis. However, if students are to be immersed in the disciplinary language of their field of study, lecturers need to become aware of their key role in socialising learners into the discourses, genre and specific language of their discipline. By adopting a DLF role, content lecturers do not become language teachers; rather, they become aware of the need to tackle disciplinary-related linguistic issues necessary if students are to become part of their discipline's CoP. Just as the content is paramount, having the linguistic tools to communicate it as an expert is

crucial and content lecturers need to recognise this as one of their duties when they become EMI lecturers. To achieve this, lecturers may need the assistance and cooperation of language specialists through CLILised EMI training programmes. These courses may advise lectures on how to focus on linguistic issues and how to assist students and at the same time create a space for content lectures to have contacts with both other EMI lecturers and also with language specialists to sort out their doubts on this matter. In fact, Aguilar-Pérez and Arnó-Macià's (2020) study regards that, although each EMI training needs to be tailored-made to each context, three general dimensions need to be regarded:

- the linguistic dimension: language proficiency and the linguistic repertoire of lecturers may help them develop their confidence as teaching professionals.
- the pedagogical dimension: either a pedagogy with characteristics of CLIL-like teaching to help scaffold those students with lower linguistic levels cope with the language; or a pedagogy that includes effective EMI teaching strategies such as “clarity-explicitness”, “orderly presentation and materials; and a positive attitude” (Aguilar-Pérez & Arnó-Macià, 2020): 172).
- the multilingual dimension: as a multilingual and multicultural phenomenon EMI, English may co-exist with other languages (such as the L1s).

Actually, a final implication that derives from this thesis is the prospect that an EMI CoP might emerge. At the moment, lecturers who get into EMI lack a sense of belonging to a CoP. Lecturers cannot engage with others with whom they share the same enterprise and so there is an absence of an imagined identity and there is no connection between the reconstruction of their professional identity in relation to this community. EMI lecturers cannot engage socially with others and so they are not able to know, reflect and learn from their own and others' practices, practices that actually construct the community. A professional identity is further developed and negotiated when one belongs to a community of professionals with whom one shares practices (Thornborrow, 2004) because members can thus interact about the what, the how and the why of their activity. By creating an EMI CoP, lecturers would be able to define themselves in relation to this group membership and group identification, both essential to the construction of a sense of identity. However, EMI lectures at the UdL do not get together as a group and they do not engage together in a cooperative establishment of the activities that construct the EMI identity. Even if EMI lecturers belong to different discipline, they could all come together from either the same faculty or even university so as to not undergo this process

independently. Forming a CoP would allow them to discuss as a group their common enterprise and share the different EMI practices that each of them implements at the classroom level. Keeping their specific roles as different professionals from distinct fields, an EMI CoP would give them the chance to talk about their teaching repertoires and routines. In fact, an EMI CoP at the University of Lleida would enable its members – even if they are from different campuses and disciplines – to share to some extent a quite similar context. First, the majority of students throughout the different campuses have Catalan and/or Spanish as the L1 and a small group (if any) of international students comprises the EMI classroom. Second, the university implements the same official EMI policy throughout the different faculties. Third, language specialists create EMI training courses for all EMI lecturers, regardless of their field of study, to further develop both their professional identity and their teaching repertoires.

In terms of future research, this thesis may have supplied the impetus and the conditions for further investigation on the construction of the EMI professional identity. In fact, this thesis opens the door for a variety of future research on the emergent concept of CLILised EMI identity and the DLF role. This contribution into the field of teacher professional identity, in particular that of EMI lecturers, is of high significance because it is related to the important role that language plays in EMI which actually is one of the key concerns in EMI research. This thesis has pointed, as other research has, to the dynamism of professional identity: the dynamic nature of EMI lecturers' identity can therefore stem from lecturers' ambivalent positionings and practices. Thus, I believe that one particular strength of the results reported in this thesis is the contribution of a comprehensive research method for attaining access into the private and abstract concept of lecturers' identity. Not only have I been able to provide insights into this intangible construct, the findings also show that lecturers can become aware of the role of language and so take part, even if unconsciously, in a CLILisation process of EMI. It would be interesting to see how other lecturers from other higher education institutions respond to the ELT gaze and other-positioning as CLILised EMI lecturers with a DLF role. Although there might be a first reaction of rejection, the discourse may permeate their identity and then be evident in their practice.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: ASSEMID pre-interview protocol

Appendix B: post-interview protocol ISABEL

Appendix C: post-interview protocol RAQUEL

Appendix D: post-interview protocol JAIME

Appendix E: ASSEMID class observation guide

Appendix F: Interview transcription conventions

Appendix G: Classroom transcription conventions

Appendix A: ASSEMID pre-interview protocol

Individual lecturer interviews before main data collection: Discussion points.

A language autobiography from the first consciousness of using languages to the present. With regard to the different languages in his/her life, attempt to establish:

his/her sense of inherited or achieved status;

his/her perceived and validated competence;

his/her affiliation/allegiance;

the who-what-where-why-when-how of uses of different languages

Experience with English as a vehicular language as a student at university

A professional/academic autobiography.

The story of how he/she became involved in EMI and details of all experiences to date.

A self-description and self-evaluation of his/her language biography/profile, professional biography/profile and EMI instructor biography/profile.

A description and assessment of the language education policy of his/her university and how EMI has been implemented in universities where he/she has worked.

A description and assessment of EMI students with whom he/she has had context.

Basic information about the class that will be the object of study.

Motivations for participating in EMI programmes.

Motivations for participating in this study + expectations.

His/her understanding of what the project will entail with regard to the division of labour between research informant and researcher + his/her consent regarding details of this relationship.

Appendix B: post-interview protocol ISABEL

Post-interview protocol: Isabel

General:

- La teva opinió sobre l'EMI en general? Segueix sent igual de positiva?
- Quines creus que son les teues “bones” característiques com a professor EMI? Que t'agradaria millorar com a professor EMI? Animaries a altres professors a fer EMI? Per què?
- Creus que seria convenient establir algun criteri de selecció per escollir al professorat que vol oferir classes en anglès? Quins criteris et venen al cap?
- Sobre requisits lingüístics per als alumnes, creus que hi haurà d'haver un examen de nivell d'entrada per poder cursar EMI?
- Alguns estudis diuen que els profes d'EMI no us considereu com a profes de llengua. Que hi penses?

Sobre l'anglès i aquesta assignatura:

- Com veu l'equilibri contingut/llengua al llarg de l'assignatura.
- Creus que els alumnes han après anglès al llarg de l'assignatura. EVIDÈNCIA
- Com avalua els esforços dels alumnes per aprendre anglès.
- Tenies objectius lingüístics per a alguna sessió de classe? EXEMPLE
- Creus que els alumnes a part de saber contingut i terminologia sobre l'assignatura, també es poden expressar de millor en anglès, ja sigui de manera escrita/oral gràcies a la teva assignatura?

Coses que hem observat:

SOBRE PARTICIPACIÓ A CLASSE

- Has comentat que els teus alumnes han set passius, poc participatius. Ha influït això la metodologia/organització de les classes? Has canviat/adaptat la teva forma de donar classe per la poca participació del alumnat?
- Quina creus que és la raó per la poca participació? Nivell d'anglès?

SOBRE ÚS DE MÉS LENGÜES A CLASSE

- Durant la classe o quan treballaven en parelles o grups si tenien dubtes els alumnes preguntaven majoritàriament en català/castellà. Vas pensar de animar-los també a fer-ho en anglès? Per què (no)?
- Tu has utilitzat la L1 a les teves classes. Per què? En què ocasions creus que l'has utilitzat? Què ha influenciat aquesta decisió? Hi ha una funció pedagògica relacionada amb l'ús de la L1?
- Algun cop després de l'explicació en anglès deies "això ha de quedar clar" i ho explicaves en català. Per què? En que et basaves per saber que no havia quedat clar?
- Quan feies preguntes i no contestaven les re-formulaves o deixaves Wait Time per a que contestessin, això també ho fas a les classe en català?
- Creus que les in-class activities/paper/lab-report haguessin set de més qualitat en català/castellà que en anglès? Què és més important la qualitat o que els alumnes es facin entendre?

SOBRE APRENTATGE DELS ALUMNES

- Creus que els hi ha costat seguir-te perquè feies l'assignatura en anglès? Recordes algun cas concret?
- Has comentat que no estàs contenta amb les notes del segon parcial? Què creus que ha influenciat a aquesta nota? No han entès el temari per l'anglès?

SOBRE MÈTODES DE SCAFFOLDING I METODOLOGIA D'APRENTATGE

- Quin(s) mètodes i eines has fet anar a classe per a que els alumnes seguissin les classes expositives lo millor possible?
- Creus que has simplificat o has anat més lenta per ser l'assignatura en anglès?
- Has adaptat la classe al nivell d'anglès dels alumnes? Et va influenciar saber el nivell d'anglès dels alumnes a partir del test que vam penjar al campus virtual?
- Les in-class activitats i el lab-report era en parelles/grups, per què utilitzes pair-work? És perquè l'assignatura és en anglès?
- T'han fet preguntes sobre llengua anglesa a alguna tutoria? Per què creus que no et feien preguntes d'anglès a classe?
- Recordes algun exemple que hagi parlat de llengua (estructura text, vocabulari, formalitat) a la classe o en privat amb el alumnes?

SOBRE IMPACTE DE PARTICIPAR EN PROYECTO

- Has fet adaptacions a la metodologia/organització de la classe a causa de la teva participació en el projecte?
- Has canviat alguna cosa pel fet d'estar nosaltres com observadors?
- T'ha incomodat ser enregistrada en àudio i en vídeo?

Appendix C: post-interview protocol RAQUEL

Post-interview protocol: Raquel

General:

- La teva opinió sobre l'EMI en general? Segueix sent igual de positiva?
- Quines creus que son les teues “bones” característiques com a professor EMI? Que t'agradaria millorar com a professor EMI? Animaries a altres professors a fer EMI? Per què?
- Sobre requisits lingüístics per als alumnes, creus que hi haurà d'haver un examen de nivell d'entrada per poder cursar EMI?
- Com reaccionaries davant de crítiques d'alumnat (a l'avaluació docent) i/o de Cap d'Estudis sobre el fet que la nota no reflecteix tot el que sap cada alumne ja que el nivell d'anglès fa que no puguin expressar tot el que han après?

Sobre l'anglès i aquesta assignatura:

- Com veu l'equilibri contingut/llengua al llarg de l'assignatura.
- Si creu que els alumnes han après anglès al llarg de l'assignatura. EVIDÈNCIA
- Què has fet per que els alumnes aprenguessin més anglès
- Com avalua els esforços dels alumnes per aprendre anglès.
- Creus que has simplificat o has anat més lenta per ser l'assignatura en anglès?
- Creus que els alumnes a part de saber contingut i terminologia sobre l'assignatura, també es poden expressar de forma correcta formalment en anglès, ja sigui de manera escrita/oral gràcies a la teva assignatura? Com els has ajudat a aconseguir-ho?

Coses que hem observat:

- Quan els alumnes et preguntàvem dubtes durant la classe, els animaves a que ho fessin en anglès. Quan els alumnes feien pair-work a classe, ho feien en català/castellà. Vas pensar de animar-los també a fer-ho en anglès? Per què (no)?
- Creus que els hi ha costat seguir-te perquè feies l'assignatura en anglès?
- T'han fet preguntes sobre l'anglès a alguna tutoria? Per què creus que no et feien preguntes d'anglès a classe?

- Creus que els informes/projectes haguessin set de més qualitat en català/castellà, que en anglès? Què és més important la qualitat o que els alumnes es facin entendre?
- Tu no has utilitzat la L1 a les teves classes. Per què no? Que ha influenciat aquesta decisió? Apart dels ERASMUS, perquè al final de l'assignatura sol hi havia "locals" i tot i així tu seguies sense utilitzar-la? (exemples apart from ERASMUS: personal beliefs, knowledge acquired during training programmes, government or institutional recommendation)
- Has fet adaptacions a la metodologia/organització de la classe a causa de la teva participació en el projecte? Per exemple, sessió "giving opinions" (focus-on-form), va ser un afegit per la presència/influència dels investigadors o per alguna altra raó?
- Has comentat que els teus alumnes han set passius, poc participatius. Ha influït això la metodologia/organització de les classes? Has canviat/adaptat la teva forma de donar classer per la poca participació del alumnat?
- Has adaptat la classe al nivell d'anglès dels alumnes? Et va influenciar saber el nivell d'anglès dels alumnes a partir del test que vam penjar al campus virtual?
- Per què utilitzes pair-work?
- Quan fa que dones l'assignatura? L'has donat sempre de la mateixa manera?: Part de teoria, pràctiques al lab i project work? El project work d'on et vas inspirar? L'has donat sempre en anglès? català/castellà? És la millor manera de donar l'assignatura de biotecnologia animal i en anglès? Si la fessis en català, la plantejaries igualment?

Appendix D: post-interview protocol JAIME

Post-interview protocol: Jaime

General:

- La teva opinió sobre l'EMI en general? Segueix sent igual de positiva?
- Quines creus que son les teues “bones” característiques com a professor EMI? Que t'agradaria millorar com a professor EMI?
- Creus que seria convenient establir algun criteri de selecció per escollir al professorat que vol oferir classes en anglès? Quins criteris et venen al cap?
- Sobre requisits lingüístics per als alumnes, creus que hi haurà d'haver un examen de nivell d'entrada per poder cursar EMI?
- Alguns estudis diuen que els profes d'EMI no us considereu com a profes de llengua. Què hi penses?

Sobre l'anglès i aquesta assignatura

- Com veus l'equilibri contingut/llengua al llarg de l'assignatura.
- Creus que els alumnes han après anglès al llarg de l'assignatura. EVIDÈNCIA
- Com avalua els esforços dels alumnes per aprendre anglès.
- Tenies objectius lingüístics per a alguna sessió de classe? EXEMPLE
- Creus que els alumnes a part de saber contingut i terminologia sobre l'assignatura, també es poden expressar de millor en anglès, ja sigui de manera escrita/oral gràcies a la teva assignatura?

Coses que hem observat

SOBRE DINAMICA DE CLASSE

- Creus que els teu alumnes són passius, poc participatius a l'hora de seguir les classes? Ha influït això la metodologia/organització de les classes? Has canviat/adaptat la teva forma de donar classe per la poca participació del alumnat?
- Quina creus que és la raó per la poca participació? Nivell d'anglès?
- Tenies una classe molt xerraire. Com t'ha afectat a l'hora de fer classes? I als alumnes?

SOBRE ÚS DE MÉS LLENGÜES

- Has utilitzat la L1 a les teves classes, i de vegades traduïes al català i castellà? Per què? Creus que traduir pot ajudar als alumnes locals a seguir millor l'assignatura? Per què creus que els cal? I el internacionals? Quina creus que era la seva reacció cada vegada que traduïes? Creus que apuntaven les paraules en català/castellà?
- Quan contestaves dubtes o parlaves amb els diferent grups (a les in-class activities), de vegades també ho feies en català. Per què recorries al català per resoldre dubtes o per parlar en grups petits a diferencia de quan explicaves a tota la classe?
- Durant la classe o quan treballaven en parelles o grups si tenien dubtes els alumnes preguntaven majoritàriament en català/castellà. Vas pensar de animar-los també a fer-ho en anglès? Per què (no)?
- Quan feies preguntes i no contestaven les re-formulaves o deixaves Wait Time per a que contestessin, això també ho fas a les classe en català/castellà?
- Creus que les in-class activities/paper haguessin set de més qualitat en català/castellà que en anglès? Què és més important la qualitat o que els alumnes es facin entendre?

SOBRE APRENTATGE DEL

- Creus que els hi ha costat seguir-te perquè feies l'assignatura en anglès? Que expliqui algun cas concret.
- Has comentat que no estàs content amb les notes del primer parcial? Què creus que ha influenciat a aquesta nota? No han entès el temari per l'anglès?
- Com vas veure als alumnes fent les presentacions? Els vas veure amb fluïdesa fent les presentacions en anglès? Creus que haguessis pogut fer-los fer més activitats amb component oral (per ex. sortir a la pissarra i explicar alguna gràfica, imatges...)
- Creus que els alumnes a part de saber contingut i terminologia sobre l'assignatura, saben expressar-se formalment (per escrit i oralment) gràcies a la teva assignatura? Com els has ajudat a aconseguir-ho?

SOBRE MÈTODES DE SCAFFOLDING I METODOLOGIA D'APRENTATGE

- Swine production és una assignatura que té una part teòrica i una part pràctica. El tipus de classe de la part teòrica va ser interactive lecture a partir d'un PPT; tu

anaves explicant a partir del ppt, feies anar la pissarra per complementar explicacions i els alumnes prenen nota del que escriuen a classe. És així com es sol donar classes a la carrera? És lo que esperen els alumnes: baixa interacció en relació a les explicacions, i cert d'absentisme?

- Hi ha alguna manera de canviar el model de la part teòrica fent-lo més interactiu, més actiu? Pot ser que l'anglès faci que un possible model més actiu de l'alumnat no funcioni? Creus que la nota dels alumnes reflecteix el que saben de producció porcina???
- Has fet anar vídeos a classe teòrica? Creus que han funcionat com a activitat complementària a les lectures?
- Algun mètode de scaffolding, que n'estiguis content?
- Creus que has simplificat o has anat més lentament per ser l'assignatura en anglès?
- Has adaptat la classe al nivell d'anglès dels alumnes? Et va influenciar saber el nivell d'anglès dels alumnes a partir del test que vam penjar al campus virtual?
- Les classes pràctiques van consistir en fer anar una aplicació sobre pinso. L'aplicació estava en anglès. Creus que va funcionar l'activitat? Els va servir l'activitat per practicar anglès? Creus que l'alumnat hagués preferit practicar amb l'aplicació en català/castellà i així aprendre a saber fer les mescles de pinso amb precisió?
- Altres classes pràctiques han consistit en preparar el treball de la granja de porcs. Estàs content de com van anar les classes. Bàsicament els alumnes aplicaven fórmules, i no els calia fer anar l'anglès entre ells, o sí?
- El report sobre la granja de porcs era en grups, per què utilitzes group-work? És perquè l'assignatura és en anglès?

SOBRE FOCUS ON FORM/FORMS

- T'han fet preguntes sobre llengua anglesa a alguna tutoria? Per què creus que no et feien preguntes d'anglès a classe?
- Recordes algun exemple que hagis parlat de llengua (estructura text, vocabulari, formalitat) a la classe o en privat amb el alumnes?
- El fet de donar feedback lingüístic de les errades que els alumnes escriuen a les seves tasques pot ser ben valorat pels alumnes, perquè els pots ajudar a ser

conscients de les mancances i, qui sap?, a millorar el seu anglès. Com es podria organitzar aquesta provisió de feedback lingüístic sense carregar-te més feina?

SOBRE IMPACTE DE PARTICIPAR EN PROYECTO

- Has fet adaptacions a la metodologia/organització de la classe a causa de la teva participació en el projecte?
- Has canviat alguna cosa pel fet d'estar nosaltres com observadors?
- T'ha incomodat ser enregistrat en àudio i en vídeo?
- Com creus que ens han vist els alumnes a nosaltres durant el semestre? Ens han vist com a observadors independents? o bé amb desconfiança, com a observadors vinculats a tu, i que d'alguna manera les opinions seves te les podíem fer-te arribar.

Appendix E: ASSEMID class observation guide

CLASS (NAME)		SESSION NO.:	WEEK NO.:	DATE & TIME:
INSTRUCTOR(S):				
OBSERVER (S):				
MATERIALS USED:				
TYPE OF CLASS (lecture, lab, combination...)				
TIME	ACTIVITY	NOTES TEACHER ACTIVITY	NOTES STUDENT ACTIVITY	

Appendix F: Interview transcription conventions

Convention	Function
ABC	The three letters of the speaker's name is used as acronym. The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn.
(.)	Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.
(1)	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of second in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second, (3) = 3 seconds.
?	Words spoken with rising intonation (as in a question) are followed by a question mark "?".
Capital letters	If a speaker gives a syllable, word or phrase particular prominence, this is written in capital letters.
[]	Overlapping. Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with squared brackets.
:	Lengthened sound are marked with a colon "·".
	All repetitions of words are transcribed.
wo-	With words fragments, a hyphen marks where a part of the word is missing.
@	All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol.
<@> words </@>	Utterances spoken laughingly are put between <@> </@> tags.
<i>italics</i>	In the English translations of the interview excerpts, anything that was said in English in the original Catalan or Spanish version is italicised.
< words >	Extra-linguistic activity and extra information is transcribed as part of the running text and put between pointed brackets < >.
XXX	Unintelligible or incomprehensible speech is represented by XXX.
/	Indicates natural pauses between units of speech.
...	Text edited out (e.g. hesitations, false starts, pauses of one second or more)

hm / mhm	Affirmative or agreeing utterances
{ }	When talking and the speaker utters a sentences as it was said in another time and/or by other person

Appendix G: Classroom transcription conventions

Convention	Function
1, 2, 3...	Interventions are equalled to turns and numbered.
ABC	The three letters of the speaker's name is used as acronym. The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn.
SX	Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker are marked SX.
SX-f SX-m	Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker, but where the gender can be identified, are marked SX-f for female speaker or SX-m for male speaker.
SX-1 SX-2	If it is likely but not certain that a particular speaker produced the utterance in question, this is marked SX-1, SX-2, etc.
(.)	Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.
(1)	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of second in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second, (3) = 3 seconds.
?	Words spoken with rising intonation (as in a question) are followed by a question mark "?".
Capital letters	If a speaker gives a syllable, word or phrase particular prominence, this is written in capital letters.
[]	Overlapping. Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with squared brackets.
:	Lengthened sound are marked with a colon ":".
	All repetitions of words are transcribed.
wo-	With words fragments, a hyphen marks where a part of the word is missing.
@	All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol.
<@> words </@>	Utterances spoken laughingly are put between <@> </@> tags.

<i>italics</i>	In the original English classroom excerpts, anything that was said in Catalan and/or Spanish is italicised.
<u>word</u>	An underline syllable marks that syllable has been stressed.
{ }	English translations of classroom speech in Catalan and/or Spanish are provided in curly brackets.
< words >	Extra-linguistic activity and extra information (e.g. phonetic transcription) is transcribed as part of the running text and put between pointed brackets < >.
<whispering> </whispering>	Speaking modes. Utterances which are spoken in a particular mode (fast, soft, whispered, read, etc.) and are notably different from the speaker's normal speaking style are marked accordingly. The list of speaking modes is an open one.
XXX	Unintelligible or incomprehensible speech is represented by XXX.
/	Indicates natural pauses between units of speech.
...	Text edited out (e.g. hesitations, false starts, pauses of one second or more)
hm / mhm	Affirmative or agreeing utterances

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