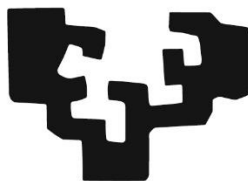


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Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea

English-medium and Basque-medium
instruction at university:
A contrastive analysis of translanguaging,
interaction, and motivation

Iratxe Serna-Bermejo

Supervisor: Professor David Lasagabaster Herrarte

Department of English and German Philology and Translation and
Interpretation

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RESUMEN

Desde su fundación en 1980, la UPV/EHU es oficialmente una institución bilingüe que demuestra un compromiso indubitado en aras de la promoción del euskera y su desarrollo en el ámbito académico (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017). La universidad debe garantizar la oportunidad de estudiar tanto en euskera como en castellano, ya que ambas son lenguas oficiales en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (CAV). No obstante, la normalización y promoción del euskera (Lasagabaster, 2015b) ha requerido enormes esfuerzos tanto a nivel económico como en lo que a recursos humanos se refiere. Todos estos esfuerzos se han visto recompensados por el progresivo aumento tanto de la oferta de estudios en euskera como de la demanda por parte del alumnado. Sin embargo, en la última década la UPV/EHU, como la mayoría de las universidades europeas, ha incluido la internacionalización entre sus principales objetivos. Por esta razón, en el año 2005 la universidad puso en marcha el Plan de Plurilingüismo con el objetivo de fomentar la presencia de lenguas extranjeras como medio de instrucción en su oferta educativa.

Si bien es cierto que el Plan de Plurilingüismo no se centra únicamente en la promoción de la lengua inglesa, ya que también cuenta con objetivos más amplios que no se circunscriben a dicha lengua, una de las estrategias más remarcables ha sido el aumento de la oferta de estudios en inglés (EMI). De este modo, la universidad cuenta con dos idiomas oficiales (euskera y castellano), a los que se añade la oferta de estudios EMI, la cual supone la incursión del inglés como tercera lengua (L3). Así las cosas, el panorama lingüístico de la UPV/EHU hace de esta universidad un escenario perfecto para realizar estudios relacionados con el multilingüismo.

Los programas EMI hacen referencia al uso del inglés para impartir materias académicas en países o jurisdicciones donde la primera lengua de la mayoría de la población no es el inglés (Dearden, 2015). Estos programas no suelen tener ningún objetivo lingüístico, a diferencia de otros enfoques como el aprendizaje integrado de lengua y contenido (AICLE) más habitual en niveles pre-universitarios. En consecuencia, en EMI el plan de estudios no contempla objetivos lingüísticos específicamente relacionados con el inglés y, por lo tanto, tampoco se evalúan las

habilidades del alumnado en este idioma, ya que únicamente se atiende al contenido de la materia, al igual que sucedería si se tratara de la asignatura homóloga en la primera lengua (L1).

El objetivo de esta investigación es analizar y comparar el translenguaje (*translanguaging* en inglés), la interacción en el aula y la motivación del alumnado tanto en los estudios impartidos en euskera (BMI) como en los estudios EMI de la UPV/EHU. Los tres ejes principales (translenguaje, interacción y motivación) que conforman este estudio serán tratados de forma integrada estableciendo conexiones y relaciones entre los mismos.

En relación con los participantes del estudio, contamos, por un lado, con dos profesores (Profesor A y Profesor B) pertenecientes a la facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales. Estos docentes fueron seleccionados debido a que ambos impartían sus materias en dos grupos paralelos; un grupo EMI y un grupo BMI. Esta no es una situación habitual en la UPV/EHU, ya que es excepcional encontrar asignaturas en las que el mismo profesor imparte docencia tanto en un grupo BMI como en uno EMI. El hecho de que los cursos EMI y BMI fueran impartidos de forma paralela por los mismos profesores nos ha facilitado el control de variables clave y ha permitido que los cursos sean comparables. Por lo tanto, la selección de la muestra se basó principalmente en el muestreo por criterio (Dörnyei, 2007), ya que investigamos e identificamos a aquellos docentes que cumplían con el criterio para participar en nuestro estudio.

Por otro lado, los estudiantes que han participado en este estudio conformaban dos muestras diferentes:

- (i) Los estudiantes que asistían a las clases impartidas por el Profesor A y/o el Profesor B.
- (ii) Los estudiantes que únicamente completaron el cuestionario. Este segundo grupo estuvo formado por un total de 455 alumnos EMI, de los cuales 344 eran locales y 111 Erasmus, por lo que contamos con una gran variedad de primeras lenguas (L1) aparte del euskera y el castellano. Estos alumnos pertenecían a diferentes facultades de la UPV/EHU.

Para la recogida de datos nos apoyamos en dos conjuntos de datos principales:

- (i) Las clases EMI y BMI del Profesor A y del Profesor B, a las que asistimos y grabamos con una cámara de video. Grabamos 29 clases de las asignaturas *Historia Económica y Economía de la Empresa: organización y gestión*, las cuales fueron impartidas de forma paralela en los grupos BMI y EMI entre febrero y marzo del curso académico 2018-2019. Como mencionábamos anteriormente, el corpus recogido consta de 29 clases; 17 del Profesor A y 12 del Profesor B. En el caso del Profesor A, 7 son clases BMI y 10 son clases EMI y, en el caso del Profesor B, 6 son clases BMI y 6 son clases EMI. Contamos con un total de 39 horas de grabación. Una vez tuvimos todas las clases grabadas, las observamos y analizamos usando una versión adaptada de la herramienta de observación Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995), la cual fue diseñada para observar el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje de la L2. También esperamos hasta que el proceso de grabación hubiera terminado para realizar entrevistas semiestructuradas con ambos profesores.
- (ii) El cuestionario diseñado para explorar las creencias de los estudiantes EMI sobre el translenguaje, la interacción en el aula y su motivación. Este fue escrito en inglés y estaba formado por 5 partes y un total de 77 ítems. Todas las partes excepto la primera consistieron en escalas tipo Likert.

Tanto los resultados recabados a través del instrumento COLT como los recogidos a través del cuestionario fueron analizados estadísticamente por medio del programa SPSS.

A continuación, nos centraremos en los temas principales del estudio. García (2009) define el translenguaje como las múltiples prácticas discursivas que utilizan las personas multilingües y que van en contra de la rígida separación de lenguas que suele darse en los contextos de enseñanza. El translenguaje se ha convertido en un tema muy relevante y, en cierta medida, controvertido, especialmente en aquellos contextos donde la tradición de la enseñanza de lenguas favorece la exclusión de la L1 del aula de lenguas extranjeras, como es el caso de la UPV/EHU. Mientras que investigaciones previas en el País Vasco se han centrado principalmente en la

implementación de pedagogías de translenguaje, en este estudio llevamos a cabo un análisis contrastivo de las prácticas de translenguaje que tienen lugar en las asignaturas EMI y BMI a nivel universitario.

A continuación, mostraremos nuestras preguntas de investigación relacionadas con el translenguaje:

1. ¿El translenguaje ocurre tanto en BMI como en EMI?
 - 1.1. ¿Con qué frecuencia ocurre el translenguaje en BMI y EMI?
 - 1.2. ¿Quién participa en el translenguaje que tiene lugar en las clases BMI y EMI?
 - 1.3. ¿Qué idiomas están implicados en dicho translenguaje en BMI y EMI?
 - 1.4. ¿Cuándo ocurre el translenguaje en BMI y EMI?
 - 1.5. ¿En qué idioma están escritos los materiales que se utilizan en las clases BMI y EMI?
2. ¿Cuáles son las actitudes y creencias del alumnado con respecto al translenguaje?
 - 2.1. ¿Cómo influyen algunas variables (el género, la facultad universitaria, ser local o Erasmus, la L1, el dominio del inglés) en las opiniones sobre el translenguaje del alumnado EMI?
3. ¿Cuáles son las actitudes y creencias del profesorado sobre el translenguaje?

Pasamos ahora al segundo tema de investigación. La importancia e influencia de la interacción en el proceso de aprendizaje ha sido ampliamente demostrada en la literatura de las últimas décadas (Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Simpson, Mercer & Majors, 2010). De este modo, nuestra intención en este estudio es examinar: (i) Si la interacción ocurre tanto en BMI como en EMI o no; (ii) Con qué frecuencia sucede dicha interacción; (iii) Quién participa en dichas interacciones; (iv) Cuánto habla el profesor; (v) Cuánto hablan los estudiantes; (vi) También nos centraremos en el tipo de interacciones que tienen lugar en el contexto del aula. Además, prestaremos atención a un aspecto muy importante de la interacción, que son las preguntas realizadas por el profesor durante la clase. Estudiaremos esta cuestión desde una perspectiva cuantitativa al tiempo que analizaremos los tipos de preguntas formuladas y la frecuencia con que se plantean. Finalmente, también nos centraremos en conocer quién participa en las interacciones que tienen lugar a partir del planteamiento de una pregunta.

A continuación, mostraremos nuestras preguntas de investigación relacionadas con la interacción:

4. ¿Afecta el medio de instrucción (euskera o inglés) a la interacción en el aula?
 - 4.1. ¿La interacción en el aula, entre profesor-alumno(s) y alumno(s)-alumno(s), ocurre en la misma medida en BMI como en EMI?
 - 4.2. ¿Con qué frecuencia tiene lugar la interacción entre profesor-alumno(s) y alumno(s)-alumno(s) en BMI y EMI?
 - 4.3. ¿Qué tipos de interacciones ocurren en BMI y EMI?
5. ¿Afecta el medio de instrucción (euskera o inglés) a las preguntas que realiza el profesorado?
 - 5.1. ¿Cuántas preguntas hacen los profesores en BMI y EMI?
 - 5.2. ¿Qué tipo de preguntas se hacen en BMI y EMI?
 - 5.3. ¿Cuánto tiempo de espera se proporciona en BMI y EMI?
6. ¿Cuáles son las opiniones del alumnado sobre la interacción en el aula?
 - 6.1. ¿Afectan algunas variables (el género, la facultad universitaria, ser local o Erasmus, la L1, el dominio del inglés) a las opiniones del alumnado EMI sobre la interacción?

El tercer tema de estudio se centra en la motivación. En 2005, Dörnyei lanzó un nuevo enfoque para entender la motivación del aprendizaje de segundas lenguas llamado Sistema Motivacional del Yo (*L2 Motivational Self System*). Este nuevo enfoque (Dörnyei, 2009) constituyó una reforma del pensamiento motivacional anterior, aunque mantiene una estrecha relación con teorías de la motivación previas centradas en el “yo” y el “individuo” (Gardner, 2001; Noels, 2003; Ushioda, 2001). De acuerdo con este enfoque, existen tres componentes principales que promueven (o no) la motivación de los estudiantes para aprender (en) un idioma diferente a su L1: el yo ideal (*ideal L2 speaker*), el cual sería el hablante ideal de la segunda lengua en el que el individuo quiere convertirse; el yo deóntico (*ought-to L2 speaker*), el cual se basa en las creencias de otros sobre lo que es un hablante ideal de una segunda lengua; y finalmente la experiencia de aprendizaje y el entorno donde tiene lugar dicho aprendizaje. Según el Sistema Motivacional del Yo, el yo ideal en una L2 es un gran promotor de la motivación y conlleva un impacto positivo en el aprendizaje.

En este estudio pretendemos, por un lado, conocer cuáles son las motivaciones de los estudiantes para matricularse en un curso de EMI frente a uno en euskera o español. Por otro lado, la motivación puede ser un factor muy influyente para que un estudiante decida participar o no en clase, lo cual está directamente relacionado con otro de los temas de esta investigación, la interacción en el aula. Es por eso que prestaremos atención a la motivación de los estudiantes en relación con su participación en las clases y su Voluntad de Comunicarse (Willigness To Communicate).

A continuación, mostramos nuestras preguntas de investigación relativas a la motivación:

7. ¿Cuáles son las motivaciones de los estudiantes y docentes que les llevan a participar en EMI?
 - 7.1. ¿Influyen algunas variables (el género, la facultad universitaria, ser local o Erasmus, la L1, el dominio del inglés) en las motivaciones del alumnado para matricularse en EMI?

Queremos centrarnos ahora en algunos de los resultados y conclusiones principales obtenidos en esta investigación. Por un lado, observamos translenguaje tanto en los grupos BMI como en los EMI. Por otro lado, encontramos diferencias significativas al comparar el translenguaje del alumnado dependiendo de la lengua de instrucción. La mayor parte del translenguaje por parte del profesorado se observó en las clases BMI, pero se debió al Profesor B, ya que no se observó ninguna diferencia en el caso de las clases del Profesor A. En cuanto al Translenguaje del alumnado, se observaron más usos en las clases del Profesor A.

En definitiva, los resultados mostraron algunas diferencias significativas tras comparar el translenguaje en EMI y BMI. Sin embargo, el docente ha resultado ser una variable mucho más influyente en esta cuestión que el idioma en el que se imparten las clases. En lo que respecta a las opiniones y actitudes hacia el translenguaje, tanto el profesorado como el alumnado mostró actitudes más negativas que positivas. Además, se observó una clara correlación entre las opiniones que los docentes tienen en relación con el uso de otras lenguas en el aula

y sus prácticas docentes. También hemos podido identificar las distintas situaciones en las que los docentes utilizan lenguas distintas a la lengua de instrucción, las cuales hemos clasificado en seis categorías: (i) Proporcionar una traducción; (ii) La influencia del castellano en el euskera: el uso de expresiones castellanas; (iii) Translenguaje para atraer la atención de los estudiantes; (iv) El translenguaje como crítica; (v) Limpieza y purismo lingüístico; (vi) Translenguaje en relación con la cultura y contexto locales.

Un aspecto que reveló nuestra investigación y que queremos resaltar por su gran interés en nuestro contexto es que algunos docentes aun muestran una actitud de proteccionismo hacia el euskera y temen que prácticas como el translenguaje puedan ponerlo en peligro o dificulten su uso y fomento. De hecho, en algunas ocasiones hemos podido percibir cierto sentimiento de culpa (Macaro, 2009; Swain, Kirkpatrick, & Cummins, 2011) por parte de uno de los profesores participantes al utilizar lenguas distintas a la utilizada como medio de instrucción. Es por esto que algunos de los episodios de translenguaje del Profesor A se clasificaron en la categoría “Limpieza y purismo lingüístico”, al tratarse de una cuestión que parecía preocuparle. Además, todas las variables que se tuvieron en cuenta (el género, la facultad universitaria, ser local o Erasmus, la L1, el dominio del inglés) influyeron significativamente en las opiniones del alumnado en relación con el translenguaje.

En lo que respecta a la interacción, los resultados no mostraron diferencias significativas al comparar las clases BMI y EMI; ni en cuanto a los agentes involucrados en ella, ni en cuanto a la cantidad de tiempo que hablaron los profesores y los estudiantes. Por lo tanto, el MOI no afectó a la interacción en el aula, lo que coincide con estudios previos (Ngussa, 2017). No obstante, una vez más, el profesorado y su estilo de enseñanza tuvieron un mayor impacto en la interacción que la lengua de instrucción.

Tampoco encontramos diferencias relacionadas con el tipo o el número de preguntas realizadas en BMI y EMI. Por lo tanto, el Medio de Instrucción (MOI) volvió a no ser un factor significativo en relación con las preguntas, y sí lo fueron los profesores que constituyeron un factor más influyente, como se constatado en los escasos estudios previos (Sánchez-García, 2016) que han analizado esta cuestión.

En nuestro caso, el Profesor A fue un mayor promotor de la interacción (lo cual coincide con la información que recabamos mediante la entrevista, en la cual nos manifestó su preocupación por la interacción y participación del alumnado) y esto se reflejó en los resultados, que revelaron una mayor participación por parte del alumnado. Esto indica una clara correlación entre estos resultados y los presentados anteriormente sobre el translenguaje. Los estudiantes participaron significativamente más en las clases del Profesor A y, en consecuencia, también encontramos más translenguaje por parte del alumnado en las clases de este profesor.

Las opiniones de nuestros estudiantes en cuanto a la interacción están alineadas con los resultados obtenidos a través del esquema COLT de observación y análisis de las clases, ya que la mayoría de los estudiantes EMI consideró que recibir sus clases en inglés en lugar de su L1 no influía negativamente a la interacción en el aula. Lo cual, en efecto, hemos podido confirmar mediante los análisis estadísticos realizados.

Finalmente, y para terminar con el resumen de nuestros resultados más significativos, mencionar que la mayoría de las motivaciones para matricularse en EMI expresadas por el alumnado correspondieron al Yo Ideal en L2, confirmando lo que otros autores ya mostraron en estudios previos (Lasagabaster, 2016; Kojima & Yashima, 2017).

Además, la mayoría del alumnado EMI se imaginaba a sí mismo usando el inglés en sus futuras carreras, trabajos o estudios posteriores, lo cual también coincide con estudios realizados previamente (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009). La amplia muestra con la que contamos nos permite generalizar nuestros resultados a toda la comunidad de estudiantes EMI de la UPV/EHU. Por lo tanto, podemos concluir que sus motivaciones a la hora de elegir el inglés para cursar sus estudios están principalmente relacionadas con el yo ideal y no tanto con el yo deóntico.

En este sentido, observamos un claro ejemplo del efecto que el contexto educativo (entre otros factores) ejerce sobre el alumnado, ya que en los niveles preuniversitarios el alumnado muestra motivaciones más relacionadas con el yo deóntico, influenciados probablemente por sus progenitores/tutores y su entorno,

y en cambio los estudiantes universitarios, al ser más maduros e independientes, muestran motivaciones más relacionadas con el yo ideal (Lasagabaster, 2016). Otra conclusión derivada de nuestros resultados y que nos gustaría resaltar es el hecho de que nuestra muestra de alumnado se divide entre aquellos que se sienten más motivados hacia las clases EMI que hacia las clases en euskera/castellano solo por el hecho de ser impartidas en inglés, y quienes no opinan así.

Otro aspecto relacionado con la motivación al que hemos prestado atención en nuestro estudio es la motivación del profesorado para involucrarse en estudios EMI. El profesor B confesó haber solicitado voluntariamente enseñar en inglés motivado por un interés personal. En cambio, el profesor A no eligió EMI voluntariamente, aunque no se mostró negativo ante su situación, salvo por la carga extra que impartir sus clases en inglés le supone. La carga de trabajo adicional que puede implicar la enseñanza en inglés parece ser una preocupación extendida entre los docentes (Deignan, & Morton, 2022; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Göpferich, Machura, & Murphy, 2019; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018; Macaro et al., 2017), lo cual podría influir negativamente en las motivaciones de los docentes para enseñar en inglés.

Estos resultados pueden ser interpretados de dos maneras muy diferentes: a) solo aquellos profesores que realmente posean una motivación intrínseca y genuina para enseñar a través del inglés optarían por EMI, ya que, en teoría, requeriría más tiempo y esfuerzo por su parte; b) dado que la enseñanza en inglés (teóricamente) implica una carga de trabajo extra, solo aquellos profesores con motivaciones extrínsecas serían los que elegirían EMI, ya sea por la creencia de que esto beneficiará su futura carrera o porque de alguna manera se ven "obligados" por su universidad o sus superiores (como es el caso de uno de nuestros participantes, el Profesor A). Sería interesante analizar más a fondo esta cuestión en futuras investigaciones.

Las conclusiones obtenidas en este estudio nos permiten identificar algunas implicaciones pedagógicas. Al igual que otros académicos (García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017), consideramos muy conveniente brindar a los docentes la información pertinente sobre los beneficios que el translenguaje puede suponer tanto para los estudiantes como para ellos mismos. Esta base teórica

debe además combinarse con una formación y unas pautas que les permitan poner en práctica un translenguaje consciente que se refleje en algunas dinámicas de aula, como puede ser la promoción de la interacción. La conciencia del profesorado sobre el translenguaje también podría ayudar a promover la reflexión de los propios estudiantes sobre su condición de multilingües. Parece fundamental que tanto profesorado como alumnado eleven su conciencia lingüística para reflexionar sobre su influencia en la experiencia de enseñanza-aprendizaje. Del mismo modo, la formación de docentes se antoja imprescindible para promover la interacción en el aula. Se debe proporcionar a los profesores la instrucción necesaria para que tomen conciencia del impacto que su discurso y sus estrategias de interacción pueden tener en el aprendizaje de los estudiantes.

Para finalizar, nos gustaría recalcar que, hasta donde nosotros sabemos, este estudio es pionero en analizar y comparar el translenguaje, la interacción y la motivación de los estudiantes en dos MOI (euskera e inglés en este caso).

Palabras clave: EMI, BMI, translanguaging, interacción, motivación, multilingüismo, educación superior.

SUMMARY

Since its foundation in 1980, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) is officially a bilingual institution which shows great dedication to the promotion of the Basque language and its development in the academic field (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017). The university must guarantee the opportunity to study in Basque and Spanish as both are official languages in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). In this linguistic context, the normalisation and promotion of the Basque language (Lasagabaster, 2015b) have required enormous efforts as regards both economic and human resources, but the efforts have born fruit as the demand for studies in Basque has only increased in the last few decades.

However, in the last decade the UPV/EHU, like most universities in Europe, has included internationalisation among its main objectives. This is why in 2005 the university launched the Plurilingualism Plan with the objective of encouraging the presence of foreign languages in the teaching offer. Not only is the Plurilingualism Plan focused on the promotion of the English language but it also has other wider objectives such as the increase of the English Medium Instruction (EMI) offer. As a result of this language policy, the university delivers courses in which three different languages are used as means of instruction, namely Basque, Spanish and English. This is why the linguistic panorama at the UPV/EHU makes this university a perfect setting to carry out studies on multilingualism.

The objective of this investigation is to analyse and compare translanguaging practices, classroom interaction, and students' motivation both in Basque Medium Instruction (BMI) and EMI at the UPV/EHU. These three main topics of interest (translanguaging, interaction, and motivation), are not treated independently but rather as interrelated elements. The focal participants of this study are, on the one hand, two lecturers who teach in the faculty of Economics and Business. On the other hand, we have two different student samples: students who participated in the recorded lessons and students who completed the questionnaire. We also have two main data sets: (i) Teacher A's and Teacher B's EMI and BMI lessons, which we attended and recorded, and (ii) a questionnaire which was distributed among 455 students.

Our findings showed some significant differences when we compared translanguaging in EMI and BMI. However, the teacher variable turned out to be more influential than the language of instruction. Moreover, both teachers and students showed more negative than positive attitudes regarding translanguaging practices. Besides, a clear correlation was seen between teachers' opinions about translanguaging and their practices in the classroom (and therefore the pedagogical decision-making). We also identified six objectives for teachers to translanguage: (i) Providing a translation; (ii) The influence of Spanish on Basque: the use of Spanish expressions; (iii) Translanguaging to attract students' attention; (iv) Translanguaging as a criticism; (v) Linguistic cleanliness and purism; (vi) Translanguaging in relation to the local culture and context.

Regarding interaction, results determined no significant difference between BMI and EMI either regarding the agents involved or in relation to lecturers' and students' talking ratio. Nevertheless, teachers, and their teaching style, had a greater impact on interaction than the languages of instruction. Results showed no differences regarding the type of questions used or the number of questions asked in BMI and EMI. Therefore, the language of instruction did not seem to be a significant factor either regarding questioning and once again, lecturers constituted a more influential factor than the Medium of Instruction (MOI).

Concerning motivation, most of the students' reasons to enrol in EMI were related to the Ideal L2 Self, as found by other authors both in the Basque (Lasagabaster, 2016) and international (Kojima & Yashima, 2017) contexts.

We identified some pedagogical implications derived from our findings. In accordance with other academics (García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017), we consider it very convenient to provide teachers with pertinent information about the benefits of translanguaging both for students and themselves. Besides, this theoretical basis should be combined with training and some guidelines so they can put into practice a conscious translanguaging which may be reflected in some classroom dynamics such as the promotion of interaction. Teacher training should also aim to promote interaction in the classroom. Lecturers should

be provided with the necessary instruction so they become conscious of the impact their discourse and their interactional strategies may have on students' learning.

Key words: EMI, BMI, translanguaging, interaction, motivation, multilingualism, higher education.

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Neba-arrebei, familiari eta lagunei ere mila esker, bidaia honetan zehar nire alboan egoteagatik, nire kezkak entzuteagatik eta laguntzeko prest egoteagatik.

Esker sorta honen unerik zailena heldu da. Hau hizkuntzalaritzari buruzko ikerketa bat den arren, ez dakit hitzak aurkituko ditudan zein eskertuta nagoen erakusteko.

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Para Minna y Ander, mis personas favoritas.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACA	Academic Cooperation Association
BAC	Basque Autonomous Community
BMI	Basque Medium Instruction
CBI	Content-Based Instruction
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
COLT	Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching
C-T	The whole class talking to the Teacher
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EFL	English as Foreign Language
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EMEMUS	English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings
EMI	English Medium Instruction
ETP	English Taught Programmes
IP	Immersion Programmes
IRF	Initiation, Response, Feedback
ISI	Institute of Scientific Information
L1	First language
L2	Second language
L2-NNS	L2 non-native speaker
L2-NS	L2 native speaker
L2-NSA	L2 native speaker adapted
L3	Third language
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MP	<i>Motu Proprio</i>
OPT	Oxford Placement Test
RQ	Research Question
S-C	A student, or some students, talking to the whole class
SCLIL	Saudi Content Language Integrated Learning
SMI	Spanish Medium Instruction
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

S-S	A student talking to another or other students
S-T	One student, or some students, talking to the Teacher
T-C	Teacher talking to the whole class
T-S	Teacher talking to a specific student, or some students
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UPV/EHU	University of the Basque Country
WTC	Willingness To Communicate
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

1. INTRODUCTION

As is the case for most European universities, internationalisation has become a priority objective for Spanish universities (Lasagabaster, 2012; Fernández-Costales, 2017). Offering courses taught in English, known as EMI (English Medium Instruction), is one of the main measures higher education institutions have implemented to achieve this goal. This is because English has become the lingua franca both in the academic and scientific fields (Smit & Dafouz, 2012). In addition, EMI helps to attract international students and teaching staff (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014), while it also promotes the so-called internationalisation at home of local students (Nilsson, 1999, 2003). This brings the opportunity for universities to become more culturally and linguistically heterogeneous.

There are many reasons and events that have led English to become the lingua franca in most areas of our society. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the British imperialism that took place between the 16th and 20th centuries, and the subsequent political power the United States of America have had from the 20th century onwards are very relevant factors in the status that this language currently enjoys. In consequence, the strategies taken by Anglophone governments in the past, which were labelled by some academics as “linguistic imperialism” (Phillipson, 2015), still have an impact on current language policies. In fact, a large number of academics have expressed their concern regarding the spread of English, especially in the academic context, which they believe could be detrimental for regional languages, or at least it could generate tensions (Hamel, 2007; Phillipson, 2009; Kirkpatrick 2011, 2013, 2014, 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Mortensen, 2014; Lasagabaster, 2015b).

As has happened in other contexts around the world, English has gained presence in many areas of Basque society, and especially, in the educational sector. At the University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU, where this study was carried out, we find the peculiarity of the coexistence of two official languages, Basque (the minority language) and Spanish (the majority language), to which English has now been added in the academic field.

Since its foundation in 1980, the UPV/EHU has invested considerable resources and made great efforts to ensure and encourage university studies in Basque. These

efforts have been bearing fruit and, in fact, in the academic year 2020-2021 44.39% of the students at the UPV/EHU were enrolled in Basque Medium Instruction (BMI). In 2005 the UPV/EHU launched the Plurilingualism Plan with the aim of promoting internationalisation, in an attempt not to be left behind with respect to the internationalisation process of other European universities. Although it is not the only measure taken by the decision-makers of the university, one of the main strategies of this plan was the increase of the EMI offer. Consequently, in recent years, EMI has gained presence at this university and, in the academic year 2020-2021, 13.30% of the students were enrolled in some studies in English (Source: Head of Studies, Documentation and Projects at the UPV/EHU).

This new reality has brought with it many unknowns and has opened a new space for research. However, we do not count with many studies researching EMI in the Basque university context. It is for this reason that through this study we intend to answer some questions that many stakeholders have raised in relation to EMI. Moreover, we decided to give this research a contrastive approach by comparing EMI with BMI with a view to analysing whether the language of instruction exerts any influence on three main aspects: translanguaging, classroom interaction, and EMI students' motivation.

Translanguaging is a very common practice among bi/multilinguals. In some contexts, translanguaging is so common among speakers that it even receives its own name, such as "Spanglish" (it has even been the theme of a film with the same name), which takes its name from the blending of Spanish + English and which is very common in some areas of Central America and the United States. In the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) we find "Euskañol", a blending that comes from Euskera (Basque) + Español (Spanish) and which is a very usual practice among Basque-Spanish bilinguals, and yet, this issue has not received a lot of attention in the literature. For that reason, in this study we intend to analyse and compare translanguaging in BMI and EMI lessons at university because, whereas attention has been paid to the former, the latter has been neglected.

Interaction has already been proved to be a very influential factor for students' learning (Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Simpson, Mercer & Majors, 2010). Therefore, we wanted to see how the language of instruction, Basque and English in this case, affects interaction and students' participation in class.

Finally, the last main topic that we will focus our attention on in this research is EMI students' motivation, as motivation undoubtedly plays a paramount role in learning. The choice of the topics that we are going to deal with in this research happened in a very gradual and organic way, with one topic leading us to another. Thus, it seemed important to know what students' motivations to enrol in EMI are, since this could directly affect their participation and interaction in the classroom, and this, in turn, may have an influence on translanguaging. Knowing the reasons for students to choose to study in English instead of their first language (L1)/second language (L2) allows us to better understand the important change that has been taking place in recent years at tertiary level with the figures of EMI students growing steadily.

I would like to focus now on my personal background, as it is closely linked to my dissertation. My mother tongue is Spanish, I have been exposed to Basque since I was 2, when I was 4 they introduced me to English as Foreign Language (EFL), and I learned some basic French and Latin in high school. I completed my university studies in Spanish, Basque, and English. I have worked as a teacher in BMI schools with students whose L1 was Spanish and/or Basque, and as a Spanish teacher with students from all over the world who had the most varied linguistic realities. Having experienced languages from the perspective of the student and the teacher has made me reflect on many issues related to languages and our relationship with them. As a student, I have always asked myself questions such as to what extent the language in which I was studying influenced the content I was learning; I also remember feeling frustrated when they did not let me use my L1/L2; I also wondered if some of my teachers were prepared to teach in that particular language; or if I really had a choice to study in one language over another. As a teacher, I have questioned the beliefs we have internalized by the simple fact that "it has always been that way", or just because it is how it has been taught to us. I have resorted to translanguaging before knowing that practice had a name, I questioned whether my translanguaging practices were appropriate before knowing that many more teachers felt the same way, and I perceived the rejection of such practices from colleagues before knowing that this is a very common attitude.

Growing up in the Basque Country has allowed me to understand languages from their most organic conception: alive, in danger, in movement. In turn, I have gained

awareness of the different feelings that languages evoke in people and how these are related to nations' history, heritage, culture and identity.

This background has prompted me to ask myself many questions related to languages and their teaching. With this research, I have tried to give an answer to some of these questions.

The election of the topics discussed in this study has been a gradual process. From the beginning, it was clear to me that my research would be contextualized in the university environment and specifically in EMI. Thus, the first step in this long process was to read and study a wide variety of topics that had been covered in relation to multilingualism and EMI at tertiary level. The subject of translanguaging caught my attention from the first moment and the election of this topic as a focus of inquiry set the path to the rest of the topics. Translanguaging and interaction are two issues that seem to be directly linked and can significantly influence each other. Therefore, it appeared very appealing to study both issues, and thus, take into account the important variable of interaction when analysing translanguaging. Once I chose translanguaging and interaction as the focus of my research, I determined there was another issue that somehow would "close the loop". Just as translanguage and interaction exert a certain influence on each other, students' motivation seemed to be a very influential factor in promoting or not their participation in class. After verifying that no study has been carried out analysing UPV/EHU students' motivations to enrol in EMI instead of other languages, we decided to try to fill this gap.

1.1. Structure of the Study

The present study is organised around two main parts. Part I consists of the theoretical framework that supports this research. At the same time, this section is divided into different chapters. We start with a review of the current state of EMI in Europe as well as some of the most relevant studies carried out on this issue. Then, we introduce the concepts of translanguaging, interaction, and motivation. In all three topics we start with a more theoretical approach in which we mention some

of the most relevant theories regarding each topic and then go on to present different studies that analyse these issues in the EMI context.

In Part II we present the details of this study by describing our objectives and Research Questions (RQs), and presenting the main features of the participants. We also display the data collection instruments and the procedure followed both to collect and analyse these data. We then present the results from the research combined with their analysis and discussion. Afterwards, the main conclusions of the study are addressed by recovering the previously proposed RQs. Then, the pedagogical implications this study may entail are presented. To wrap up, the limitations encountered during the whole research process are exposed as well as the potential future lines of research.

PART I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. ENGLISH MEDIUM INSTRUCTION

2.1. Internationalisation and language policies in the European Union

The international mobility of higher education students has been one of the main objectives for the European policy makers in the last decades. Hence, the European Commission (Dafouz, Camacho-Miñano, & Urquia, 2014) has been launching different programmes with the aim of contributing to students' internationalisation. One of the most well-known programmes is the one called Erasmus, which was created in 1987 to foster the internationalisation of European higher education students. According to the European Commission (2012), in 1987, 3,244 students from 11 countries participated in the Erasmus programme, while in the 2017-2018 academic year, 33 countries took part in the programme and more than 470,000 students, trainees and staff (in the field of higher education) spent a learning period abroad. Thus, every year the number of students taking part in these "study abroad programmes" continues to rise.

However, Erasmus is not the only European programme which promotes students' mobility, another leading mobility programme being Leonardo, launched in 1994 and which is more focused on providing students with job experiences like internships in a foreign country.

In addition, since 2014 there is another variation of the Erasmus programme, which is called Erasmus Plus. The latter, has a similar purpose as Leonardo, as it also promotes work experiences in form of an internship in a foreign European workplace. The last report shows that in 2016 this programme supported 725.000 mobilities.

As Dafouz and Guerrini (2009) point out, these programmes allow students to experience multilingualism and multiculturalism not only for those who go to study abroad, *internationalisation abroad* (Knight, 2012, p. 47), but also for the home students who will be in contact with international students in class. Thus, another

concept that takes into account home students is the so-called *internationalisation at home* (Nilsson, 1999, 2003). Nilsson (2003, p. 31) describes internationalisation at home as “any internationally related activity with the exception of outbound student mobility”. The objective of *internationalisation at home* is to foster students’ internationalisation while they continue studying at home, that is, when they do not move to study abroad. One of the strategies that *internationalisation at home* usually follows is the offer of studies in a foreign language, English in most cases. This implies that home students learn through a language that has no presence in the social context where they live, and the objective is to provide them with a tool, in this case, the language of instruction, to foster their future internationalisation or to be able to interact internationally from home. This would be the case for example of those students involved in a learning experience through the medium of English in Spain, where the English language has no or little presence in the social context. Moving on with students’ internationalisation and its impact on language policies, it is necessary to go back now to 1995, when the European Commission (1995) launched the White Paper on Education and Training entitled *Teaching and Learning Towards the Learning Society*, which apart from other objectives aimed to promote bilingual education with a new action plan. This new plan had the goal to promote in all European students the ability to communicate in two other languages apart from their mother tongue.

In line with the resolution of the Council of Education Ministers of 31 March 1995, it is becoming necessary for everyone, irrespective of training and education routes chosen, to be able to acquire and keep up their ability to communicate in at least two Community languages in addition to their mother tongue (European Commission, 1995, p. 47).

This is meant to be achieved by encouraging innovatory language-methods, while promoting the common use of European foreign languages at schools and fostering the knowledge of European languages and cultures.

Also, the courses of action to achieve these goals were defined, such as encouraging the mobility of teaching staff by providing the opportunity to teach in their mother tongue in other countries; defining a *European Quality Label*, which implies the

knowledge of one European foreign language at primary level and two at secondary level; or the creation of an organisation to establish contact between students of different Member States, among other measures.

In addition, other European agreements like the Barcelona Declaration in 1995, and the treaty of Lisbon in 2007, contributed to strengthening the bonds between the different European countries, which, as could be expected, had an impact on the educational field.

In 1999 (Airey, 2016) the European education ministers met in Bologna to discuss the free movement of higher education students across the European boundaries. From this meeting arose the well-known Bologna Declaration, created to facilitate mobility across countries. This declaration, among other issues, specified that all the university degrees in Europe could be credited, which meant the introduction of a “common exchange currency” in the form of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) to facilitate and promote students’ mobility between international universities.

Also, the organisation and design of each university degree were compared and restructured to create a common model shared by the European universities. This led to the creation of a common framework, which specifies the organisational structure of each programme, the specific number of ECTS, course offers and final degree projects that European universities could share to facilitate the validation of the studies across countries.

The results of this educational mobility are mainly positive; As Wächter and Maiworm (2014) affirm:

- It increases students’ international understanding; educates future ambassadors of their home countries.
- Provides a context full of contrasts.
- Promotes the inflow of talented students who would become researchers and increases labour market opportunities while they will have an international experience, among other benefits.

Nevertheless, one of the main features of the Bologna Process was the intention to promote in all European students the knowledge of other languages apart from their

mother tongue. In those countries where one of the official languages was a widely spoken one, such as Germany or France, students' mobility occurs in a quite successful way, as a large number of international students could participate in their programmes. However, the problem appeared in those countries with a less widely spoken language, such as Finland or Norway. These countries faced a problem attracting foreign students to enrol in their university programmes.

Hence, the language of instruction happened to be the first bump in the road for students' mobility programmes. At this point, universities decided to start offering subjects in the most spread language of instruction, English.

By this measure, European universities expected to attract worldwide foreign students while providing home students also the opportunity to improve their proficiency in English, which could lead them to move to another foreign university. Therefore, this multilingual objective becomes an Englishization of European education, which results detrimental for the rest of European languages and cultures and even for their cultural heritage (Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018; Phillipson, 2015).

Knight (2012, 2018) makes an overview of what was understood as the internationalisation of higher education a few years ago and the implications this concept has today. This researcher contends that internationalisation has moved from being a side issue to being one of the main objectives for most higher education institutions. Thus, internationalisation is currently associated with high-quality, prestigious, and innovative education (De Wit et al., 2015; Knight, 2018).

2.1.1. The Englishization process

The initiative to increase English taught programmes in non-English-speaking countries in higher education did not come without controversy. Linguistic interests have been related to the USA's eagerness to become a globally dominant power, which was reinforced by the policies articulated in 1950 by the British government that had the objective of expanding the English language all over the world. This action has been baptised as "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 2015). The strategies taken by Anglophone governments in the past still have an impact on the current language policies and, thus, they are currently a bone of contention.

Hence, English has become the main lingua franca, which is the name given to refer to a language that is used as a contact language by people with different L1s to communicate among them (Jenkins, 2013) not only for social relations but also for business and the academic world. This use of English as a lingua franca may have benefits when facilitating communication and relations among speakers of different languages but, at the same time, “the privileged position of English as global lingua franca is preventing real multilingual language policies being implemented, the ones that provide greater opportunities to linguistic justice [...] The outcome is a diglossic situation between English and national languages, while local or minority languages are more often than not being constrained to the private domain” (Lasagabaster, 2015b, p. 258).

One of the most active academics who put in the spotlight the Englishization of education is Kirkpatrick (2011, 2013, 2014, 2017) who focuses mostly on English Taught Programmes in Asia and who sometimes has also referred to the Englishization of education as “linguistic imperialism”, which has been debated and questioned by other authors like Coleman (2011). This investigator’s, and others like Phillipson’s (2009) or Hamel’s (2007), concern is the use of English as a medium of instruction as a threat for the regional languages of each country, especially in the scientific area. Other academics like Kuteeva and Airey (2014) in Sweden or Mortensen (2014) in Denmark also express their concern regarding the spread of English in the academic arena, which they believe could be very detrimental for their L1 Swedish and Danish respectively.

This growing presence of English in the academic context (Santos, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2018) results particularly controversial in those countries where the L1 is spoken by few people, or even in countries where more than one official languages coexist, especially when one of them is a minority language, as is the case of Euskera (Basque) in the Basque Country.

In this vein, Soler-Carbonell and Gallego-Balsà (2016) report the case of the University of Lleida, where Catalan is the most chosen language by students at the undergraduate level, but at the graduate level English is becoming more and more popular. Block’s (2016) points out that if the goal is to maintain the presence of the Catalan language at the highest levels of education, the language that supposes a threat to meet this objective is English and not Spanish. Similar concerns appear in

the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). Zabala Unzalu (2015) for example expresses her concern and argues that although she acknowledges the benefits of using English in the academic context, in Ph.D. programs it has negative implications for the Basque language, as it will lose presence in the academic and professional field.

Academic publications are another context where English enjoys a very consolidated privileged position and many local languages are losing ground. Even those European faculty members who do not work in Anglophone universities feel compelled to publish in high-status English-medium journals. The citation indexes elaborated by the Institute of Scientific Information (ISI), currently, part of Thomson Reuters, are another clear example of the increasing importance of English in the academic world Lasagabaster (2015b, p. 259).

In both the BAC (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2013) and Catalonia (Garrett & Gallego-Balsà, 2014) studies have unearthed some students' negative attitudes towards EMI due to their assumption that it can be detrimental to Basque and Catalan respectively.

With the Bologna Declaration's objective to promote two European languages other than the mother tongue in mind, the claims of some academics opposed to the Englishization of higher education may look reasonable, as the spread of EMI could hinder the compliance of this multilingual goal. Nevertheless, this Englishization of education may not be identified at first sight, as many institutions, refer to multilingual education in their official documents but the reality is that there are no other foreign languages other than English on offer, or this clearly holds the upper hand (Saarinen, 2012; Saarinen & Nikula, 2013; Jenkins, 2013; Dafouz & Smit, 2016). This very usual practice hides the language reality of those institutions that label themselves as multilingual and camouflage the unique status of English (Dafouz & Smit, 2016, p. 406).

Other concerns have been recently exposed relating to education through the medium of the English language, such as university staff not being proficient enough to teach in English and students not having the appropriate skills and language level to follow EMI courses.

It was the publication *English-Language-Taught Degree Programmes in European Higher Education* published by The Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) in

2002 that changed the panorama (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008), as before that publication there was barely any investigation delving into the repercussion of EMI in higher education.

2.1.2. English taught programmes in Europe

Nineteen European countries and 1558 universities participated in the 2002 ACA's study which was based on two large-scale surveys (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008). The results showed that there were 725 programmes taught in English and that they were located mainly in a few countries, namely the Netherlands and the Nordic countries. These results brought to light that the use of the EMI was not a common phenomenon at the time.

Intending to maintain a periodic control of English Taught Programmes (ETPs) in European universities, the ACA continued carrying out and publishing studies on this matter. Five years later, in 2007 (published in 2008), 27 European countries participated in the survey and the results showed that 2.389 were the ETPs offered by European universities. This was an enormous increase comparing with the study conducted five years earlier (725 programmes).

As could be expected, the growth in the number of ETPs did not do but augment, as revealed in the ACA's last study published in 2014 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014) where 28 European countries took part showing a total number of 8.089 programmes offered.

As Coleman (2006) specifies, there exist seven main reasons for European countries to offer EMI:

1. Implementing a content and language integrated learning approach.
2. Internationalisation, for their home students and the university *per se*.
3. Fostering student exchanges across countries.
4. Having a wide offer of teaching and research materials.
5. Promoting university staff mobility.
6. Improving students' future employability.
7. Attracting international students.

These reasons have caused a constant increase in EMI programmes at any educational level, as can be seen in a study done by Dearden (2015). Fifty-five countries from all over the world participated in the survey and confirmed that in both secondary and tertiary education, EMI courses have a growing presence: while the private sector is leading this trend, the public sector is following closely. There are two different options offered at university level by European universities. On the one hand, there are some universities which offer full bachelor's degrees and master's degrees in English, this meaning that all the courses and subjects are taught through the English language. These are the ones considered by Wächter and Maiworm in their studies.

On the other hand, there are other EMI programmes that also include bachelor's degrees and master's degrees but which do not offer all the subjects in English but just some of them, the others being taught in the national language(s). These are usually labelled as partial EMI programmes.

Unfortunately there is no study available reflecting the offer by European universities of partial EMI programmes. This is why we will focus on the data gathered by Wächter and Maiworm (2014) despite the fact that it only takes into account ETPs, as this is the only quantitative data we can rely on. Taking into account the proportion of higher education institutions offering ETPs, the proportion of study programmes provided in English, and the proportion of students enrolled in ETPs, the Nordic countries lead the ranking followed by the Baltic countries. At the bottom of the ranking lies South East Europe, followed by South West Europe, the middle positions being for Central East and West Europe. Concretely, the Netherlands have always been leading the ETP offer (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014), followed by Denmark and Sweden (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014).

Table 1. Indicators for the quantitative importance of ETPs – by ranks of individual countries by three different criteria measuring the provision of ETPs and country (%) (adapted from Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p. 40-47).

Country	Proportion of higher education institutions offering ETPs	Rank	Proportion of study programmes provided in English	Rank	Proportion of students enrolled in ETPs in the academic year 2013/14	Rank	Final Rank
The Netherlands	65.0	3	29.9	2	7.2	2	1
Denmark	48.0	7	38.0	1	12.4	1	2
Sweden	81.0	2	24.2	4	4.4	4	3
Finland	83.3	1	23.2	5	2.9	5	4
Cyprus	47.8	8	25.5	3	6.6	3	5
Switzerland	48.7	6	13.9	6	2.1	9	6
Lithuania	48.8	5	11.0	7	1.5	13	7
Latvia	33.3	13	9.9	8	2.2	8	8
Austria	46.6	9	9.4	10	1.8	11	9
Norway	41.1	11	8.1	12	2.4	7	10
Iceland	50.0	4	3.3	19	1.6	12	11
Estonia	30.4	14	9.1	11	1.5	13	12
Hungary	35.2	12	5.5	16	2.0	10	13
Slovenia	8.6	27	9.9	28	2.7	6	14
Germany	43.3	10	5.9	15	1.0	17	15
Czech Republic	27.8	16	6.3	14	1.5	13	16
Belgium	29.2	15	7.5	13	1.1	16	17
Poland	17.8	21	4.9	17	0.7	20	18
Slovak Republic	21.2	17	2.3	22	0.8	19	19
Italy	19.8	19	2.9	21	0.5	22	20
France	16.1	25	3.4	18	0.7	20	21
Turkey	17.3	22	1.9	24	1.0	17	22
Spain	20.3	18	2.3	22	0.3	24	23
Portugal	14.3	26	3.0	20	0.5	22	24
Romania	16.9	23	1.9	24	0.3	24	25
Greece	19.0	20	1.6	26	0.1	26	26

Bulgaria	16.3	24	1.4	27	0.1	26	27
Croatia	6.9	28	1.2	28	0.1	26	28
Total	26.9		5.7		1.3		

What comes as a surprise is the rise in the ranking of the Baltic countries, Lithuania and Latvia being in the top ten, closely followed but Estonia in the 12th position.

Looking at the percentages gathered in Table 1, it can be seen that regarding higher education institutions offering ETPs (in proportion), Finland leads the ranking (83.3) followed by Sweden (81.0) and the Netherlands (65.0). On the contrary, the countries with the lowest percentage are Croatia (6.9), Slovenia (8.6), and Portugal (14.3) in that order.

However, this ranking changes when looking at the programmes provided in English (proportionally), as Denmark (38.0) is in the top position followed by the Netherlands (29.9) and Cyprus (25.5) in a third position. Croatia (1.2) repeats in the last position, preceded by Bulgaria (1.4) and Greece (1.6).

Finally, regarding the proportion of students enrolled in ETPs in the 2013/14 academic year, the same ranking can be found both in the top and down positions. Besides, in the 2007 survey 65% of the students enrolled in these ETPs were foreigners. But this percentage decreased in the 2014 survey (54%), which means that the number of home students who decide to study in English is gradually increasing, although this tendency differs by country. The Baltic countries and South East Europe's ETPs usually attract more domestic students, while the Nordic countries and Central West Europe enrol more foreign students.

In this context, in the last few years discussions questioning English as a lingua franca have intensified and an increasing number of academics advocate the recovery of national languages in the academic context. Experts in territories which have been pioneers in the offer of EMI and which are in the top positions in the EMI offer ranking are now reconsidering the negative impact EMI may have on national languages. Danish universities, for example, have reduced the number of EMI offer apart from introducing quotas to international students (Kuteeva, Kaufhold, & Hynninen, 2020; Bothwell, 2018; Custer, 2019). Thus, the debate and controversy about Englishization is not over.

2.2. Background and evolution of the language policies in Spain

In the last decade, as a result of the implementation of the policies mentioned in the previous section, Spain -like the rest of Europe- has undergone a continuous growth in the ETP offer.

Spain is a country located in South West Europe formed by 17 autonomous communities and the cities of Ceuta and Melilla. The Organic Law of Education is responsible for regulating the educational teachings at the national level, although the autonomous regions have the right to adapt this Law to each territory. Consequently, each region in Spain has a unique educational model that complies with the general educational framework stipulated by The Organic Law of Education.

Regarding Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL; the label usually used at pre-university level) in English (Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010), although it has been widely implemented all over the country, two main aspects differentiate one autonomous region from another. On the one hand, monolingual communities, where there is no other official language but Spanish, and therefore education takes place in this language and, on the other hand, the bilingual communities where there is another official language besides Spanish. In the latter, education at non-university levels happens to be in both languages plus a foreign language. These co-official languages are Basque, Catalan/Valencian, and Galician.

The experience gained in the education field by those autonomous communities with two co-official languages has paved the way for those monolingual communities when it comes to implementing bilingual education in Spanish and English (Lasagabaster, 2015a). Nevertheless, although all the autonomous regions are fostering multilingualism at pre-university educational levels, they have not implemented the same educational models to achieve this goal (see Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010; for an extended exposition of the different models).

Focusing now on the tertiary level, as this is the educational level on which this study focuses, it is worth remembering that it is in this educational level where the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation acquire greater relevance, as they are the main reasons that have led to the promotion of multilingualism, and

concretely, the instruction through the medium of English.

The expansion of university access policies, the founding of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), the phenomenon of globalisation and increased migratory movements have created a need to re-think the role that foreign languages play in the international university of the 21st century (Bazo et al., 2017, p. 3).

To this end, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport drew up the document *Estrategia para la Internacionalización de las Universidades Españolas 2015-2020* (Strategy for the Internationalisation of Spanish Universities), which among other recommendations suggests to “increase the number of Bachelor's and Master's programs taught in English and other foreign languages. Programs of learning in English for all PDI and PAS university staff” (Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, 2016, p. 9).

Bazo et al., (2017) considered that when it came to practice, the aforementioned document highlighted certain deficiencies such as the lack of coordination among the Spanish universities in relation to the measures to be taken regarding linguistic policies and internationalisation. This is why these academics propose some specific guidelines to “facilitate decision-making by the higher education authorities in Spain and the effective implementation of precise and consensual measures which promote internationalisation through foreign languages” (p. 3). Based on the data provided by the Ministerio de Universidades (Gobierno de España) in the 2020-2021 academic course there were 83 universities in Spain from which 50 are state-run and 33 private.

Going back to Table 1, it can be seen that the proportion of higher education institutions offering ETPs is 20.3%, which places Spain in the 18th position in comparison with the rest of the 28 countries taking part in ACA's (2014) survey. Regarding the proportion of study programmes provided in English, Spain's percentage is 2.3%, which places it in the 22nd position in the ranking. Finally, the proportion of students enrolled in ETPs was 0.3% (24th position).

In conclusion, taking into account the three indicators Spain is in the 23/28 position in the final ranking, which is an improvement over the survey conducted in 2007,

where it was ranked 25/27, but it still lags behind most European countries.

The reason to explain these low enrolment figures may lie in Spanish stakeholders' low English proficiency (EUROSTAT, 2010). This can be attributed firstly to the typological distance of Spanish and English languages, and secondly to the fact that Spanish is a worldwide spoken language which may have negatively affected Spaniards' desire to learn another language. These reasons could help to explain the small percentage of Spanish students who opt for EMI programmes (Dafouz, Camacho-Miñano, & Urquía, 2014).

Nevertheless, and as mentioned above, Spain has taken some measures to revert the situation and to provide ETPs. These measures are also expected to have an impact on tertiary education, on the assumption that primary and secondary education CLIL students will be more prepared for a future higher education through English.

2.3. Content-based programmes: Terminological clarifications

There are a variety of content-based programmes that can be distinguished from each other based on particular characteristics, such as the goals they want to achieve, the language of instruction, or the social context. The available literature shows that the controversy related to the different second and foreign language acquisition programmes is not over. While some scholars (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, & Smit, 2010) insist on underscoring the different characteristics between some language programmes like CLIL, Content-Based Instruction (CBI) or EMI, and Immersion Programmes (IP), others (Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter, 2014, Cenoz, 2015, Paran, 2013) deny those programmes' uniqueness.

Here, the intention is not to enter into this discussion but to provide a concept clarification, being the terminological accuracy necessary to understand the research described in this thesis. Thus, some characteristics are common to CLIL and immersion programmes, the main objective being the achievement of high proficiency in both the L1 and L2, while the academic knowledge learning does not suffer any negative impact. Also, the language of instruction must be new to all the students, so the acquisition process in the L2 happens similarly to the L1. Hence, the

teaching staff should ideally be, at least, bilingual in both students' L1 and L2 (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009).

These are the main similarities shared by the aforementioned language programmes, but in the following subsections the specific features that characterise each of these programmes will be pointed out. One section has been dedicated to each of the three language programmes mentioned before: IP, CLIL, and EMI (CBI is a more commonplace label in North America).

2.3.1. Immersion programmes

Immersion programmes, and more precisely Canadian immersion programmes, are the best-known example of Content-Based Instruction (CBI). In 1965, Canadian parents expressed their concern about the educational situation, which was not fulfilling their necessities. Thus, parents sought an educational approach where English-speaker students could also learn French (Marsh, 2013).

Therefore, in the 1970s and 1980s the term *bilingual education* started being substituted by the term *immersion*. At this point, this apparently successful and innovative language approach started gaining presence in Europe, where academics started looking for ways to adjust those immersion programmes to their educational context.

As some authors have expressed, CBI (Stoller, 2008) and immersion (Marsh, 2013) have been used as *umbrella terms* to refer to educational approaches that combine content and language. Immersion can take place at any educational level (Cenoz, 2015), as has been mentioned before for CLIL, but it usually starts at the first stages of education, especially in the Spanish context (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009).

Cummins (2009) explains that the term *immersion* is usually used to refer to two different realities. The first one refers to a bilingual educational approach where students are *immersed* in the second language, as this one is the language used for instruction. The main objective here is for the students to get proficiency in both, their L1 and L2. The second meaning attached to *immersion* refers to the educational context where immigrants receive instruction in their second or third language, which usually is the dominant language in the social context. In this case, the

objective does not include any aspect of students' mother tongue but focuses on the proficiency of the target language.

In this thesis, when the term *immersion* is used it will refer to the first meaning (unless the contrary is indicated). The reason for this is that although this study revolves around EMI, our Basque students' background is closely related to immersion programmes, as the majority of them have been in contact with this educational approach before getting into tertiary education. This issue will be fully developed later in section "6.1.2. The education system in the BAC".

2.3.2. CLIL

CLIL is an educational approach where the subject (a non-language subject like history) and language learning are combined. The term emerged in the 1990s (Pérez-Cañado, 2012) and it has been defined as:

A dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of content and language with the objective of promoting both content and language mastery to pre-defined (Marsh, Mehisto, Wolff, & Frigols Martin, 2010, p. 1).

This educational approach came out as a tool to reach the European goal of promoting that all citizens in the EU have the opportunity to communicate in two languages other than their mother tongue (1+2) (Airey, 2016). Regarding its roots, (Pérez-Cañado, 2012) CLIL is thought to be a descendent of the North American bilingual programmes and the French immersion programmes, which date back to the 1950s.

In relation to the specific characteristics of CLIL programmes (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, & Smit, 2010). One that differentiates this approach from others like immersion is that the language used is a foreign language and not a second language. This means that the language used in the academic context has not a regular presence in society. As a result of this, the teaching staff usually are non-native speakers of the foreign language. Furthermore, the content taught in CLIL is related to the school subject, but there are also language aspects defined in the curriculum.

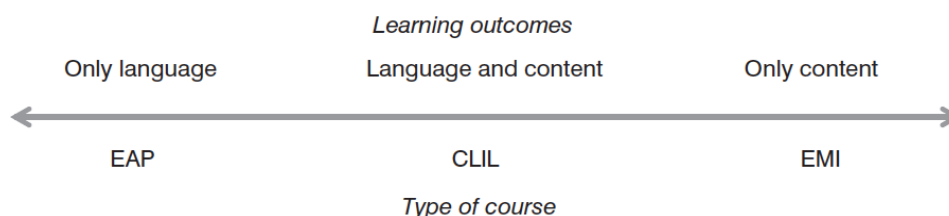
Another differential aspect of CLIL programmes is that students have already usually acquired literacy skills in their L1 before joining CLIL programmes (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, & Smit, 2010).

Lastly, as Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) point out, teaching materials in CLIL programmes are designed with non-native speakers in mind, which is why more often than not materials are abridged.

2.3.3. EMI

EMI has been defined as follows: “The use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the L1 of the majority of the population is not English” (Dearden, 2015, p. 2). The first distinctive characteristic observable in this definition, comparing with other content and language instruction types like CLIL, is that EMI does specify the language of instruction; English. It is known that in the vast majority of the cases, the L referring to *Language* in the CLIL acronym is English but there are also CLIL examples in languages other than English (Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010). Another distinguishing feature is that EMI programmes do not usually have any linguistic goal, unlike other programmes like CLIL and IP in which language objectives are explicitly mentioned. Consequently, in EMI programmes the curriculum does not consider either specific English language objectives or language evaluations, but just the subject content, as is the case in the same subject taught through the L1.

Figure 1. EAP’s, CLIL’s and EMI’s language/content continuum (Source: Airey, 2016).



Following Airey's (2016) explanation to situate English for Academic Purposes (EAP), CLIL, and EMI in a language and content continuum, EAP would be situated in the left of the continuum, being this a purely linguistic approach; on the contrary, EMI would be in the right extreme of the continuum, as the goal is solely content acquisition, and finally, CLIL would be in the middle, as it combines both language and content. Nevertheless, as Airey claims, this structured division is quite far from reality, as it is hard to imagine a learning experience where content and language are completely separated.

Finally, concerning the educational level and the context where the terms are more often used, the term EMI is habitually used around the world usually when talking about higher education (Dearden and Macaro, 2016), whereas the term CLIL is more habitual in primary and secondary education. Particularly in the European context (Mehisto, Marsh, & Frigols, 2008), the term CLIL emerged as a solution for European academics, which needed a term to facilitate the contribution and communication between them.

Macaro (2018, p. 17) argues that as EMI research is relatively new, researchers use a plethora of terminologies to name the phenomenon, to such an extent that some authors use different terms to name the same in a single article or study. With the aim of gathering the different terminologies used by researchers, Macaro made an overview "of all the different terms used, in either the abstracts or opening sections of papers, where the words "English + Medium" appear" (p. 16) the term overview is provided in Table 2.

Recently, Dafouz and Smit (2021) proposed the term EMEMUS (English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings) with the intention of adjusting more to the new realities of the multilingual HE.

Table 2. Use of different terminologies containing the words “English” + “medium” (Adapted version of Macaro, 2018, p. 17).

English medium instruction	Kim & Sohn, 2009; Kang & Park, 2005; Islam, 2013; Huang, 2015; Byun et al., 2011; Dearden, 2015; Macaro, Akincioglu, & Dearden, 2016; Dearden & Macaro, 2016
English-medium instruction	Kim & Shin, 2014; Kim, Tatar, & Choi, 2014; Ghorbani & Alavi, 2014; Cho, 2012a; Chan, 2014; Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Studer, 2015; Tatzl, 2011; Paulsrud, 2014
English medium of instruction	Khan, 2013; Chu, 2005
English as the medium of instruction	Lai, 2013; Ellili-Cherif & Alkhateeb, 2015; British Council/TEPAV, 2015; McMullen, 2014; Yip & Tsang, 2006
English as the medium of instruction	Belhiah & Elhami, 2015; Al-Masheikhi, Al-Mahrooqi, & Denman, 2014; Lueg & Lueg, 2015; Sultana, 2014; Tung, Lam, & Tsang, 1997; Wu, 2006; Vu & Burns, 2014; Tarnopolsky & Goodman, 2014; Ebad, 2014
English language as medium of instruction	Ismail et al., 2011
English-medium education (English-medium higher education)	Kirkgöz, 2005, 2009; Earls, 2016
English-medium teaching	Chan, 2014; Byun et al., 2011
English-medium higher education	Hellekjaer, 2010
English-medium courses	Yeh, 2014
English-medium programs	Hengsadeekul, Koul, & Kaewkuekool, 2014; Dafouz, Camacho-Miñano & Urquia, 2014
English as the lingua franca medium of instruction	Chapple, 2015; Björkman, 2010
English medium content classes	Iyobe, Brown, & Coulson, 2011

* Misspellings found in the original have been corrected.

2.3.4. Summary

In the following lines, the main features of the three different terms will be put forward.

CLIL:

1. It is a dual-focused educational approach; the objective is to develop both foreign language and subject-content learning.
2. It was a European enterprise in an attempt to help all citizens to be able to communicate in two languages other than their mother tongue.
3. The language of instruction is a foreign language and not a second language.
4. The L in the CLIL acronym refers to any foreign language and not necessarily to English. However, in the vast majority of the cases, the language of instruction in CLIL programmes is English.
5. The teaching staffs are usually non-native speakers of the language of instruction. This is related to point 3 as the target language has no or little social presence.
6. The starting age can be placed at any educational level, although it is usually placed in primary education.
7. By the time the students start CLIL, they already have acquired literacy skills in their L1.
8. The materials are aimed at non-native speakers.

Immersion:

1. Immersion programmes are CBI approaches, which have their origins in the Canadian educational context back in the 1960s.
2. The immersion term can be used to refer to two different realities:
 - a. When it is a bilingual educational approach, where students are *immersed* in the second language, as this one is the language used for instruction. The main objective is for the students to get proficiency in both languages, their L1 and L2.
 - b. When the students are immigrants who receive instruction in their second or third language, which usually is the dominant language in the social context. The objective is proficiency in the target language.

2. The immersion language has a presence in the social context.
3. The objective is to learn both the L1 and the L2.

EMI:

1. It refers to the use of the English language as a medium of instruction for content (not language) subjects at university level.
2. It is implemented in countries where the L1 English is not the predominant social language.
3. The goal is subject-content learning rather than language learning. The integration of language and content is not an objective.

2.4. EMI research results: Literature review

Most of the literature about ETPs is centred on CLIL programmes and not that much on EMI programmes, although in some publications CLIL is used as an umbrella term (Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2014) which includes different approaches. In this section, however, we would like to provide a review of the main concerns tackled in EMI studies exclusively, namely:

- Teachers' beliefs about EMI
 - o Why introduce EMI
 - o Students' English proficiency level
 - o Teachers' English proficiency level
 - o EMI training courses
- The impact of EMI on students' English proficiency: measurement
- The impact of EMI on students' English proficiency: Students' beliefs
- The impact of EMI on content learning

Finally, we will dedicate a section to each of the topics on which this research focuses:

1. Interaction.
2. Translanguaging.
3. Motivation.

2.4.1. Teachers' beliefs about EMI

In this section, we will review some of the most relevant studies on teachers' opinions and beliefs about different EMI aspects. Opinions or beliefs, as Lasagabaster (2009, p. 25) points out, are not innate but people adopt them by "social interaction" and therefore, they can be subject to change. Nevertheless, although attitudes and beliefs may be volatile, they are quite determining as "The numerous studies on language attitudes completed so far have demonstrated that attitude is a very powerful concept when attempting to explain the language learning process". Thus, beliefs or attitudes are very important factors to take into account not only to analyse students' learning experience but also when analysing lecturers' teaching experience.

2.4.1.1. Why introduce EMI

The literature shows that teachers tend to agree on the benefit of EMI to promote the internationalisation of students. In Jensen and Thøgersen's (2011) study conducted in the largest university of Denmark, not only did teachers consider it is essential to offer EMI, but they also believed it necessary to increase this offer to attract international students.

In Germany, Earls' (2016) study showed consensus among students and lecturers on the need to offer EMI at university in order to adapt to the unstoppable globalisation. They also agreed that it has no sense to teach and learn some subjects in other languages than English, being this, the globally adopted lingua franca: especially when these subjects are meant to be applied at an international level such as "International Accounting".

In Bangladesh (Hamid et al., 2013) lecturers also shared this globalisation concern and found necessary the offer of studies in English to facilitate students' communication with the rest of the world. Dearden and Macaro's (2016) study, which gathered the beliefs of Austrian, Italian, and Polish lecturers, also showed positive statements from lecturers who affirmed that EMI provides students with the opportunity to study abroad like the lecturers themselves did when they were students.

Hu and Lei (2014) and Hu, Li and Lei (2014) conducted a study at a major university of finance and economy in Mainland China, in an attempt to analyse the relationship between national/institutional policy statements about EMI and lecturers' beliefs. Results revealed agreement between what national policies stated and what teachers believed as both considered EMI to foster students' mobility and benefit their future careers due to the prestige of the English language.

In conclusion, teachers widely support EMI although some misgivings are also mentioned, such as the compulsory enforcement to teach or learn through EMI without taking into account students' and teachers' English proficiency, the absence of a support system to guide and help EMI teachers (Lasagabaster, 2022), and in some cases, the unilateral implementation of EMI (Byun, et al., 2011).

2.4.1.2. Students' English proficiency level

Following with the studies that analyse teachers' beliefs, another topic that recurrently appears in the literature is the one related to students' English level.

Many studies underscore that the level of English of university students, in different countries and contexts, is not adequate to be able to follow a class in this language: "we find lecturers deeply concerned about their students' inability to survive, or better still thrive, when taught through English" (Macaro et al., 2017, p. 52). Let us examine this question by country. In Turkey (Kirkgöz, 2009; Başibek et al., 2014; Macaro, Akincioglu, & Dearden, 2016) studies show lecturers' concern regarding students' English level and in particular regarding vocabulary knowledge. In the Basque Country, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) conducted a study in the UPV/EHU and lecturers were also worried about students' English proficiency, which they deemed not sufficient. In the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Rogier (2012) observed that lecturers referred to two specific skills in which they thought students' proficiency level was not adequate, listening and writing. Borg (2016) conducted a similar study in Iraqi Kurdistan, and the majority of the lecturers rated students' English proficiency as barely above elementary level, which obviously is a serious problem when teaching complex content in a foreign language.

In Korea Kim and Shin's (2014) study indicated that teachers think that 28% of their students are not linguistically prepared to benefit from an EMI programme. Also in

Korea, another study (Choi, 2013) stated that lecturers considered students' low English proficiency as the main obstacle to effective content learning. All the studies reviewed above reveal that students' low level of proficiency is one of the main concerns as far as EMI teachers are concerned.

2.4.1.3. Teachers' English proficiency level

In the previous section we have analysed lecturers' beliefs about students' English proficiency, but, what do EMI teachers think about their and other colleagues' English proficiency?

In a study conducted in Austria, Italy, and Poland, Dearden and Macaro (2016) reported that teachers found it very difficult to state the English proficiency an EMI teacher should have. Teachers also confessed their unawareness of any English level test dedicated to select EMI teachers in their institutions. In fact, they acknowledged that EMI teachers are usually selected because they had been teaching abroad, are thought to have a good English proficiency, or simply because they have volunteered.

In a similar vein, Dearden's (2015) survey concluded that 83% of informed observers in 54 countries believed that there were not enough EMI qualified teachers in their countries, letting the discussion about what the term "qualified" really means apart.

Studies in Italy (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015; Campagna, 2016) also revealed teachers' negative views about their own English proficiency, as many of the participant EMI lecturers expressed their beliefs about their inadequate English level and the negative consequence this could have on students' language learning. Guarda and Helm (2017) also conducted a case study in the north of Italy, in a university which was gradually becoming bilingual in Italian and English. The study consisted of the analysis of the data gathered by a questionnaire and some interviews with 53 lecturers who attended professional development courses designed to help them with EMI courses. The results showed that 10 out of 53 teachers regarded their English skills as their greatest disadvantage when teaching EMI courses.

A factor that seems to influence teachers' beliefs is the EMI subject they teach, a divide being found between those who teach more "technical" subjects and those who do not. For example, in a study conducted in Turkey by Macaro, Akincioglu and, Dearden (2016) EMI lecturers in Physics, which would fit into the category of more technical subjects, argued that their subject depends less on the language of instruction. Something similar is shown in Dearden and Macaro's (2016) study where mathematics and science lecturers pointed out that "In Maths you are saved by the formulae, and the formulae are true or false in any language" (p. 471) and "In Science it's probably easier because the number of words you have to use in English is lower" (p. 472). This reflects that hard-science teachers tend to think that teaching in English is easier for them than for lecturers in other specializations such as humanities, as they rely on numbers and content which is common to any language, like mathematic formulae.

A similar conclusion was found in Sweden in the University of Stockholm, where Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) conducted a survey to analyse language use. The data were gathered using two types of online questionnaires, one designed to be fulfilled by students and another one by teachers. These contained questions about English use at undergraduate versus postgraduate level; language use differences between faculties, disciplines, and departments; and students' and teachers' attitudes towards English use in education and research. Among other conclusions, a remarkable finding in this study was that for teachers and students in the science area English is used pragmatically, while in social sciences and humanities it is used more as an auxiliary language in parallel with Swedish as these are more "language-sensitive" (p. 444).

Another factor that seems to influence lecturers' vision about their own English skills is age. In Denmark Jensen and Thøgersen (2011) conducted a study to analyse university lecturer's attitudes towards EMI and concluded that younger lecturers had more positive attitudes when it came to increasing EMI than their older colleagues. At the same time, this study also stated that those teachers with a higher teaching load in English are also keener to increase EMI.

Finally, a question that we should consider when comparing studies from different universities and countries is that teachers' assumption of English proficiency adequacy differs, resulting in the distinction of two different levels of complexity.

For example, in Werther's et al. (2014) study conducted at the Copenhagen Business School, Danish lecturers expressed their concern about their English skills problems, as they could not "play with the language" as they do in their L1. This concern differs from the problems highlighted by lecturers in other contexts (Macaro et al., 2017), such as those related to the lack of vocabulary or the difficulty to make correct grammatical structures, which is not so linguistically demanding. Therefore, in the case of the former teachers, the fact of not being able to "play with the language" by making jokes or puns, for example, as a native speaker or a person with a very high command of the language would do, entails a problem. While for the latter, their inadequacy in the language is related to a much more elementary language level, since it is associated with a lack of vocabulary or a lack of mastery of grammar. The problems related to the highest level of linguistic complexity seem to be widespread, as they appear in numerous studies that contemplate EMI teachers' beliefs. Tange (2010), for example, focused her study on university lecturers' experiences when changing the language of instruction from their L1, Danish, to English. This study had a qualitative nature and was conducted by a sequence of interviews between the researcher and the teachers. Among other results, these lecturers admitted to getting rid of the jokes or the personal anecdotes, which they usually included in their L1 lessons. This difficulty in making jokes or making a more informal use of the language is not only related to teachers' lack of command of the English language in terms of vocabulary or fluency but, sometimes, it is also related to the idiosyncrasy of the language itself. That is, sometimes, to understand an idea we must take into account its cultural and contextual affections, and this can be complicated when doing it in another language.

Context is also closely related to the implications of the swap of language. In Airey's (2011) study Swedish lecturers also acknowledged that they had to change their pedagogy in EMI classes and got rid of jokes or resorted to them less often: "In a 'normal' situation, in the Swedish language, I would probably have been trying to tell some funny stories connected to marketing. But I don't think I would dare to do that in English" (p. 45).

In addition, we have to take into account that national and international students do not come from the same cultural and social context, therefore, on some occasions,

those students may not understand a joke, colloquial use of language or a word game.

Broadly speaking, it can be concluded that EMI teachers are critical about their language proficiency and tend to be concerned about the limitations that their linguistic insecurities entail in their everyday teaching. And this is so even countries wherein English proficiency is believed to be rather high (e.g. Scandinavia).

2.4.1.4. EMI training courses

In the current EMI literature, the notion that teaching a subject in a language other than the L1 is not only the simple translation of content but that it requires specific pedagogical practices and changes in methodologies is widely accepted. However, EMI teachers continue expressing their concern about the lack of preparation and the lack of help from their universities (Macaro et al., 2017; Lasagabaster, 2022).

These concerns arise because few of the universities that offer EMI provide preparatory courses for the lecturers who teach these subjects.

(...) in relation to the phrase 'ability to teach through English', there is also virtually no research data available on types of teacher preparation programmes in EMI in HE. As far as we are aware they simply do not exist, and even in an educational setting such as Hong Kong where at tertiary level English has been the language of instruction for generations, there are no pre-service teacher programmes required or even optionally on offer for HE lecturers (Macaro et al., 2017, p. 56).

However, there are some cases in which EMI preparatory or focused courses are provided to lecturers, but they are the minority (O'Dowd, 2018). Continuing with our literature review from the point of view of what teachers think, we will now focus on some of the studies that have been carried out based on data collection in EMI preparatory courses.

Airey (2011) conducted a study in a Swedish university to analyse the experience of those teachers who had to change their language of instruction from Swedish to English. When teachers were asked why they decided to take part in this course, one

of the reasons they exposed was their belief that this could contribute to getting a promotion.

In Spain Aguilar and Rodriguez (2012) conducted a study that reports on a pilot implementation of, what they call, CLIL at a university. One of the conclusions in this study was that lecturers were interested in taking preparatory courses to improve their English skills, but, strikingly, that they did not see it necessary to receive training oriented to pedagogical issues.

More positive results were obtained in Guarda and Helms' (2017) study conducted in Italy, where after taking professional development courses designed to help them with their EMI subjects, teachers reported that this experience had helped them not only to reflect on their pedagogical practices but also on the needs of their students. These results are in line with the ones obtained by Tuomainen (2018) in Finland or those of Ball and Lindsay (2013) in the Basque Country. Both studies highlighted teachers' appreciation for the EMI training courses because they allowed them to discuss EMI with other colleagues.

We must bear in mind that participation in preparatory courses results in additional work for those lecturers who decide to get involved, and it is precisely this issue, which appears repeatedly in the studies that contemplate EMI teachers' beliefs, what many practitioners find more tiresome and off-putting. Studies concur that one of the teachers' main concerns has to do with the extra work an EMI teacher does when compared with those teaching in their L1 (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018), and that some compensation system should be implemented. In Airey's (2011) study, for example, participating teachers expressed that although they expended more time preparing EMI courses than their L1 Medium Of Instruction (MOI) colleagues, few of those lecturers participating in the preparatory course were granted with less teaching load.

In summary, teacher training courses are not commonplace in many higher education institutions, but whenever they are available, teachers tend to find them useful and enriching, although they complain about the lack of incentives to participate in them in particular and in EMI experiences in general.

2.4.2. The impact of EMI on students' English proficiency: Measurement

Although some studies have been conducted to examine EMI programmes' impact on students' English language proficiency, there is no conclusive evidence about its effectiveness. Therefore the controversy concerning this subject continues to be alive today.

Most studies are based on opinions and those that have actually measured students' proficiency suffer from the same problem; the inadequacy of the test used to measure it. The tools used so far are general English proficiency tests that do not consider the peculiarities of EMI courses, such as disciplinary vocabulary. In their state-of-the-art publication Macaro et al. (2017) included 83 HE studies, and from these, only 7 used objective language tests. Besides, from those 7 only 5 used national or international standardised tools, in the following lines we will briefly summarize the main findings of these five studies.

(I) Lin and Morrison (2010) conducted a study in Hong Kong focusing especially on first year EMI university students' vocabulary knowledge and writing skills. The objective of this study was to see the differences between those students who studied in Chinese MOI in secondary education and those who studied via EMI. The results showed a significant difference regarding English vocabulary knowledge between Chinese MOI and EMI students in favour of the latter.

(II) Rogier (2012) conducted a study to analyse university EMI students' general English proficiency development in the UAE, and to compare students' and teachers' beliefs about this matter. The results showed that there was a statistically significant score gain in all four of the English-language skill areas, but when comparing to other studies analysing students' English improvement in General English programmes, such as the one conducted by Elder and O'Loughlin (2003), Rogier's results did not seem so positive.

(III) In China, Hu, Li, and Lei (2014) conducted a study using two national tests to measure EMI students' and Chinese MOI students' English proficiency. The results concluded that EMI students obtained significantly better scores than

Chinese MOI students on one test but not in the other. Therefore, the results cannot be regarded as conclusive.

(IV) In Spain, Aguilar and Muñoz (2013) conducted a study analysing postgraduate engineering students' English proficiency, specifically listening and grammar skills, after one semester. The researchers used the Oxford Placement Test (OPT) to assess students. The results revealed that those students with less English proficiency at the beginning were the ones who benefited the most, as they were the ones who improved their listening and grammar skills most. In general terms, after that CLIL (as the authors call it) semester, students improved their listening but not their grammar abilities. Moreover, and curiously enough, the students with the highest English proficiency performed better in the pre-semester grammar test than in the post-semester one. The authors thus conclude that this low exposure EMI experience only benefits students with the lower proficiency level.

(V) In Taiwan, Yang (2015) also conducted a study to measure what they call CLIL university students' general English proficiency. The results showed an improvement in students' receptive skills, and they also identified a positive correlation between receptive competence and productive competence in English. However, this study suffers from several limitations, such as the lack of information about EMI students' background or the sample being not big enough, (Macaro et al., 2017), which leads us to conclude that the results should be considered with caution.

It is worth mentioning that from the studies mentioned above only the one conducted by Hu, Li, and Lei (2014) counts with a non-EMI comparison group to compare students' results, while the rest compare their results with previous studies conducted in different contexts.

Besides, another matter when conducting English proficiency studies in EMI and L1 MOI contexts (Macaro et al., 2017) is the kind of language test that should be used: What will this test measure? General English or academic English?

All the studies mentioned in this section aimed to analyse EMI students' English proficiency and its improvement using objective research instruments. However, they have their limitations, while it is not clear the kind of English competence an

EMI student should develop in comparison with students in other learning programmes.

2.4.3. The impact of EMI on students' English proficiency: Students' beliefs

In the previous section, we have seen some studies that actually measure the impact of EMI on students' English proficiency, but in this section we intend to examine whether students believe that their English proficiency improves when attending EMI courses.

In Spain, Maiz-Arévalo and Domínguez-Romero (2013) conducted a study to see students' beliefs regarding different matters related to EMI. Results showed that most students believed that EMI was improving their listening and speaking skills, but not their reading and writing skills.

In Korea Byun et al. (2011) conducted a study gathering data from opinion surveys and interviews. The results showed positive attitudes toward EMI by students, as they believed their English proficiency to be improving. In Taiwan, Yeh (2014) also wanted to see university students' general attitudes toward EMI. The study surveyed 476 students from 25 EMI courses at 6 universities and the results revealed positive attitudes as students considered that EMI was helping to improve their English, especially their listening comprehension.

However, not all the results are positive. Bozdoğan and Karlidağ (2013) also conducted a study in Turkey to delve into tertiary education students' attitudes toward EMI, among other research objectives, and concluded that students did not think their English skills had improved after taking the EMI classes. What is more, some students even believed this programme to be detrimental to their English development. The researchers attributed these beliefs to the lack of class participation. We will not elaborate on this topic now, as we will dedicate a section to the matter of classroom participation and interaction in section "4. Classroom interaction".

In brief, it could be concluded that mixed results have been found when students are asked about their English proficiency improvement, inconclusive findings that concur with the studies that have actually measured English improvement.

2.4.4. The impact of EMI on content learning

After focusing on the impact of EMI on students' English proficiency, the next question that would automatically come to our mind would revolve around its effect on content comprehension and learning. As happened in the case of language learning, we do not count with enough objective and conclusive studies analysing the impact of EMI programmes on students' content learning to state its positive or negative influence (Saarinen, 2012). Below we will review some of the most relevant studies published in recent years around this topic.

In Spain, two longitudinal studies were carried out by Dafouz, Camacho-Miñano and Urquía (2014) and Dafouz and Camacho-Miñano (2016), who compared Business Administration students' results in the Complutense University of Madrid, the latter counting with a bigger sample of students for the study. In both studies, the conclusion was that the language of instruction did not affect students' subject results, as both the EMI students and the regular ones obtained similar marks.

Similar results were obtained in Korea by Joe and Lee (2013) who conducted their study with medicine students and who did not find significant differences between EMI students' and Korean MOI students' lecture comprehension.

In Austria, Tatzl and Messnarz (2013) analysed the impact that using the English language in physics and science written exams could have on tertiary engineering students' performance. The results showed no significant differences between EMI and L1 MOI students, so the researchers concluded that additional examination time or language-specific aids for EMI students may not be required. However, Macaro et al. (2017) pointed out that this conclusion may be hasty, as researchers did not compare students' content knowledge to see what was the starting point of each group. All the studies mentioned above obtained positive results in relation to the impact EMI may have on content learning. Nonetheless, we also count with studies that did not obtain such positive results. In the Netherlands, Vinke (1995) conducted a study comparing EMI and L1 MOI students' content comprehension as part of a Ph.D. research, but the results differed from the ones above as L1 MOI students presented better results than EMI students.

Continuing with this issue, researchers also asked students about their perception regarding content comprehension in EMI subjects. In Hellekjær's (2010) study

Norwegian and German students reported comprehension difficulties in EMI classes, as well as problems taking notes during these classes. Also negative results were observed in Qatar (Ellili-Cherif & Alkhateeb, 2015) where EMI university students believed that they would learn more content if they could study in Arabic than in English: "I can obtain higher marks answering examination questions in Arabic" (p. 211), stated one student. Similar results are found in other studies (Kirkgöz, 2014; West et al., 2015; Kang & Park, 2005; Al-Masheikhi, Al-Mahrooqi & Denman, 2014; Cho, 2012b). In the study conducted in Turkey by Bozdoğan and Karlidağ (2013) students' blamed their problems with content comprehension on their English proficiency, which is in line with the results reported by Kang and Park's (2005) after conducting a study in Korea where they observed a direct correlation between students' content comprehension and their English proficiency.

Continuing with students' beliefs and perceptions, in Japan (Chapple, 2015), some international students pointed out their English proficiency as being higher than their Japanese classmates', which in their opinion affected their learning experience and wasted their time. Similar results were found in Kim, Tatar, and Choi's (2014) study conducted also in Korea where international students believed to have an adequate English proficiency to follow EMI courses, and on the contrary, their Korean mates considered their English proficiency a problem to follow EMI lessons and understand the content. Thus, in the former study international students were the ones who considered home students' English proficiency inadequate, and in the latter, it was the home students themselves who believed to have a lack of proficiency in English. However, we have to take into account that all these are students' perceptions and opinions and no actual measurement took place.

However, it is not always so easy to classify the results in this "positive" and/or "negative" dichotomy. For example, Evans and Morrison (2011) conducted a study in Hong Kong to analyse first-year university EMI students' language challenges. The results showed that, although students experienced lecture comprehension problems, they were able to overcome them and improve by using different strategies.

This is also the case of the results reported by Airey and Linder (2007) who conducted a study in Sweden, which was focused on the analysis of EMI and non-

EMI students' learning experience in physics. The data collection procedure was the recording of both the Swedish and English physics classes, which then served as a resource for the interviews between the students and the researchers as selected excerpts of the video were shown to students to create a stimulated recall. Five main conclusions were made after the study:

1. Students confessed that language is not very important for them as they reported to understand similarly the subject-related instruction in their L1 and English. Nevertheless, when videotapes were shown in the stimulated recall, they agreed that in some situations they found difficulties attributed to the language of instruction.
2. Less interaction was observed in English taught lessons.
3. During English lessons students found difficulties taking notes and paying attention at the same time, so they highlighted spending more time after class trying to understand the content than in L1 lessons.
4. Students had to adapt their strategies to cope with English lessons. For example, some students read lectures' content before the lecture, others had to stop taking notes, whereas others just took notes in a mechanical way and studied them after the lesson.
5. Students reported understanding better English lessons when the teacher followed a book or when she or he wrote a lot on the board.

In Korea, Cho's (2012a) study showed that undergraduate students considered that they understood 70% (on average) of the lesson taught in English, while graduate students' percentage turned out to be a bit higher, namely 80% (on average). But once again these are perceptions that may not be an accurate description of what actually takes place in class.

In the end, the conclusion regarding this matter would be that (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra 2013b; Shohamy, 2012; Lasagabaster, 2015b) there is a need for more studies analysing the impact of EMI on students learning experience, its costs, and its benefits, to throw light on this area, as the results available so far are scant and far from conclusive.

3. TRANSLANGUAGING

3.1. Defining translanguaging: The traditional version

At the end of the XX century and the beginning of the XXI some scholars (Lin, 1999; Antón & DiCamilla, 1998; Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Fu, 2003; Lin & Martin 2005; Gort, 2006; Fitts, 2006; Lee et al., 2008; Martín-Beltrán, 2010) questioned the traditional methodologies where languages remain separate in the classroom context. The advocates of this new trend, however, believe that this restriction of maintaining the languages as separate, on the one hand, is detrimental for students (Fitts, 2006), and on the other hand, dismisses the opportunity to use the code varieties the bi/multilingual student possesses as a pedagogic strategy. Lemke (2002) even questions the pedagogies and methodologies used in language teaching by suggesting that instead of helping students, these could have been detrimental to their learning: "Could it be that all our current pedagogical methods, in fact, make multilingual development more difficult than it need be, simply because we bow to dominant political and ideological pressures to keep 'languages' pure and separate?" (p. 85).

In 1994 the Welsh Cen Williams coined the term translanguaging (*trawsieithu*) to refer to the planned and systematic use of two languages in one lesson. That is, the teacher uses for example the L1 as the medium of instruction in one half of the lesson and the L2 in the other half. This assumption of translanguaging (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012a) represents a bilingual pedagogic strategy which consists of the alternation of bilingual students' languages in a systematic way.

Since that first definition, the concept has evolved and scholars like García (2009a) explain translanguaging as multiple discourse practices which are useful for bilinguals to understand their bilingual word. Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012a) explain that translanguaging draws on all the linguistic resources of students to increase understanding. Hence, the two languages are used dynamically as resources to organise mental processes for understanding, speaking, language literacy and learning.

Other scholars relate translanguaging not only to the expression and combination of linguistic structures but also to social transcendence. For Wei (2011)

translanguaging has to do with moving between different linguistic structures and systems but also going beyond these practices. In this sense, translanguaging includes bi/multilingual speakers' whole linguistic performance, considering that bi/multilinguals translanguage for purposes that go beyond the mere alternation between systems and a combination of linguistic structures. Wei believes the act of translanguaging to be "transformative in nature" because it creates a "social space for the bi/multilingual" by gathering different aspects that constitute the bi/multilingual speaker her or himself like personal experiences, history, personality, attitudes, environment, ideology, cognitive capacity, etc. into "one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience" (p. 2).

Nowadays the concept of translanguaging, although it can still allude to the pedagogic systematic strategy of alternating between both languages in a classroom context, has acquired different meanings too. The first difference that can be found when comparing the traditional conception of translanguaging (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012a) with other conceptions proposed a posteriori is the context where it may happen; moving from a classroom context to a street or social one. This first difference leads us to the second one, translanguaging can be also referred to as a spontaneous action and not only to a planned strategy, as it occurs in a social everyday context (e.g. two friends talking in a bar; in this context, it is not a planned action).

In a nutshell, we can summarise that in its origins the term translanguaging was only used in school contexts to refer to "a bilingual pedagogy based on alternating the languages used for input and output in a systematic way" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017, p. 3) In fact, this pedagogical practice was also seen related to scaffolding (Vygotsky, 1978), as it was considered to give students the support they need (by translanguaging practices) while it can be removed as it becomes less necessary (Lewis, Jones, & Baker 2012b). This definition of translanguaging is labelled nowadays as *Pedagogical Translanguaging* or *Intentional Translanguaging* (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017).

3.2. Strong vs. weak version of translanguaging

The concept of translanguaging continues to be in the spotlight for researchers who provide new understandings, because, as García and Otheguy (2019) put it, all theories emerge from a concrete place and time, but these do not remain static. While research in the field increases, scholars and educators develop alternative practices, propose new concepts and update the literature.

There are scholars like Ofelia García (García, 2009a; García & Wei, 2014; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Otheguy, 2019; Ibarra Johnson, García, & Seltzer, 2019; García, 2019; García & Wei, 2018; etc.) who have an extensive career in the field of translanguaging and continue shedding light on this concept. In one of their latest publications, García and Wei (2018) explain that translanguaging understands the use of languages as a dynamic repertoire and not as a socio-politically constructed system. That socio-politically constructed system refers to, what they call, named languages (German, Spanish, Russian, etc.). For these scholars translanguaging goes beyond the named languages by privileging “the language of speakers as a semiotic system of linguistic and multimodal signs that together make up the speaker’s own communicative repertoire” (p 1.). Hence, bi/multilinguals’ linguistic repertoire does not necessarily correspond to one named language or another, but it corresponds to a speaker’s own and unique linguistic repertoire.

In this new conception of translanguaging (García & Otheguy, 2019) bi/multilingual students are not believed to possess two (or many) separated lexical and grammatical systems. On the contrary, bi/multilinguals are believed to possess a unique system of multimodal signs, which they use in parallel with their linguistic features. This conception would correspond to what has been labelled as a *strong version of translanguaging* (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015; García & Lin, 2016). We will explain the main characteristics of the strong version of translanguaging more in depth later in this section. However, to follow properly this new understanding of translanguaging (the strong version) we may first go through the definition of *languages* these researchers take into consideration. García and Wei (2018) provide an updated definition of what they understand as language:

Language has been mostly understood as a named standardized entity—English, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, and so on— that is a product of sociopolitical constructions of nation-states and institutions such as schools. But language also refers to the widely distributed human capacity to relate to others and to communicate ideas through a semiotic (meaning-making) repertoire that includes linguistic features (words, sounds, structures, etc.) and multimodal features (such as gestures, images, sounds, etc.) (p. 1).

Thus, this view of languages recognises the place the semiotic system has on it and considers that speakers select the features they need to communicate from their own linguistic repertoire, which at the same time, is constrained by social factors. This explanation of how speakers use languages refers also to monolingual speakers. However, it must be taken into account that bi/multilingual speakers have a more extended semiotic and linguistic repertoire than monolingual speakers. Therefore, bi/multilinguals may select and deploy features of their own repertoire that do not necessarily match a “named language” or the way a monolingual of that named language would do it.

The strong version of translanguaging, however, is related to a more antique idea expressed by some researchers like Cameron (1995), which states that the concept of named languages is related to those of language purity and verbal hygiene that promote gender, racial and class superiority (García & Otheguy, 2019).

It is also worth mentioning the differences between the strong version of translanguaging and plurilingualism as in some cases it may result in difficulties to distinguish these two concepts. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* defines the concept of plurilingualism as:

(Plurilingualism is) the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competencies, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168).

Thus, plurilingualism and the strong version of translanguaging may seem the same or at least very similar at first glance (García & Wei, 2018), but the main distinction lies in their respective objectives. Plurilingualism has a dynamic view of bilingualism and its main objective is to promote the ability of citizens to communicate in other named European languages apart from their L1. On the contrary, the strong version of translanguaging, although closely related to plurilingualism, does not recognise those named languages but a unitary system from where bi/multilingual speakers select different linguistic and semiotic features from their own repertoire to communicate.

This distinction between plurilingualism and translanguaging (in its strong version) leads us to other concepts related to bi/multilingual speakers such as “languages in contact”, “interferences” (Weinreich, 1953, p. 1), and “loans” or “loan-shifts” (García & Wei, 2018, p. 2). The concept of interferences emerges from those “languages in contact” and is defined as “deviations from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals” (Weinreich, 1953, p. 1). When a bi/multilingual speaker makes a linguistic “mistake” speaking in the L2 and this “error” is (supposedly) attributed to the negative influence of the L1, it is called interference. Loans refer to the words that one language takes from another language, adapting its form to the phonetics and the spelling of the receiving language. There are loans commonly used by all the speakers of a language (e.g. *fútbol* is a Spanish loan taken from the English word *football*).

These concepts (loans, languages in contact, interferences) only can exist in a conception where language boundaries remain. We cannot identify interference from one language to another in a bilingual speaker’s discourse if we do not acknowledge languages (psycholinguistically or cognitively) as themselves. Therefore, we can relate those concepts to that of plurilingualism but not so much to that of translanguaging.

Indeed, although the strong version of translanguaging acknowledges the importance of named languages for some purposes, its advocates do not believe this is a natural way of understanding bi/multilingualism, and therefore, do not support the term “languages in contact”; instead, they refer to the “translanguaging space” (Wei, 2011).

Consequently, although the concepts mentioned above (interferences, languages in contact, etc.) have been widely used in language acquisition and bi/multilingualism research, they have no place from a strong version of translanguaging's point of view.

Therefore, *what does the weak version of translanguaging consist of?* The main characteristic that distinguishes the two versions is that the weak version of translanguaging, unlike the strong one, supports language boundaries although it calls for their softening (García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Lin, 2016). As we have already explained, those who adopt a strong version of translanguaging believe that bi/multilingual speakers rather than speaking languages (English, Spanish, Basque, etc.) have their own and unique linguistic repertoire from where they select the linguistic features they want to use in each moment. On the contrary, those who adopt a weak version of translanguaging advocate for dynamic bilingualism where language boundaries are soft but still present.

It is also worth mentioning that the weak version of translanguaging is not a completely new concept but it emerges from strong theoretical perspectives that have been followed by applied linguists; and which continue to be a reference, like the linguistic *interdependence hypothesis* and the *cross-linguistic transfer* proposed by Cummins (1979), or the *dynamic model of bi/multilingualism* (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Lasagabaster & García, 2014). Those academics (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015; García & Lin, 2016) who adopt the strong version of translanguaging are usually the ones who also classify the other version as the weak version of translanguaging.

In this study, we consider our conception of translanguaging to be closer to the weak version since it advocates a dynamic bilingualism where the boundaries between languages are soft but still present.

3.3. Translanguaging vs. code-switching

The terms translanguaging and code-switching coexist in the studies related to multilingualism; in some cases, both terms are treated as synonyms, while in others their differences are exposed.

In fact, there is still some confusion when it comes to defining and distinguishing the two concepts. This controversy is caused, to a certain extent, by the different definitions of translanguaging that can be found in the literature, and which differ from each other, since this concept has changed and evolved over time. Therefore, in this section, it is our intention to summarise the main aspects that distinguish code-switching from translanguaging.

We understand code-switching as the momentary change a bi/multilingual speaker makes from one language to another one (or other ones) in the same speech. Sometimes (Garcia, 2009a, p. 49) bi/multilingual speakers instead of choosing “one language-based practice” or another, select more than one language for their speech. Bi/multilinguals acknowledge more than one language, consequently, these speakers have the ability to go back and forth from one language to another (or others) in the same discourse. This process is generally labelled as code-switching. A categorisation that has been widely used in the literature is the one proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993) who distinguished two types of code-switching: the *intrasentential* and the *intersentential*. On the one hand, *intrasentential* code-switching corresponds to the switch from one language to another (or others) that occurs within the boundaries of a clause or a sentence. Martínez (2006, p. 95) illustrates it with an extract of a Mexican student’s talking:

EXAMPLE 1. Intrasentential code-switching (CLIL class in Mexico).

Sí, y luego es una trampoline así; pero aquí vienen los ropes así. Y no más de ese tamaño. Esa era para brincar. (Yes, and there was a *trampolín* like this, and the *sogas* come like this here. No more than this size. That was for jumping.).

In this example, we can see intrasentential code-switching as the bilingual student switches from Spanish to English, vice versa, within the boundaries of each sentence. According to Macaro (2018), bilinguals usually code-switch intrasententially because they have the ability to change from one language to another without “violating the morpho-syntax of either grammar” (p. 215).

On the other hand, *intersentential* code-switching corresponds to the switch from one language to another (or others) that occurs out of sentence boundaries. In other words, the bi/multilingual speaker makes a sentence in one language and when that sentence is finished, the speaker changes the language for the next sentence. Martínez (2006, p. 95) illustrates it with the following example also from an extract of a Mexican student's talking:

EXAMPLE 2. Intersentential code-switching (CLIL class in Mexico).

Anyway, I was in and he was, you know, the one that would let you out. And he was laughing 'cause he saw me coming in. *Se estaba riendo de mí. (He was laughing at me).*

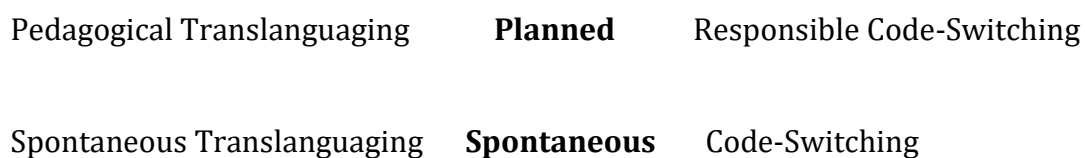
In this example, we can see intersentential code-switching because the bilingual speaker only code-switches when the English sentence is finished and changes to Spanish for a new whole sentence.

Recalling the principal question in this section, (*What is the difference between translanguaging and code-switching?*), this will vary depending on the definition and conceptualisation of translanguaging we take as reference. If we consider the option (as some scholars do) that what differentiates translanguaging and code-switching is that the former is planned and constitutes a pedagogic strategy and the latter occurs spontaneously, we will find the first problem in this dichotomy. If we talk about *pedagogical translanguaging* and code-switching, this distinction may have sense, because a requisite that defines *pedagogical translanguaging* is, indeed, its previous planning. Nevertheless, this distinction loses that sense when the concept of *spontaneous translanguaging* comes into play. We cannot see any differences between spontaneous translanguaging and code-switching if the distinguishing characteristic is the previous planning of the action, as in both cases there is no such planning.

Furthermore, we can also find terms (García, 2009a, Van der Walt, Mabule, & De Beer, 2001) like *responsible code-switching*, which also requires from teachers previous planning as it corresponds to a pedagogic strategy. Consequently, we find the same problem when distinguishing the two concepts. Again, if the difference

between translanguaging and code-switching is the previous planning of the former against the spontaneity of the latter, and we add this characteristic by calling it *responsible code-switching, are we not converting it into pedagogical translanguaging?*

Figure 2. *Planned vs. Spontaneous translanguaging and code-switching.*



At the same time, we can also find distinctions between pedagogical translanguaging and spontaneous translanguaging. The distinction is mostly based on the context where translanguaging happens. Those who propose this classification argue that pedagogical translanguaging occurs in a classroom context, while spontaneous translanguaging may occur both in a classroom context and in a street context. Therefore, if we base the distinction on the contexts where the action occurs, we cannot find any difference between spontaneous translanguaging and code-switching, which is also spontaneous and may occur in a street context.

In contrast, if we take as reference more recent conceptions of translanguaging, like the strong version of translanguaging and the weak version of translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014; Wei, 2018a; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, 2018), we do find intrinsic differences between translanguaging and code-switching.

If we compare code-switching to the strong version of translanguaging, we can find important differences. García and Wei (2018) define code-switching as “the term given to what is seen as changing named languages within a sentence or between sentences” (p. 2). Besides, these scholars consider code-switching to be a concept only understood by the political and ideological construct of named languages, while translanguaging (the strong version of it) “stems from the internal perspective of all human beings and focuses on their agency to select features from their entire language repertoire in social interactions” (p. 3).

Thus, from a strong version of translanguaging perspective code-switching refers only to the change from one named language to another named language, which can be intersentential or intrasentential. But the most important distinction here is that

code-switching acknowledges the so-called named languages, since it refers to the switch from one language to another, while the strong version of translanguaging believes those named languages to be a socio-political construction (Heller, 1999) which induces to an illusory linguistic reality.

Certainly, some scholars have been very critical of code-switching. García (2009a), following Del Valle (2000), notes that code-switching underlies a monoglossic ideology of bilingualism where languages are observed as separate linguistic systems. On the contrary, translanguaging constitutes a creative act in itself: “the act of translanguaging is itself transformative, having the potential to infuse creative bilingual meanings into utterances” (García, Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017, p. 20). Wei (2018b) argues that translanguaging and code-switching are different from their roots, as code-switching would be linked to linguistic codes and would exclude from its conception the “non-linguistic codes” that take place during communication like gestures, facial expressions, postures, etc. Conversely, translanguaging would be understood as a process of meaning-making that includes linguistic features, but also semiotic features like gestures or postures, and also social, historical, political or cultural features that influence multilinguals’ communication.

Furthermore, Wei (2018b) not only exposes a theoretical distinction between the two terms, but he provides a very illustrative example. The researcher presents the analysis of a real commercial poster, first, from a code-switching point of view and later, from a translanguaging point of view. As can be seen in picture 1, Wei (2018b) provides a visual example of a real poster found in a shop in Taiwan.

Picture 1. A picture taken in a store of Taiwan. (Source: Wei, 2018b).



Let us focus now on the code-switching analysis of this picture made by Wei (2018b). First, we have to pay attention to the two characters (今日) on the top of the picture which are in Chinese and whose translation to English would be “today”. The character (の) above those two Chinese characters would be the Japanese equivalent to the English possessive marker “s”, so the literal translation would be “today’s”. Therefore, here we can see the first code-switching from Chinese to Japanese.

Continuing with this code-switching analysis we can see twice the English word “cut”. Thus, here comes into play a third language; English. Finally, regarding the written production, we can see two Chinese characters (特價) at the bottom of the picture (in a sticker) which translate as “special price”.

Hence, here we can see code-switching in five (“cut” appears twice) different moments and in three different languages: Chinese, Japanese and English.

Let us focus now on the analysis of translanguaging done by Wei (2018b) of the same picture. First, in the translanguaging analysis we would also refer to all the questions mentioned in the code-switching analysis regarding the switches from one language to another. However, in the analysis of translanguaging we also have to mention the use of pictures instead of words in some cases. In the first picture, for example, we can see a bunch of pineapples, which substitutes the word “fruit”. In the second picture, we can see a cut pineapple, which reinforces what has already been said by the word “cut”. Regarding the sticker on the bottom, we can see a hand showing its index and middle fingers. This is a common gesture, which has different meanings depending on the place of the word where we see it. In the West it usually represents a sign of victory, in East Asia however, it is a popular, and well known all over the world, pose for photography, and in China this gesture means to cut. Therefore, from a Chinese perspective, this symbol would reinforce what has been already said twice by the word “cut”. After this analysis Wei (2018b) concludes that in the translanguaging-based analysis there are generally more aspects to mention because it transcends “the boundaries between named languages and between linguistic and non-linguistic cues” than in the code-switching-based one, where the focus is only put on linguistic issues.

It is worth mentioning that, although in other publications (García & Wei, 2018) Wei adopts a stronger version of translanguaging, we would say that in this case (Wei, 2018b) his stance corresponds more with the weak version of translanguaging both in the theoretical part and in the practical part (the analysis itself). When this scholar defines translanguaging, he argues that “translanguaging defines language as a multilingual, multimodal, and multisensory sense- and meaning-making resource. In doing so, it seeks to challenge boundaries: boundaries between named languages (...)”. From our perspective, this view of translanguaging acknowledges languages boundaries while it seeks for their softening. Under this view, it is also understood that the analysis of translanguaging goes beyond the mere switch from one language to another, as it includes other questions that take place during bi/multilinguals communication like the ones related to semiotics.

To sum up, we would say that the main difference between code-switching and the weak version of translanguaging is that the former just focuses on the switch from one language or code to another (or others), that is, the focus is on a purely linguistic

question. The latter, however, focuses on the switch from one language to another (or others), but also on other questions that are involved in bi/multilingual speakers' communication, like semiotic issues.

In addition, Otheguy, García and Reid (2015) explain that when we talk about translanguaging we have to distinguish between internal perspectives and external perspectives. When we hear a person talking and we recognise two different languages, we are looking at languages from an external perspective. Teachers, and people in general, have been "indoctrinated" to think and look at languages like objects, so we identify and differentiate these objects (languages) from each other. So one thing are the external aspects of a language and another thing are the internal aspects, which people, as speakers, possess. It is not always easy to understand this conception of language because for so long the scholarship on bi/multilingualism was based on "elite bilingualism" or sequential bilingualism that is learned in schools as L2, and they used to picture languages within separate brain departments. But bilingualism is more complex than having languages separated in different compartments, which is why now researchers pay more attention to the speakers themselves, and research has become more aware of fluent or dynamic bi/multilingualism that sometimes cannot be separated into discrete languages. Therefore, the internal aspects of language are related to how we (speakers) language. This is why we talk about (trans)languaging, because it is not about having a language but about doing language with the features we have at our disposal.

However, language is not a structure of language features but a socio-political construction, and this would correspond to the external aspects of language. A very illustrative example to understand this assumption is looking at the number of languages in the world registered every year. We would see that the number varies, and not only due to language extinction, but because sometimes the differentiation between one language and another can be simply a socio-political decision. Throughout history there have been times when governments have decided to bring some languages together or separate them, just because they considered it to be beneficial for their nation or because they had specific interests in doing so.

Nevertheless, what we have as human beings and speakers goes beyond those external aspects of language, and that is why in real life speakers' practices do not fit within that narrow understanding of language. Therefore, we can conclude that

the difference between translanguaging and code-switching is ideological because, in practice, it is very difficult to distinguish these two concepts, although in principle they are very different. Code-switching talks about going from one language to another, and translanguaging refers to a unitary repertoire from which the bi/multilingual speaker selects the needed features. Moving from the concept of code-switching to translanguaging is not only a terminological matter but it makes a difference because when we take up a translanguaging perspective, we are also calling out the inequities that may occur in academic contexts, for example in relation to language assessment. When assessments do not consider students' entire linguistic repertoire teachers have to acknowledge that they are assessing some specific language features but not students' language ability or capacity.

Table 3. *Concept summary and definitions.*

Additive bilingualism
Proposed by Lambert (1974) additive bilingualism corresponds to a traditional model of bilingualism and has been defined as “a model under which the second language is added to the person’s repertoire and the two languages are maintained. (...) bilingualism within this model is simply double monolingualism, a category different from monolingualism, but with bilingual individuals expected to be and do with each of their languages same thing as monolinguals.” (García, 2009a, p. 52).
Interdependence Hypothesis
Proposed by Cummins (1979), and also called the Iceberg Hypothesis, argues that the first language can positively be transferred to the L2. This model supports the idea that “bilinguals possess two separate linguistic systems, although they feed each other and are independent because speakers have one linguistic and cognitive behaviour” (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 13).
Code-Switching
Code-switching is defined as the practice of alternating between two or more languages in a speech or conversation. We can distinguish between intrasentential and intersentential code-switching.

Dynamic Bilingualism
Dynamic bilingualism refers to “language practices that are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act. This model has nothing to do with the linear models of the past, responding to language interaction that take place in different planes that include multimodalities and multilingualism“(García, 2009a, p. 144).
Strong Version of Translanguaging
The strong version of translanguaging has been defined as “the use of language as a dynamic repertoire and not as a system with socially and politically defined boundaries. With the focus on actual language use, translanguaging necessarily goes beyond the named languages such as Chinese, English, or French (García & Wei, 2014; Wei, 2018a; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, 2018). Instead, it privileges the language of speakers as a semiotic system of linguistic and multimodal signs that together make up the speaker’s own communicative repertoire. This repertoire does not always correspond to the strict parameters of one named language or another established by grammars, dictionaries, and schools”. (García & Wei, 2018, p. 1).
Weak Version of Translanguaging
The weak version of translanguaging can be defined as “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401). Besides, other scholars point out that what distinguishes the weak version of translanguaging from the strong one is that the former “supports named language boundaries, and yet calls for softening these boundaries” (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 19)
Pedagogical Translanguaging
“Is understood as the use of planned instruction strategies from the learners’ repertoire to develop language awareness and metalinguistic awareness” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020, p. 301).
Spontaneous Translanguaging
“It refers to the reality of bi/multilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017, p. 904).

3.4. Benefits of translanguaging

Most applied linguists agree on the positive influence of translanguaging in the classroom context. Nevertheless, the benefits conferred to translanguaging will vary depending on the adopted translanguaging version. In this section, we want to highlight some of the main benefits attributed to the different versions of translanguaging. According to Lewis, Jones and Baker (2013, p. 111-112), there are four main benefits when translanguaging in the classroom context:

- 1. Deeper understanding in any subject:** the scholars based this affirmation on Cummins' (2008) theoretical standpoint. The student constructs mental maps with her or his pre-existing knowledge, which at the same time, promotes further learning. Accordingly, translanguaging promotes cross-linguistic transfer by languages' interdependence. In other words, students can benefit from their pre-existing knowledge of a language when learning another language. Besides, the researchers argue that those bi/multilingual students learning in a classroom where translanguaging practices are encouraged will acquire a deeper content understanding than monolingual students when completing the same task in their L1. This last statement refers for example to a task where the bi/multilingual student, after reading a text in one language, must write an essay based on that text in another language. As can be seen, this concept of translanguaging corresponds to the traditional one, where translanguaging practices are planned and answer to a pedagogical strategy. In these traditional translanguaging strategies both languages are present in the same class, or in the same task, but they are not usually mixed in the same speech or writing.
- 2. Develop oral communication and literacy in the weaker language:** translanguaging is meant to develop language skills in both languages, so the student cannot use her or his stronger language for most of the work, or for the most relevant and difficult parts, and the weaker language for the easiest parts. Therefore, the student would have to conduct each task in the assigned language. Here again, a traditional vision of translanguaging can be seen as it

is not the student who translanguages as a resource given by her or his bi/multilingual condition.

- 3. Greater home-school cooperation:** one of the main concerns for parents whose children are being educated in a bilingual model is not understanding them or not being able to help them with homework. Translanguaging is also helpful in these situations, as it does not consist of a simple translation but the reprocessing and interpretation of content in another language.

- 4. Integration of fluent L1 speakers with L2 learners:** speakers who study in their L2 can learn the language by attending content lessons with native or very fluent speakers of that language if both languages are used strategically.

Looking at the benefits of translanguaging proposed by Lewis, Jones and Baker (2013) we can see that the academics followed a traditional version of the concept where translanguaging practices are planned and answer to a pedagogical strategy, and where more than one language is allowed in class but only when the teacher or the activity requires it. Besides, languages are not usually mixed in the same speech or writing but they are treated separately (e. g. use one language for one activity and another language for another activity), and therefore, it is not the student who decides when or how to translanguage. By this, we do not mean that such benefits should not be considered, but rather that they simply do not correspond to the version of translanguaging we adopt in this study.

Nonetheless, these academics do not believe translanguaging to be positive in any context. For example, they argue that in the early stages of learning a language translanguaging (again, the traditional concept of it) may not be so beneficial because an effective input and output in two languages is needed and the students only got this in the developed stages of their learning process. Therefore, under this prism translanguaging would not be so beneficial in the early stages of learning a language if the objective is to receive as much input as possible and to produce as much output as possible in the target language.

Moving on to other benefits attributed to translanguaging, we will see now the ones

proposed by García, Ibarra Johnson and Seltzer (2017, p. 8-16). These authors refer to these as “purposes for translanguaging” in the classroom context, but indeed, these could correspond to what we are calling benefits:

1. **Supporting student engagement with complex content and texts:** translanguaging facilitates students’ engagement in complex content or tasks regardless of their language proficiency. Research relates this benefit with “social justice” (p. 8), arguing that it enables all students, and not only those whose language practices are aligned with the school ones, to follow the lessons.
2. **Providing opportunities for students to develop linguistic practices for academic contexts:** here the scholars mention a series of benefits that translanguaging may have for students to cope with official exams and standardised requirements:
 - a. Translanguaging supports bilingual students’ ability to use language to “gather, comprehend, evaluate, synthesize, and report on information and ideas, using text based evidence” (p. 11).
 - b. Translanguaging requires collaboration; therefore, through cooperative tasks students gain the ability to use languages socially.
 - c. Translanguaging encourages the use of all the features of the bi/multilingual’s linguistic repertoire, which at the same time, facilitates the learning of new linguistic features.
 - d. Translanguaging encourages bi/multilinguals to make connections, practice and play with languages or reflect on them, which results in being very helpful when learning a new language.
 - e. Translanguaging may help to play down the so-called “academic language” by showing students that this just constitutes another set of language features which they need to add to their linguistic repertoire.

3. **Making space for students' bilingualism and ways of knowing:** translanguaging can help teachers to show students that languages are not "rigid power hierarchies" (p. 12) but practices that serve different purposes and in different contexts.

4. **Supporting students' bilingual identities and socioemotional development:** the authors defend this idea with two arguments. First, they argue that by letting bi/multilingual students language on their own terms and by letting them participate in academic conversations, teachers are promoting active participation, which at the same time, will encourage a "more just world" (p. 14). Second, translanguaging helps students to understand their languages as ever-changing practices. This will also contribute, on the one hand, to foster students' reflection and, and on the other hand, to challenge the socio-politically constructed language boundaries, which cause hierarchies of power and monolingual societies.

In contrast to the previously seen benefits of translanguaging proposed by Lewis, Jones and Baker (2013), which follow a traditional approach to the concept, these last benefits of translanguaging proposed by García, Ibarra Johnson and Seltzer (2017) follow the strong version of the concept. The most revealing feature to determine that the version of translanguaging followed here was the strong one, is their manifest opposition to the socio-politically constructed languages (as they call them) and therefore, the opposition to the hierarchies of power caused by those named languages.

3.5. Translanguaging in the classroom

Translanguaging may occur in bi/multilingual speakers' daily life and in any context, but it is, indeed, in schools where a big part of the population learns languages, which makes this a context of special relevance.

There are a number of publications giving theoretical support and guidelines to take advantage of translanguaging in the classroom context. However, we have seen that

pedagogical indications also differ depending on the author and the version of translanguaging taken as a reference.

Let us look for example at some translanguaging pedagogical strategies proposed by researchers who acknowledge languages from a socio-political view but not from a psycholinguistic one. García and Otheguy (2019) point out that the first requisite to implement pedagogical translanguaging practices in a classroom context is the legitimation and naturalisation of bi/multilingual students' translanguaging by the teacher. However, that legitimation of translanguaging does not imply teachers having to forget about teaching practices related to named languages, but that while doing so, they should promote students' consciousness about those named languages' roles, implications and dominances.

Besides, translanguaging pedagogies advocate for teaching practices where students themselves are aware of translanguaging. This means that teachers should also develop awareness about multilingualism, translanguaging, and in conclusion, about those processes and practices that take part in bi/multilingual students' learning and which, certainly, constitute the bi/multilingual speaker. Consequently, teachers must understand translanguaging to take better advantage of it.

Therefore, from this perspective, bi/multilingual students are not required to use their named languages as separate cognitive-linguistic entities. In other words, students can choose from their own linguistic (and semiotic) repertoire those features they believe to be the appropriate ones to communicate their message; and teachers must encourage this practice.

These scholars (García & Otheguy, 2019) also give some guidelines regarding bi/multilingual students' assessment. The main advice is that teachers must remember to go beyond the "socioculturally-dictated named language affiliation of the linguistic features" and consequently, "assess students' overall language abilities, that is, their ability to infer, to tell and write a narrative or argumentative text, to find text based-evidence, and to use the features of their unitary semiotic repertoire" (p. 10).

Other publications that include some guidelines for translanguaging in classrooms are the ones proposed by Celic and Seltzer (2011); Pérez Rosario & Cao (2014); García, Ibarra Johnson and Seltzer (2017) or García and Kleyn (2016). Nevertheless, we must take into account that these publications are in most cases focused on

translanguaging in education levels lower than the university level; however, some of their guidelines may be applied to the university context.

Sánchez-García (2018a) who describes the perspective adopted in her study somehow between code-switching and translanguaging, identifies some scenarios in the classroom context where what she calls code-switching may occur:

1. Code-switching for knowledge construction:

- a. The teachers code-switch to their L1 when they cannot find the English word they are looking for. Interestingly, in this study teachers struggle more with trying to find English words and or phrases related to everyday situations than those more related to the academic context or the specific language of the discipline.
- b. Sometimes teachers deliberately provide the students with their L1 equivalent of the most technical terminology of the field. The intention is to give, not regularly but punctually, the most troublesome concepts in both languages to ensure students' understanding.
- c. Teachers also tend to switch to their L1 when they do not follow students' contributions or when they are deviating from the main topic.
- d. Teachers also tend to code-switch when they feel that students are not following their explanations, or when they themselves realised that their explanation has not been very clear.
- e. Sometimes, when cultural matters arise in the lectures, it becomes necessary to communicate this cultural meaning through the language of that culture.

2. Code-switching for classroom management.

- a. Teachers tend to switch to their L1 when technical problems arose (e.g. the computer stops working – *¿Qué pasa? ¿Por qué no funciona?* The teacher switches to her or his L1 to express that something is not working).

- b. It also seems that teachers switch to their L1 when they want to show authority. It is quite common for teachers to switch to their L1 when scolding students, for example.

3. Code-switching for personal or affective meanings.

- a. Sometimes the teachers switch to their L1 when they are talking to themselves out loud or in a low voice.
- b. Also, teachers tend to switch to their L1 when teachers want to express their opinion and points of view or they want to share a life experience.
- c. Another situation when teachers tend to code-switch is when they want to avoid what they believe may be an embarrassing situation (e.g. a mistake made by the teacher).

4. Code-switching for interpersonal relations.

- a. A very common situation where code-switching tends to occur is during negotiations of meaning.
- b. Another situation where speakers tend to switch to their L1 is when they express personal and affective meanings.

In conclusion, in this section we have seen some pedagogic guidelines to bring translanguaging to classrooms, however, for that to be possible it is indispensable to have teachers' approval. But, *what do teachers believe about translanguaging?* In the next sections, we will highlight teachers' main positions on translanguaging.

3.5.1. A monolingual approach when teaching through a L2/FL

In the last years, the benefits of using the L1 in L2/FL lessons have been widely mentioned in the applied linguistics literature. Macaro (2018) points out that although it seems difficult to find recent researches promoting exclusive L2 use in classrooms, it seems that there still exists some controversy around translanguaging or code-switching.

The controversy among academics, therefore, is not in relation to the benefits or disadvantages translanguaging may have on students' learning, but to the conception of the term itself (translanguaging, code-switching, weak version of translanguaging, strong version of translanguaging, etc.).

In fact, it seems that most scholars agree on the positive impact of translanguaging in classrooms, to a more or less extent. Macaro (2009) even states that maintaining the L1 out of L2/FL lessons may reduce students' cognitive and metacognitive opportunities.

Nevertheless, although there is a widespread positive view among researchers regarding translanguaging, not all the agents involved in education share their positive view. Some studies, for example, show teachers' reluctance to translanguage and even to allow translanguaging among students. In fact, teachers' reluctance towards translanguaging is not a coincidence, but a direct consequence of the educational heritage they received. Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017) argue that as soon as the grammar-translation method was left aside, and the communicative approach gained presence, the use of the L1 in L2 lessons has been a controversial issue, "in general it is believed that there is no space for the students' L1 because of the need to use the L2 as much as possible to improve students' language proficiency" (p. 2). These authors attribute this situation to two main reasons: the first one is related to the popular monolingual ideology which defends that in L2 classrooms there is no space for the L1, and; the second one, is related to publishing houses preferring to publish only in the target language (mainly English).

According to Lin (2015, p. 76-78), monolingual approaches are still present and, in some cases, these are even dominant all over the world. The scholar attributes these still dominant monolingual approaches to four main reasons:

- a) **The pedagogical ideology of teaching the target language (L2) through the target language only (or: multilingualism through parallel monolingualisms).** Lin argues that this is usually enforced by official policy speeches that represent a top-down approach trying to legislate students' and teachers' language use.

- b) The stereotyping of L1 use in the classroom as equivalent to the extensive use of L1 in the traditional grammar translation approach.** Based on Mahboob's (2011) publication, Lin blames the "grammar translation approach" for giving a primary position to a dominant local language using it to learn of and about the L2.
- c) The one-sided application of the 'maximum input hypothesis'.** The researcher argues that immersion approaches include a monolingual principle that is very related to Krashen's (1982) maximum input hypothesis. However, she highlights that the maximum input hypothesis must always be related to the comprehensive input hypothesis (Krashen, 1982). Consequently, the potentiality of the L1 for making the input more comprehensible should not be denied.
- d) The reported advantages of the separation strategy in some early bilingual education studies in the USA.** According to the scholar the study conducted in the USA by Legarreta (1979) on Spanish-English bilingual courses in kindergarten, may have promoted negative attitudes towards L1 use in CBI.

With the intention of discouraging these negative practices and beliefs, some scholars started publishing guidebooks and studies to orient teachers on the use of the L1 in L2 classrooms. One of the most popular was the one launched by Swain, Kirkpatrick, and Cummins (2011) entitled *How to have a guilt-free life using Cantonese in the English class. A handbook for the English language teacher in Hong Kong*. As can be seen, the title of the book is very illustrative in itself, because it already gives information about how teachers usually feel when using the L1 in L2 lessons; guilty.

3.5.2. Three theories about teachers' standpoint

In the previous section, we already mentioned that teachers' beliefs are not aligned with most scholars' regarding translanguaging. Although scholars agree on the benefits translanguaging may have on bi/multilingual students' learning, teachers still show more reluctance. After carrying out a study based on surveys and interviews with teachers regarding the use of the L1 in L2 lessons Macaro (2009, p. 35-36) concluded that there are three main positions that teachers usually adopt:

- a) **The virtual position:** teachers believe that their classes must represent as much as possible the ones in the target language country. This is why the unique use of the target language is encouraged.
- b) **The maximal position:** teachers are more flexible with the use of the L1 but not because they think it is a positive resource for students to learn, but because they believe it to be an unavoidable practice of bi/multilinguals. Teachers do not see translanguaging as a positive practice, although in some cases they show indulgence, and they even confess a sense of guilt when doing so.
- c) **The optimal position:** teachers believe that responsible use of students' different languages may be helpful for their learning. These teachers show positive attitudes towards translanguaging and would not hesitate to encourage it.

Besides, Macaro (2014), in a subsequent study, reported that the trend is teachers opting for either the *virtual* or the *maximal position*, with the minority opting for a multilingual pedagogy; that is, the *optimal position*.

In a similar way, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017) conducted a study in the University of the Basque Country to find out teachers' beliefs regarding the use of the L1, in this case Basque or Spanish, in EMI lessons. After conducting structured discussion groups with the participating teachers, the scholars concluded that the majority of the teachers showed attitudes that correspond with Macaro's (2009) virtual

position. Therefore, results showed teachers' preference for the exclusive use of English. These teachers argue their preference for the exclusive use of English in EMI based on two beliefs: First, their ideal teaching context is one where all the input is provided in English. Second, they believe the L1 to be detrimental to the objectives of EMI and, therefore, it should be avoided.

There is just one teacher out of 13 in this study whose ideas would correspond to the maximal position (she believes that using English all the time is the best course of action, but also that using the L1 occasionally is inevitable), while two opted for the optimal position, (they believe that languages do not stay in separate compartments and that linguistic flexibility should be a must).

In conclusion, this study shows that UPV/EHU teachers' beliefs regarding the use of the L1 in EMI lessons are aligned with other teachers beliefs reported in studies conducted in other contexts (Lee & Macaro, 2013, Stroupe, 2014, Macaro, 2014; Roothoof, 2019), where teachers do not consider the use of the L1 in EMI (and other programmes) very positively. In a similar vein, Daryai-Hansen, Barfod and Schwarz (2017) reported that both students and teachers in a Danish university see translanguaging as a positive tool for language learning but only as a transitional stage, the unique use of English being the goal.

In contrast, other studies show more positive attitudes towards translanguaging like the one conducted by Lasagabaster (2013) in Colombia where 35 CLIL primary, secondary and university teachers were asked about their beliefs regarding the use of the L1 in their classes. Results showed that, in general, teachers accept the positive impact L1 use may have: "to help students understand the instructions; to make comparisons between the L1 and the L2; to feel more comfortable when teaching in CLIL lessons; to boost debate; and to deal with disciplinary issues" (p. 8). The researcher concludes by advocating for the use of the L1 in CLIL classes, but he specifies that more research is needed to answer the demand of creating a substantiated framework, which should define the theoretical and pedagogical guidelines around the introduction of the L1 in CLIL/EMI lessons to deal with the randomised practices, which currently predominate. In any case, the majority of participants were teachers at pre-university level, which may have affected the results. At any rate, more research at university level is sorely needed.

Results differ depending on the context, but it could be concluded that in

postcolonial settings like Hong Kong, Pakistan or Rwanda, EMI teachers tend to show a greater willingness to accept the use of the L1. On the contrary, in those context (like Europe) where EMI is relatively new, the use of the L1 is not always seen so positively (Breeze & Roothoof, 2021). Lasagabaster (2013) argued that this may be due to the influence exerted by the predominant language policy in English as a foreign language and immersion programmes, in which L2-only language practices are encouraged. Nevertheless, research shows that even in the latter contexts teachers resort to the shared L1 mainly to avoid communication breakdowns.

3.6. Translanguaging with minority languages: The case of the Basque Country

Although we will explain the Basque language and its unique situation more in depth in section “6.1.1. Euskera: The Basque language”, we find it necessary to discuss translanguaging with minority languages at this stage.

In the past, the isolation of minority languages was a positive factor, which, in part, promoted their survival. This isolation was in most cases due to geographical reasons. However, in the current globalisation era isolation results not only very difficult (not to say impossible) but also not very desirable (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Globalisation, mobility or internationalisation are factors that oblige minority languages to assume new challenges. This means that what worked in the past to preserve and promote minority languages may not be that beneficial nowadays. However, there are many who are worried about the protection of minority languages and show reticence to practises like translanguaging.

As happened with other minority languages the Basque language was historically preserved thanks to the geographical situation of the Basque Country. Besides, inside the Basque Country itself there are also areas which are more geographically isolated than others, and therefore (among other reasons), congregate more Basque speakers than others which are closer to Spanish or French speaking areas. Nevertheless, the reality nowadays differs a lot from that of the past (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017) and the vast majority of Basque speakers are also exposed to majority

languages like Spanish or French (depending on the area) and even to foreign languages like English, which is very present at schools, or other languages due to the increased mobility of the population.

Cenoz and Gorter (2017) provide an extract from a typical anecdote of a Basque (Basque speaker) farmer trying to express in Spanish:

La kilo de azúcar, la real canela, pa Tiburtzio las esparzines del número ventilau.

Spanish translation: un kilo de azúcar, un real de canela, zapatillas para Tiburcio del número veinticuatro.

English translation: a kilo of sugar, one penny of cinnamon, and slippers for Tiburtzio, number twenty four. (p. 1).

This is a very stereotypic example of how a Basque speaker who is not very fluent in Spanish tried to express himself. We have to take into account that this event occurred in 1950, a time where it was more common to find Basque speakers who were not very proficient in Spanish, which would be more unusual nowadays.

Let us analyse the utterance to understand better how the speaker used his whole linguistic repertoire. First, we find a “wrong use” of the Spanish articles in “la kilo” and “la real” and also of the prepositions “de” and “para”. Secondly, although the main structure of the sentence is in Spanish it is mixed with Basque in some nouns like “esparzines” which would be *espartinak* in Basque (*espadrilles* in English, *espadilha* in French) but where the speaker has added the suffix “-es” to express plurality in Spanish. Another example can be seen in the word “ventilau” where the first part of the word “veinti” corresponds to the Spanish number *veinticuatro* (twenty four) and the second part corresponds to the Basque number “lau” (four). Cenoz and Gorter (2017) argue that this example shows how, not that long ago, people used to make fun of those who were fluent speakers in their native language (Basque) but not that much in the majority language (Spanish). Nowadays, the situation has changed and the Basque language has gained prestige thanks to social and political strategies. However, Basque continues to be the minority language. With this example, we can see that translanguaging, although being a natural strategy or resource used by Basque bilinguals, was a reason to make fun of the less

proficient Spanish speakers. Although this would be a more unusual situation nowadays, we could say that the tables have been turned in relation to some aspects. Let us explain this idea. In the example exposed above, Basque is the speaker's L1 and Spanish is his L2. The speaker lives in a Basque-speaking village, consequently, he does not use Spanish so much. Therefore, the speaker only needs Spanish to communicate with those from Spanish areas. We have already explained that this is not very common nowadays, however, what is more common to find these days are speakers who have Spanish as their L1 and Basque as their L2. Besides, in so many cases these speakers may only use Basque in academic contexts (school) because they live in Spanish speaking areas.

As we mentioned, we will dedicate a specific section to the Basque language, later on, to talk about its characteristics more in depth. However, we want to advance some data so the reader may have an overview of some important aspects related to Basque speakers. The most recent data provided by the Basque Government (2012) corresponds to 2011. These data show that 32% of the population speak Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community, 11.7% speak Basque in Navarre and 21.4% speak Basque in Iparralde, the French part of the Basque country. Besides, we have to take into account (Basque Government, 2016) that only 50% of the Basque speakers have this language as their L1, 13.2% are early bilinguals who have both Basque and Spanish as their L1 and the rest 36.8% of the Basque speakers have it as L2 or an additional language. Consequently, nowadays those speakers who have Basque as their L1 are usually also proficient in the majority language, Spanish or French. With these data in mind, we would say that a situation like the one mentioned in our Basque speaker's anecdote would be more unlikely to happen these days. Nonetheless, we could easily witness L1 Spanish speakers who may not be very proficient in their L2 Basque, translanguaging from their whole linguistic repertoire. The practice of translanguaging between Basque and Spanish is commonly known as "Euskañol" (Euskera + Español) and is a quite common practice among Basque bi/multilinguals. This Euskañol, although natural in everyday life, is not highly regarded in the academic context:

There is a strong fear that Basque may just disappear if it is mixed with Spanish because Spanish is a very strong language compared to Basque. These fears are to a certain extent justified if we look at the use of minority languages not only in the Basque country but in other contexts as well. (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017, p. 5).

This protectionist idea can be seen reflected in Basque medium schools where students are corrected when they practice “Euskara”, or they are asked to speak in Basque rather than in Spanish. Therefore, schools do not just focus on promoting the use of Basque, that is to say, the quantity, but they also focus on the “quality” and “purity” of the language. Broadly speaking, Basque schools usually maintain boundaries among languages keeping them separate, mainly with the thought that this would be beneficial for Basque. Accordingly, Basque schools usually advocate for practices that maintain strict boundaries among languages, but the same standpoint is adopted with other languages that are taught in schools like English, which usually also remains separated from the rest of the languages. Of course, we do not want to compare the reality of English in schools with that of Basque, as their situation is completely different, first, due to the sentimental, contextual, political and social implications that Basque has for the Basque population, and secondly, because English is a foreign language without a big social presence in the Basque Country, although it is a very strong language globally. Consequently, what we wanted to reflect here is that, as it is the common norm in many schools around the world, Basque schools also pull more toward maintaining languages separately. Traditionally Basque and Spanish have been kept separate from one another in schools, and nowadays, with English being also a medium of instruction in many schools, this language is also kept separate from the rest. Teachers and academic staff argue that the aim of keeping languages isolated in schools is the protection of Basque, as Spanish is a language that enjoys a much stronger position.

With the aim of giving a revealing example of where this language isolation can be reflected on, I want to recall a personal experience. I have studied in a Basque school in what is called the D language model, which means that all the subjects are taught in Basque except for Spanish Language and Literature and EFL. My town is a mostly Spanish speaking area, so one of the aims of the school was promoting the use of

Basque among the students, for which they had an agenda with different strategies. Once, they organised a game/competition with, as they said, “the aim of promoting the use of Basque out of classrooms”, that is, in the playground, the corridors, the cafeteria, etc. So the teachers distributed some coloured cards to the participating students, which we had to always carry with us. Every time the students listened to some classmates speaking in Spanish they would ask those students to give them one of their cards. At the end of the month, the student who had more cards would be the winner. At the end of the month, I was the winner as I was the one that had more cards, and I was gifted a book in Basque. However, thinking now of that game we can see that although the objective was rewarding the students who used Basque the most, it resulted more in punishing those who used Spanish. Besides, students seemed to be more focused on catching their mates talking in Spanish than on speaking in Basque themselves. Besides, if we think about the influence this game can have on students’ perception of languages, it does not seem very appropriate either, as students may understand that speaking in Spanish is bad, and therefore deserves to be punished. Also having students playing the role of “language police officers” does not seem to be the most pedagogic option either. I am convinced that the intention of the teachers who proposed and implemented this game was well-meaning, however, language isolation does not always seem to be the best option to protect minority languages, and language repression never seems to be a good option, not even when this language counts towards a strong social situation. Therefore, more than a few people see translanguaging as a threat for minority languages and concretely for Basque. In response to these negative assumptions, Cenoz and Gorter (2017, p. 9-10) argue that translanguaging may be positive for regional minority languages if some principles are followed. Accordingly, these authors propose some “guiding principles for sustainable translanguaging for regional minority languages” in the classroom context:

- 1. Design functional breathing spaces for using the minority language.** The authors argue that although this principle may result in being contradictory and linked to traditional practices of language isolation, the difference is that students will have those breathing spaces, where only the minority language is spoken, combined with translanguaging pedagogical practices.

2. Develop the need to use minority languages through translanguaging.

Cenoz and Gorter refer to a practice which they argue is becoming quite popular in the Basque Country, for example, in official speeches, where the speaker translanguages during a speech without providing any translation. In other words, the speaker provides some content in Spanish (the majority language) and some content in Basque (the minority language) without repeating information. In that situation, a person who does not speak one of the two languages, more probably the minority language, would not understand some parts of the speech. We can see these kinds of practices also in other social contexts like television. Basque television has two main channels, Etb1 and Etb2, the first one broadcasts in Basque and the second one in Spanish. In Etb2 the news is mainly in Spanish but sometimes, especially when they go to the streets, Basque speakers are interviewed. In these cases they usually provide Spanish subtitles but, from time to time, mostly when these are short interventions, they do not provide any kind of translation, so the audience that does not know Basque will not understand that part of the interview.

3. Use emergent multilinguals' resources to reinforce all languages by developing metalinguistic awareness. This principle wants to enhance bi/multilingual students' metalinguistic awareness, as well as encourage students to use their whole linguistic repertoire as a resource when learning other languages or when learning through the medium of other languages than their L1.

4. Enhance language awareness. This principle goes beyond metalinguistic awareness and wants students to gain knowledge about languages' social status, practices, different uses in society and, most importantly, to understand the role of minority languages and their concrete situations.

5. Link spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging. This principle wants to develop students' communicative skills for informal interactions in the

minority languages.

It should be mentioned that, although these guidelines have been conceived to implement a responsible translanguaging for regional minority languages in the classroom context, some of them could certainly be implemented in other social contexts. For example, they could belong to a governmental strategy that leans on translanguaging for the promotion of minority languages.

3.7. Studies focused on code-switching and translanguaging

In previous sections, we have already explained the differences between translanguaging and code-switching. Accordingly, regarding case studies analysing translanguaging or code-switching, we would say that the difference does not lay so much on *what* they analyse but on the way of looking at the same reality. Sayer (2013) states that researchers analysing code-switching focus their attention on “typologies of features, functions, and linguistic codes” (p. 84) and that researchers analysing translanguaging, however, extend their focus: “a translanguaging lens is less focused on language per se, and more concerned with examining how bilinguals make sense of things through language.” (p. 84).

We already mentioned that what distinguishes translanguaging from code-switching (García, 2020a) is an ideological matter, it is related to the way we understand languages and bi/multilingualism but, in practice, they are very difficult to distinguish.

Therefore, some studies that research around translanguaging also include the analysis of linguistic questions, like the code-switching analysis does. Hence, in this section, we will include both studies analysing code-switching and translanguaging because, at least for the part where they focus on linguistic questions, we consider these studies analysing code-switching of relevance for our study.

Besides, it is worth mentioning that we do not count on abundant literature analysing translanguaging or code-switching in EMI classrooms (Pun & Macaro, 2019). Consequently, apart from studies conducted in EMI university contexts, we

will also mention some relevant studies conducted in schools located in different geographical contexts, with the aim of providing an overview of the main results.

3.7.1. Studies conducted at university level

Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2014) conducted a study analysing the use of the L1, Ukrainian or Russian, in EMI at university level. The researchers compared EMI lessons with EFL lessons, focusing among other aspects, on the function of code-switching in each context. Findings revealed that both in EMI and EFL lessons teachers switched to the L1 for similar purposes (e.g. explaining the meaning of a term). Nevertheless, they also found some differences as EFL teachers code-switched to provide grammatical explanations unlike EMI teachers, whereas EMI teachers tended to code-switch to explain specific terminology related to content. Another reason for code-switching in EMI lessons, which was barely found in the EFL ones, was the switch to the L1 when the teacher did not know a word in English. In Italy, Costa (2012) conducted a study which initially did not have as its main research interest the use of the L1 in EMI, but which did report some results related to code-switching. The data showed that teachers switched to their L1 Italian, even when a great number of the students were international and did not speak Italian. He, Lai and Lin's (2017) examined translanguaging and trans-semiotising practices of a Chinese lecturer during a tertiary education mathematics seminar in Hong Kong. The academics concluded that the use of multilingual resources and multimodalities "facilitate intercultural communication and the academic language development of emergent bilinguals" (p. 117).

These studies, therefore, show how translanguaging is common practice in EMI courses in different contexts. Nevertheless, research exposes differences between student- and teacher-translanguaging. Gallego-Balsà and Cots (2019) focused on international students' and teachers' translanguaging while learning/teaching Catalan. Interestingly, although teachers accepted students' use of languages other than the language of instruction, they avoided translanguaging themselves. In Turkey, Karakas (2016) also observed that teachers reinforced the only-English principle and considered translanguaging as a marginal phenomenon.

To our knowledge, only a few studies have provided general percentages of language use, as most research focused on the reasons behind translanguaging (Tarnopolsky & Goodman, 2012) without any actual measurement of translanguaging instances. Yuan (2006) reported that 63.6% of EMI in a Chinese university was delivered in Chinese, while in the same context Macaro, Tian and Chu (2020) found that 99.37% of five lecturers' discourse was in English. These notably different findings may be due to the fact that the latter study was carried out in one of the top ten universities in China whose students' level proficiency was higher than average.

In relation to teachers' and students' attitudes towards translanguaging, research has found a wide range of positions and beliefs due to different factors such as English-only language policies, linguistic purism/ideology, and fears about its negative impact as a result of overuse of L1 use (Fang & Liu, 2020). Numerous academics indicate that there is a deficiency of studies on EMI stakeholders' attitudes and beliefs (Macaro, Tian & Chu, 2020; Fang & Liu, 2020), although some studies can be found in the literature. Breeze and Roothoof (2021) surveyed 60 EMI teachers teaching at five universities in Spain. The majority of these lecturers regarded L1 use as inappropriate and were very reluctant to admit that they ever translanguaged. They felt pressure to maintain an English-only environment which led them to forbid "the use of Spanish even outside the classroom" (p. 209). Quite a few teachers also considered that their authority and EMI identity were dissipated when students fell back on their L1, findings that agree with those obtained by Kim and Tatar (2017) in Korea. In China, Fang and Liu (2020) reported that a third of the students associated translanguaging with low English competence, although the general trend was "a neutral-to-positive attitude towards translanguaging" (p. 13), whereas the five participating lecturers held different positions but also found translanguaging more suitable with students with low English proficiency. notwithstanding, these EMI teachers explained that the university's monolingual policy was very challenging when it came to translanguaging. Also in the Chinese context, Macaro, Tian and Chu's (2020) surveyed students about the use of the L1 from EMI. Results presented a division between those students that preferred the teacher to remain in English and those who demanded an immediate translation when needed, results which concur with the ones obtained by Palfreyman and Al-

Bataineh (2018) in the United Arab. In conclusion, although some exceptions can be found (Tarnopolsky & Goodman, 2012), teachers' use of the L1 tends to be viewed more negatively than students' translanguaging as this one is usually justified or regarded as more reasonable, especially among those whose English level is lower. However, most of the translanguaging studies have been contextualized at educational levels lower than higher education. Moreover, when research is carried out at tertiary education, in most cases these studies focus on the study of pedagogical translanguaging. This is the case of Mazak, Mendoza and Perez Mangomé (2017), who contrasted three lecturers' pedagogic translanguaging practices in a Puerto Rican university. Makalela (2017) also designed and implemented a course in a South African higher education institution, based on what he labelled as Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy.

Nevertheless, the aim of this study is to know the reality of translanguaging in the multilingual Basque university context without intervening or interfering in it by focusing on the aforementioned *spontaneous translanguaging*.

3.7.1.1. Translanguaging in the Basque context

We do not count with an extensive literature background analysing translanguaging in the Basque Country. In fact, most studies analysing this issue have been conducted predominantly in CLIL school contexts (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Lasagabaster, 2013; Gorter & Cenoz, 2015; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Leonet, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2017; Cenoz & Gorter, 2019; Cenoz & Santos, 2020) and only a few of them in the university context (Muguruza, 2014; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Muguruza, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2020).

In their study conducted in the UPV/EHU Muguruza, Cenoz and Gorter (2020) analysed, on the one hand, the languages used by the teacher and the students, and on the other hand, students' attitudes towards translanguaging in an EMI course where a flexible language policy was applied allowing the use of the three main languages: Basque, Spanish and English. Most of the students enrolled in this EMI course had Basque and/or Spanish as their L1, as well as the teacher, who was also trilingual in Basque, Spanish, and English. The flexible language policy implemented in this course consisted of students using any of the three languages (Basque,

Spanish, and English) whenever they wanted, for oral productions, essays, and even exams. Nevertheless, the teacher always used English so the input was always in the foreign language, although from time to time she fell back on Basque and Spanish to provide some translations and clarifications. This flexible language policy was written in the syllabus of the subject and was also explained to students at the start of the course. The teacher proposed this language policy with the aim of reducing comprehension problems as well as anxiety in EMI lessons. Results showed positive attitudes from the students towards this language flexibility, as they felt more confident to participate in class and they believed to be taking more advantage of the lessons. Besides, the results also showed differences in the teacher's attitudes towards language flexibility depending on *who* the person who translanguaged was. The researchers reported some situations where the teacher was engaged in a conversation with a student who was talking in Basque or Spanish and the teacher unintentionally answered also in those languages and she automatically went back to English and even apologised for her translanguaging. Therefore, this teacher had a positive opinion about translanguaging for students and she encouraged it, but she provided them all the input in English.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, the literature that addresses translanguaging in Basque education is quite scarce. Moreover, most researches addressed this matter from a pedagogical perspective, what we would call pedagogical translanguaging. Thus, due to the scarcity of studies analysing translanguaging in EMI contexts in the Basque Country, we preferred to adopt a more distant stance without interfering in the teaching practice, which is what pedagogical translanguaging would require. Besides, as we have seen in previous sections, pedagogical translanguaging needs a series of conditions to be met in order to be carried out. On the one hand, the teacher involved must acknowledge translanguaging practices or, at least, she or he must be willing to be guided by a specialist. On the other hand, the teacher must show a positive attitude towards translanguaging not only by allowing students to translanguage in the classroom but also by promoting it with different pedagogic strategies. The promotion of translanguaging would require previous pedagogical planning where the objectives and the action plan should be defined.

However, in this study we intend to examine spontaneous translanguaging, that is, those translanguaging practices that are not planned and happen in class naturally.

3.7.2. Studies conducted at school level

After conducting a study in Spain analysing code-switching in CLIL primary education lessons, Pavón Vázquez and Ramos Ordóñez (2019) concluded that students' L1 use was frequent, intuitive and non-systematic. The researchers attributed the use of the L1 to students' lack of proficiency in English. Besides, the researchers note that although the use of the L1 affects the time students are exposed to the L2, it does not seem to have a negative impact on the content learning. Martín-Beltrán et al. (2019) conducted a study in elementary schools in the Mid-Atlantic United States, where a cross-age peer-learning literacy programme was implemented. This programme consisted of older students or Big Buddies (aged 9-10) leading some reading activities with younger students or Little Buddies, (aged 5-6). Older students were previously trained by their teachers, and they received some guidelines, which, among other questions, made reference to the use of the L1: "Help your LB by pointing to pictures, using gestures, and using home-languages (e.g. Spanish) as needed." (p. 19). The results showed the benefits of L1 Spanish use for the improvement of the L2 English, as students resorted to their Spanish linguistic repertoire to understand texts in English. They also conclude that the use of Spanish helped students engage better in English learning activities. Pun and Macaro (2019) conducted a study in secondary schools in Hong Kong to analyse the effect the use of the L1 may have on EMI teachers' question types and interaction patterns. Findings revealed that, there was a greater L1 use in late EMI lessons, students who started studying through EMI later, than in early EMI ones, students who started studying through English four years earlier than the rest. Besides, in late EMI lessons, teachers tended to use more higher order questions and there was more interaction. However, in early EMI lessons teachers asked lower level questions and there was less teacher-student interaction.

Also in secondary schools in Hong Kong, Lin (2006) conducted a study analysing the L1 use in EMI lessons. Results also showed greater teacher-student interaction in those classrooms where code-switching was happening.

In a similar way, Lo and Macaro (2012) also took into account the use of the L1 as a variable for interaction to happen and concluded that it is necessary to provide students with the opportunity for meaning-negotiation and code-switching. The scholars argued that this is especially helpful in what they call the “transitional period” which is the period before full immersion in the L2.

Moving on, one of the main aspects that have been analysed related to code-switching and translanguaging is its frequency. In other words, how much, or how many times does code-switching happen during a lesson or a speech. Borlongan (2009) conducted a study in a CLIL classroom in the Philippines to analyse students’ and teachers’ code-switching frequency from English to Tagalog. The results revealed that, although the school policy advocated for monolingual English lessons restricting the presence of the L1, most of the teachers (11 out of 14) code-switched during their lesson. Moreover, almost 7.5% of the CLIL teacher speech contained at least one case of code-switching. Besides, almost 7% of student utterances contained at least one instance of code-switching.

Gené, Juan-Garau and Salazar (2012) conducted a comparison between secondary education CLIL and EFL lessons in the Balearic Islands, Spain. The study focused on the purposes for which both students and teachers use their L1 (Spanish or/and Catalan) and English. The researchers concluded that English is usually used for planned discourses and the L1 for unplanned discourses, especially in the case of students.

In Korea Lee and Macaro (2013) conducted a study to analyse the effect of teachers’ language choice, Korean or English, may have on students’ vocabulary acquisition and retention. The data were gathered from two student groups: the first group was formed by elementary school students who had experienced just a few years studying English; and the other one was formed by university EFL students with a higher proficiency in English. The results revealed that both groups benefited from code-switching to their L1 regarding lexical acquisition, but it was the elementary school students who benefited the most as their English level was lower.

In the BAC Cenoz and Santos (2020) undertook a study in which a group of teachers from Basque trilingual schools (Basque, Spanish and English) were provided with some guidelines to implement pedagogical translanguaging in their classes. The results showed how pedagogical translanguaging can have positive effects on

language learning and language awareness in multilingual settings. However, the study also shows how some Basque teachers still remain reluctant, at least initially, to translanguaging fearing that it might be harmful for Basque.

Sayer (2013) conducted a study analysing translanguaging in a school located in a Mexican American community in San Antonio, Texas. This results in a more complex case as students' mother tongue is TexMex, the language Mexican Americans who live in Texas talk, which differs from "standard" English and "standard" Spanish. Thus, in this study the analysis is not only focused on the switch from one language to another but also on the switch, from the vernacular to the standard. Let us focus now on an extract of a classroom conversation between the teacher and two students:

Miguela: I don't want Rick Perry anymore because I found out he's mean.

Teacher: ¿Por qué? (*Why?*)

Miguela: Mi mamá me dijo. (*My mom told me*).

Teacher: ¿Qué te dijo? (*What did she tell you?*).

Miguela: Que Rick Perry dice que está bien que nos paren y luego si no tienes tus papeles te van a mandar pa'trás, de donde vinistes. (*That Rick Perry says that it's okay for them to stop us and then if you don't got your papers they're gonna send you back, where you came [sic] from*).

Dolores: That's true, mi mamá said that too. (*That's true, my mom said that too*) (Sayer, 2013, p. 76).

If we would analyse this excerpt we could make a series of comments: Miguela changes from Spanish to English in Line 1 and 3 (maybe influenced by the teacher who answers in Spanish, Line 2). Miguela uses the term "(mandar) pa'trás" in Line 5, which is a colloquial use of "(mandar) para atrás" (send back). In Line 5 Miguela uses a calque from English "mandar pa'trás" (to send back) which in standard Spanish could be translated to "mandar de vuelta". In Line 5 Miguela uses the term "viniste" (you came) but in its vernacular form adding a final -s to the conjugation of the verb in second person preterit "viniste(s)". Dolores in Line 6 moves first from English to Spanish and then again to English in a unique sentence.

This analysis would take into account both the switch from English to Spanish vice versa, and from standard to vernacular. However, the researcher goes beyond and apart from this linguistic analysis he makes another one that takes into account the topic of the conversation and the context where it happens.

These features mark the kids' talk; however, rather than correct them, Ms. Casillas afterwards commented that she was "proud of the kids, to see that they're asking questions and being critical." She often lamented that younger parents and bilingual teachers (...) didn't have the same sort of consciousness or attach the same importance to being Tejano; so she actively encouraged students to engage politically with their Tejano ethnolinguistic identity. (Sayer, 2013, p. 76).

Therefore, the translanguaging analysis here goes beyond the analysis of purely linguistic issues and takes into account the social and cultural context of speakers to understand how bi/multilingual students use their whole linguistic repertoire and, consequently, how can teachers take advantage of it when teaching. We could conclude in the researcher's words that this study analyses translanguaging understanding it as a "(hetero)languacultural" (p. 85) practice.

To sum up, in this section we have seen studies conducted by different researchers in a variety of contexts and that concur that translanguaging is positive if it is cogently carried out. Nevertheless, there is a question in which most researchers agree, and that is the quite urgent necessity for academic institutions to acknowledge researchers' findings regarding the use of the L1 in EMI, so the academic staff can base their actions on specific pedagogical foundations. Note that we said academic institutions and not teachers, since the weight should not fall solely on teachers, but the institution should show a consensus and a common action plan that reflects their stance regarding the use of the L1 (and other languages) in EMI lessons. We have seen in previous sections how in some cases researchers report teachers basing their actions on beliefs or assumptions that lack a theoretical basis, instead of having a clear action plan proposed by their institutions. In this line, Nikula and Moore (2016) conducted an exploratory study, which counted with data from classrooms recorded in Austria, Finland and Spain, and also concluded that it "would be helpful for teachers to have an overall understanding of translanguaging, not only as a pedagogic strategy to support learning but also as a feature of natural bilingual discourse, which they and

their students can employ according to the situational demands” (p. 9). However, there are not many studies analysing translanguaging in the EMI context and even less in the specific context of the Basque Country where English is students’ third language (L3). This is why more research is needed in this specific context to shed light on the practices that are carried out in the Basque classrooms.

4. CLASSROOM INTERACTION

The importance of interaction for the learning process to happen has been widely demonstrated in the literature over the last decades (Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Simpson, Mercer & Majors, 2010). For Slavin (1996), the role of interaction is so crucial that he considers that the rest of the elements only provide the context in which this interaction occurs, which he considers to be the essential element in the learning process.

This author explains that if interaction would not be a very important factor for students’ learning, they could just watch recorded lessons from the wisest teachers from all over the world. That way all the students would have access to these lectures. However, Slavin thinks that the lack of interaction would make it very difficult for students to learn.

In the EMI context, interaction is not only believed to be relevant for students’ content learning or academic communication skills, but also for their L2/FL improvement (Gibbons, 2003, 2015; Gupta & Lee, 2015; Haneda, 2005; Haneda & Wells, 2010).

4.1. Two theoretical perspectives about interaction

We will expose here the two main theoretical perspectives related to classroom interaction put forward by Lo and Macaro (2012): the psycholinguistic theory and the socio-cultural theory.

4.1.1. Psycholinguistic theory

The psycholinguistic perspective focuses on three main aspects: input, interaction and output. Regarding input, the main concern has been to make it comprehensible for students by modifying it (Krashen, 1982, 1985). This consists of speakers, in this case teachers, making modifications to their speech (e.g. using high-frequency vocabulary, using less complex utterances, etc.) to make sure the listeners, in this case the students, understand it.

However, Krashen's input hypothesis started to lose weight as some scholars criticised various statements of his, regarding the relationship between comprehensible input and natural acquisition.

The failure of Krashen's Comprehensible Input Hypothesis to explain second language acquisition (i.e. that simply understanding input can result in the acquisition of features in that input) led to a modification of the claim among a number of researchers. That is, although subconscious learning was highly unlikely, learning one thing while one's attention was focused on something else was certainly possible. (Macaro, 2018, p. 189).

This kind of learning is called by some authors (Ellis, 2004) *incidental learning*, and it occurs when students are accomplishing a meaning-oriented activity (e.g. paying attention to the teacher lecturing about a Subject-related theme), but at the same time *incidentally* they learn some features about the target language while they are listening to this language or interacting in it. These situations could take place in EMI lessons, especially in tertiary education, as traditionally, university lessons are particularly teacher-centred, and consequently, the input amount increases. However, although some researchers like Ellis (2003) advocate that language acquisition requires extensive L2 input, others state that a large amount of teacher input could hinder language learning (Macaro, 2018) if there is a lack of interaction with the students.

According to Long (1983), interaction leads to negotiation of meaning, which is one of the most valuable ways to make input comprehensible. It consists of the

negotiation of meaning between the speakers interacting to make incomprehensible input comprehensible by asking for clarification or making comprehension checks. This negotiation of meaning may lead to interactionally modified output (Long, 1996; Ellis & He, 1999), which enables students to express themselves in a more efficient way, while in combination with teacher's input promotes the acquisition. Therefore, we have on the one hand teachers' input, which is modified to make it comprehensible for students, and on the other hand, teacher-student interactions that enable negotiation of meaning and may lead to interactionally modified output, which helps students gain awareness of their weaknesses regarding the L2. These practices are also believed to be motivational for students who may want to improve their L2/FL production (Swain, 1985), which may be the case for EMI students.

4.1.2. Socio-cultural theory

From a socio-cultural perspective studies conducted in the last decades analysing interaction have been influenced or have followed the theoretical premises dictated by Vygotsky. For Vygotsky (1978) social interaction is essential for humans to understand reality and make sense of it, thus, social interaction with other people (intermental) promotes individual (intramental) action. Language is seen as a tool, which leads to high mental processes. What moves the cognitive process (Antón, 1999) from the social plane to the cognitive plane is the well-known Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and scaffolding, both terms coined by the Russian psychologist. The ZPD has been defined as:

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 (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86).

Thus, in the ZPD and with scaffolded guidance given by the teacher, or any other person who has a greater capability, students have the support to complete a task.

Once the student masters the task or as she or he gets better, the scaffolding will be adapted or completely removed.

Starting from this theoretical basis other studies related to the L2 acquisition have been conducted (Swain, 1995, 2000; Swain & Lapkin, 1998, 2000), introducing new terms and methodologies like the collaborative dialogue (Swain, 2000), which consists of a collective interaction where students are focused on problem solving and knowledge building. Results have revealed that, from a collective interaction, individual mental processes arise: "Our data demonstrate that through such dialogue, students engage in co-constructing their L2 and in building knowledge about it" (Swain & Lapkin, 2000, p. 254).

Rojas-Drummond and Mercer (2003) conducted a study also focused on the analysis of classroom interaction in Mexican and British schools. The research explored two main aspects: teacher-led discussion and student group discussion. In the latter, the authors related the quality or efficacy of the group discussion with the idea of the *Exploratory Talk* first launched by Douglas Barnes (Barnes, 1976; Barnes & Todd, 1995). Exploratory talk (Mercer, 2000) consists of a group discussion where partners present their ideas and convictions which can be refuted by the others while they offer arguments and alternatives, as the objective is to reach an agreement. Thus, those students who use Exploratory Talk know the rules and strategies to participate effectively in group dialogue and take advantage of language to think collectively.

The concept of exploratory talk is closely related to that of dialogic interaction. In the last years, classroom interaction has gained scholars' attention (Engin, 2017; Sedova, 2017; Tsou, 2017), since it is considered that classroom discourse of dialogic nature promotes students' knowledge both regarding content and language (Navaz, 2021). Traditionally, lectures have been the most common teaching practise at university level. This is usually a teacher-centred teaching style, which can be monologic when students' oral participation is inexistent, or interactive when there are some teacher-student/student-student interactions. Besides, interactive lectures may be dialogic or authoritative (also known as non-dialogic) (Scott, Mortimer & Aguiar, 2006; Matusov, 2009; Juuti, Loukoies & Lavonen, 2019). Dialogic interactions consist of teachers and students working on tasks and exploring ideas together. These interactions are not just a conversation (Alexander, 2008; Skidmore,

2000) but also a purposeful dialogue where teachers and students co-construct meaning. Therefore, in these kinds of dialogues both teachers and students contribute and interact with the aim of exploring, understanding, and developing a concept or an idea. Thus, dialogic interactions are very related to Mercer's (2000) exploratory talk.

For Alexander (2006) dialogic teaching has to be: (i) Collective, teachers and students complete tasks together. (ii) Reciprocal, both teachers and students listen to each other, share their ideas, and consider alternative viewpoints. (iii) Supportive, students must feel free to express their ideas without fearing being "wrong", and without fearing embarrassment so they can help each other reach understanding. (iv) Cumulative, teachers and students work on their own and each other's ideas so they can relate them to form coherent lines of thinking. (v) Purposeful, teachers must previously plan and guide learning activities and classroom talk to reach some specific educational goals.

Besides, Sedova (2017) came out with five indicators to identify dialogic interactions in the classroom context:

1. Students express and argue their ideas and thoughts.
2. Teachers ask open and higher-order questions.
3. Teachers make the most of students' answers to foster further interactions.
4. Students raise questions (this would be very related to what we understand as Willingness To Communicate; WTC).
5. The promotion of open discussions where at least three participants interact with each other.

Although this study does not aim to identify dialogic interaction in the classroom, we do focus our attention on most of these indicators when analysing the type of questions that occur in BMI and EMI classes or students' WTC, for example.

The concept WTC was developed by McCroskey and colleagues (McCroskey, 1992; McCroskey & Richmond, 1987) in the L1 acquisition field and then, it was also applied to the L2 context by MacIntyre and Charos (1996). The concept WTC, as its name suggests, refers to individuals' or, in this case, students' willingness to initiate communication or interaction with another person. That is, it is the student who

shows an interest to initiate a conversation (by asking a question, for example) with the teacher or with a classmate, unlike in the very common IRF sequences where the teacher is usually the one who initiates the interaction. As can be deduced by the term *willingness*, this concept is closely related to one of the main focuses in this research, that is, students' motivation. This relationship between WTC and motivation will be developed in a further section since our interest in this section focuses on its relationship with interaction. Therefore, for the moment, we just want to include in this section the concept of students' WTC as an aspect to take into account when we want to avoid hierarchies where the role of the teacher and the students is very marked, with the teacher being the one who initiates the interaction always or most of the times. This would be the case of authoritative interactions (Navaz, 2021), which are very common in the classroom setting and consist of teacher-led interactions. Usually, the interaction starts with a question asked by the teacher followed by an answer given by a student or some students.

Nowadays, the trend in university lectures is gradually changing from a more traditional, monologic, teacher-centred teaching to one where students' participation and collaboration are more encouraged (Dafouz & Núñez-Perucha, 2010). As has been mentioned before, interaction is not only positive but also necessary for the learning process, thus, promoting it must be a premise for teachers.

The importance of interaction for effective teaching has been well demonstrated (Vygotsky, 1978; Mujis & Reynolds, 2001; Lo and Macaro, 2012), but it acquires greater relevance when we talk about EMI (see, for example, Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2021). EMI students have to acquire content-related knowledge delivered in their L2/FL, which is why dialogues with the teacher or other classmates help them to build knowledge in a more collaborative way, while they express their thoughts and listen to other peoples' opinions, argue, and engage in cognitively demanding discussions.

4.2. The impact of questions on interaction

One of the aspects in teachers' speech that most affects the interaction with students is the presence or lack of questions. Questioning in the classroom context has been proved useful for different reasons (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001):

1. It is useful for the teacher to check students' understanding of the lesson and to see if they follow the explanation.
2. It helps students to practise and ensure that they understand a topic before starting with the next one, which also may help strengthen students' self-esteem.
3. Questions promote learning through, the previously mentioned, "scaffolding".
4. Questions also help students in verbalising their thinking and therefore, clarifying their minds.

But the big question is the following: *When is it a good moment to use questions?* Questions can be asked at any moment during the lesson but there are times when it is especially advisable. Usually, lessons start with a review of the topics seen in previous lessons, which is a very effective practice that can be even more beneficial for the learning process if the teacher uses this moment to ask some questions (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001). This practice will enhance students to think well, remember previous content, and will help them to organise ideas. At the same time, the teacher can prove students' content retention and decide if there is any topic that needs an extra explanation. Something similar happens with the review that takes place at the end of the class. Teachers can summarise the topics seen in that lesson, but it is also a good moment to ask students questions to see what they have retained and help them organise the new concepts and ideas.

Another aspect that we should take into account about questioning is the cognitive level of questions, that is, the difficulty of the question. If a question requires "sophisticated thinking skills" (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001, p. 19) to provide an answer, we are talking about *higher-level, also called, higher-order questions*. On the contrary,

if questions require more basic thinking, like remembering a name or the application of some rules, for example, these are *lower-level* or *lower-order questions*. Higher-order questions are more difficult to answer than lower-order questions, so they must be used to promote students' thinking and to challenge them. "Research has shown that effective teachers use more higher-level questions than less effective teachers, although the majority of questions used are still lower level" (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001, p. 20). Besides, it has also been shown by different research studies (Redfield & Rousseau, 1981) that higher-order questions are related to greater student achievement.

This brings us to another distinction: *open questions* and *closed questions*. Open questions have indefinite answers (E.g. "What makes your city so special?"), while closed questions have one closed answer (E.g. "Two plus two?"). In this case also "effective teachers have been found to ask more open questions than less effective teachers, although a large proportion of questions used by effective teachers are still closed questions" (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001, p. 20). Furthermore, in some cases not using higher-order questions and open questions at all can be detrimental for students' learning, as they are not required to make a cognitive effort.

Moving on with classroom interaction and the importance of questioning as a strategy to promote students' participation, we must mention one of the greatest problems that may hinder interaction, namely students' unwillingness to answer the questions posed by the teacher. An important aspect that must be taken into account is that if the general tone of a class is that the teacher interacts with the students asking questions and expecting answers, students will get used to it.

That is, the best way for students to get used to participating in class and understand that this is what is expected from them happens when questioning becomes a habitual practice in class. The classroom atmosphere and the behaviour of teachers and students also play a very important role in this matter: "A non-evaluative, positive atmosphere is important as well. Students are more likely to get involved if they feel that a wrong response will not elicit criticism or ridicule from the teacher (or fellow students)" (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001, p. 19). We refer to a non-evaluative atmosphere when teachers want to promote participation and interaction rather than only conduct an evaluation or an exam. Thus, teachers' performance becomes

crucial when it comes to creating a good atmosphere where students feel confident to participate.

Besides, *what should the teacher do when the student answers correctly?* It is convenient to show the student that her or his answer is correct (how this is done will vary depending on the age of students) and also it is recommendable to ask another question to the same student, as this will promote further interaction (Mujis & Reynolds, 2001).

And, *what should the teacher do when the answer is incorrect?* Teachers must pay attention to *why* that student answered incorrectly, as it can be due to carelessness or due to wrong understanding or lack of knowledge. Anyway, it is useful to show the student that the answer is wrong, always without criticism or any kind of personal comment, and it is also advisable to move on to asking the question to another student. This will help the teacher to see if other students know the answer, or if that specific issue needs more explanation and, at the same time, it will provide the opportunity to other students to participate rather than the teacher being the one who provides the answer.

Another issue that must be taken into account when promoting interaction is to guarantee the participation of all the students. In the classroom context, we could find students with very different personalities, so there will be some extroverted students which may be more willing to participate, and there will be shyer students who probably will not be that willing. Students' personalities are not likely to change, as it is very unlikely that shy students will start raising their hands to ask questions or volunteer to answer them. However, there are some strategies that help to ensure all the students' participation. It seems very helpful to ask the question to a specific student each time, instead of throwing the question in the air, even though this is also recommended in other situations (to foster voluntary participation, for example).

Teachers should not only seek interaction but they should look for quality interaction. Macaro (2018, p. 196-197) in his definition of the five main aspects that constitute *quality interaction*, also takes into account the question types used by teachers, among other issues:

1. Extended Initiation, Response, Feedback (I-R-F) sequences instead of rigid ones.
2. A wide variety of teacher language functions instead of limited language functions.
3. Teacher question types that require high-level cognitive responses, rather than low-level demonstrations of knowledge already shared.
4. Long student turns instead of short ones-to allow the student to express higher-level concepts.
5. Sufficient wait time to allow the thinking processes to occur prior to, during, and after the student turn.

These would be the five aspects to be borne in mind by teachers if they want to ensure a quality interaction and also by researchers who want to analyse classroom interaction. Therefore, apart from other aspects, Macaro considers the use of questions that require high-level cognitive responses from students and long student turns crucial in classroom interaction. The fifth point refers to wait time, which is, indeed, another aspect we will take into account in this study and, which is explained more in detail in section “4.2.3. Wait Time”.

Last but not least, Macaro (2018) specifies that in EMI lessons there exists the peculiarity that English is the MOI, which is not students’ and in most of the cases teachers’ L1. Thus, in EMI interaction the language chosen by teachers and students must also be taken into account, as well as the amount and kind of translanguaging. Hence, we strongly believe that a sixth point should be added to the list mentioned above regarding language choice and translanguaging in EMI lessons.

4.2.1. Types of questions analysed in this dissertation

Within the dichotomies between *higher-order questions* and *lower-order questions*, and *open questions* and *closed questions*, we find also more detailed classifications of questions. There can be found myriad classifications of questions in the literature, but for this study, we have designed our own classification taking as reference some previous studies (Athanasiadou, 1991; Sánchez-García, 2010; Dafouz & Sánchez-

García, 2013; Maíz-Arévalo, 2017). The question classification used in this study consists of the following categories:

- a) *Rhetorical questions* (Sánchez-García, 2010) are those questions to which no answer is expected. Sometimes the objective of these questions is to make the audience reflect on some topic (e.g. “Yes, we are going to do it like this, why not?”).
- b) *Self-Answered questions* (Sánchez-García, 2010) are those questions that are answered by the speakers themselves (e.g. “And what happens when we heat the ice? That it melts.”).
- c) *Display questions*, whose answer is already known by the teacher and it is used to see how much the students actually know. These type of questions usually follow the IRF structure (Maíz-Arévalo, 2017), which is very common in classrooms (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) and it consists of a question launched by the teacher, or a communicative act started by the teacher, and which demands student response or participation and ends with teacher’s feedback:

T: ...this happened in the capital of Turkey, which is...?

S: Ankara.

T: Right, Ankara. It happened in Ankara in the year 1980.

When the interaction happens more extensively it can take place following the I-R-F-R-F structure:

T: ...this happened in the capital of Turkey, which is...?

S: Ankara.

T: Right, Ankara. It happened in Ankara in the year...?

S: 1980.

T: 1980 very well.

Or it can follow an I + R (I + R) + F structure (Varonis & Gass, 1985) where the (I + R) would correspond to negotiation of meaning:

T: ...this happened in the capital of Turkey, which is...?

S: Turkey is the country next to Syria, right?

T: Yes it is.

S: Ok, Ankara then.

T: Ankara, that's right.

The IRF sequence is an interaction scheme that is usually found in the classroom context. These IRF sequences promote, in some way, interaction as they create a micro-dialogue (find an example in the next section "4.2.1. Types of questions analysed in this dissertation"), but these are very structured and usually short interactions. However, as reported by some researchers (Nikula, 2007) comparing EFL and CLIL lessons concluded that in CLIL, IRF sequences promote longer interventions being these ones less tight than in EFL lessons. In any case, an overuse of IRF sequences could be detrimental for classroom interaction, but as Llinares, Morton and Whittaker (2012) explain, the cause is not that much the model, but the roles participants acquire, as in this kind of interactions a hierarchical view of the class is reinforced, where the teacher maintains the role of the highest authority. This conception can lead to a teacher-centred dynamic, where the teacher exposes the subject and the students acquire the role of listeners, participating briefly when asked. However, when the dynamics change, for example when students work in groups, the roles also change, in that case, students would be the only participants in those IRF sequences generating their own questions and ideas (Llinares & Morton, 2012).

- d) *Referential questions* are those whose answer (Sánchez-García, 2010) is not known by the teacher, thus, these are genuine questions. These questions promote, especially, the interaction between teachers and students (Maíz-Arévalo, 2017) as they require more "real" answers because the questioner does not really know the answer and she or he is not just pretending it.

Within referential questions, another distinction between *divergent referential questions* and *convergent referential questions* is usually established.

- In *divergent referential questions*, the questioner, the teacher in this case, does not know the answer for the question and thus asks students an open question providing the opportunity to give a creative answer while developing their critical thinking (e.g. “What do you think about the new attendance rules?”).
 - In *convergent referential questions*, the answer is also unknown for the teachers, but in this case, they ask students a closed question which does not give them the opportunity to develop a creative answer (e.g. “Which days do you have literature lectures?”).
- e) *Confirmation checks* (Sánchez-García, 2010), are the questions made by teachers to verify that students are understanding the explanation (e.g. “Did you understand?”, “Understood?”, “Any doubt?”). They are also used when the speaker looks for the confirmation of a previous statement (“The Industrial Revolution started in 1760, right?”). These types of questions can be easily recognised as they correspond to formulaic expressions in each language (“(...), OK?”, “(...), Right?”).
- f) *Clarification requests* (Maíz-Arévalo, 2017) are used, as the name itself suggests, to clarify something that has not been understood by the listener due to external circumstances like a noise, being far from the speaker, etc. (e.g. “What? I didn’t hear what you said, could you repeat it please?”).
- g) *Indirect questions* (Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013) are those questions that are part of the discourse and do not expect a response, but rather aim to exemplify a situation. These types of questions are common when the teacher “pretends”, for example, to be another person (e.g. The teacher pretends to be the owner of a business and talks in her or his name: “Should I close the business? Should I hire more employees?”).

- h) *Repetition questions* (Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013) repeat the last word, utterance or idea expressed by the last speaker (e.g. - Student: Increase. - Teacher: Increase?).
- i) *Retrospective questions* (Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013), are those which go back in time to make the listeners revise something already seen in previous lessons (e.g. "Remember when we saw the Industrial Revolution?")
- j) *Indirect requests* (Athanasiadou, 1991) imply the request of some action from the interlocutor(s) (e.g. "Can you open the window please?"). In these kinds of questions what really matters is not the answer, but the execution of the action.

4.2.2. The study of questions in EMI settings

We have seen that some kinds of questions are stronger promoters of interaction due to their nature. Referential questions, for example, constitute a more real communicative act and, therefore, promote greater interaction than the display questions, which seek more closed answers.

However, in a qualitative study conducted by Dalton-Puffer (2007), the results concluded that students prefer short and single noun-phrase answers regardless of the type of questions asked by the teacher. In any case, although students have those preferences, some types of questions make it easier for them to give short answers than others. For example, the question "What day is it today?" (convergent referential question) does not require an extensive answer. However, the question "What do you think about the latest measures taken by the government to prevent the spread of coronavirus?" (divergent referential question) makes it harder for students to provide a short answer, even though this is their preference. This is related (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, & Llinares, 2013) to another factor defined by Dalton-Puffer (2006), which is the information the teacher wants to obtain by asking the question; facts, explanations, opinions, etc., as her research results, coinciding with Pascual Peñas' (2010) findings, showed that the majority of the questions (63-

88%) asked by teachers look for facts. Thus, this would reinforce students' tendency for short answers.

In Pascual Peñas' (2010) study, two CLIL subjects were compared. In the first one, the teacher was both the EFL and CLIL teacher, whereas in the second one the teacher was just a CLIL teacher. Against the hypothesis put forward by the researcher, the teacher who taught CLIL exclusively showed more awareness about the importance of looking for a complex output from the students by asking a greater variety of question types than the teacher who was both EFL and CLIL teacher.

In Spain, Dafouz and Sánchez-García (2013) compared three EMI lecturers' use of questions in three different universities and disciplines. Results revealed that in the three cases the most used types of questions were confirmation checks, followed by self-answered questions and display questions. The academics explain that more similarities than differences were found regarding teacher questions when comparing all the three teachers and their disciplines, implying that "lectures in an educational setting seem to transcend the academic disciplinary culture and exhibit certain uniformity or what we have called a common macro-structure" (p. 144). In a similar context, Maíz Arévalo (2017) analysed whether the frequency and type of questions are affected by the language of instruction, English and Spanish. The participants were university students from the Economics and Finance degree in Spain, and their Financial Accounting teacher who taught both in the EMI and the Spanish Medium Instruction (SMI) group. Results showed that, against what was previously hypothesised, the frequency of questions depending on the language of instruction did not vary significantly, although it was slightly higher in English. However, the type of questions did vary from one language to the other, rhetorical questions and comprehension checks being more frequent in SMI lessons and display questions, referential questions, and clarification requests more frequent in EMI lessons. Nevertheless, the study did not end with a clear conclusion regarding interaction, since the frequency of students' participation was not measured. Nevertheless, it could be concluded that in the lessons where more questions were asked the interaction turned out to be more intense. However, this would not be precise, since not all the question types promoted interaction in the same way, apart from other variables that could also

impinge on the degree of interaction, like students' involvement or the duration or length of the students' interventions.

These results differ from the ones obtained by Sánchez-García (2018b) who carried out a contrastive study analysing the use of Spanish lecturers' questions in EMI and SMI in the Business Administration degree. The author concluded that there was no direct correlation between teacher questioning and interaction because several times these went unanswered. The factors proposed to explain that lack of interaction varies from students not knowing the answer to teachers making it difficult (unconsciously) for students to give an answer by not providing enough wait time or making close-ended questions instead of open-ended questions, which would allow students to extend their discourse. Furthermore, findings revealed no significant differences when comparing EMI and SMI courses regarding the interaction derived from lecturers' questions. Therefore, in this case, it seemed that lecturers' teaching style and idiosyncrasy were more influential factors than the language of instruction.

4.2.3. Wait time

Another aspect related to teacher-student interaction and also with the kinds of questions asked by teachers is what is known as *wait time*. Wait time refers to the amount of time teachers give to students to answer a question. Giving enough time for students to answer a question seems crucial to promote interaction. There could be a lack of wait time when teachers do not leave any time (or not enough) for students to answer and instead they start talking right after asking a question. Nevertheless, leaving enough time does not ensure obtaining an answer from students.

There are studies analysing the effects of wait time, like the one conducted by Tobin (1980) whose results showed that giving more than 3 seconds of wait time reduced teacher talk, increased students' responses and questions, and reduced teachers' interjections on students' talking. In the study conducted by Gooding and Swift (1982) results also showed that an appropriate wait time had direct positive results on students' interaction and participation. Other benefits that have been attributed

to an adequate wait time are, for example, longer participations by students or a decrease in incorrect answers (Byesen & Bysen, 2010).

Although this may seem a simple matter at first sight, it is not and the teacher must find the balance between leaving enough wait time for students to think and answer, but also avoiding creating an uncomfortable silence. Mujis and Reynolds (2001) propose specific amounts of wait time depending on the type of question. When it is a *low-order* and *closed* question, they believe 3 seconds to be the optimal wait time. For *higher-order* and *open* questions, they suggest providing a longer wait time, up to 15 seconds.

Therefore, the wait time can influence directly on students' interaction and it is an aspect teachers should be aware of to improve it if necessary or, at least, to remind of its importance. Farrell (2015) for example, asked teachers (among other aspects) for their wait time to make them reflect on it.

The wait time can vary depending on many different aspects like the academic subject, teacher's personality, context, and many other circumstances, but in this study we want to examine if it is equal in BMI and EMI and whether the MOI has any impact on teachers' classroom practices concerning wait time.

4.3. Studies focused on interaction

As mentioned before, the importance of interaction for the learning process has been widely demonstrated in the literature. However, we hardly found any studies analysing classroom interaction in the EMI context, as almost all the studies regarding this topic are conducted in CLIL programmes in primary and secondary education. In fact, according to Macaro et al. (2017, p. 62), "Studies of interaction in EMI in HE, as retrieved by our systematic search, are relatively rare when compared to studies of classroom discourse and interaction in the secondary education phase." This is why, although our research takes place in the EMI context at university level, in this section we will also refer to some of the most relevant studies analysing classroom interaction in CLIL programmes in order to provide the reader with a background of studies analysing this matter.

In a study conducted in Hong Kong Yip, Coyle and Tsang (2007) compared secondary school lessons in English and Chinese, focusing on the teaching style and the interaction between students and teachers. The data were collected through a questionnaire fulfilled by the students, as well as the observation and recording of some classes. The results showed that EMI (in this study the term EMI is used also for secondary school) students perceive their lessons as teacher-centred, while they confessed to have fewer opportunities to participate actively in class. Regarding the kind of questions used by the teachers during the classes, which is an indicator of the promotion of interaction, the researchers concluded that most of the questions asked by EMI teachers required a very simplistic answer. Students were often passive, even though they possessed content knowledge, and teachers did not tend to reformulate their questions. Furthermore, when students answered inaccurately, teachers usually accepted those answers as correct. However, although the authors stated that the study provided an interesting insight when relating the medium of instruction with classroom interaction, Lo and Macaro (2012) criticised it arguing that some results are obtained through an impression-based instrument.

Hence, Lo and Macaro (2012) conducted another study in Hong Kong with the aim of proving the relationship between the MOI, in this case English and Chinese, and classroom interaction. The participants were also secondary school students but, in this case, they were divided into two groups: students attending EMI schools and students who attended regular Chinese schools. The latter changed the medium of instruction from Chinese to English in 9-10 grades. The data were collected by means of classroom observation and recording, as well as semi-structured interviews with students and teachers. What is significant in this particular study is that code-switching was analysed in relation to classroom interaction, which is not usual in other studies where those aspects tend to be treated separately. The study also analysed other aspects in relation to interaction like talk ratios, the kinds of questions asked by the teachers, the function of teacher talks, etc. The study obtained heterogeneous results depending on the school. For example, in the Chinese medium instruction school, researchers found a decrease in teacher-student interaction and a more teacher-centred teaching style.

Nikula (2002) analysed 11-13 year old students' EFL and Mathematic CLIL classes to prove if teacher-student interaction can be affected by the way teachers use

modifiers. The results revealed that both in EFL and CLIL the language was seen as a code or a system and that teachers did not consider as much its social and interpersonal perspective, and consequently, nor did they promote this understanding of the language among their students. In the case of EFL lessons, “English becomes constructed as an object of scrutiny by the way much of classroom time is dedicated either to discussion of grammatical aspects of the language or to drill-like practising of these” (p. 453). The CLIL teacher only focuses on language issues to provide students with lexical information when they did not know how to express an idea or a concept in English. Besides, the English language had its greatest presence in routine activities like exercises, but for expressing more personal matters like feelings, when arguing with a student, for example, the teacher usually changed to the L1 (Finnish) and used more modifiers, which can be related to interaction.

In a study also conducted by Nikula (2010), she compared biology lessons in Finnish and English taught by the same secondary education teacher. In contrast with the studies mentioned above, the results in this last one concluded that in CLIL lessons students participated more actively and that in Finnish MOI lessons students adapted a more passive role being the recipients of the teacher’s talk. Besides, the study showed that the students and the teacher played a more equal role in CLIL classes, with fewer power differentials, which was attributed to teachers’ lack of language resources comparing with the ones he had for Finnish lessons.

As mentioned before, most of the studies analysing classroom interaction have been conducted in CLIL contexts and not that much in EMI at tertiary level. However, there are some studies that labelled their programmes as CLIL (Macaro et al., 2017), although they do not meet the theoretical requirements (an actual integration of language and content) of that specific programme. For example, Jawhar (2012) conducted a study analysing classroom interaction, as part of her Ph.D. dissertation, in the Saudi Arabian university context. The focus of the analysis was put on short response tokens like “yes” or “no”. The classroom context where the study was conducted was labelled as CLIL, although the researcher specified these programmes had, indeed, an EMI nature. Findings revealed that both teachers and students used response tokens through their interactions. The researcher makes a

further interpretation of the results and reflects on how teaching practices should be like:

From that we conclude that if we believe learning is "a social activity that is strongly influenced by involvement, engagement and participation" (Walsh, 2011) then it is important to raise the teachers' awareness of their use of language inside SCLIL¹ (Walsh, 2002) and to encourage them to give the students more opportunities to display having access to those higher thinking skills by techniques that are more sophisticated than just using display questions, or using confirmation check such as "okay", "alright" and "are we good" (p. 200).

With a view to taking into account students' voices, we also come across some studies that asked students about their perceptions regarding interaction in EMI courses. In Korea, Byun et al. (2011) found that some EMI students considered it very difficult to maintain interaction with their peers due to their lack of fluency in English: "It's impossible to hold a discussion in English. There are some students who can speak English fluently, but most are not fluent, so only the fluent students speak or no one tries to take part in the discussion" (p. 440), bluntly acknowledged one student.

Another study that asks students about their beliefs regarding EMI and, in particular, regarding participation and interaction is the one conducted by Al-Masheikhi, Al-Mahrooqi and Denman (2014), where 60% of the students admitted to avoiding expressing their opinions in EMI class discussions because they were afraid of making mistakes.

Different results were obtained in Maiz-Arévalo and Domínguez-Romero's (2013) study, as 63.5% of the students believed that their participation in class did not change, and more surprisingly, 34% of the students believed that their participation increased in EMI in comparison to SMI.

We also count with some studies that ask teachers about their opinion and perception about classroom interaction in EMI. In Johnson and Picciuolo's (2020)

¹ Saudi Content Language Integrated Learning.

study participating Italian EMI lecturers pointed out three main obstacles to promoting a higher level of interaction: i) a lack of time; ii) an excess in the number of students per class; iii) cultural differences between local and international students.

Very related to classroom interaction are those studies which analyse other aspects of classroom discourse, and among which, once again CLIL studies are more numerous than EMI studies. However, as we mentioned when referring to other research studies, some studies like the one conducted by Dafouz, Núñez-Perucha and Sancho (2007) labelled their programmes as CLIL despite the fact that “there is no evidence provided that the three lecturers were aware of CLIL pedagogical approaches” (Macaro et al., 2017, p. 62). The study was conducted in Spain with the objective of analysing lecturers’ use of the linguistic devices “we” and “can”. Results showed that those devices resulted in being helpful to promote negotiation of meaning and therefore, interaction, as the use of “we”, which usually appears followed by “can” may create solidarity with the students.

In Denmark, Thøgersen and Airey (2011) also conducted a study analysing classroom discourse in EMI context. In this case, the focus was put on how much time the lecturer’s discourse takes. The data were collected from parallel lessons taught by the same lecturer in L1 Danish and L2 English followed by a comparison. The results showed that the teacher took more time (22% more) in EMI lessons than in Danish MOI ones to present the same content and that the lecturer spoke more slowly (23% more slowly) in EMI lessons comparing with the Danish MOI ones. Besides, in EMI lessons the teacher used more repetitions and a more formal rhetorical style, which was closer to the written language. These reasons could have contributed to making the EMI discourse slower. Researchers, clarify that, although they can only speculate about the implications of these results on students’ learning process, at least, they proved that there exist differences between L1 MOI and EMI classroom discourse.

As can be seen, most of the studies analysing CLIL/EMI interaction are conducted at primary and secondary levels and there is a lack of studies analysing classroom interaction at tertiary level. Besides, EMI classroom interaction research “tends to be one-dimensional, often looking at single aspects of interaction” (Macaro, 2018, p. 229), which is why we should take into account the many variables that influence

teachers' and students' actions when analysing interaction. In this study, we will attempt to fill this void by analysing interaction in relation to students' motivation and translanguaging, in an attempt to provide a wider picture of the EMI experience.

5. MOTIVATION

Motivation is a widely used word in most areas of our life, from a conversation with a friend to an academic paper. It seems that we all understand what this term means when we use it in our daily life, but if we look at the literature there does not seem to be such a consensus.

Etymologically, the word motivation comes from the Latin verb *movere*, which means to move. Thus, this coincides with our common understanding of motivation, being what moves a person to do something. During the last decades, motivation has been the subject of research in numerous studies in the field of education, as it is considered one of the most powerful aspects related to the learning process for most education staff and researchers (Henry, 2012).

Although there is not a unique definition of motivation, most researchers would agree that, by definition, this concept concerns the *direction* and *magnitude* of human behaviour. That is:

- The *choice* of a particular action.
- The *persistence* with it.
- The *effort* expended on it.

In other words, motivation is responsible for

- *Why* people decide to do something.
- *How long* they are willing to sustain the activity.
- *How hard* they are going to pursue it (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 4).

In this section, a brief overview of the main theories of motivation will be provided, which Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) classified into two main categories: *theories of motivation in psychology* and *theories of motivation in L2/FL learning*.

5.1. Theories of motivation in psychology

During the second half of the 20th century, motivation theories were influenced by the cognitive revolution which was becoming popular in psychology and that raised because of behaviourism “Cognitive theories of motivation focus on the instrumental role of mental structures, beliefs and information-processing mechanisms in shaping individual behaviour and action”(Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 12-13). It is not our intention to deepen in the motivational theories related to psychology but rather to provide the reader with a broad idea of the main theories in this respect.

In their overview Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) described four key cognitive theories:

1. **Expectancy-value theories** (expectancy x value = motivation), which includes: Achievement motivation theory (Atkinson & Raynor, 1974), Attribution theory (Weiner, 1992), Self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 2001), Self-worth theory (Convington, 1992).
2. **Task-value theories** (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).
3. **Goal theories:** Goal-setting theory (Locke & Latham, 1990), Goal orientation theory (Ames, 1992).
4. **Self-determination theory**, originally formulated by Deci and Ryan (1985) which is one of the best-known motivation categorisation, distinguishing between *intrinsic motivation*, which “deals with behaviour performed for its own sake in order to experience pleasure and satisfaction”; and *extrinsic motivation*, which “involves performing a behaviour as a means to some separable end, such as receiving an extrinsic reward (good grades) or avoiding punishment” (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 23).
5. **Contemporary perspectives**, where context is not an independent background separated from the person anymore, but both are integrated. In this theoretical line the following perspectives can be found: Sociocultural theory, that derives from Vygotsky’s theories and approaches, and Self-regulatory perspectives mostly influenced by Bandura (1977, 1986, 2001).

These cognitive theories of motivation have served as a basis for numerous pedagogical strategies implemented in different educational contexts. The great influence of motivation in the learning process is widely acknowledged (Lasagabaster, 2011; Lasagabaster, Doiz & Sierra, 2014), since it plays an important role in any learning context. However, motivation seems especially relevant in the EMI context since students not only have to learn content but they also have to do it through their L2/FL. In the next section, we will summarise some of the main theories of motivation in L2/FL learning.

5.2. Theories of motivation in L2/FL

We have already mentioned the main theories related to motivation in education, the L2/FL learning being part of that education. Therefore, motivation in language learning could be explained or described by the theories already mentioned above. Nevertheless, motivation in L2/FL constitutes an area of research itself due to its complexity and singularities. This topic has been of great interest to applied linguists during the last decades. Dörnyei (2005) distinguished three main phases in L2 motivation research:

1. **The social psychological period** (1950-1990) was mainly influenced by the social psychologists Lambert and Gardner who conducted their research in the Canadian bilingual context. What became more commonly known from this period was Gardner's motivation theory relating motivation and orientation, which distinguished two kinds of orientations, the *integrative* and the *instrumental* one. The former describes the willingness of the L2 speaker to interact or become similar to valued members of the language community, whereas the latter refers to a practical motive, like obtaining a job (Gardner & Lambert, 1959).
2. **The cognitive-situated period** (during the 1990s) emerged as a criticism of Gardner's theories and sociopsychological approaches, and as a demand for updated L2 motivation research. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p. 46) distinguish two trends in this period:

- a. The need to bring language motivation research in line with the cognitive revolution in mainstream motivational psychology.
 - b. The desire to move from the broad perspective of ethnolinguistic communities and learners' general disposition and attitudes to language learning, and sharpen the focus on a more situated analysis of motivation in specific learning contexts.
3. **The process-oriented period** (the 1990s) focuses on the temporal dimension of motivation promoting qualitative studies rather than the quantitative ones, which were dominant until the moment. This temporal perspective of motivation was especially voiced by Ushioda (1994, 1996). The main characteristic of this period lay in the fact that researchers analysing motivation started focusing more on students and their experience; they started paying attention to the context and specific circumstances where the learning was taking place. Thus, the perspective from which motivation was hitherto being analysed changed and turned to students' personal perspectives.

5.3. Recent L2 motivational theories

In the previous sections we have seen the main theoretical perspectives related to, on the one hand, motivation in psychology, and on the other hand, last decades' predominant theories of motivation in L2/FL learning.

In this section, we will focus on more recent perspectives of motivation in L2/FL/EMI learning. In fact, we will focus on two specific approaches that correspond to a more avant-garde theoretical trend, the so-called *Socio-Dynamic Period* (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011): (i) a person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009); (ii) the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009).

5.3.1. A person-in-context relational view of motivation

Against the linear approaches from which motivation was traditionally studied, new theories about relational perspectives arose which understand the context only in relation to the individual. Ushioda (2009) argues that those linear approaches idealise language learners and assume that learners' actions can be predictable and, therefore, that those can be theorised.

Hence, linear approaches only work with generalised types of learners that would put aside the unique individuality of human beings. This is why Ushioda (2009) in her person-in-context relational view of motivation wants to dismiss that theoretical abstraction of language learners and think of them as real people with their personal thinking, feelings, backgrounds, points of view, or intentions. This approach makes it more difficult to make statements like what kind of motivation is the best for a person to achieve some learning objectives, what kind of pedagogy promotes some type of motivation or another, and in conclusion, which are the best practices to encourage students' learning. As mentioned before, students apart from learners are primarily individuals with their corresponding particularities, thus, neither their actions nor their motivation patterns can be generalised, which hinders the possibility of making theoretically generalizable pedagogical guidelines regarding motivation.

Furthermore, another important aspect in Ushioda's (2009) approach is the "context":

[...] a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro- contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. [...] we need to take a relational (rather than linear) view of these multiple contextual elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through the complex system of interrelations (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220).

Context has been a matter of research in many periods of language learning motivation research. Nevertheless, it has been traditionally seen as an independent

background that influences individual motivation. However, in this approach the context is seen as a dynamic aspect that influences and is influenced by the individual, as both the context and the individual are closely interconnected.

5.3.2. The L2 motivational Self System

In 2005 Dörnyei launched a new approach to L2 learning motivation called the L2 Motivational Self System. Although this new approach (Dörnyei, 2009) constitutes a reformation of previous motivational thinking, it has a strong relation with previous motivation theories focused on the *self* and the *individual* like the ones proposed by Gardner (2001), Noels (2003) or Ushioda (2001).

During the last decades, scholars have been researching about the *self* and *motivation* but understanding their relation in a more dynamic and active way and from a perspective that links the *self* with action (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). In this line, Markus and Nurius (1986) proposed one of the most influential theories called *possible selves*, which states that the *self* regulates behaviour by setting goals and expectations.

Possible selves are the future-oriented aspects of the self-concept, the positive and negative selves that one expects to become or hopes to avoid becoming. [...] Individuals possess multiple positive and negative possible selves. These possible selves are often linked with differing social roles and identities, so that possible selves are likely to develop in domains relevant to current life tasks such as being a student, a parent or a life partner Oyserman and James (2009, p. 373).

A person's self-concept has had a significant presence in the literature and it has been traditionally defined as the view a person has of herself or himself. However, possible selves refer to the view a person has of herself or himself in the future, that is, what they might become, what would they like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

If we think of a straight line the ideal self, that is, what the individual would like to

become, would be in one extreme, and the feared self, what the individual is afraid of becoming, would be in the opposite extreme. Regarding the third type, the selves that one could become, this refers to the expected or likely selves. Nevertheless, as Dörnyei (2009) pointed out, it is not the intention of Markus and Nurius (1986) to draw a strict classification of possible selves but to show a broad outline of the scope, as they believe in multiple future-oriented possible selves.

Higgins (1987; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985) who is a forerunner of self theories, distinguished two types of possible selves: the *ideal self* and the ought self. The former refers to those attributes the individual would want to possess and, the latter concerns the attributes the individual believes she or he ought-to have because those correspond to someone else's or society's beliefs.

The major confusion for Boyatzis and Akrivou (2006) comes when we try to distinguish between the ought and the *ideal* selves, as the most differentiating characteristic is that the former corresponds or is influenced by other peoples' beliefs, and the latter corresponds to each person's genuine beliefs or desires. However, these researchers argue that individuals, as members of a particular society, are always influenced by others' beliefs, thus, *ideal selves* could be also previously influenced by others:

Parents, teachers, respected or feared authority figures, or those with whom you wish to be admired, respected, or loved become sources of one's ideal self or ought self. The dilemma is that it is often confusing, in the moment, when these forces or social pressures for role conformity are occurring. Are they things you really wish to be or accomplish, or are you compromising your deeper dreams and values to be considered a "good" member of a group? (p. 628).

For these researchers, the distinction between both terms, ought and ideal, depends on the internalisation level. In other words, if an individual internalises others' beliefs those can become part of her or his ideal self, therefore, this leads to no conflict between the two selves.

Hence, it results easy to understand Higgins's (1987, 1996) Self Discrepancy theory which states that motivation arises when people want to bridge the gap between

what they are and what they genuinely want to become, that is, the ideal or the ought selves.

Once the main points of the preceding theories of the *possible selves* have been exposed, we can now better understand the L2 Motivational Self System. In 2005 Dörnyei, after conducting a large-scale motivational survey in Hungary that lasted 12 years (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006), linked the L2 motivation with the previous *possible selves* theory and proposed the L2 Motivational Self System. Following suit (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Higgins, 1987, 1996), Dörnyei's model also differentiates the ideal and the ought selves, in this case, the *Ideal L2 Self* and the *Ought-to L2 Self*, and he incorporates a new component; the *L2 Learning Experience*. Therefore, these are the three main components of the L2 Motivational Self-System Dörnyei (2005, 2009, p. 29):

1. ***Ideal L2 Self***: this is the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self'. It refers to the vision the individual has of oneself as a proficient speaker in the L2. The ideal L2 self represents the L2 speaker the individual aspires to become in the future. The L2 ideal self may have a great impact on students' L2 motivation. Imagine for example an EMI student who, in the future, would like to work in an English-speaking country or enterprise, and besides, she or he envisions her or himself in that role. This definitely would have a positive impact on student's L2 motivation. Therefore, if the individuals want to reduce the discrepancy between their ideal self and their actual situation, they might work for it. Thus, the ideal self may be a very powerful motivator for the learners. This dimension would correspond with what traditionally (Higgins, 1987, 1996) has been called intrinsic motivations. Besides, the concept of the Ideal L2 Self is closely related to the concept of integrativeness proposed by Gardner (2001), which refers to the genuine interest or motivation to learn an L2 to become closer to the L2 speakers' community or even become one of them. It is also related to internalised instrumental motives like aspirations or hopes.
2. ***Ought-to L2 Self***: it refers to those attributes the student believes she or he ought-to possess to succeed, meet expectations, or avoid negative

consequences. Unlike in the ideal L2 self, in the Ought-to L2 self it is not the individual who creates a vision of her or himself, but here we find the influence of other people's beliefs concerning the individual. Therefore, in this case, the individual might feel the "pressure" of what she or he believes other people expect from her or him. This dimension would be related to what traditionally (Higgins, 1987, 1996) has been labelled as extrinsic motivations.

- 3. *L2 Learning Experience*:** this component refers to the learning context and experience where the L2 learning takes place. In this sense, the teacher, the learning environment, the classmates, etc. might influence student motivation. Dörnyei conceptualises this component at a different level from the ideal L2 self and the Ought-to L2 self. Ushioda (2014) highlights that more research is needed analysing the interaction between this component and the future selves.

Hence, in the L2 Motivational Self System there are three main components that promote motivation to learn an L2/FL: the ideal L2 speaker the individual would like or desires to become; the Ought-to L2 speaker, or others' beliefs of what is an ideal L2 speaker, which at the same time, may influence the individual's conception about her or his ideal selves; and finally, the learning experience and the environment where the learning takes place. According to the L2 Motivational Self System, when students envision themselves as proficient users of the L2, their motivation to learn the L2 or through this language increases, which at the same, entails a positive impact on learning. After carrying out different studies, several researchers (Lamb, 2007; Lasagabaster, 2016; Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009; Csizér & Lukács, 2010, to name but a few) have pointed out the L2 ideal self as the component with the greatest impact on students' L2 motivation.

More recently, Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014) pointed out that nowadays motivation has been linked to three main concepts: *identity*, *investment*, and *imagined communities*. With their study, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018) wanted to give an answer to the demands of those who criticised (Lamb, 2017) the L2 Motivational Self System, arguing that it does not take into account more

“immediately relevant identities” (p. 318) when researching motivation in L2. Therefore, Doiz and Lasagabaster linked the L2 Motivational Self System with the three concepts of *identity*, *investment*, and *imagined communities* to analyse EMI students’ and teachers’ motivation. We will describe this study more in detail in the following section since it is of special relevance for our study. But we will now focus on describing the concepts of *identity*, *investment*, and *imagined communities* and seeing how these are linked to the L2 Motivational Self System.

Norton (2000), who has a long trajectory on the research of L2 motivation and especially regarding the questions of *identity*, *investment* and *imagined communities*, uses the term *identity* to refer to “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (p. 5). Therefore, the relationship between identity and the self (and possible selves) is quite clear (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Lamb, 2017; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018), since the knowledge of an L2/FL constitutes part of a person’s identity. Researchers argue that EMI stakeholders’ identity and possible selves are influenced by many factors, like the native versus non-native speakers debate (Lasagabaster, Doiz & Sierra, 2014; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018). These scholars highlight the prevalent discourse of native speakers’ superiority over non-native speakers, which may lead to teachers’ loss of professional authority. Besides, the concept of identity in EMI is inherently linked to what is valued in society, as a person who is proficient in English, for example, is highly valued by the community (Tsui, 2007).

This is closely related to *investment*. Investment in L2 motivation is understood in a similar way, as we would understand it in a business context. In other words, we invest money, time and/or effort in the belief that they will help us to accrue some benefit, such as economic gain, recognition, or prestige. When EMI students and teachers (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018) choose English over their L1, they are investing time, effort and money because they anticipate this investment will return as an increase in their “cultural capital” (p. 661), and even in a monetary form, as it may lead to a better-paid job or better job conditions. Therefore, a person’s investment is very related to her or his ideal self, because that person will invest with the idea of getting closer to such ideal self.

Finally, the concept of *imagined communities* was first coined by Anderson (1991) in relation to nations, but then the concept has been applied in L2/FL motivation literature: “Imagined communities refer to groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination. In our daily lives, we interact with many communities whose existence can be felt concretely and directly” (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 1). The notion of imagined communities refers to any community which is desirable for an individual. For example, for an EMI student the English-speaking student community may be a desirable community, or for an EMI teacher the English-speaking teacher community. Therefore, the concept of imagined communities is inextricably related to those of identity and investment, and therefore, also to possible selves.

5.4. Studies focused on motivation

In this section, we want to mention some relevant studies related to L2 motivation. We will concretely focus on studies that analyse three main questions: (1) first, we will describe the study from which the L2 Motivational Self System emerged and those studies that followed suit and also used the L2 Motivational Self System as their theoretical basis; (2) we will also mention some studies that analyse educational institutions’ and staffs’ motivation for offering EMI, that is, *why* they decide to offer EMI over L1 MOI; (3) and finally, we will also review some studies that analyse students’ motivations for enrolling in EMI courses.

5.4.1. The study from which the L2 motivational Self System emerged and those that followed

Strictly speaking, some of the studies mentioned below do not belong entirely to our specific area of interest, since these have been carried out at educational levels lower than the tertiary level. However, since the L2 Motivational Self System constitutes the basis of the questionnaire used in our study (Appendix 1), we believe it is necessary to mention the studies from which it emerged.

As mentioned in previous sections Dörnyei's and Csizér's (2002) and Dörnyei's, Csizér's and Németh's (2006) longitudinal study have exerted a great impact on L2 motivation research, not only because the L2 Motivational Self System emerged from that study, but because it has served as a guide for later studies. In the study the sample was made up of 13,391 middle school students who were studying five different languages (English, German, French, Italian, and Russian) in Hungary, and the objective was to investigate their attitudes and motivation.

One of the studies influenced by this research was that of Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009), who intended to replicate the Hungarian study in three other contexts: Iran, China and Japan. The main objective was to prove if the L2 Motivational Self System was generalizable to other countries and contexts or if it was country-specific. The results showed that the Hungarian line of research was not country-specific, since it could be conducted in contexts that differed greatly from the Hungarian; in this case the study, despite being conducted in Iran, China and Japan, obtained similar results. Another study based on the Hungarian one was that of Humphreys and Spratt's (2008) who conducted a study in 2003 in Hong Kong in which 526 tertiary students participated. The objective was to analyse students' motivation toward the learning of English, Putonghua, and a third language, which could be French, German, or Japanese. The results coincided with the ones obtained by Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009) regarding the applicability of the theoretical framework, since the motivational components identified in the Hungarian study could be applied to other contexts like Hong Kong. The results also revealed quite different patterns of motivation towards the languages studied at school "with the compulsory languages, English and Putonghua, being perceived as having a greater instrumental value than the chosen languages; but with English and the chosen languages being regarded more positively than Putonghua in affective terms." (p. 313).

As mentioned in the previous section Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018) conducted a study at the University of the Basque Country in which they analysed EMI teachers' and students' L2 Motivational Self System. Besides, in their analysis the authors linked the L2 Motivational Self System with other constructs like identity, investment, imagined community, vulnerability, and immunity. After carrying out different focus groups with both EMI teachers and students the authors concluded that in the case of teachers, the ideal self prevailed over the Ought-to self, but that

these were more balanced in the case of students. In addition, the researchers concluded that the ideal self meant more pressure for teachers than for students, because teachers related their ideal English self to the professional context but students imagined themselves using English in social contexts, as they had English more integrated as a lingua franca in their everyday lives. Regarding the economic factor, teachers did not relate EMI with economic benefits but they saw it as a “cultural investment” (p. 675), since their salaries did not differ from those of their non-EMI colleagues. However, students related EMI with both symbolic/cultural capital and economic capital. Besides, teachers denied feeling obliged or pressured (by the university, for example) to engage in an EMI course and their participation was voluntary. Nonetheless, students confessed feeling some pressure from their parents who, in many cases, advised them to take EMI courses.

5.4.2. Why do institutions and teaching staff decide to offer EMI?

Another question that springs to mind due to its rapid increase is precisely *what* has led institutions to offer EMI. The decision to implement EMI courses seems to be in most cases (Macaro et al., 2017) a top-down policy decision rather than a bottom-up one. In other words, in so many cases the decision to implement an EMI course is made by university managers and policy-makers without consulting with the teaching staff and the students. Furthermore, teachers point out that their reasons for offering EMI usually differ greatly from those of their institutions. In Dearden and Macaro’s (2016) study, teachers expressed some reasons for teaching through English like giving their students opportunities to succeed in a world where English has become a key asset, while they believed that the rector’s or the administration’s reasons were more related to financial questions.

In Korea, Cho (2012a) also asked teachers about their motivation for teaching EMI courses, since in 2010 the university required all faculty members to teach in English. Results revealed that 52.9% of the teachers confessed as their main motivation “to meet the requirement of the EMI policy enforced by the school”, while only 10.3% of the teachers chose as their main reason the item “To boost students’ overall English proficiency.” Besides, 53.6% expressed that if they could, that is, if it

was not a requirement from their university, they would stop teaching EMI courses. These results are particularly relevant when we compare them to those obtained after asking the same questions in the same university some years before (2004, 2008), a time when teaching through English was recommended but not mandatory, since the results were more positive in the latter survey. For example, in the questionnaire conducted in 2008, 78% of the teachers expressed their willingness to continue teaching in English. Regarding students' beliefs about why their university decided to offer EMI courses, these did not differ so much from the ones expressed by teachers in the study mentioned above (Dearden & Macaro, 2016), as students considered that the university's main reason to offer EMI was based on the objective of getting a good position in rankings. In fact, university's internationalisation is one of the most repeated reasons to offer EMI.

In Jensen and Thøgersen's (2011) study, which was carried out at the largest university in Denmark, teachers not only believed EMI to be essential, but they considered it necessary to increase the offer to attract international students. In Germany, Earls' (2016) study showed consensus among students' and lecturers' beliefs in the need to offer EMI at university in order to adapt to the unstoppable globalisation process. Moreover, they confessed that it has no sense to teach and learn some subjects in languages other than English, especially, when these are meant to be applied at an international level, as in the case of the subject "International Accounting". In Bangladesh (Hamid et al., 2013) lecturers also shared this global perspective and found the offer of EMI necessary to facilitate students' communication with the rest of the world. In a similar way, Dearden and Macaro (2016) conducted a study which gathered the beliefs of Austrian, Italian, and Polish lecturers about EMI. The results showed teachers' positive perceptions of EMI because they believed that it provides students the opportunity to study abroad like they did when they were students themselves.

Hu and Lei (2014) and Hu, Li and Lei (2014) conducted a study at a major university of finance and economy in Mainland China, intending to see the relationship between national/institutional policy statements about EMI and lecturers' beliefs. Results manifested an agreement between the parts, which, on the one hand, believed in EMI to foster students' mobility, and on the other hand, considered EMI to be beneficial for students' careers due to the prestige of the English language. A

similar study was conducted in Malaysia by Ali (2013). Results indicated that policy makers' objectives did not take into consideration those of universities' as was anticipated by the formers, implying underlying issues arising from provision and diffusion. The authors stated that these discrepancies between policy objectives and their implementation is a factor that must be considered in such a crucial planning strategy for the national agenda.

In sum, EMI teachers from very different and diverse contexts coincide in underscoring the benefits that EMI entails in our current globalised society, the internationalisation of universities being highlighted as one of the main positive outcomes.

5.4.3. Why do students decide to enrol in EMI?

In this section, we will focus on those studies that analyse motivation from the research question of *why* students decide to enrol in EMI programmes. Most of these studies classify EMI students' motivation into two different categories: *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation. We can find decidedly varied results among the studies analysing this matter. In some studies, students' showed more instrumental reasons for enrolling in EMI.

Kirkgöz (2005), for example, conducted a study in a Turkish university with the objective of analysing whether students were motivated by instrumental or integrative reasons when they chose to enrol in an EMI course.

Table 4. Sources of Motivation for Choosing English-medium Education (Source: Kirkgöz, 2005, p. 110).

Ranking	Source of motivation	Type
1	Get a well-paid job	Instrumental
2	Become broadly educated	Instrumental
3	Discuss subjects in my field	Instrumental
4	Get on well with English speaking people	Integrative

The results, as can be seen in Table 4, showed that students' motivations to study through the medium of English were more related to an instrumental orientation. The author stated that these students think of long-term life goals, as "getting a well-

paid job” and “becoming broadly educated”. Similar results were found in another study conducted in Turkey where Bozdoğan and Karlidağ (2013) asked university students about different questions regarding EMI, and students mentioned its instrumental benefits like improving job opportunities. Instrumental motivations were found also in Ellili-Cherif and Alkhateeb’s (2015) study. In 2012 the Supreme Education Council of the State of Qatar decided to change the language of instruction of four colleges in Qatar University from EMI to Arabic MOI. This is why Ellili-Cherif and Alkhateeb (2015, p. 211) decided to conduct a study analysing students’ beliefs about EMI. The researchers found that students considered English to be important for their careers and many students selected the items “I think using Arabic to study all subjects will affect my chances for further studies after graduation from the university” and “I feel English has a higher status than Arabic in Qatar at present” as the main reasons to support EMI.

Sometimes, students also argue practical reasons for choosing EMI. In Korea, Kang and Park (2005) reported that students’ main reason to choose an EMI course was that it was not offered in Korean, so if they wanted to study that subject the only option they had was through English. In Belhiah and Elhami’s (2015) study conducted in the Arabian/Persian Gulf, students explained that they preferred to do the exams in English because they studied from materials written in English and, therefore, they would rather the language of the materials and the exam to be one and the same.

In Japan, Chapple (2015) also asked higher education students about their reasons for enrolling in an EMI programme. Results showed that the reason most mentioned by students was to “Improve English ability” (38.9%); however, in this case this was followed by an integrative reason: “Make foreign friends” (25.7%). Similar results can be observed in Al-Masheikhi, Al-Mahrooqi and Denman’s (2014, p. 108) research conducted in the Sultanate of Oman where students also agreed both with intrinsic and extrinsic statements towards EMI. For example, 75% of the students agreed with the item “Studying Science in English is necessary to continue my postgraduate studies at a foreign university” and 53.3% with the item “I believe that studying science in English will help me to understand English people and their lifestyle”. However, we must clarify that students agreeing with those statements does not mean that they decided to enrol in EMI because of that. In other words, a

student can consider EMI to be helpful to understand English people, and therefore give that item a high mark (on a Likert scale), but that may not be her or his reason for deciding to take EMI courses. Nevertheless, what we can actually deduce from looking at the statements mentioned above is the positive attitudes of students towards EMI, although when they are asked if “It is appropriate to use English as a medium of instruction at the College of Science” 40% of the students disagreed.

In these studies it can be observed that both instrumental and intrinsic motivations coexist and that they seem complementary for students. In fact, there are also studies that analyse how students’ motivations to enrol in EMI can move from instrumental to integrative. For instance, Gao (2008) conducted a longitudinal study, which analysed Mainland China university students’ experience after going to an EMI university in Hong Kong and found that through a socialisation process mediated by some social agents, students changed from more context-mediated motivations to more self-determined ones.

Regarding the variables that can affect students’ willingness or motivation to enrol in EMI courses, studies revealed that their L1 has a significant influence, especially when this is a minority language. In The Basque Country, Lasagabaster (2004) and Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra (2013a) also noted that those university students who had Basque as their L1 had less positive attitudes towards EMI than those who had Spanish as their L1 or both Basque and Spanish. L1 Basque students (Lasagabaster, 2004) confessed being aware of their need to learn English for their own benefit, however, they also felt the need to protect the minority language (Basque) from other very international and powerful languages like Spanish and English. It must be taken into account that minority languages usually have “a very high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality” (Lasagabaster, 2016, p. 320). This ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977) defines how a group is likely to behave or the attitudes they may have. In so many cases the minority language is one of the most powerful symbols a community has, as this may be the case of the Basque Country. Thus, these minority language speakers may see majority languages and international and powerful foreign languages like English as a threat to their language and social identity. Nevertheless, in a study conducted more recently Lasagabaster (2016) obtained results that differ from those obtained in the past (Lasagabaster, 2004), as university students who had Basque as their L1 and

those who had both Basque and Spanish as their L1 showed more positive attitudes towards English in general and towards EMI in particular than those students asked in the study conducted more than one decade ago. Therefore, there seemed to be an attitudinal change on L1 Basque speakers as they were more motivated towards EMI than in the past. However, it has to be noted that those students asked in the 2004 study were learning English in a traditional EFL approach as EMI had not been implemented in the UPV/EHU, and those students asked in the 2016 study were in EMI courses, which may have had an influence on Basque students' attitudes and beliefs.

PART II. THE STUDY

6. THE STUDY

6.1. The context: The Basque Autonomous Community

Spain is divided into 17 autonomous communities and since 1979, when the Statute of Autonomy was established, the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), formed by the provinces of Biscay, Gipuzkoa, and Alava, is one of them and Navarre another one.

The BAC counts with more than 2 million inhabitants, which are not equally distributed around the three provinces, 53.9% of the population being located in Biscay, 32.3% in Gipuzkoa and the remaining 13.8% in Alava.

Despite the population distribution, half of the Basque speakers are located in Gipuzkoa, which historically has been the province with fewer immigrants coming particularly from the rest of Spain, in comparison with Biscay and Alava.

6.1.1. Euskera: The Basque language

We would like to expose now some characteristics of the Basque Language (Euskera) as it has its own particularities, which make it unique. The Basque Language is one of the oldest languages in Europe and it was the only pre-Indo-European language that resisted while Latin spread through the rest of the Iberian Peninsula.

One of the aspects that gives special interest to the Basque language and adds the element of mystery is the fact of not knowing what its roots are. Unlike the rest of European languages Basque did not arise from the two main language families: Indo-European and Uralic. Different theories have been proposed by academics related to the origins of the Basque language. Intxausti (1992) gathers the three main theories:

- a) The first theory suggests that Basque stems from the old Iberian language, a non-Indo-European language that died during the Roman conquest.
- b) The second theory relates Basque with northern African languages.
- c) The third theory relates Basque with the Caucasian languages.

All these theories have their supporters and their detractors since none of them have conclusive evidence. Therefore, the origins of Basque are uncertain, but what we do know is that the survival of this language has not been an easy path. Focusing on modern history, one of the most important events to the detriment of the Basque language was Franco's dictatorship in Spain (1939-1975), since he forbade the use of the language. Thus, this period was terribly damaging for the Basque language that lost a lot of its strength. However, around 1960 an important movement took place (Hualde, Lakarra, & Trask, 1995) with the aim of recovering the use of Basque, we are talking about the creation of the *Ikastolak*. The *ikastola* was an educational system that worked in parallel to the official educational system (taught in Spanish) and which used Basque immersion techniques. This network of Basque-language schools spread all over the Basque Country demanding a new necessity, the creation of a model of a standard language. In 1968 in collaboration with the Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia) the *Euskera Batua* (Unified Basque) was presented as the standardization of the language.

Nowadays, Euskera Batua is the one used in most of the Basque schools, although there are some schools which use other Basque dialects such as Bizkaiera, Gipuzkera, Nafarrera, or Zuberotarra, just to mention a few.

Nowadays, Basque, as the co-official language of the Basque Country with Spanish, has legal and institutional presence and support.

The data gathered in the last sociolinguistic survey conducted by the Basque Government in 2016 showed that in the BAC 33.9% of the population older than 16 is bilingual in Basque and Spanish, 19.1% speak Spanish and are receptive in Basque and the remaining 47% do not speak or understand Basque at all. Besides, 76.4% admit that their L1 is other than Basque, for the majority it would be Spanish but this is not specified as there are also immigrants with other L1s. Only 17.5% of the

population in the BAC consider Basque as their L1, while 6% have both Basque and Spanish as L1.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the vast majority of the speakers who have Basque as their L1 are also fluent in Spanish, among other reasons, due to its strong presence in society. However, not all speakers who have Spanish as their L1 and Basque as their L2 and who have gone to a Basque medium school but speak Spanish at home or in their social life, to use a very common example, consider themselves fluent in Basque. Thus, although a large number of L1 Spanish speakers have a high level regarding receptive skills in Basque, their productive skills are not that good, a real concern for both education authorities and the population in general (Gorter et al., 2014).

6.1.2. The education system in the BAC

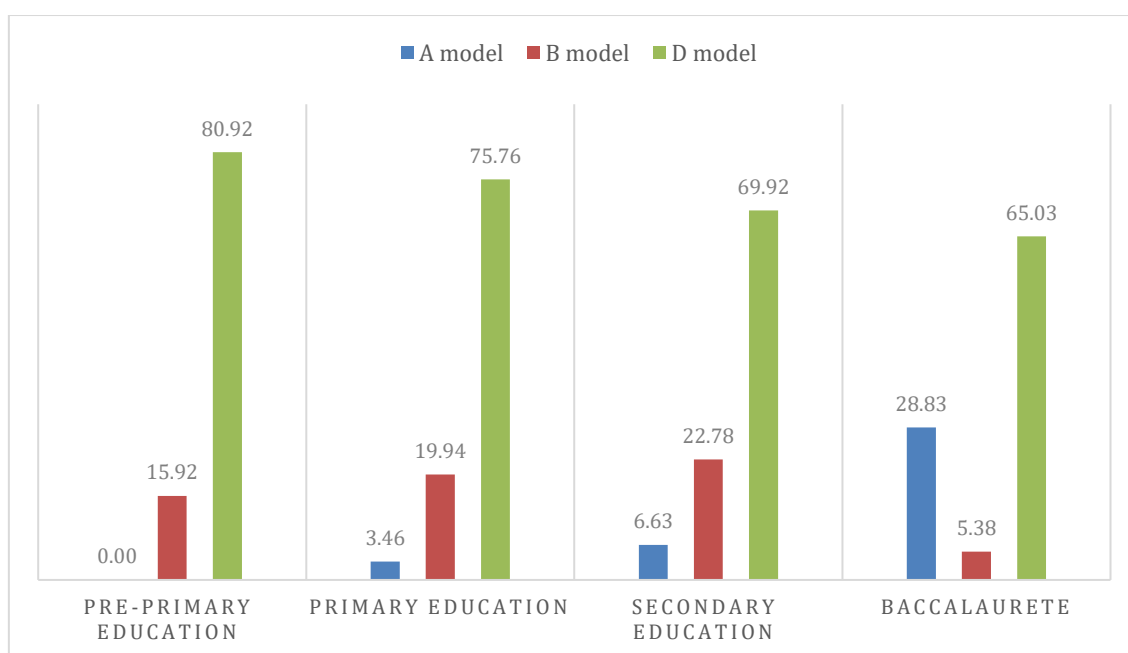
In this section, a review of the main characteristics of the BAC's non-university education will be made. The aim is to provide a contextual framework to understand the academic background of the majority of the students participating in this study. Regarding the linguistic models, since 1982 when the Basic Law of Normalisation of the Use of Basque was implemented, there are three linguistic models on offer in the BAC:

1. Linguistic model A: Spanish is the vehicular language, except in the subject of Basque Language and Literature.
2. Linguistic model B: some subjects (usually Mathematics and Spanish Language and Literature) are taught through Spanish and others in Basque.
3. Linguistic model D: Basque is the vehicular language, except in the subject of Spanish Language and Literature. In this case, we are talking about a total immersion programme (Lasagabaster, 2001), which differs from other countries like Finland or Canada where these kinds of programmes are only used with students who do not have the vehicular language of the country as their L1. However, total immersion Basque programmes are used with those

students whose L1 is Spanish, but also as a maintenance programme with L1 Basque students.

There is also an X linguistic model, however, this is not an official linguistic model but the denomination for that group of students who study in foreign dependency centres that do not teach Basque. This model will not be included in the graphs and percentages due to its insignificance, but we wanted to clarify why the addition of the three linguistic models does not result in 100%.

Graph 1. Student enrolment for 2019-2020 in each linguistic model.



As can be seen in the graph, model D is, by far, the most chosen option in all the education levels. Pre-primary education is the level where this leadership is bigger, as 80.92% of the students are enrolled in this model, and only 2.65% of the students are enrolled in model A.

Baccalaureate level is where model A has its greatest popularity as 28.83% of the students are enrolled in this model and 65.03% in model D, which in any case continues to be the most chosen option. Therefore, it can be affirmed that the most popular linguistic model is model D, however, it can also be seen that as the higher the education level, the higher the percentage of model A, although model D continues to be the preferred option.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that each year the percentage of students enrolled in model D increases, and not only that, but the difference between the number of students enrolled in model D in pre-primary education and the number of students enrolled in model D in Bacalaureate comes closer.

6.1.3. English at pre-university level in the BAC

Since 1996 in the BAC English is introduced as EFL in pre-primary education when children aged four and until Bacalaureate. However, in the last decade studies analysing early introduction to the English language in the BAC, concluded that there is no evidence proving that younger children (pre-primary education) make more progress than older children (primary) when the exposure to the English language is not very extent (2-3 hours per week) (see García Mayo & García Lecumberri, 2003; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). Hence, other methodologies and dynamics were demanded to increase children's exposure to the target language. This new approach (Cenoz, 2001) was the use of English as a language of instruction in some subjects what we define as CLIL. Therefore, in model D, subjects that were originally taught in Basque now are taught in English, in model B it could occur both from Basque and/or Spanish to English, and in model A from Spanish to English. As a result of CLIL implementation, we are talking here about the change from bilingual education to multilingual education in many schools in the BAC, which leads us to think that the current classification of the three linguistic models could be to some extent obsolete.

The dynamics of bilingual and multilingual education in the BAC in the last decades has as a result the existence of more types of schools that do not fit into the typology of the three models. These different types are related to: i) the extent to which Basque and English are used as a medium of instruction and ii) the students' home languages. (Cenoz, 2008, p. 26)

The reasons for introducing English to the education system are the same as those mentioned in earlier sections; internationalisation, the aim of not falling behind other European countries, or preparing students for higher education levels. But

when we talk about primary and secondary education, we must take into account a very determining factor; parents' demand for instruction in English.

As in other European contexts, in the BAC CLIL offer was more popular in the private sector, which caused an urgent duty for the public sector to join the initiative too. In the last decade, the Basque Government has implemented different Plurilingual projects in the schools of the BAC directed by the Education Innovation Department, the Department of Education and Universities, and Research of the Basque Government.

The aim of all these projects was to promote communicative competence in English in an academic plurilingual context where most students are bilinguals in Basque and Spanish. Nevertheless, currently, it has become very difficult to obtain data regarding how many schools offer CLIL programmes, which are the main subjects offered through the medium of English, or how many students are enrolled in CLIL/EMI programmes in the BAC, neither in public nor in private education.

6.1.4. The University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU

There are three main universities in the BAC: the University of the Basque Country, which is public, and the University of Deusto and Mondragon University, which are private. The University of Deusto belongs to a religious confession and is the largest private university in the Basque University System with more than 10.000 students and 500 professors and counts with campuses in Biscay (Bilbao) and Gipuzkoa (San Sebastian). On the other hand, Mondragon University is part of the Mondragon Corporation, and therefore, it is a cooperative which offers studies in four campuses distributed all over Gipuzkoa.

The UPV/EHU, where this study was conducted, counts with campuses all over the three provinces being the one in Leioa (Biscay) the central campus. With more than 45,000 students and 5,000 teaching staff, this university is the largest in the BAC and one of the nine largest universities in the Spanish University System.

Since its foundation in 1980, the university is officially bilingual with a firm commitment to the normalisation of the Basque language and its development in the academic field (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017).

Nowadays, the UPVEHU must guarantee the opportunity to study both in Basque and Spanish as both are official languages in the BAC. Nevertheless, for this to have been possible (Lasagabaster, 2015b) it has required extraordinary efforts financially speaking by the Basque autonomous Government and also new training and development designs for the human resources involved in the university, like teachers and administrative staff. These efforts were transformed into a very positive reward as each year the demand by students for studies in Basque grows, as well as the offer in Basque by the university. Nevertheless, in the last decade the UPV/EHU, like most of the rest of the universities in Europe, has included the aforementioned internationalisation among its main objectives. Thus, one of the most important measures taken to promote internationalisation was, indeed, the creation of the Plurilingualism Plan (2005).

Table 5. Number of students enrolled in the UPV/EHU in the academic year 2020-2021 by the language of instruction.

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS IN 2020-2021					
BMI	SMI	Some EMI Subjects	Some French MOI Subjects	Some German MOI Subjects	Some Other MOI Subjects
18,545	16,531	5,556	597	259	288

In the academic year 2020-2021, 44% of the undergraduate students were studying in Basque, while 39% of them were studying in Spanish. Besides, 13% of the students were enrolled in EMI subjects, 1% of the students were enrolled in some French MOI subjects, and only 0.6% were enrolled in some German MOI subjects or studied some subjects in other languages. Therefore, we can see that the majority of the students study in Basque, followed by the ones who study in Spanish. Regarding the non-official languages, English is, by far, the language with the most presence.

6.1.4.1. Plurilingualism Plan

Internationalisation has become a primary objective for universities around the world, and the UPV/EHU did not want to lag behind, which is why in 2005 the university launched the *Plurilingualism Plan* with the objective of encouraging the presence of foreign languages in the educational teaching offer. The specific objectives of this plan are the following:

- a) Maintain multilingual projects through which subjects in English and French are taught in secondary schools of the Basque Country.
- b) Develop students' linguistic training in order to facilitate their mobility within the European Higher Education Area.
- c) Promote conferences, symposiums, and other university activities in foreign languages. The plan aims to provide students with language training so that they can benefit more from teacher visits and foreign publications.
- d) Facilitate job opportunities, since the knowledge of foreign languages has become an added value.
- e) Expand the educational offer for national and international students originating from exchange programs. The offer in foreign languages has become an undoubted attraction when it comes to attracting foreign students.
- f) Promote internationalisation among teachers with a view to promoting their professional development in both teaching and research. (UPV/EHU, 2021)

Although the Plurilingualism Plan is not only focused on the promotion of the English language but it also has other wider objectives, one of the most important strategies that has been followed by the decision-makers is to increase the EMI offer. Although there are some studies offered in French, these are an exception, as 95% of the courses taught in a foreign language are delivered in English (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018). In the academic year 2020-2021 the UPV/EHU offered 841 undergraduate subjects in non-official languages, 633 of which were taught in English. Besides, if we focus on studies related to language-related degrees, we can

also find courses in Arabic, Italian, Russian, Greek, German or Latin, apart from those delivered in Basque, Spanish, English, and French.

The Plurilingualism Plan also aims at providing training courses for those teachers who teach in a foreign language. In this case, most of the courses are focused on providing training for EMI teachers since English is the most used language after Basque and Spanish. We also see a change in the kind of courses offered for teachers. In the past, the training offer was more focused on general English language skills and now we can see an offer more focused on EMI specifically (e.g. “Improving English Medium Instruction skills at level C1”, “Improving English Medium Instruction and tutoring skills at B2+”).

After perusing all the information available about the Plurilingualism Plan, we observed that the UPV/EHU does not count with a language policy to regulate the use of the L1 in EMI lessons. Therefore, there is not any language policy either fostering the use of the L1 or discouraging it. Not having a clause describing a top-down language policy discouraging the use of the L1 in EMI lessons may reflect a flexible position from the UPV/EHU regarding multilingualism and language use, or it could be that they did not give this matter a thought. That is, we do not know if the university does not specify their position regarding the use of different languages like the L1/L2 in EMI courses, because they leave this decision to the teaching staff, or because they have not considered this matter and therefore, they have not a substantiated opinion about it. The latter is more than likely the main reason.

Nevertheless, as has been shown in the previous section, this does not mean that the university’s policy, or in this case the lack of one, and teachers’ opinion regarding this matter have to coincide. That is, the teaching staff can base their actions regarding the use of other languages apart from the language of instruction on their own beliefs, but also, on what they believe they should do or what think they are supposed to do (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Muguruza, Cenoz & Gorter, 2020). In section “6. The study”, the one devoted to the description of this study, we will come back to this aspect.

6.2. Aims of the study

This study aims to analyse and compare translanguaging, classroom interaction, and students' motivation in BMI and EMI subjects at university. In the following sections, we will present our research aims more in detail. However, we must clarify that although there are three main themes on which this research focuses (translanguaging, interaction, and motivation), they have not been treated independently but as interrelated elements, as we will justify later on.

6.2.1. Translanguaging

Our first research interest is to know the reality of EMI courses at the UPV/EHU in relation to translanguaging. In other words, *what* happens in EMI classrooms regarding L1/L2 use, and not only that, to compare it with BMI courses.

Apart from paying attention to which are considered linguistic matters, we will also take into consideration other contextual and cultural factors that take place during communication and during translanguaging, which play an important role for bi/multilinguals like translanguaging when talking about topics related to the Basque culture, etc.

We will also put our focus on *who* translanguages: students, teachers, or both. These results are very important to also see *which languages* are implied in translanguaging, because as mentioned, a great part of our local participants speak at least three languages, the two official languages Basque and Spanish, and English, which would be their FL.

Another aspect we will focus our attention on is *when* does translanguaging happen: does it happen when the teacher or students are talking about Subject-related topics, like content-related matters, or does it happen when they are talking about other topics not so related to content (e. g. a conversation about a party that took place during the weekend). We also have to take into account that the former situation would constitute a more formal communicative situation and the latter a more informal one.

Besides, we do not only consider translanguaging in relation to oral production, but we will also pay attention to translanguaging in *classroom materials* like videos, papers, or books.

Finally, we saw in the theoretical framework that most scholars agree on the benefits of conscious translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; García, 2018; García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017) However, most studies in which teachers have been asked about their beliefs regarding the use of the L1 in EMI or CLIL classrooms show discrepancies between scholars' positive views and teachers' and academic staff's beliefs (Roothoof, 2019; Daryai-Hansen, Barfod & Schwarz, 2017; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Macaro, 2014; Stroupe, 2014; Lee & Macaro, 2013). This is why we find it especially interesting to ask *students and teachers about their beliefs* regarding translanguaging and see, firstly, if their beliefs match with their actual classroom practices, and secondly, regarding only teachers' in this case, we want to know if they are aware of their university's standpoint regarding the use of other languages than the language of instruction during EMI or BMI lessons. We are talking here about beliefs because, as we have seen previously when describing UPV/EHUs *Plurilingualism Plan*, for the moment, the university has not made any specification or has not given any guideline regarding this issue.

Table 6. Summary of our research aims regarding translanguaging in BMI and EMI.

<p>Research Aim 1. We want to see if translanguaging happens both in BMI and EMI lessons. Does translanguaging happen in BMI/EMI lessons?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Yes - No
<p>Research Aim 2. We want to see how often translanguaging happens both in BMI and EMI lessons: Quantitatively, how many times does translanguaging happen?</p>
<p>Research Aim 3. We want to see who translanguages both in BMI and EMI.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Who translanguages in BMI/EMI: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The teacher. - The students. - Both.
<p>Research Aim 4. We want to see which languages are implicated in translanguaging both in BMI and EMI lessons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Basque. b) Spanish. c) English. d) Others.

<p>Research Aim 6. We want to see when translanguaging takes place:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) During what kind of activity. b) How the students are organised: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The whole class attending to the same act. - Students working in groups. - Students working individually. c) What kind of content they are talking about when the translanguaging happens: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subject-related. - Non-Subject-related.
<p>Research Aim 7. We want to see the language choice for classroom materials like papers, books, videos, etc. both in BMI and EMI lessons.</p>
<p>Research Aim 8. We want to see which are students' and teachers' beliefs regarding translanguaging.</p>

6.2.2. Classroom interaction

We have already mentioned the importance of interaction for the learning experience in general, and the learning of languages in particular. In this study, among other aspects, we want to see:

1. Whether interaction happens both in BMI and EMI or not.
2. How frequent this interaction is.
3. Who participates in these interactions.
4. How much the teacher talks (speech ratio).
5. How much the students talk (speech ratio).
6. We will also focus on the kind of interactions that take place in the classroom context.

We will also focus our attention on a very important aspect concerning interaction: *questioning*. We already mentioned the importance of questioning for the promotion of interaction. In this section we want to specify the concrete aspects we will pay attention to: (i) First of all, we will analyse questioning from a quantitative perspective. That is, how many questions are asked by the teacher during the lesson, (ii) followed by what kinds of questions (see Table 7), and (iii) the

ratio of each kind of question. (iv) Then, we will also pay attention to *who* the receiver of the question is, since the question can be addressed to the whole class (in this case any student can answer it) or to a specific student or a specific group of students.

Another aspect we will pay attention to is wait time. In this respect, we will calculate how much time is left by the teacher for the students to answer a question. This simple action of leaving more or less time to answer a question can influence in a significant way the dynamic of the lesson, creating an atmosphere where interactions are promoted or quite the opposite.

Table 7. Summary of our research aims related to classroom interaction in BMI and EMI.

Research aim	Concrete aspects
1. We want to see if interaction, between teacher-student(s) and student(s)-student(s) happens both in BMI and EMI lessons.	Interaction happens: a) Yes. b) No.
2. We want to analyse from a quantitative perspective how often interaction between teacher-student(s) and student(s)-student(s) happens both in BMI and EMI.	a) How much interaction between teachers and student(s) happens. b) How much interaction between student(s) and student(s) happens. d) How many times it is a student who initiates the interaction. e) How long the interactions are. f) What teachers' and students' talking ratio is.
3. We want to see which kind of interaction happens both in BMI and EMI.	a) I-R-F sequences. b) Negotiation of meaning. d) Students' WTC. e) Students participating <i>motu proprio</i> .
4. We want to see some aspects related to <i>questioning</i> both in BMI and EMI lessons.	a) How many questions are asked by the teacher. b) What kinds of questions are asked by the teacher: - Rhetorical. - Self-Answered. - Display. - Referential.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clarification Request. - Confirmation Check. - Indirect Request. - Indirect Question. - Repetition Request. - Retrospective Question. - Open or close questions. - Higher order or lower order questions. <p>c) How many times questions are asked by the teacher to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The whole class. - To a specific student or students.
5. We want to check wait time both in BMI and EMI.	a) How much time the teacher leaves to students to answer a question.

6.2.3. Students' motivation

The last but not least issue that we want to analyse in this study is EMI students' motivation. Our research aims regarding motivation can be classified into two sections.

On the one hand, we want to analyse students' motivations for enrolling in an EMI course. In other words, why students choose EMI over BMI or SMI. The questions asked to students in the questionnaire regarding this matter are the ones corresponding to Part III (Appendix 1). Following the theoretical framework we presented in previous section "5.3.2. The L2 motivational Self System", we will classify students' motivations to enrol in EMI in two categories: the Ideal L2 Self and the Ought-to Self.

On the other hand, we will also analyse students' motivation in relation to their participation in BMI and EMI lessons. The concept of motivation can be related to all the other aspects of the teaching-learning experience, and motivation is thus closely linked to interaction and classroom participation too. Hence, motivation can be a very influential factor for a student to decide to participate in class or not, which is related to the previously defined concept of WTC. Therefore, we also want to see students' WTC looking to different situations that may take place during BMI and

EMI lessons like being the student, and not the teacher, who initiates the interaction, or being a student who voluntarily asks a question. Students' motivation to participate or interact in class is also reflected when it is a student who voluntarily answers to a question that was not addressed to her or him, what we call interacting *motu proprio*.

Nonetheless, it is worth clarifying that students' WTC is not only influenced by students' motivation but also by other factors like students' personality, their mood in each moment, the context, or teacher's promotion of interaction among other factors. However, motivation is undoubtedly a very influential factor in this respect. This study aims to shed some light on what are the motivations of students when enrolling in EMI compared to other languages, in this case Basque and/or Spanish. Furthermore, we intend to compare the motivation of BMI and EMI students when participating in the classroom.

Table 8. Summary of our research aims regarding EMI students' motivation.

<p>Research Aim 1. We want to see what are students' motivations to enrol in an EMI course over BMI or SMI.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Ideal L2 Self b) Ought-to Self
<p>Research Aim 2. We want to know students' beliefs regarding their motivation once they are enrolled in EMI courses.</p>
<p>Research Aim 3. Students' WTC and motu proprio interactions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) A student initiates the interaction. b) A student voluntarily asks a question. c) A student voluntarily answers to a question launched by the teacher to the whole class but not to any student in particular.

6.3. Research Questions

To our knowledge, this study is pioneering in analysing and comparing translanguaging, interaction and students' motivation in two MOI (Basque and English in this case). The following are this study's Research Questions:

- RQ1.** Does translanguaging happen both in BMI and EMI?
- RQ1.1.** How often does translanguaging happen in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ1.2.** Who translanguages in BMI classes and EMI classes?
 - RQ1.3.** Which languages are implicated in translanguaging in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ1.4.** When does translanguaging happen in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ1.5.** What is the language choice for classroom materials in BMI and EMI?
- RQ2.** What are students' attitudes and beliefs regarding translanguaging?
- RQ2.1.** Do different variables (gender, university faculty, being local or Erasmus, the L1, and English proficiency) influence the opinions of EMI students about translanguaging?
- RQ3.** What are teachers' attitudes and beliefs regarding translanguaging?
- RQ4.** Does the MOI (Basque or English) affect classroom interaction?
- RQ4.1.** Does classroom interaction between teacher-student(s) and student(s)-student(s) happen both in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ4.2.** How often does interaction between teacher-student(s) and student(s)-student(s) take place in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ4.3.** What kinds of interactions happen both in BMI and EMI?
- RQ5.** Does the language of instruction (Basque or English) affect the questions asked by the teacher?
- RQ5.1.** How many questions are asked by teachers in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ5.2.** What kinds of questions are asked in BMI and EMI?
 - RQ 5.3.** How much wait time is provided in BMI and EMI?
- RQ6.** What are students' opinions regarding classroom interaction?
- RQ6.1.** Do different variables (gender, university faculty, being local or Erasmus, the L1, and English proficiency) influence the opinions of EMI students about interaction?

RQ7. What are students' and teachers' motivations to enrol in EMI courses?

RQ7.1. Do different variables (gender, university faculty, being local or Erasmus, the L1, and English proficiency) influence students' motivations to enrol in EMI?

6.4. Participants

6.4.1. Teachers

The focal participants of this research are two lecturers who teach at the UPV/EHU, concretely in the faculty of Economics and Business (Sarriko). We selected these participants because both lecturers teach their subjects in two parallel groups; an EMI group and a BMI group. This is not a common situation in the UPV/EHU, because it is exceptional to find subjects in which the same teacher teaches both in the BMI and the EMI group.

Lecturer A teaches the subject called *Economic History* (in English) and *Historia Ekonomikoa* (in Basque). Lecturer B teaches *Business Economics: organization and management* (in English) and *Enpresa Ekonomia: antolakuntza eta zuzendaritza* (in Basque). Both subjects belong to *Business Administration and Management* and *Economics* degrees and are taught in the second semester of the first year.

The fact that both BMI and EMI courses are taught in a parallel way by the same teachers helps controlling key variables and makes the courses comparable. Thus, the sample selection was based principally on criterion sampling (Dörnyei, 2007), as we researched and found those teachers who met the criterion to participate in our study.

Lecturer A has been teaching at university for 10 years, 2 of them in EMI. Lecturer B has been teaching at the university for 14 years and this is his first year as an EMI teacher. Regarding language requirements, teacher A is certified to teach in Basque, Spanish, English, and French, while teacher B is certified to teach in Basque, Spanish, and English. However, although both teachers are multilingual, their L1 differs:

teacher A's is Basque and he has a very high command of Spanish, and teacher B's is Spanish and he is also highly proficient in Basque. Thus, lecturer A teaches in his L1 (Basque) and his FL (English), but lecturer B teaches in his L2 (Basque) and his FL (English). Lecturer A attended at least one EMI training course offered by the UPV/EHU, whereas Teacher B had not participated in any of them yet.

Regarding the idiosyncrasy of these subjects, it is worth mentioning that belonging to *Business Administration and Management* and *Economics* degrees, they are one of the most "humanistic" subjects of these degrees. After all, *history* belongs to the science field of humanities irrespective of the type of history dealt with (Economic history in this case). Besides, *Business Administration and Management* and *Economics*, although it is very related to the concrete field of business and economics, it is a subject that could be taught in any other degree due to its applicability to many other fields. Moreover, in this subject they pay attention to real cases that appear in the news, they comment on day-to-day events that affect society, or even get to know real workers' problems related to their jobs. Therefore, we would say that this subject is also very related to social sciences.

Table 9. Summary of lecturer A's and Lecturer B's information.

TEACHER A	
EMI SUBJECT	Economic History
BMI SUBJECT	Historia Ekonomikoa
YEARS TEACHING AT THE UNIVERSITY	10
YEARS TEACHING EMI	This is his second year
L1	Basque
TEACHER B	
EMI SUBJECT	Business Economics: organization and management
BMI SUBJECT	Enpresa Ekonomia: antolakuntza eta zuzendaritza
YEARS TEACHING AT THE UNIVERSITY	14
YEARS TEACHING EMI	This is his first year
L1	Spanish

6.4.2. Students

We count with two different student samples: students who participated in the recorded lessons and students who completed the questionnaire. All the students were enrolled at the UPV/EHU but in different degrees.

6.4.2.1. Students who participated in the recorded lessons

These are the students enrolled in the subjects taught by Teacher A and Teacher B, which were observed and recorded by the researcher. We have 4 different groups here:

- a) **Class 1. Students who attended Historia Ekonomikoa taught by Teacher A in Basque.** This was a group of 78 students who were mostly Basque and there was no Erasmus student as it is very uncommon to find students who know Basque outside the Basque Country. However, not all the students shared their L1 as they had Basque, Spanish, both Basque and Spanish, and in a very few cases their L1 was an additional language. Besides, this was a “morning group” which means that they always have their lessons in the morning. In the Faculty of Economics and Business students can choose whether they want to attend their lessons in the morning or the afternoon based on their grades. That means that those students who have the best grades are the first ones to choose and, in most cases, they choose the morning option.

- b) **Class 2. Students who attended Economic History taught by Teacher A in English.** This was a group formed by Basque speakers, Spanish speakers, both Basque and Spanish speakers, students who spoke any other language at home (immigrant students), and Erasmus students. This group was made up of 66 students, 8 of whom were Erasmus students. This was a very heterogeneous group in terms of languages as there were students whose L1 was Hungarian, Russian, Italian, or German, to name but a few. This was also a “morning group”, therefore, all the lessons were taught in the morning.

c) Class 3. Students who attended Enpresa Ekonomia: antolakuntza eta zuzendaritza taught by Teacher B in Basque. This group was very similar to the Basque group mentioned above as it was mostly formed by Basque students. In this group, there were 89 students, none of them Erasmus students. This was an “afternoon group”, which means that all the lessons were delivered in the afternoons. As we explained before, most students who attend lessons in the afternoon had lower grades than those attending morning lessons as they got to choose after them. However, there may be some students who might choose to attend “afternoon lessons” due to personal reasons although, due to their grades, they could have chosen the morning group.

d) Class 4. Students who attended Business Economics: organization and management taught by Teacher B in English. This group was similar to lecturer A’s English one, as this was also a heterogeneous group when it comes to languages. The group consisted of 79 students, 29 of them being Erasmus. Erasmus students had a variety of L1s like Turkish, German, French, Dutch, Swiss and Czech. This was also a “morning group”.

It is worth mentioning that some EMI students attended both Economic History, taught by lecturer A, and Business Economics: organization and management, taught by lecturer B. Besides, although we have mentioned here the number of students enrolled in each subject, we have to take into account that not all the students attended lessons every day. Therefore, there were lessons with more attendance and lessons with less attendance.

6.4.2.2. Students who completed the questionnaire

A total of 455 EMI students filled out the questionnaire, 272 female, 177 male, and 6 non-binary students. The majority were undergraduate students enrolled in different faculties and studies at the UPV/EHU. The faculties where the questionnaires were distributed were located in the campuses of Gipuzkoa and

Biscay. The students who fulfilled the questionnaires belonged to the following faculties:

1. Social Science and Communication.
2. Education.
3. Economics and Business.
4. Engineering.
5. School of Architecture.
6. Computer Sciences.

These students were both local (344) and Erasmus (111), and therefore, they had a myriad variety of L1s apart from Basque and Spanish, such as Korean, French, Italian, Japanese, Romanian, Georgian, German, Russian, Polish, Dutch, Albanian, Swiss, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Chinese, English, Turkish, Portuguese, Lithuanian or Czech. The mean age of the students was 20.5 and they were at different university grades, from 1st grade to 5th grade, just a few (4) being Erasmus students in Master's degrees.

Students from Teacher A and B's EMI groups also completed the questionnaire. Concretely, from the 455 questionnaires completed, 42 were fulfilled by Teacher A's EMI students and 36 from Teacher B's EMI students.

Table 10. Summary of information about the students who participated in the questionnaire.

GENDER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Female students: 272 - Male students: 177 - Non-Binary: 6 - Total: 455
MEAN AGE	20.5
LOCAL vs. ERASMUS STUDENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local: 344 - Erasmus: 111 - Total: 455
L1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basque: 43 - Spanish: 220 - Both Basque and Spanish: 69 - Other languages: 123 - Total: 455

FACULTIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economics and Business: 139 - Architecture: 80 - Social Sciences and Communication: 76 - Education: 67 - Engineering: 55 - Computer Sciences: 38 - Total: 455
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6.5. Data collection

Two main types of data were collected: (i) Teacher A's and Teacher B's BMI and EMI lessons were observed and recorded, and (ii) a questionnaire (Appendix 1) was distributed.

First of all, we contacted the three EMI lecturers from the faculty of Economics and Business (Sarriko) in the UPV/EHU who met the requirements for this research. The study was explained to these teachers in general terms, as we did not want to condition their attitudes and practices in the classroom. Two of the three teachers agreed to participate in the study and one did not. Once we had found our participating lecturers, we provided them with a confidentiality document that ensured their identity would remain anonymous and that the data collected would be used only with research aims. Moving on to the data collection, we attended 29 lessons of the subjects *Economic History* and *Business Economics: organization and management* in the BMI and EMI groups between February and March of the academic year 2018-2019. The researcher sat in a corner at the end of the classroom (although the location varied depending on the characteristics of the class and the position of the power sources), observed the lessons, and took notes. All the lessons were also recorded with a video camera that was placed next to the researcher at the end of the class in order to capture the lecturer, the blackboard, the projector, and as many students as possible. The camera was able to cover almost the entire room, so even though the teacher moved around the class, it was not necessary to move the camera once this was installed. The first time the researcher attended a lesson in each group, both Teacher A and Teacher B introduced her and reminded the students that she would be attending their lessons and recording them, as they had already explained in a previous class.

Once we had all the lessons recorded, we watched and analysed them using an adapted version of the observation tool Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995) observation scheme. This observation tool will be explained more in detail in the following section “Data collection instruments”. We also waited until all the lessons were recorded to have some semi-structured interviews with the teachers. It was essential to meet with the lecturers after attending and recording their lessons and not before, so that they did not know beforehand which the researcher’s interests were and this would not condition their attitudes and classroom practices. Therefore, while the researcher was attending their lessons, the lecturers just knew that she was a Ph.D. student of the Faculty of Arts in the UPV/EHU and that she was researching BMI and EMI. Being researchers themselves, both teachers accepted it without demur.

The corpus collected consists of 29 lessons, 17 from Teacher A and 12 from Teacher B. In the case of Teacher A, 7 are BMI and 10 are EMI lessons and, regarding Teacher B, 6 are BMI and 6 are EMI lessons. We count with a total of 39 hours recorded, (Teacher A = 23.5 h; Teacher B = 15.5 h). In Teacher A’s lessons, 10.5 h were BMI and 13 h EMI and, in lecturer B’s lessons, 7.5 h were BMI and 8 h EMI.

Besides, lecturer A did not distinguish among lesson modalities (lecturer, seminar, and practice), whereas lecturer B did: out of the 12 Teacher B’s lessons, 10 were lectures and 2 were practical lessons.

Table 11. Summary of the information about the recorded lessons.

	Subject	Language	N of Lessons	Hours	N of students	N of Local students	N of Erasmus Students
A	Economic History	English	10	13	66	58	8
	Historia Ekonomikoa	Basque	7	10.5	78	78	0
B	Business Economics: organization and management	English	6	8	79	50	29
	Enpresa Ekonomia: antolakuntza eta zuzendaritza	Basque	6	7.5	89	89	0

The second instrument used to collect data was a questionnaire. We will describe this questionnaire in more detail in the following section “6.5.1. Data collection instruments”.

It is also worth mentioning that the tools used for the statistical analysis were the software Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 26.0 combined with Microsoft Excel.

6.5.1. Data collection instruments

In this study four main tools have been used for the data collection: the recorded BMI and EMI lessons, a modified version of the observation tool COLT, the questionnaire, and the interviews with both teachers and students. In the present section, these four tools will be described in detail.

6.5.1.1. The video recorded lessons

We attended and recorded 29 lessons using a video camera located in a corner at the end of the classroom next to the researcher. The camera was turned on by the researcher before the lessons began and turned off when the lesson ended. Depending on the group, if it was the first lesson in the morning or not, the researcher arrived at the room before the students and the lecturer arrived, but when this was not the first lesson in the morning, some students were already in the room. Before the lesson began the researcher always made some verifications to check if the image and the audio were all right. Once the lesson started the camera would not be moved anymore until the end of the class.

In the first days the students showed more distraction turning back to look to the camera, but over the next days they seemed to have become familiar with the presence of the researcher and did not pay any attention to their presence. The researcher tried not to intercede in the lessons to go as unnoticed as possible. She just took part in the lesson when a lecturer asked her something, like on the occasion when Teacher A asked her to think of a number from 1 to 10 and to say it out loud.

We cannot ensure that the presence of the researcher and the camera did not influence the attitudes of students and lecturers at all but, at least, we did not notice they were inhibited. Besides, some studies state (Zuengler, Ford, & Fassnacht, 1998) that classroom interaction and attitudes are unlikely to be influenced for extended periods. Therefore, we believe the students got used to our presence in the room. The lecturers also seemed to be comfortable with the presence of the researcher and the camera, as they expressed when asked about this question. By the time the researcher was almost done with the recordings, Teacher A confessed to being so used to her presence in the classroom that he proposed to extend it as much as needed. This is why we do not count with the same amount of lessons recorded from both teachers and we have more Teachers A's lessons recorded. We accepted to attend and record some more lectures as these were very interesting for the study, but we did not want the difference between lecturer A's and lecturer B's amount of lessons to be so big, so we did not prolong it much. All the recorded lessons were safely stored.

Regarding the problems and difficulties we encountered with the recorded lessons, the main one was that sometimes there were some inaudible words or sentences. Due to the environmental noises that are typical in a classroom (e.g. turning the pages, moving a chair, noises from outside the class because the window was open, a cough, etc.), sometimes we could not hear properly. However, these occasions were minimal, and in general, the recordings had a very good audio quality.

Another difficulty was found when students worked in groups. It was not possible to record students' exchanges in all the groups with one camera. If we wanted to record these, we would have had to place a camera in each student group, which would have needed to be previously arranged with the teacher because every camera would have to have been individually setup and this could interrupt the dynamic of the lesson. Due to these technical issues and to the fact that I intended to be as little disruptive as possible, student/student interactions in small groups were not considered in this study.

Table 12. Summary of the lessons attended and recorded by the researcher.

LESSON DATE	LECTURER	LANGUAGE	TYPE	DURATION
11-02-19	A	BASQUE	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
11-02-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h
11-02-19	B	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h
11-02-19	B	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
15-02-19	A	ENGLISH	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
15-02-19	A	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
15-02-19	B	BASQUE	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
15-02-19	B	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h
18-02-19	A	BASQUE	SEMINAR	1 h 30 min
18-02-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h
18-02-19	B	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h
18-02-19	B	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
19-02-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
19-02-19	B	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
22-02-19	A	ENGLISH	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
22-02-19	A	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
22-02-19	B	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h
25-02-19	A	BASQUE	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
25-02-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h
25-02-19	B	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h
25-02-19	B	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
26-02-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
01-03-19	A	ENGLISH	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
01-03-19	A	BASQUE	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
01-03-19	B	BASQUE	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
04-03-19	A	BASQUE	PRACTICAL	1 h 30 min
04-03-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h
04-03-19	B	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min
05-03-19	A	ENGLISH	LECTURE	1 h 30 min

6.5.1.2. Modified version of COLT

The tool we used for the observation and analysis of the recorded lessons was based on the COLT scheme (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995). COLT is a tool designed for observing the L2 teaching-learning process. This scheme consists of two parts: part A and part B. Part A describes the general events that occur during the lesson and classifies them as *activities* and *episodes*. The activities are “typically marked by a change in the overall theme or content” and episodes “are characterized by any teaching/learning behaviour that is approximately a minute or longer” (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995, p. 30). Part B focuses on the verbal interactions that occur during the lesson. With the intention of making a correct use of this tool and being able to obtain the maximum performance from it, we carried out a series of previous tests and practices. For this purpose, the research team led by David Lasagabaster provided the researcher some EMI lessons recordings, which were originally recorded for another research. While we were practicing with COLT we realized that, although this was an appropriate tool for our research interests, some adaptations and additions needed to be made. In the present section, we will go through all the sections that compose our observation tool, and we will mention the changes we made to the original scheme.

Figure 3. An example of our modified version of the COLT observation scheme.

TIME INTERVAL	TIME	ACTIVITIES AND EPISODES	L A N G U A G E	PARTICIPANT ORGANISATION			CONTENT			STUDENT MODALITY										MATERIALS										QUESTION TYPES										W A I T I N G T I M E													
				Class	Group	Indiv.	Other topics	Learning	Speaking	Reading	Writing	Other	Minimal	Type										Source																													
														Text										Source																													
				3e-5eC	Choral	Same task	Different tasks	Same task	Different tasks	Other	Learning	Speaking	Reading	Writing	Other	Minimal	Extended	Audio	Visual	No material	L2: NMS	L2: NMS	L2: NMS	Teacher made	Student made	English	French	Spanish	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other														
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36		37	38	39	40	41								
00:02	10:08 - 10:10	A1 E13. ST1 asks (MP) "But among all of them er...?".	log	S				X					X																																								
00:01	10:20 - 10:11	A1 E14. The teacher "Yes".	log	T				X					X																																								
00:01	45:35 - 45:43	A2 E68. ST11 "Well it was...oh...CUANDO LE..."	log	S				X																																													
00:01	45:43 - 45:44	A2 E69. ST12 "Isolation".	log	S				X																																													
00:02	45:44 - 45:46	A2 E70. ST13 "Isolated".	log	S				X																																													
00:36	49:07 - 49:57	A2 E87. The teacher "Proteccionism, thank you". He continues with the explanation + "I don't know if you are familiar here to...like someone lives here in Bernese, Ouderna, Leherito...".	log	T				X																																													
00:01	49:57 - 49:58	A2 E88. ST11 "Bernese".	log	S				X																																													
00:10	49:58 - 50:08	A2 E89. The teacher "Yes? What's the problem with fish captures every year? What's the problem? What's the discussion with the European Union?".	log	T				X																																													
00:05	50:08 - 50:13	A2 E90. ST11 "That they can't fish what they want".	log	S				X																																													
01:42	11:43 - 13:25	A2 E73. The teacher "So Diamond, Clark... he continues with the explanation + "You understand what I mean? (Dian time) Yes". He continues with the explanation.	log	T				X																																													

In Figure 3 we have selected different activities and episodes with the intention of showing all the categories in a single image. In the present section we will describe every category of our modified version of COLT observation scheme (Figure 3) from left to right.

- 1. Time interval.** This is the amount of time each person talks. For example, if the speaker talks from minute 08:33 to 08:46, the time interval would be 13 seconds. This section was not in the original scheme but we included it because we are interested in the amount of time lecturers and students speak in each lesson.
- 2. Time.** This is the time when the activities and episodes take place and it was in the original scheme. It is worth mentioning that we do not refer to the real-time when the actions happened in the classroom (e.g. at 09:30 am), but the time specified in the recording. In other words, the recording always starts at 00:00. Thus, if an activity or episode happens 4 minutes after the recording started, we would say that the event occurred at 04:00. This is very helpful to find a specific event in the recording by looking at the scheme.
- 3. Activities and Episodes.** In the COLT scheme, the events that occur during a lesson are categorised into activities and episodes. Activities are determined by a change in the theme or content, for example, “the teacher introduces a new text about the industrial revolution” would be an activity (A1). The episodes are the different events or actions that occur within an activity, for example, “the students read the text about the industrial revolution” would be an episode (E1), and “the students discuss in groups the main ideas of the text” would be another episode (E2). Therefore, in this category, we make a description of the action that is happening in the activity or the episode. If the teacher is just talking or explaining content we would write “The teacher explains content”, whereas if students are working in groups we would write “The students work in groups”. However, every time interaction between the teacher and the students occurred, we transcribed it completely from the initiation of the conversation until the end. Besides, we also transcribed an episode every time a question was asked regardless of whether it got an answer or not. The episode was also entirely

transcribed when translanguaging happened no matter if it happened within a conversation or in a monologue. Respecting the MOI, those activities and episodes corresponding to the EMI groups were written in English and the ones from BMI subjects were written in Basque.

4. Language. This refers to the language used by the speaker. However, every time the speaker translanguages we would specify which languages are implied and we would underline it in red. For example, if the teacher is talking in English and he says a term in Spanish, we would put Spa. (Spanish) in this section, even though the rest of the speech was in English. This section was not in the original scheme, although there was one section dedicated to target language L1 or L2 in the original COLT part B scheme. Since translanguaging is one of the main research interests in this study, it was crucial for us to specify in every episode the language used by the speaker and to mark it very clearly, in this case underlying it in red, when translanguaging occurs.

5. Participant organisation. This refers to how the students are organised in the classroom.

5.1. Class. Here we have: T↔S/C; S↔ S/C; and Choral. T↔S/C refers to the teacher talking to a student or to the whole class; and vice versa, a student or the whole class talking to the teacher. S↔ S/C refers to a student talking to another student or to the whole class; and vice versa, the whole class talking to a student. Choral refers to the whole class saying the same at the same time in unison. These categories were also in the original scheme, however, we made a variation in the way we marked each category. In the original, the authors selected one of these 3 categories with a tick. Nevertheless, if we just marked the option T↔S/C, for example, we did not know if it referred to the teacher talking to a student or the class, or a student or the class talking to the teacher. Therefore, we decided to specify who was talking to whom: T-S (teacher to student), T-C (teacher to class), S-T (student to teacher), C-T (class to teacher), S-S (student to student), S-C (student to class), C-S (class to student).

- 5.2. Group.** We select this option when the students are working in groups. Besides, there are two other options that we must select: same task or different task. The same task means that all the students in the group are working on the same task. Different task means that not all the students in the group are working on the same task; for example, some of them could be reading and others writing or they all could be reading but not the same text. This has been maintained as in the original scheme.
- 5.3. Individual.** We would select this option when the students are working individually. Here we also would have to select between two options: same task or different task. The same task means that all the students are working individually but on the same task, while different task means that students are working individually on different tasks. This also has been maintained as in the original scheme.
- 6. Content.** This refers to the content or the subject the speakers are talking about or working on. In the original scheme, there were more categories related to this aspect but we simplified them to two: “language topic” and “other topics”. Language topic refers to any kind of content related to language issues (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2021). It could be a matter related to grammar or vocabulary, but also sociolinguistics, to name a few examples. However, it was not so relevant for us to specify what particular language aspect was focused on, so we just left the category language topic, which encompasses the rest of the subcategories (grammar, vocabulary, etc.). We also adapted the option “other topics” and specified if these were Subject-related or Non-Subject-related. The category Subject-related refers to content related to the specific academic subject. The category Non-Subject-related refers to any other topic that is not related to the subject or the field: This could be a conversation about what they did during the weekend but also a conversation about an exam’s date.
- 7. Student modality.** There are 5 categories defined: listening, speaking, reading, writing and other. If students were involved in more than one student modality, speaking and writing, for example, we marked the predominant modality (when there was one) in bold.

8. Materials. This refers to the materials that are used during the lesson. Here we have two classifications: type and source. Type refers to the kind of material it is: a text, an audio, or a visual resource. Regarding the text we also specify if it is minimal, one sentence, or some names on a slide, for example; or extended, an article or a paragraph, for example. There is also the option of no material when they are working without any kind of material or resource. In the category of source, we find 8 subcategories: L2-NNS (L2 non-native speaker), L2-NS (L2 native speaker), L2-NSA (L2 native speaker adapted), Teacher-made, Student-made, English, Basque and Spanish. The first 3 subcategories refer to who is the material aimed at. In other words, if the material has been designed for an L2-NNS, an L2-NS, or for an L2-NSA. The next 2 subcategories refer to who designed or made the material, that is, if it was the teacher who created it or the students. In the original COLT scheme, there was only the *student-made* category but not the *teacher made* one. However, we believed that adding this category was important in our study because, we are aware that in BMI and EM lessons, in so many cases teachers design some materials themselves. We also added the last 3 subcategories, which correspond to the language of the material: English, Basque or Spanish.

9. Question types. This section refers to the kind of questions asked by the teacher. As explained above, we distinguished 11 types of questions (Athanasidou, 1991; Sánchez-García, 2010; Dafouz and Sánchez-García, 2013; Maíz-Arévalo, 2017): Rhetorical questions, Self-answered questions, Display questions, Referential questions, Comprehension check, Clarification check, Confirmation check, Indirect requests, Indirect questions, Repetition questions, and Retrospective questions. In some cases there are two kinds of questions in the same box or category due to two reasons: because both kinds of questions are very related, and due to the limited space available. Thus, in these cases where we have two kinds of questions in the same box, as is the case of Rhetorical questions and Self-answered questions: we distinguished it with the first letter next to the X (Rhetorical question = X R), which is the symbol we used to mark the boxes. Besides, in the case of Referential questions we also have two subcategories: Convergent and Divergent, which we also distinguish with a C or

a D next to the X. Furthermore, we marked with an X every time the teacher asked a question even though this was not answered or even when the teacher asked more than one question in a row. For example, if the teacher asked “What day is it today? Can anyone tell me what day is it today? You, Ane, what day is it today?”, we marked this as 3 questions. This section was not in the original scheme as it was not the aim of the authors to delve into questioning. However, it was very helpful for us to include the observation and classification of questioning in this scheme, because this way we did not have to work with different schemes at the same time, and because it facilitates looking at a variety of aspects at the same time.

10. Wait time. This refers to the time left by the teacher for students to answer a question. For example, if the teacher asks “How many people live in The Basque Country?” and none of the students answer, we would count the time from the end of the question until the moment the teacher starts talking again; “How many people live in The Basque Country? (3 seconds) Don’t you know how many people live in The Basque Country? (3 seconds)”. There is also the option that the teacher asks a question, leaves time for the students to answer it and finally a student or some students answer it, “How many people live in The Basque Country? (3 seconds) + Around 2 million”. On other occasions, the teacher asks a question that is immediately answered by a student or some students. In this case, we would not count the time between the end of the question and the beginning of the answer because we cannot see how much time would be left by the teacher for the students to answer, as the answer is provided right away. When the teacher asks more than one question in a row, we would count every wait time that takes place, “How many people live in The Basque Country? (3 seconds) Don’t you know how many people live in the Basque country? (4 seconds). This aspect was not in the original scheme either, but we included it here because it is very related to questioning and, as mentioned above, we wanted every feature of the analysis to be in the same observation scheme.

Therefore, we adapted the observation scheme COLT to our study by changing some categories, introducing new categories, and discarding some sections from the

original one, although the bulk of the original instrument remained in the final version. The original COLT observation scheme user manual (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995) specifies that this scheme's part A is thought to be completed in real-time in the classroom, while part B is to be completed while watching the recorded lessons. However, we did not complete our scheme in real-time but while watching the recordings, because we consider our observation scheme too extensive to be completed in real-time in the classroom. Therefore, while we were in the classroom we observed and took notes. Apart from the changes we made regarding the categories of the scheme, we also designed our methodology to fill it in.

1. Every time a sequence of a conversation began we marked it with one colour. Then, if that first intervention obtained an answer, we marked it with the same colour but in a paler tone. For example, in a typical I-R-F sequence, we would mark the initiation in dark blue, the response in pale blue, and the feedback, again, in dark blue. Besides, we changed the colour every time a new conversation began. When the teacher talked but without initiating any conversation, we left it blank.
2. We used the yellow colour to mark events that we might want to pay attention to at a later stage.
3. We used the orange colour to mark those events that appear relevant to us.
4. All the translanguaging events have been written in capital letters.
5. Activities are named with an A and episodes with an E: For example, A1 E10 (activity 1, episode 10).
6. Every time a student answered a question without being personally asked, that is, *motu proprio*, we put MP before her or his intervention.
7. Every time students initiated a conversation we mark it in green. This usually happened when students asked a question to the teacher and showed their WTC.
8. When some words appeared unintelligible in the recordings we transcribed them as "XXX".
9. When more than one event happened in the same episode we connected them with a "+": For example, "A5 E52. The teacher reads the last item. + "Is it true or false?"

10. When there was a word that turned out difficult to grasp because of some noise in the background but we thought we might understand it, although we were not sure, we wrote it in red.
11. At the end of the table, we left a space to write down notes about each specific lesson. For example, we wrote there comments about aspects of the lecture that we wanted to highlight or emphasise.

6.5.1.3. The questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to explore EMI students' beliefs regarding translanguaging, classroom interaction, and motivation. On the front page of the questionnaire, there is an introduction where the researcher presents herself as a Ph.D. student; there is also a confidentiality commitment; and then, there are some instructions to complete the questionnaire. Besides, a clarification is made so that students understand the term "mother tongue" with the intention that there are no misunderstandings and all items can be answered correctly (see Appendix 1). Finally, at the end of the questionnaire our gratitude is shown to the students who participated. The questionnaire was written in English and was formed by 5 parts and a total of 77 items. All the parts but the first consisted of Likert-scales where the students had to answer the items choosing from a six-point scale: 1 Strongly disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Slightly disagree; 4 Slightly agree; 5 Agree; 6 Strongly agree. The questionnaire was designed following the guidelines provided by Dörnyei (2010) and it was meant to be completed by hand in 20 minutes. Initially we thought of designing an online questionnaire, since it has a greater number of advantages: it is more environmentally friendly, it is easier to deliver, requires less space, and facilitates working with the data once the questionnaires are completed. However, we realised that doing it on paper would ensure greater participation from students, since teachers could have better control of participation.

Part I. The first part of the questionnaire consists of 10 questions designed to collect student's personal information and background about English in general and EMI in particular. Here, we ask students about some general information like the date,

gender, age, the university degree they are enrolled in, their academic course, or if they are Erasmus students or not. Then, we ask if they are enrolled in more than one EMI course and, if yes, we ask them to specify which. Besides, we also ask the students to specify in which language they study those subjects that they do not study in English (Basque, Spanish or other languages) and to specify which is their mother tongue (Basque, Spanish, Both Basque and Spanish or another language). Finally, we ask the students if they have any official English certificate and if so, to choose which one, from A1 to C2 (or equivalent) or to specify it.

Part II. The second part consists of a Likert-scale formed by 14 items (from item 11 to 24). This section asks students about their beliefs regarding EMI. For example, students are asked if they feel prepared to follow EMI courses, if EMI courses help them improve their English skills, if they think EMI courses are easier than BMI or SMI ones, if EMI should be elective instead of mandatory, among other questions. The majority of the items that form this part are based on the questionnaire used by Yeh (2014) and other items have been designed specifically for this study (see Table 13).

Part III. The third part consists of 26 items (from item 25 to item 50) and it is focused on motivational and attitudinal questions. The items in this part are mainly inspired on the questionnaire used by Taguchi, Magid, and Papi (2009), although most of the items were adapted to the specific context where this study was conducted. This part is the one with the largest amount of items because, even though we are also interested in students' beliefs regarding classroom interaction and translanguaging, the questionnaire is especially relevant to collect data regarding EMI students' motivations. The most effective way to know why students decide to enrol in EMI over BMI or SMI seemed to be by asking them directly.

Part IV. The fourth part consists of 12 items (from item 51 to item 62) and is focused on translanguaging. In this part, we ask students about their beliefs and attitudes towards translanguaging. Besides, in this part, we do not only ask students about their beliefs regarding translanguaging, but also about their attitudes and practices. Therefore, in the case of the students attending Lecturer A's and Lecturer B's EMI

courses, we would have the opportunity to compare what students say in the questionnaire with what they actually do in class. The items in this part were specifically designed for this study.

Part V. The fifth part consists of 15 items (from item 63 to item 77) and is focused on classroom participation. In this section, we ask students how do they feel when they participate in EMI lessons, if they think there is any difference in EMI and Basque or SMI lessons in relation to interaction, or if they believe English proficiency to be a determinant factor when it comes to participating in EMI courses, among other issues. The items in this part have been specifically designed for this study (except item 65 which is based on Yeh, 2014).

Table 13. Sources of the questionnaire's items.

Items	Source
12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 43, 45, 46, 48, 65	Yeh (2014)
25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 49, 50	Personally designed taking as reference Taguchi, Magid, and Papi (2009)
51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77	Personally designed.

Finally, there is one last additional part at the end of the questionnaire where space is left in case students want to add any comment, as suggested by Dörnyei (2010). Here, students were invited to write their comments freely in Basque, Spanish and/or English.

Now we would like to explain the procedure followed for the completion of the questionnaire. Once the questionnaire was designed, it was piloted among 15 students from different studies and faculties. Then, we asked these students who participated in the pilot questionnaire to express any doubt they had or to express the aspects that, in their opinion, were not very clear. After piloting the questionnaire some changes were made. Then, research was made to identify all the EMI subjects offered by the UPV/EHU in the campuses of Gipuzkoa and Biscay. Once we had a list, we contacted all the teachers from the EMI courses by email. The

researcher introduced herself and her study and attached a copy of the questionnaire so they could have a look at it before deciding to participate or not. As usually happens in these cases, some of the contacted teachers agreed to participate and asked their students if they were willing to complete the questionnaire. Other teachers refused to participate, in most cases citing lack of time, and other teachers simply did not respond to the email. Intending to discard the maximum amount of variables, we tried to follow, as far as possible, the same methodology in all the EMI participating groups. In some cases the questionnaires were delivered by post to the teachers, in other cases we met the teachers in their office and delivered them by hand, and in other cases, these were delivered to the secretary's office. As it was not possible for the researcher to attend all the courses and deliver the questionnaire to the students personally, it was each teacher who explained and handed over the questionnaires in each group. In some cases the students completed the questionnaires in class and in other cases they completed them at home and brought them back to class when they were filled in. Once the questionnaires were completed, the teachers returned them to the researcher by post, personally or leaving them in the secretary's office.

Once we had the 455 questionnaires completed on paper, we entered all the data in the SPSS and created a database. We also keyed in the comments made by the students at the end of the questionnaire in a word document in order to have a copy of all of them and to keep them safe.

The statistical procedure followed to analyse the data obtained from the questionnaire was the following. First, we classified our items by groups based on the relationship we saw between them. This way, we identified 9 different groups or categories. Then, the Cronbach Alpha test was performed to check these factors' internal consistency reliability.

As can be seen in Table 14 the values obtained from the Cronbach Alpha test were satisfactory, as none of the values were under 0.60 (Dörnyei, 2007) and all but one of them exceeded 0.70.

Table 14. Cronbach Alpha test.

Factor	Cronbach α
English proficiency improvement	0.737
Ideal L2 Self	0.808
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	0.710
EMI interest	0.784
Positive attitudes towards Translanguaging	0.784
Negative attitudes towards Translanguaging	0.656
The negative influence of EMI on interaction	0.762
The positive influence of EMI on interaction	0.717
The impact of students' English proficiency on interaction	0.726

6.5.1.4. Interviews with teachers A and B

Once we had all the lessons that form the corpus of this study recorded, the researcher met Teacher A and Teacher B, separately, for an interview. The interviews were carried out after attending the lessons, because we did not want the lecturers to know the researcher's aims, so their teaching would not be conditioned. The interviews were conducted in Basque and consisted of two parts. The first part was a structured interview formed by the following questions previously designed by the researcher:

1. How long have you been teaching at the university?
2. How long have you been an EMI teacher?
3. Why do you teach this subject in EMI? What are the reasons for you to be involved in EMI?

4. Which requirements must be met by a teacher in your faculty to teach an EMI course?
5. Did the university offer you any EMI training course? Have you attended any EMI training course?
6. What do you think about the use of languages other than the MOI language in your lessons? Do you know if the university has a clear stance regarding this question?

Some of these questions just look for objective information like for how long the lecturers had been teaching at university, but others, looked for lecturers' opinion regarding some issues related to BMI and EMI, such as what they thought about the use of languages other than the MOI language. The second part was an exploratory interview taking advantage of the topics that emerged during the conversation (e.g. advantages and disadvantages of teaching in English) to make teachers develop some ideas but without a structured scheme. The interviews lasted approximately one hour (each) during which we took notes as we talked with our participating teachers.

7. RESULTS

In this section we will present the findings obtained regarding the three main topics of this study: translanguaging, interaction and motivation. With the aim of answering our research questions, results will be presented both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective.

7.1. Translanguaging

7.1.1. Translanguaging: BMI vs. EMI and Teacher A vs. Teacher B

RQ1. Does translanguaging happen both in BMI and EMI?

In this section the results corresponding to RQ1 will be exposed. We will analyse if the language of instruction (Basque or English) has a repercussion on translanguaging. But first, we would like to explain the statistical method followed to obtain these results. The data corresponding to this section was obtained by the observation and recording of the BMI and EMI lessons and the subsequent transcription and classification of these using the adapted version of the observation tool COLT (see the methodology section above). Once we had all these data, the next step was to calculate the data per hour. The fact is that neither all the analysed lessons had the same length nor did we count with the exact amount of recorded class time from both teachers and both languages. Therefore, for the data to be homogeneous we transformed it into data per hour, as can be seen in Table 15, where the data appear already calculated per hour. We then performed the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test to see the normality of the distribution, which showed that our data did not follow a normal distribution. Consequently, Mann-Whitney nonparametric tests were carried out ($p < 0.05$).

Table 15 shows how many times translanguaging occurred depending on the teacher (A or B), and on the language of instruction (Basque or English). In this table a categorisation depending of who was the individual translanguaging (students or teachers); if it was linked to the material used for the lesson; and if when

translanguaging occurred the topic of discussion was a Subject-related topic or not can also be observed.

Table 15. *Translanguaging; values per hour.*

Translanguaging			
	Material	Teacher	Student
Teacher A (BMI + EMI)	0.61	2.04	0.96
Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	0.42	1.52	0.06
Basque (Teacher A + Teacher B)	0.77	2.82	0.56
English (Teacher A + Teacher B)	0.35	1.04	0.67
Teacher A in BMI	0.76	3.14	0.95
Teacher A in EMI	0.52	1.33	0.97
Teacher B in BMI	0.78	2.44	0.11
Teacher B in EMI	0.00	0.40	0.00

Let us discuss these results in more detail. Recovering the previously formulated RQ1. “Does translanguaging happen both in BMI and EMI?” and looking both to Table 15 and Table 16, it can be argued that translanguaging did happen both in BMI and EMI lessons. However, if we look to Table 16 some differences between the two languages of instruction can be found. Focusing on the materials used in class, we did not find a significant ($p=0.055$) difference in the presence of translanguaging used in BMI and EMI lessons. In Table 15 we can see that translanguaging in the materials had a presence of 0.77/h in BMI and 0.35/h in EMI, which is a very low occurrence in both settings indeed.

Regarding teachers’ translanguaging we did find significant ($p=0.025^*$) differences between BMI and EMI. We have to take into account that in the category BMI vs. EMI (in Table 16) we compared the language of instruction regardless of who the teacher was, that is, the data of both teachers were conflated. However, when we focused on the comparison of Teacher A in BMI vs. EMI, we did not find significant differences ($p=0.134$). Contrarily, we did find significant differences ($p=0.041^*$) in the case of Teacher B with a value of 2.44 teacher-translanguaging per hour in BMI vs. 0.40 in

EMI. Thus, the significance between BMI vs. EMI comparison regarding teachers' translanguaging was due to Teacher B.

Regarding students' translanguaging we did find significant differences ($p=0.018^*$) depending on the teacher lecturing. There was more student-translanguaging in those lessons taught by Teacher A, with a mean of 0.96 student translanguaging per hour, than in the classes taught by Teacher B (mean=0.06). This, however, requires some clarification. As can be seen in the results corresponding to interaction (section "7.2.1. Interaction: Teacher A vs. Teacher B"), there were more student interactions and students talked more time in Teacher A's lessons. Therefore, the more the students talk, the more opportunities for translanguaging to happen.

Table 16. Translanguaging: Teacher A vs. Teacher B and BMI vs. EMI. $p<0.05^*$; $p<0.01^{**}$.

Translanguaging			
	Material	Teacher	Student
Teacher A vs. Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	0.115	0.713	0.018*
BMI vs. EMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	0.055	0.025*	0.756
Teacher A in BMI vs. Teacher A in EMI	0.208	0.134	0.594
Teacher B in BMI vs. Teacher B in EMI	0.082	0.041*	0.361

Another aspect we wanted to analyse was whether the situation where translanguaging happened varied depending on the teacher lecturing and the language of instruction. With this in mind, we distinguished two categories: Subject-related and Non-Subject-related. The first category refers to those situations where translanguaging happens whilst the teacher or the students were engaged in subject-related talk, whereas in the second category they were engaged in talk that is not subject-related. The statistical procedure followed to obtain these results was

the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, which is a non-parametric statistical hypothesis test used to compare two related samples on a single sample to assess whether their population mean ranks differ.

Table 17. *Translanguaging: Subject-related and Non-Subject-related translanguaging per hour. *p<0.05; **p<0.01.*

Variables	Number of Subject-related per hour	Number of Non-Subject-related per hour	Significance
Teacher A (BMI + EMI)	3.22	0.33	0.005**
Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	2.00	0.06	0.011*
BMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	4.15	0.05	0.001**
EMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	1.63	0.38	0.057
Teacher A BMI	4.86	0.00	0.018*
Teacher A EMI	2.18	0.55	0.105
Teacher B BMI	3.33	0.11	0.026*
Teacher B EMI	0.40	0.00	0.180

Table 17 shows that in Teacher A's lessons we found significantly more ($p=0.005^{**}$) Subject-related translanguaging with a mean score of 3.22 than Non-Subject-related translanguaging (mean=0.33). We also found a significant difference ($p=0.011^{*}$) in the case of Teacher B with a mean score of 2.00 Subject-related translanguaging against a mean score of 0.06 Non-Subject-related translanguaging.

Both Teacher A and Teacher B displayed significantly more Subject-related translanguaging than Non-Subject-related translanguaging in BMI, the differences being statistically significant ($p = 0.018^{*}$ and $p = 0.026^{*}$ respectively). However, no significant differences were found in EMI, although both teachers also tended to use more Subject-related translanguaging when teaching in the foreign language.

Further analysis of these results leads us to conclude that in most cases translanguaging occurred in more formal contexts since the Subject-related translanguaging happened within a more formalised setting, whilst the Non-Subject-related translanguaging was related to more informal scenarios not directly

connected to the subject matter being taught (e.g. talking about something they did during the weekend).

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7.1.1.1. Summary

Translanguaging in EMI vs. BMI:

1. There was no significant difference regarding Material-Translanguaging when we compared BMI and EMI.
2. More Teacher-Translanguaging was observed in BMI than in EMI, but mainly due to Teacher B because there was no significant difference between Teacher A's BMI and EMI lessons.
3. There was no significant difference in Student-Translanguaging when comparing BMI and EMI.
4. There was significantly more Subject-related translanguaging than Non-Subject-related translanguaging both in Teacher A's and Teacher B's lessons, but only when Basque was the medium of instruction. In EMI no differences were observed.

Teacher A vs. Teacher B:

1. There was no significant difference in the Material-Translanguaging.
2. No significant difference was observed in Teacher-Translanguaging.
3. There was more Student-Translanguaging in Teacher A's lessons than in Teacher B's, but students also spoke more in the former's classes.
4. No significant difference was observed regarding Subject-related and Non-Subject-related Translanguaging.

7.1.2. Teachers' attitudes and beliefs towards translanguaging

RQ2. What are teachers' attitudes and beliefs regarding translanguaging?

Once we finished with the observation of the lessons, we met the two participant teachers, Teacher A and Teacher B, to interview them about some issues including translanguaging. As mentioned above, our intention was to talk to these teachers once we had recorded their lessons in order to avoid any influence that the interview topic itself may have had on their behaviour.

First, we asked them if they knew about the university's stance regarding the use of languages other than the language of instruction in their lessons. Both teachers answered that if there was one, they were unaware of it. Furthermore, they did not know if the university had any stance on this matter at all.

Then we asked them about their opinion regarding translanguaging. Teacher A explained that he only translanguaged if it was indispensable in very specific situations. The teacher explained that he would translanguage when introducing a new term in the EMI class if he thought it might be unfamiliar to students, so in this case, he would provide the term in their L1. The lecturer argued that in this kind of situation he considers translanguaging helpful for students to establish relationships between the terms they already know and the new ones. Besides, he explained that he would do it with specific terms and technical words, using "chain work" as an example of a term that could require a translation, because students might be more familiar with the Spanish term "*trabajo en cadena*" as an example of a term that could require a translation, because students might be more familiar with the Spanish term "*trabajo en cadena*" from common everyday language.

Moreover, this teacher explained that in his opinion the use of the L1, for example in EMI lessons, could be dangerous, as he believed that once students or teachers used their L1, this could easily lead to an excessive use of language other than the language of instruction. It should be noted that this opinion is in line with EMI students' because, as we saw previously, 73.62% of the students considered that the use of Basque/Spanish in English classes can lead to an excessive use of these languages instead of English.

Nevertheless, this teacher explained that he is not an “extremist” (in his own words), and he acknowledged that translanguaging surely can play a positive part. However, he believed that the use of other languages could have a more negative than positive impact both for students and teachers. And he clarified that he had the same opinion for both BMI and EMI lessons.

On the other hand, Teacher B admitted that he tried not to use a language other than the language of instruction both in his BMI and EMI lessons, but he also clarified that he was not very strict regarding this matter. He put as an example the seminars in which all the students worked in groups. He explained that if students asked him to approach their group and put a question in their L1, the teacher also answered them in that language and he did not see this as a problem. However, he also explained that when lecturing to the whole class he tried not to use his L1.

Therefore, it could be concluded that Teacher A’s attitude towards translanguaging was more in line with the virtual position (Macaro, 2009), because he tried to maintain a Basque only environment in the BMI group and an English only environment in the EMI classes. However, as the classroom observations brought to light, translanguaging occurred from time to time in both cases. By contrast, Teacher B expressed a more flexible attitude towards translanguaging, which would be more in line with the maximal position. Nevertheless, although Teacher A confessed to be more reluctant to translanguaging and Teacher B more flexible, we found significantly more student-translanguaging in the former’s lessons than in the latter’s, and no difference was found regarding teacher-translanguaging. The reason for this was that students participated more in Teacher A’s lessons, and therefore, the opportunities for translanguaging were more frequent. By comparison, in Teacher B’s lessons, translanguaging (both by the teacher and students), occurred when students were working in groups. We did not take this into account, as our study was focused on the teacher/whole class interaction, which leads us to the next topic of discussion.

7.1.3. Reasons for teachers to translanguage

In this section we will examine actual translanguaging practices in BMI and EMI classrooms providing extracts and examples from the observed lessons. We have

already observed that from a purely quantitative perspective, there is no significant difference between Teacher A and Teacher B regarding the amount of translanguaging. Nevertheless, when we take a qualitative approach and pay attention to *when* and *why* each teacher translanguages, we find some differences. We followed the Thematic Analysis method to analyse and code the teachers' qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

TA is a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set. Through focusing on meaning across a data set, TA allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences. (...) This method, then, is a way of identifying what is common to the way a topic is talked or written about and of making sense of those commonalities (p. 57).

We followed the six phases described by (Braun & Clarke, 2012) to proceed with the TA: (i) Familiarizing Yourself With the Data; (ii) Generating Initial Codes; (iii) Searching for Themes; (iv) Reviewing Potential Themes; (v) Defining and Naming Themes; (vi) Producing the Report.

This method helped identify and organise the data and offered us insight into patterns of meaning. After analysing all the cases in which translanguaging occurs, we came up with six categories, identifying six reasons (or objectives) for these teachers to translanguange:

1. Providing a translation.
2. The influence of Spanish on Basque: the use of Spanish expressions.
3. Translanguaging to attract students' attention.
4. Translanguaging as a criticism.
5. Linguistic cleanliness and purism.
6. Translanguaging in relation to the local culture and context.

In the following sections we will present some extracts from the classroom transcripts with a view to illustrating the aforementioned categories through concrete examples.

7.1.3.1. Providing a translation

The most common situation for Teacher B to translanguaje is when he wants to provide the translation of a specific term and he does it both in the EMI and the BMI groups.

T.B.: Frank was at the beginning a building contractor mmm... businesses... Building contractor. **Contratista**, OK? (*Contractor, OK?*)

1. Extract from class 4, EMI, Teacher B.

In extract 1, Teacher B provides the students with the translation of the term “building contractor” from English to Spanish (*contratista*) probably with the perception that the English term might be unfamiliar to students. That is, the teacher is trying to draw students’ attention to a specific term in order to prevent students from having problems with this lexical item (a pre-emptive episode), in opposition to those cases in which students have actually made a mistake (a reactive episode).

T.B.: *Gaineratikoaren bidez... gaineratikoa ez da oso espresio arrunta euskaraz. Gaineratikoa da... Excedente.* (Through the surplus... surplus is not a very common expression in Basque. Surplus is... Excedente).

2. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In this second example, the teacher uses a term in Basque that (in his opinion) is not very commonly used, which is why he provides the Spanish equivalent assuming that students will be more familiar with the Spanish term.

T.B.: In this chart you have “rotary control” I think... rotary control. You have to change that “rotary control” because in Spanish would be **control giratorio**... is not that meaning. Rotating control, ok? **Rotativo** in Spanish, OK?

3. Extract from class 4, EMI, Teacher B.

In extract 3, the teacher asks students to change a term they have in a chart from “rotary control” to “rotating control” because the chart contained a mistake. He explains the Spanish translation of “rotary control” (*control giratorio*) and the Spanish translation of “rotating control” (*control rotativo*) in the belief that students will see the difference more clear this way.

T.B.: *Zer da agentzia harremana? Edozein kontratu zeinetan agentea beste aldearentzat, nagusiarentzat edo printzipalarentzat.... bi... batez ere erabiliko dugu nagusia termino bezala, bale? Hitz bezala edo kontzeptu hori. Printzipala ere erderaz erabiltzen da **principal**, bale? Baina euskaraz erabiliko dugu gehiago nagusia”. (What is it agency relationship? Any contract in which the agent is for the other side, for the chief or the principal... we will mostly use the term chief, ok? As a term or a concept. Principal is also used in Spanish. Principal, ok? But in Basque we will use more chief).*

4. Extract from class 3, BMOI, Teacher B.

In extract 4, the teacher explains that they will be using the term “nagusia” (*principal*) over the term “printzipala” (*principal*) in Basque, but he clarifies that in Spanish they do use the term “principal” (*principal*). Since the terms used to refer to this concept are “principal” in English and “principal” in Spanish, it is understandable that the students may chose the term “printzipala” in Basque, because it is very similar to the other two. Therefore, the teacher finds it necessary to clarify that the term they will use in Basque will be “nagusia” since it is the habitual term in this field.

(The teacher shows a graph from a supermarket which has some terms in Spanish).

T.B.: ***El trabajador** langilea, **el proveedor** hornitzailea, **la sociedad** gizartea, **el capital** akziodunak, bale? Eta **el jefe**. Nor da **el jefe**? Bezeroak. (The worker, the provider, the society, the capital, ok? And el the boss. Who is the boss? The clients).*

5. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In extract 5 we can see how the teacher provides the Basque translation of some Spanish terms that appear in a graph. Probably all the students are familiar with those Spanish terms but the teacher gives them the translation not for the students to understand the meaning, but to know their Basque equivalent.

As we said, Teacher B usually translanguages to provide the translation of a specific term or concept with the intention of helping students understand what he considers an unusual term, or with the intention of helping students acquire the required specialized vocabulary in a specific language. We can also see how the language of reference for this teacher is Spanish, as both in BMI and EMI lessons when he provides the translation of a term, he does it in Spanish; except in the cases where the term appears already in Spanish, as can be seen in extract 5. This is unsurprising as Spanish is the majority language in the Basque Country and all the students who know Basque can also speak Spanish. Besides, Spanish is this teacher's L1. Thus, in these examples we can see Teacher B translanguaging from English to Spanish, from Basque to Spanish and from Spanish to Basque, but never from Basque to English or from English to Basque. Translanguaging between the foreign language and the minority language is therefore outside the linguistic practices of this lecturer.

To a lesser extent Teacher A also provides translations of specific terms, but tends to translanguage more in different situations. Again, these translations go from Spanish to Basque (vice versa) and from English to Spanish (vice versa), but it is not very usual either to find this teacher providing translations from Basque to English (or vice versa).

T.A.: *Ze kristo da Senatua? Ze egoten da izokin, **salmón** kolorezko... bozkatu baduzue edo bozkatzera joango bazarete etxean... ja etxean **sobrea** jasoko duzue!* (What the hell is the Senate? 'cause there is a salmon color... If you have voted or you are going to vote you will.... you will receive the envelope!)

6. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

(They are watching a video and the teacher stops it to make a comment).

T.A.: There is a vacuum, ok? **Vacío** in Spanish, yes?

7. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 6, the teacher mentions the Basque term (*izokin*) for the colour salmon and right afterwards he mentions the Spanish term (*salmón*). Probably, the teacher thought that the term *izokin* is not that common and that students, especially those whose L1 is Spanish, may not be familiar with it, so he provides the Spanish translation. He also uses the term “sobre(a)” (envelope), which is a very common word used by Basque speakers and comes from the Spanish term “sobre” (envelope) but adapted to Basque as a lexical borrowing or loanword. However, this term does not appear in the Basque dictionary, although it is used in everyday language (“gutun-azala” is the word accepted in the dictionary).

In extract 7, EMI students are watching a video in English when the teacher stops it to make some comments. The video mentions the word “vacuum” and the teacher provides the Spanish translation in case students are unfamiliar with the English term. This is, once again, an example of a pre-emptive episode, the most habitual example in this first category as these type of episodes are much more commonplace than reactive episodes in EMI settings (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2021).

7.1.3.2. The influence of Spanish on Basque: The use of Spanish expressions

Basque is very influenced by Spanish. Sometimes Basque speakers use Spanish terms that have become part of the Basque vocabulary, which traditionally have been known as loanwords. However, sometimes it is not easy to identify whether a specific word is an example of translanguaging or whether it has been accepted by the Academy of the Basque language and incorporated into the Basque dictionary. Thus, this makes it especially difficult to detect translanguaging among Basque Speakers, because Spanish loanwords have become an intrinsic element of the Basque language itself. In fact, on some occasions we had to look up some words in the dictionary to check whether it is a loanword or not.

T.A.: Bueno hesiak mota desberdineketakoak daude, eh? Eta hemen itxituretan ez dugu mota konkretu bati buruz hitz egiten. Baina adibidez, mota bateko hesiak izan daitezke...? Esan duzun bezala? (Well, there are different kinds of

fences, huh? And here in the enclosures we do not speak of any particular kind. But for example, one kind of fences could be...? Like you said?)

ST1: *Egurre. (Wood).*

T.A.: *Egurrezkoak. Eta nortzuk egiten dituzte egurrezko **vallak**? Nortzuk egingo dituzte? (Of wood. And who makes wood fences? Who would make them?)*

8. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

We saw in the previous section that there are not quantitative differences between Teacher A's translanguaging based on the MOI, Basque or English. It is worth remembering that Teacher A's L1 is Basque a fact that, per se, makes a difference with respect to Teacher B. In extract 8, Teacher A uses the Basque word *hesiak*, which means "fences" but then, he uses the word *valla(k)* which is the Spanish word for this term but with the Basque suffix *-k* that indicates plurality. Therefore, in this case we find the use of a Spanish term adapted to the Basque grammar, which is a rather common practice among Basque speakers.

T.A.: *Bueno, arotzak behar dira eta arotzak normalean ez dira joaten egur bila. Egurra nork ekartzen du herrira? Nortzuk ekartzen dute egurra... **materia prima**, lehengai bezala? Gero hori **manipulatua** izan dadin? Arotzek horrekin gero hesi bat egin dezaten. Egurra nork ekartzen du? (Well, carpenters are needed and carpenters don't usually go looking for wood. Who brings wood into town? Who brings wood as a... raw material? So then it can be handled? Then carpenters may make a fence with that. Who brings the wood?)*

9. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 9, the teacher uses the Spanish term *materia prima* (raw material) but right after he uses the Basque equivalent *lehengai*. Then, we also marked in italics the term *manipulatua* (handled), which is an adaptation to the Basque grammar of the Spanish participle *manipulado*, but this term appears indeed in the Basque dictionary. We wanted to highlight this to exemplify that in some instances it is particularly difficult to analyse translanguaging among Basque speakers, as the Basque dictionary includes so many Spanish loans. Thus, in the same short extract

we find a Spanish term that is not included in the Basque dictionary and another one that actually is.

T.A.: *Eta horiek erregeak babesten zituen baina errege konpainia bat zelako. Bestela merkatari batek ontzi bat **fletatu** bere aurrezkiekin eta abenturara irtetzea... hori ez zegoen hain beste.* (And these were protected by the king, but because they were a royal company. Otherwise, a merchant chartering a ship with his savings and going on adventure... That wasn't so common).

10. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Newcomenen lurrun makina urte batzuk beranduago eh... teknologia aldetik ja pixka bat **obsoleto** gelditzen ari zen.* (Newcomen's steam engine some years later eh... regarding technology was getting quite obsolete).

11. Extract from class 1, Basque MOI, Teacher A.

In extracts 10 and 11 we find the use of two Spanish words. In the first case, the teacher uses the verb *fletatu* (to charter), which is an adaptation from the Spanish verb *fletar* but applying those grammatical rules corresponding to Basque. In the second case, he uses the Spanish adjective *obsoleto* (obsolete). However, although there is a Basque equivalent for these two terms, they are rather uncommon and could be unfamiliar even to a Basque speaker. The verb *fletar* (*charter*) is quite technical and the Basque equivalent would be *pleitatu*, which is a rather unusual term. Besides, the term *obsoleto* (obsolete) is directly related to technology, therefore its use in this sense might be rather new. In Basque, those terms that refer to something invented “recently” are frequently loaned from Spanish or even from English.

T.A.: *Hamahiru, gero hamalau esaten du... baina berdin zaigu ni urteekin ez naiz oso **quisquillosoa**.* (Thirteen, then it says fourteen... but it doesn't matter I'm not very picky with dates).

12. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Ze horrek gehiago joditzen du, ez?* ('cause that bugs you more, right?)

13. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 12 and 13 we find a more informal use of translanguaging. In extract 12, the teacher uses the Spanish colloquial word *quisquilloso(a)* (*picky*) adapted to the Basque grammar. In extract 13 he kind of swears with the term *jodi(tzen)*, which comes from the Spanish term *joder* (*to piss someone off/bug someone*) again adapting it to Basque grammar. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that in Basque we do not count with so many ways to swear (or even slang), so Basque speakers usually do it in Spanish.

T.A.: *Beraz, parlamentua osatzeko bozkak izango dira, ezta? Baino batzutan bi sobre egoten dira hor, ezta? Claro, es que zuek...* (So, there will be elections to form the parliament, right? But sometimes there are two envelopes, right? Right, it's just that you...) (The teacher makes a gesture meaning that students are very young to know what he is talking about).

14. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

We can also see this Spanish influence in the use of expressions and conjunctions by teachers. In extract 14, Teacher A uses the Spanish expression "claro" (of course / right) and the conjunction *es que* that is commonly used by Spanish speakers in everyday informal communication. However, Basque speakers also commonly use this kind of Spanish expression, irrespective of their being native (*euskaldun zahar*) or new Basque speakers (*euskaldun berri*).

T.A.: *Irakurri egun bakoitzeko hiru eta listu. Hiru bider lau, hamabi. Lau bider lau, hamasei. Egun bakoitzeko hiru edo lau orrialde irakurtzea da. Gaur lau, bihar lau, etzi lau eta astelehenean beste lau. Fin.* (Read three each day and that's all. Three times four, twelve. Four times four, sixteen. It's about reading three or four pages a day. Four today, four tomorrow, four the day after tomorrow and four on Monday. That's all).

15. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 15, the teacher uses the Spanish expression *fin* which literally means *the end* and which has a literal translation into Basque (*amaiera*). However, in this context Teacher A did not use this term with that meaning but as an expression, which meant *that's all*. This teacher also uses other Spanish expressions such as “*impacto cero*” (*zero impact*), which could be translated into Basque (*zero eragin*), nevertheless, it is commonly heard in Spanish; or “*punto pelota*,” which is also a very common Spanish expression that notes the end of a matter and would mean something like “full stop” or “end of the story”. The use of Spanish terms in order to lay emphasis on particular parts of the speech thus becomes a common practice. We also observed how teachers use some Spanish terms but adapted to Basque grammar, and this also happens with expressions. Teacher A, for example, uses the expression “*kriston mobidak*” (*great mess*) in the BMI group, which is a very colloquial expression. *Kristo(n)* literally would mean *Christ's* but in this sense is used as a quantifier meaning “great, a lot”. *Mobida(k)* is a colloquial way to say “messes or events” and comes from the Spanish term *movida(s)* but adapted to Basque grammar changing the “v” with the “b” and adding the suffix “-k”, which indicates plurality.

*T.A.: Hor badago... umm... hau irakurriko dugu denbora baldin badugu.... Badago eh... ekonomilari Txinatar bat, bere abizena esango dut ze izena ahoskatzen zaila da. Chang izena du beste asko bezala, bai? Chang. Irakurriko dugu. Eta bera teoria bat dauka eta da: eskailerari ostikada, **patada a la escalera** Espainieraz. (There is... umm... we will read this if we have time... There is eh... a Chinese economist, I will say his surname because his name is hard to pronounce. Chang is his name, as many other's, yes? Chang. We will read it. And he has a theory: kick to the ladder, **patada a la escalera** in Spanish).*

16. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 16, Teacher A mentions the theory named by an economist as “kick to the ladder”. He mentions it first in Basque and then translates it into Spanish, probably in the belief that students may understand this expression better in the latter language. What is peculiar in this case is that the teacher mentions the same theory

in the EMI group (class 2) but he does not mention this expression either in English or in Spanish or in any other language.

T.B.: *Zer da hori? A ver, normalean biltzen zaratenean hor talde bat egiteko, normalean edo lagunak zarete edo elkar ezagutzen duzue.* (What is that? Let's see, usually when you gather to form a group, usually or you are friends or you know each other).

17. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

T.B.: *Zer esan nahi du horrek? A ver, mesedez* (asking for silence) *Azkenean kasu honetan garatzen den kontrola ez da profesionala.* (What does that mean? Let's see, please (asking for silence). In the end the control that gets developed in this case is not professional).

18. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

On the other hand, Teacher B tends to use the Spanish colloquial expression “a ver” which would literally translate to “let's see”. This is a very common expression used among Spanish speakers. However, we noticed that this teacher only uses this Spanish expression in the BMI group but not in the EMI group. Sometimes he uses this expression almost as a connector, as can be seen in extract 17, whilst at other times he uses it to claim students' attention, like in extract 18. In fact, this last example could also be included in the next category, namely translanguaging to attract students' attention.

Furthermore, we also see the current influence of English on Spanish and Basque speakers, as from time to time the teachers fall back on what are labelled as “Anglicism”. For example, Teacher A uses terms like *input* and *output*. We can also see this teacher adapting English terms to Basque grammar, such as when he uses the term *esprint(errak)*, which comes from the English term *sprint* but with the Basque suffix. Although the term *sprint* is also very habitual in Spanish, it is adapted in this case to its pronunciation and spelling as *esprint*.

7.1.3.3. Translanguaging to attract students' attention

After observing Teacher A's translanguaging we noted that he utilised it as a resource to attract students' attention.

T.A.: *Hamaika garren lerroan dio Adam Smith-ek... ¡Atentos! Zer dio Adam Smithek?* (In the eleventh line Adam Smith says... Attention! What does Adam Smith say?)

19. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Egingo det hogeita hamar segundutan eh ¡Al loro!* (I will do it in 20 seconds eh. Watch out!)

20. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extracts 19 and 20 we can see Teacher A using some expressions in Spanish to capture or ensure students' attention. These expressions are meant to attract the listeners' attention but, when they are uttered in a language other than the language of instruction, they are believed to be more effective. This teacher also uses a very colloquial expression, "al loro", which is a very informal way to say "watch out", in a clear attempt to catch students' attention.

Another recourse this teacher often uses to encourage attention is to use foreign languages.

T.A.: *Frantzian nola gestionatzen zuten eh... ideia berritzaileen kontu hau... Frantzian? Akademia bat zegoen ezta? Académie de Sciences on Français. C'est quoi l'académie des sciences? Zer esan dut? Zer da...Zer da... zientziaren academia, zer zen Frantzian?* (In France how did they manage eh... this thing of innovative ideas... in France? There was an academy, right? Académie de Sciences in French. What is it l'académie des sciences? What did I say? What is it... what was it the Academy of Science in France?)

21. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Ikatz... Harri-ikatz asko kontsumitzen zuen eta hortik lortzen zen indarra edo energia ura ponpatzeko ez zen oso handia. **Capito?** Bai? (Coal... it consumed a lot of stone coal and the energy they got from it for pumping the water wasn't so big. Understood?)*

22. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 21, Teacher A is talking about the Science Academy in France so he takes advantage of his knowledge of French to question students in that language. He may expect to surprise students by translanguaging in French and therefore capture their attention, as right afterwards he reformulates the question into Basque. In extract 22, the teacher uses the Italian expression “capito?” to check students comprehension. The correct use of this expression would be “capisci?” (understood?) because “capito” (understood) would be the answer to the question. Nevertheless, as this is a very common expression and often used incorrectly by Spanish/Basque speakers, students probably understood what the teacher meant.

T.A.: I think Germany maybe showed that dilemma at the time. **Zollverein. Was ist zollverein?** What is *zollverein*? **Verein** is like a... **Fußballverein** is a football team. Am I right? So **verein** is like a team, organisation. And **zoll** is the toll you pay, ok? In a bottom way... So, what is exactly a **zollverein**... in Germany 19th century? So there are different **bundeslands** (*federal state*), ok? That were like operating like quite... individually.

23. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 23 we can see how the teacher employs German terms to talk about a Germany related matter. But not only that, he also asks students in German (*Was ist zollverein?*) taking advantage of his knowledge of this language, although he asks the same question in English right after. In this extract the teacher demonstrates his interest for the students to understand the German term *zollverein* and gives some linguistic explanations. Thus, he provides students with other uses of the word *verein*, such as *Fußballverein*, in the belief that this may be more familiar to the students, or serve as an example. Then he also uses the word *bundeslands* (although the correct plural would be *bundesländer*) instead of “federal states”, probably

because it is a commonly used term when talking about Germany even in other languages, so the teacher may want his students to be familiar with the term, or he considers that they might be already familiar with it as he does not provide any translation. Doiz and Lasagabaster (2021) also observed such use of foreign languages among EMI teachers of history.

T.A.: Wool. What is Wool?

ST1: *Lana*. (*Wool in Spanish*).

T.A.: Work, *lana* in Basque is work.

(We can't hear what ST1 answers but we can suppose that he explains that he was talking in Spanish).

T.A.: Ah, (laughs) you didn't say that in Basque but in other language.

ST1: Spanish.

T.A.: Spanish. Because you know when we change languages from English.... multiple languages in the world so...

24. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

These multilingual practices sometimes also lead to misunderstandings and laughter as is the case in extract 24. Here, students are working in groups when the teacher hears some students arguing about a term. The teacher approaches and asks them what the term "wool" means and a student answers that it is *lana* (wool in Spanish). So, the teacher thinks that this student is answering him in Basque and replies that *lana* means *work* in Basque. When the student explains the teacher that he is talking in Spanish and not in Basque the teacher laughs and comments that there are multiple languages in the world (meaning that he misunderstood him). We did not find this type of translanguaging occurring in the lessons of Teacher B; this is why all the extracts provided in this section correspond to Teacher A.

7.1.3.4. Translanguaging as a criticism

We have seen how Teacher A translanguages often by taking advantage of the various languages that he knows, especially in order to attract students' attention. However, this is not the only situation where he translanguages (for example, to

French in BMI and EMI lessons), but he also uses it as a criticism when students are talking among themselves in a language other than the language of instruction.

T.A.: *Pourquoi est-ce que tu as parlé en espagnol? Sinon... je choisis une autre langue. Alors, anglais oui.* (Why did you speak in Spanish? Otherwise... I choose another language. So, English yes).

25. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 25, EMI students are working in groups when one student raises her hand asking the teacher to approach her group. When the teacher arrives, the student starts asking a question in Spanish, so the teacher immediately changes to French and asks her in this language why she is talking in Spanish. This is not an isolated case but a resource this teacher usually uses when students are talking in a language other than the language of instruction, usually Spanish, both in BMI and EMI lessons. Students usually laugh when he does this and easily understand why he is doing so, and they go back to using Basque or English.

Therefore, Teacher A likes to take advantage of his multilingual condition and uses French and German as well as Basque, Spanish and English, from time to time. However, he prefers the students to stick to the language of instruction and makes sure students understand this, by ironically speaking to them in French or German. Other times, before the students start an activity in groups he warns them that they are expected to talk in the language of instruction. In contrast, Teacher B does not seem to worry so much about this matter. For example, in the practical lessons where students tend to talk to each other in their L1, he does not criticise this conduct. This is in line with these teachers' own opinions about translanguaging presented in section "7.1.2. Teachers' attitudes and beliefs towards translanguaging".

7.1.3.5. Linguistic cleanliness and purism

Another aspect that Teacher A worries about, apart from students using the language of instruction, is that they use it "correctly". This happens especially in BMI lessons.

T.A.: *Nik adibidez denbora gitxiago erabiliz ekoizten badut auto bat, beste herrialde batekin konparatuta, nik auto baten produkzioan beste herrialde hori baino “ummmm” naiz.* (If I, for example, produce a car using less time, in comparison to other countries, I am more “ummmm” in the production of a car than that other country).

ST1: **Efizienteagoa.** (More efficient).

T.A.: *Efizienteagoa edo, Euskara garbiagoan, eraginkorragoa naiz. Eta eraginkorragoa izatea zer da? Bueno ba produktiboa izatea edo ekoizkorra izatea. Ekoitzi eta produzitu eta manufacturatu, hiru sinonimo azterketan sartzeko, bai?* (Efizienteagoa or, in a cleaner Basque, I am eraginkorragoa (more efficient). And what is it to be more efficient? Well, to be more produktiboa (productive) or to be ekoizkorra (more productive). Ekoitzi (produce) and produzitu (produce) and manufacturatu (manufacture), three synonyms to mention in the exam, yes?)

26. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Bale ulertzen dugu mugimendu bat nola sortzen den? Bai? Kontainer batean. Bueno, makinak noski hau baino edukiontzi handiagoa izango du. Sartzen da lehendabizi...? Zer sartzen da hor barruan?* (OK, do we understand how a movement is created? Yes? In a container. Well, of course the machine will have a bigger container than this one. First they put inside...? What do they put inside?)

ST1: **Baporea.** (Steam).

T.A.: *Zer sartzen da?* (What do they put?)

ST1: **Baporea.** (Steam).

T.A.: *Baporea...edo Euskara garbiagoan... Lurruna, ezta? Lurruna nola sortzen da? Lurruna nondik dator? Zer behar dugu lurruna sortzeko?* (Baporea (steam)... or in a cleaner Basque... Lurruna (steam), right? How is steam created? Where does steam come from? What do we need to create steam?)

Some students: *Ura.* (Water).

27. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Eta adibidez burdinarekin zer erreminta egin daitezke? Bueno mila gauza, ez? Kokea zertarako erabiltzen da?* (And for example what tools can be made with iron? Well, a lot of things, right? What is coke used for?)

Some students: *Burdina desegiteko.* (To melt/destroy the iron).

T.A.: *Burdina...?* (The iron...)

ST1: *Desegiteko.* (To melt/destroy).

T.A.: *Bueno desegin baino... desegin nik ulertzen dut eliminatu... ez dakit beste....* (Well, more than desegin (to melt/destroy)... I understand desegin (to melt/destroy) like destroy... I don't know another...)

ST1: *No eh...funditu.* (No eh...melt).

T.A.: **Fundir** funditu da... *Euskara... EGA Euskaran funditu nola da? Funditu ulertuko nuke eh, baina...urtzeko ez? Urtu egiten da.* (Fundir (to melt) is funditu (to melt)... in Basque.... How is it in EGA's Basque? I would understand funditu (to melt) eh, but... urtzeko (to melt), right?)

28. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In these extracts (26, 27 and 28) we can see how Teacher A asks students to translanguague to what he calls a “cleaner” Basque. In the extracts seen previously, we presented teachers translanguaging from one language to another but, here we can see how this teacher asks students to translanguague from Spanish influenced Basque to “cleaner” Basque. In extract 26, the student uses the term *efiziente(agoa)* (more efficient), which is a term that appears in the Basque dictionary. However, this term comes from the Spanish term *eficiente* (efficient). Thus, although the teacher accepts student's answer as good, he explains that in a “cleaner Basque” they would say *eraginkorragoa* (more efficient). We find the same situation in extract 27 where a student uses the term *baporea*, which comes from the Spanish term *vapor* but also appears in the Basque dictionary, and the teacher provides the synonym *lurruna*, again mentioning linguistic “cleanliness.”

In extract 28 we find again the influence of Spanish on Basque speakers. A student uses the term *desegin*, which also comes from the Spanish term *deshacer*. This term has more than one meaning, but in this context the student used it as “to melt”. Nevertheless, it can also mean “to destroy”, and this is how the teacher understands it, and therefore, he asks for another term. This is when the student, looking for a

synonym, uses the term *funditu*, which also comes from the Spanish term *fundir*. However, these two terms have not the same meaning in both languages, at least not according to the dictionary. The term *fundir* in Spanish, apart from other entries means “to melt”, which is what the student is referring to. Nevertheless, the term *funditu* in Basque, according to the dictionary, means “to destroy” or “to burn out”, a bulb for example, which are some of the other meanings this term also has in Spanish. Nevertheless, it is known that the definition provided by the dictionary states and how terms are used by people in everyday language sometimes do not coincide. Therefore, teacher A explains that he perfectly understood what the student meant by *funditu*, but he asks what the correct term according to the EGA certificate (Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria, that is, the official exam that teachers need to pass in order to teach in and through Basque) and he provides the corresponding Basque term to refer to “to melt”, which is *urtu*.

Teacher A’s is not a rare case, and comes in line with what other studies (Martínez, Hikida and Durán, 2014) have previously presented where teachers show ideologies related to linguistic purism. However, we must clarify that it does not seem that the motivations of this teacher for promoting a “cleaner” Basque language are related to his own ideologies, but rather to what he considers is to be expected from university students and academic institutions. On many occasions, when the teacher asks a student to use a “cleaner” (as he puts it) term, he also justifies that he understands and would consider that answer as valid; however, he requests a term that is accepted by the EGA certificate, meaning a more specialized and academic register.

Interestingly, purism is not a question subject to translanguaging in English. This is more than likely due to the fact that teachers feel much more confident in Basque than in English. This is especially the case of Teacher A, whose L1 is Basque; and in fact, Teacher B does not delve into issues concerning linguistic cleanliness and purism at all.

7.1.3.6. Translanguaging in relation to the local culture and context

When we talk about culture or traditions of a specific place, translanguaging is sometimes almost unavoidable, as there are some terms and expressions that have

no translation to other languages. At other times, there is an equivalent term in another language or the speaker can simply “avoid” translanguaging by defining a concept without using the original name for it. However, sometimes the speaker may decide voluntarily to translanguage in relation to those culture-related concepts. We are talking here about a conscious choice.

Teacher A, for example, likes to relate the content of the subject with real examples taken from Spain or the Basque Country. He also takes advantage of these moments to bring Erasmus students closer to the Basque culture.

T.A.: When you go to a *txoko* or *sociedad gastronómica*, so maybe this also needs an explanation. *Sociedad gastronómica*... Who is going to explain? How are you going to explain to our Erasmus students what a *sociedad gastronómica* is or a *txoko*? It is something very popular in the Basque Country, which we are very proud of. Aren't we? Yes! This is our invention! What is a *sociedad gastronómica* or *txoko*?

ST1: A place where people meet to cook and drink and... anything.

T.A.: Yes, cook and drink and... What is the origin of that *txoko*? Why do we have *txokos* in the Basque Country? Because...? You don't know? Why do we have *txokos*? Charcoals... (the teacher and students laugh) Why do we have? Why do we need *txokos*? (...) It is like a bar, private bar for like 50, 60 maybe, there are some *txokos* that can host 100 members if the service is provided... big enough. I mean... a big kitchen, a big dining room, ok? So well, I've mentioned this just to inspire your memories when your father, or mother... I don't know who... or yourself. When you cook in a *txoko* so ah... when you are going to cook fish or meat in a *parrilla*. How do you say *parrilla*? I don't know myself.

ST2: Grill.

T.A.: Grill, yes.

29. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 29, Teacher A is talking to students about coal, so he prompts the students to think about a moment when they might have used coal. He starts talking about the *txoko* and the *sociedad gastronómica* and then realizes that Erasmus students

might need an explanation about what these are. Not only does the teacher use the Basque term *txoko*, but he also uses the Spanish term *sociedad gastronómica* to refer to the same concept. Therefore, the teacher translanguages to Basque and Spanish to reference the same concept, but both terms are very related to Basque culture. We can also see Teacher A making a word game while he translanguages. He is using the word *txoko* repeatedly and, suddenly, he says *charcoal*, which is actually the Subject-related content they are talking about, and phonetically it sounds similar to *txoko*. This provokes laughter from the teacher himself and the students. So here we can find Teacher A not only translanguaging but also taking advantage of his own and the students' multilingualism to play with language.

Towards the end another translanguaging case happens, when the teacher does not know how to say *parrilla* (grill in Spanish) in English, so he directly asks his students, and a student provides the English term.

T.A.: So the solution to this problem was replacing wood but...?

Some students: Coal.

T.A.: Coal, ok? You know what charcoal is? We in the Basque Country.... we have a very popular charcoal maker. Who is our charcoal maker?

ST1: ***Olentzero***.

T.A.: ***Olentzero***, ok? ***Olentzero*** is our um.... Santa Claus, ok? That comes on 24th of December. And he is a charcoal maker.

30. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 30, Teacher A once again takes advantage of the topic they are dealing with to relate it to Basque culture. In this case they are talking about charcoal and the teacher asks students who the famous charcoal maker is in the Basque Country, to which students answer that it is Olentzero. Then the teacher explains to Erasmus students who Olentzero is.

(ST1 stands up to leave the class and gives a slap on the back to a friend)

T.A.: Yeah, have a nice weekend (The teacher is referring to what ST1's slap means).

ST1: *Lo mismo. (The same).*

T.A.: You said that but with body-language.

ST1: *Lo mismo pero en Inglés, que no me sale. (The same but in English, I can't remember it).*

T.A.: We in the Basque Country make that very usually well a... (makes a gesture).

31. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 31 we encounter a unique case because, apart from the translanguaging found in the oral production, kinesics is also involved. First, ST1 stands up to leave the classroom and, on his way out, he slaps on a classmate's back. The teacher interprets that what ST1 wanted to say to his friend with that gesture is "have a nice weekend". However, ST1 did not understand that the teacher is explaining what his gesture meant and replies "*lo mismo*" (*the same*). Again, the teacher explains to ST1 that he was referring to his body-language, but the student answers "*lo mismo pero en Inglés, que no me sale*", justifying that he is talking in Spanish but because he cannot think of the correct way to say it in English. Teacher A then explains, for the benefit of the Erasmus students, that the gesture ST1 made is a very typical gesture in the Basque Country. Thus here, apart from ST1 translanguaging in Spanish, the teacher considers that his body-language may be very related to Basque peoples' specific culture and, therefore, it might need an explanation.

We can also see Teacher B translanguaging to provide students references and examples related to the cultural and social context where they live.

32. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

T.B.: *Doce en casa... Doce fuera de casa erderaz da. Ba ingelesez titulo originala da Cheaper by the Dozen. (Doce en casa... Doce fuera de casa is in Spanish. So the original title in English is Cheaper by the Dozen).*

33. Extract from class 4, EMI, Teacher B.

T.B.: In Spanish is *Doce Fuera de Casa* with Steve Martin. Cheaper by the Dozen.

In extracts 32 and 33 we can see how the teacher mentions the original title of a movie in English, and then, he provides the Spanish title, both in BMI and EMI, with the belief that students will be more familiar with the name of the movie in Spanish. Indeed, most students recognised the film once the teacher provided the Spanish title.

(The teacher is talking about the slogan of El Corte Inglés).

T.B.: *Si no está satisfecho eh... Nola da? Puede devolver el producto...ez dakit, daukate horrelako esaldi bat, bale? Pozik geratzen ez bazara produktuarekin itzuliko dizugu dirua. Horrelako garantia, bermea. (If you are not satisfied eh... How is it? You can return the product.... I don't know, they have a saying like that, ok? If you are not happy with the product we will refund your money. That kind of guarantee).*

34. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In extract 34, the teacher mentions in the BMI group a very famous slogan from a mall and then gives the Basque translation. This slogan is very popular in the Basque Country as it was often broadcast on television and the radio so the teacher supposes that students, even those who have Basque as their L1, will be more familiar with the Spanish version. In these extracts we can again see that Spanish is the language of reference for Teacher B no matter the language of instruction.

This translanguaging that we classified as “related to local culture and context” dovetails nicely with the concepts of “conscious language choice” (Jørgensen et al.,

2011), “voluntary translanguaging” or “insider identity”. These concepts have been studied in relation to what has been called pragmatic translanguaging (Nightingale & Safont, 2019). Sometimes the speaker may voluntarily decide to translanguage to show a sign of identity or of belonging to a group or community. The choice of certain words instead of others and the choice of one "language" over another can give the speaker the quality of "insider" of a community. The examples provided above fit within this feeling of belonging.

7.1.4. Students’ opinion: Translanguaging

RQ3. What are students’ attitudes and beliefs regarding translanguaging?

In this section we will present the results related to students’ attitudes and opinions regarding translanguaging, which were obtained through the questionnaire (Appendix 1). Two factors were obtained related to translanguaging “Positive attitudes towards translanguaging” and “Negative attitudes towards translanguaging” and, as can be seen in Table 18, these factors had satisfactory internal consistency reliability (0.784 and 0.656 in the Cronbach Alpha test). However, we must clarify that a change was made in relation to the factor "Positive attitudes towards Translanguaging". Initially, item 50 (University requires students in my degree to complete a minimum of credits in English if they do not have the First Certificate (or equivalent B2 Level)) was also included in this group, but was later dismissed due to its lack of relevancy to the rest of the items.

Table 18. Translanguaging: Cronbach Alpha test.

Factor	Items	Cronbach α
<p>Positive attitudes towards Translanguaging</p>	<p>51. If I am participating in English and, at a given moment, I do not know how to express an idea, I switch to my mother tongue.</p> <p>52. I believe that although the subject is in English, the teacher can also use other languages that she/he and the students know (Basque/Spanish) from time to time.</p> <p>54. If the teacher is speaking in English and at a given moment she/he cannot express an idea or does not remember a term, I think it is appropriate that she/he changes to Basque/Spanish.</p> <p>55. Being able to use Basque / Spanish at a specific moment when I cannot formulate an idea in English would help me participate in class.</p> <p>56. I would like to see teachers using more Basque or/and Spanish in English classes.</p> <p>59. In exams we should be allowed to use some Basque/Spanish if we do not know some vocabulary or how to express and idea.</p> <p>60. I see appropriate the use of Basque/Spanish materials in English classes.</p> <p>62. Out of class time (in tutorials for example) I prefer talking to the teacher in Basque/Spanish than in English.</p>	0.784
<p>Negative attitudes towards Translanguaging</p>	<p>53. I prefer that in English subjects the teacher does not use languages other than English.</p> <p>57. I prefer that in English subjects students do not use languages other than English.</p> <p>58. I think that the use of Basque/Spanish in English classes can lead to an excessive use of these languages instead of English.</p> <p>61. If I approach to the teacher out of the class time to ask about subject matters, I do it in English.</p>	0.656

We will now present the results obtained regarding these two categories. Table 19 shows that the student community was quite divided regarding their own, their classmates' and their teachers' translanguaging, as more or less, half of them deemed the use of their L1 from time to time appropriate, whereas the other half did not (items: 51, 52, 59). However, students showed more positive attitudes towards translanguaging (63.7%) when we presented a specific situation (item 54) where the teacher cannot express an idea or does not remember a term. But it seems rather clear that the vast majority (92.1%) did not want to see an increase in the

presence of Basque/Spanish, as item 56 displayed the highest percentage by far in students' responses. In the same way most of the students (66.8%) did not agree with the use of Basque/Spanish materials in EMI lessons (item 60).

Table 19. Students' response percentages to positive and negative attitudes towards translanguaging.

Factor	Items	Likert Scale 1-3 (negative)	Likert Scale 4-6 (positive)
Positive attitudes towards translanguaging	51. If I am participating in English and, at a given moment, I do not know how to express an idea, I switch to my mother tongue.	49.9%	50.1%
	52. I believe that although the subject is in English, the teacher can also use other languages that she/he and the students know (Basque/Spanish) from time to time.	46.7%	53.6%
	54. If the teacher is speaking in English and at a given moment she/he cannot express an idea or does not remember a term, I think it is appropriate that she/he changes to Basque/Spanish.	34.7%	65.3%
	55. Being able to use Basque / Spanish at a specific moment when I cannot formulate an idea in English would help me participate in class.	36.3%	63.7%
	56. I would like to see teachers using more Basque or/and Spanish in English classes.	92.1%	7.9%
	59. In exams we should be allowed to use some Basque/Spanish if we do not know some vocabulary or how to express and idea.	52.9%	47.1%
	60. I see appropriate the use of Basque/Spanish materials in English classes.	66.8%	33.2%
	62. Out of class time (in tutorials for example) I prefer talking to the teacher in Basque/Spanish than in English.	37.5%	62.5%
	TOTAL	52.1%	47.9%
Negative attitudes	53. I prefer that in English subjects the teacher does not use other languages than English.	34.1%	65.9%

towards translang uaging	57. I prefer that in English subjects students do not use other language than English.	39.6%	60.4%
	58. I think that the use of Basque/Spanish in English classes can lead to an excessive use of these languages instead of English.	26.4%	73.6%
	61. If I approach to the teacher out of the class time to ask about subject matters I do it in English.	30.3%	69.7%
	TOTAL	32.6%	67.4%

Despite the fact that many were somewhat reluctant to the presence of these languages in EMI lessons, most (62.5%) confessed that out of class time, in tutorials for example, they preferred to speak with the teacher in their L1 rather than in English (item 62). 47.9% of the students gave high scores to the factor “Positive attitudes towards transanguaging,” with the other 52.1% giving low scores to this factor, which shows that the opinions were divided regarding this matter.

Students showed a greater consensus regarding the category “Negative attitudes towards transanguaging”, where 67.4% of them agreed with the items included in this group. Focusing on these items we could see, for example, that 73.6% of the students considered that the use of Basque/Spanish in EMI lessons could lead to an excessive use of these languages instead of English (item 58). Another result that caught our attention was that 69.7% of the students confessed that when they approached the teacher out of class time to ask about subject matters, they usually did it in English (item 61). However, as we saw above, the majority of them (62.5%) would prefer to do it in their L1 (item 62).

This last result leads us to reflect that students, in a certain way, see the EMI classroom as a bubble in which both students and teachers adopt their EMI role. However, as soon as they come out of that bubble, for example in a tutorial in the teacher's office, the situation changes. Despite the fact that it is still part of the academic context with the same teacher, students acknowledge that, in this case, they would prefer to speak in their L1 (although the majority stick to English). This may be because, sometimes, it is indeed in tutorials where students will bring up most of their doubts and questions and have longer conversations with the teacher, which they would prefer to have in their L1.

7.1.4.1. Summary

1. The student community was divided regarding their own, their classmates' and teachers' translanguaging. Half of them saw the use of their L1 from time to time appropriate, whilst the other half did not.
2. The vast majority (92.1%) did not want to see an increase in the presence of Basque/Spanish in EMI.
3. Most students (66.8%) did not agree with the use of Basque/Spanish materials in EMI.
4. Regarding the category labelled as "Negative attitudes towards translanguaging", a majority (67.4%) of the students supported the items included in it.

7.1.4.2. Factors that may influence students' opinion regarding translanguaging

In the first page of our questionnaire EMI students were asked for some personal information. These data allowed us to pay attention to some variables that may affect students' answers. In this section we will present how the variables of gender, university faculty, being an Erasmus or local student, L1 and, English proficiency affected students' opinions about translanguaging.

7.1.4.2.1. Gender

In this section we will analyse the influence that gender had on student attitudes towards translanguaging. In the questionnaire students had 3 options to select in relation to their gender: feminine, masculine, and non-binary. However, when presenting the results, we will only refer to two genders, the feminine and the masculine gender, because the non-binary option was rarely chosen by the participants.

In addition, we must make a terminological clarification. Although in the questionnaire we classified students' gender using the terms feminine and masculine, from now on we will use the terms male and female since these are the

terms commonly used in the literature of our field. However, we want to clarify that at all times we are referring to the gender of the students and not their sex.

As for the the statistical procedure followed, we first calculated students' answers' mean scores differentiating between female and male genders. Then, we did the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test to see the normality of the distribution, which showed that our data did not follow a normal distribution. Therefore, we performed a Mann-Whitney test to see if there was a statistically significant gender-related difference.

Table 20. Students' attitudes towards translanguaging depending on gender. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Female (M)	Male (M)	Significance
Positive attitudes towards translanguaging	3.12	3.34	0.020*
Negative attitudes towards translanguaging	4.23	3.99	0.008**

Table 20 shows that gender had a significant influence ($p=0.020^*$ and $p=0.008^{**}$) on students' attitudes and opinions regarding translanguaging. Male students showed more positive attitudes towards translanguaging than their female counterparts. In relation to the category "Positive attitudes towards translanguaging", male students gave higher scores to its items with a mean score of 3.34 out of 6, while the female student mean ($M=3.12$) was significantly lower. In comparison, females showed more negative attitudes towards translanguaging with a mean score of 4.23 versus males' more positive attitudes (3.99).

7.1.4.2.2. University faculty

In this section we analyse how the faculty influenced students' answers regarding translanguaging practices. As a reminder, the faculties that participated in the questionnaire were: Social Science and Communication, Education, Economics and Business, Engineering, Architecture and Computer Sciences.

We performed a Kruskal-Wallis test to check whether the university faculty students were enrolled in exerted a significant impact on the results. Then, we

carried out a Mann-Whitney test to compare an individual faculty with the rest of the faculties (e.g. Education vs. the rest). Finally, we did a further Mann-Whitney test to compare the faculties in pairs until all faculties had been compared with each other.

Table 21. Students' attitudes towards translanguaging depending on their faculty. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Social S. and Commu. (M)	Archi. (M)	Educ. (M)	Econ. And Bus. (M)	Engin. (M)	Comp. S. (M)	Significance
Positive attitudes towards translanguaging	2.89	3.22	3.48	3.11	3.51	3.33	0.000**
Negative attitudes towards translanguaging	4.35	3.91	4.07	4.23	3.9	4.25	0.054

Table 21 shows that the scores given by the students to “Positive attitudes towards translanguaging” were significantly different ($p = 0.000^{**}$) depending on the faculty they were enrolled in. On the contrary, the scores given by the students to the items included in the “Negative attitudes towards translanguaging” category were not significantly different ($p = 0.054$) depending on the faculty.

In general terms we could state that students from the faculty of Engineering were the ones that showed more positive attitudes towards translanguaging, followed by the students from the faculty of Education. Students from the faculty of Engineering reached a mean score of 3.51 (on a 1-6 scale) and those in the faculty of education gave a mean score of 3.48.

On the other hand, the students from the Social Science and Communication with a mean score of 2.89 were the ones that showed less positive attitudes towards translanguaging. This concurred with the results obtained when analysing the scores corresponding to the “Negative attitudes towards translanguaging” category, in which students from Social Science and Communication’s faculty were also the ones with the highest means, therefore suggesting their more negative attitudes towards translanguaging. Conversely, students from the faculty of Engineering

continued being the ones with less negative attitudes towards translanguaging (M=3.90), but in this case followed by those students in the faculty of Architecture (M=3.91). Nevertheless, as mentioned above, no significant differences were found depending on the faculty in this second category.

7.1.4.2.3. Erasmus vs. local students

Erasmus students were very common in EMI courses since most of them did not have sufficient proficiency to understand content lectures delivered in Spanish. However, they were not present in BMI groups, as they lacked any Basque competence. From the 455 students that participated in this questionnaire, 111 were Erasmus students (24.4%). In this section we will show whether being an Erasmus or local student affected students' attitudes and opinions regarding translanguaging.

In general terms, the answer is yes. Table 22 shows that the scores given by the students to "Positive attitudes towards translanguaging" ($p=0.000^{**}$) and "Negative attitudes towards translanguaging" ($p=0.000^{**}$) differed depending on whether they were Erasmus or local students.

Local students showed more positive attitudes towards translanguaging than their Erasmus counterparts (2.52), with a mean score of 3.44 in those items corresponding to the factor "Positive attitudes towards translanguaging".

In a similar way, in this case regarding the items corresponding to the factor "Negative attitudes towards translanguaging", local students showed less negative attitudes (3.99), while Erasmus students showed significantly more negative attitudes (4.56).

Table 22. Local and Erasmus students' attitudes towards translanguaging. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Local (M)	Erasmus (M)	Significance
Positive attitudes towards translanguaging	3.44	2.52	0.000**
Negative attitudes towards translanguaging	3.99	4.56	0.000**

7.1.4.2.4. Students' L1

The statistical procedure followed to obtain these results was the same used in the case of the comparison between faculties. We obtained the mean scores of students' answers to each item in the questionnaire depending on their L1: Basque, Spanish, both Basque and Spanish and, other.

Table 23. Students' attitudes towards translanguaging depending on their L1. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Basque (M)	Spanish (M)	Basque and Spanish (M)	Other L1 (M)	Significance
Positive attitudes towards translanguaging	3.63	3.42	3.33	2.61	0.000**
Negative attitudes towards translanguaging	4.02	3.96	4.09	4.52	0.000**

Table 23 shows that the scores given to the "Positive attitudes towards translanguaging" ($p = 0.000$ **) and "Negative attitudes towards Translanguaging" ($p = 0.000$ **) categories were significantly different depending on a student's L1. Students with Spanish ($M = 3.42$) or Basque ($M = 3.63$) as their L1 were the ones that showed more positive attitudes towards translanguaging. On the contrary, students with languages other than Basque, Spanish or both Basque and Spanish as their L1 showed less positive attitudes ($M = 2.61$). In the case of "Negative attitudes towards translanguaging", Spanish L1 students showed less negative attitudes, with a mean

score of 3.96. Again, students with other languages as their L1 were the ones who showed more negative attitudes ($M=4.52$). However, a reflection must be made when observing these results. The majority of students with an L1 other than Basque or Spanish were Erasmus students, and in most cases might not speak Basque or Spanish (which were teachers' and local students' L1.) Therefore, if students with other L1s translanguage, it is possible that no one would understand them. Similarly, if teachers or local students translanguage in Basque or Spanish, it is likely that Erasmus students would not understand them either. This may be one of the reasons why L1=other students harboured more negative attitudes towards translanguaging.

What is worth noting is that no significant differences were found in the case of students with Basque and/or Spanish as L1, and therefore among local students the L1 does not influence their attitudes towards translanguaging.

7.1.4.2.5. English proficiency

Finally, another aspect we found influencing EMI students' opinion regarding translanguaging was their English proficiency. In the questionnaire we asked students if they had any English certificate proving their English level, and if so, to specify it. Therefore, we only took into account the answers of those who had a certificate to prove their English level, because we did not know the English proficiency of those who did not have one. Their certificates were divided into two groups: (i) the Low English level included those holding an A1-B2 (or equivalent) certificate according to the European framework of Reference for Languages; and (ii) the High English level for those who demonstrated a C1 or C2 level of proficiency and those who were native speakers of English.

Table 24. Students' attitudes towards translanguaging depending on their English proficiency. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Low English Level (M)	High English Level (M)	Significance
Positive attitudes towards translanguaging	3.32	3.09	0.023*
Negative attitudes towards Translanguaging	4.13	4.20	0.555

Table 24 shows that the means obtained in the “Positive attitudes towards translanguaging” category were significantly different ($p=0.023^*$) depending on students’ English proficiency. Nevertheless, students’ English proficiency did not seem to influence ($p=0.555$) the scores given to the “Negative attitudes towards Translanguaging” category. The data showed that students with a lower English proficiency presented more positive attitudes towards translanguaging ($M=3.32$), whereas students with a higher English proficiency were less positive ($M=3.09$).

7.1.4.2.6. Summary

1. Gender: Male students had more positive attitudes than female students towards Translanguaging.
2. Faculty: Generally speaking, students from the faculties of Engineering and Education had more positive attitudes towards translanguaging, and students from the faculty of Social Science and Communication were less positive.
3. Local Students had more positive attitudes towards translanguaging than Erasmus students.
4. Students’ L1: Basque and/or Spanish L1 students showed more positive attitudes towards translanguaging, while L1=other students were more negative.
5. English proficiency: Students with lower English proficiency were more positive than their more proficient counterparts.

7.1.5. Reasons for students to translanguage

In the previous section, “7.1.1. BMI vs. EMI and Teacher A vs. Teacher B,” we saw that there is significantly more students’ translanguageing in Teacher A’s lessons than in Teacher B’s, and that there was no significant difference when we compare BMI and EMI. Also of note, in section “7.1.4. Students opinion: translanguageing,” we exposed students’ attitudes and beliefs regarding some aspects of translanguageing. In this section we want to show some examples of students’ translanguageing practices that occurred within the classroom context. This will allow us to come full circle, as we will be able to compare their opinions (collected via the questionnaire) with their actual translanguageing practices (collected through classroom observation).

As explained above, we followed the TA method (Braun & Clarke, 2012) to analyse and code the qualitative data.

After analysing all the cases in which students translanguage we identified four main reasons for students to translanguage:

1. Lack of vocabulary or not remembering it.
2. Influence of the materials used.
3. The influence of Spanish on Basque: the use of Spanish expressions.
4. Personal choice.

7.1.5.1. Lack of vocabulary or not remembering it

The first reason we identified for students to translanguage is related to their lack of vocabulary in English. It could also happen that although students know a term in English they do not remember it.

T.A.: Yeah, can you tell me an example of an economy that has made this decision?

ST1: Spain nowadays.

T.A.: Spain nowadays...

ST2: Basque Country...

T.A.: Ah! During Franco's regime.

ST1: Well, it was...*eh...cuando le...*

ST3: Isolation.

ST2: Isolated.

T.A.: Yes. And the first years of Franco's regime, ok? (...) But do we only have these two possibilities? Either we allow the entrance, or we forbid? There is no midway between these two extremes?

ST1: XXX (says something inaudible).

T.A.: Aha! So, then I can like allow but with one condition which is?

ST1: Paying more taxes.

T.A.: So foreign products they have to pay more taxes, ok? Where are these taxes paid? Where do these foreign products pay taxes?

ST1: ***Fronteras.***

T.A.: Eh?

ST1: Customs.

35. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 35 we can see ST1 struggling to express herself in English, when ST3 helps her providing the term she is looking for (isolation). ST2 then provides the correct grammatical use of this term (isolated). In this example we can see ST1 translinguaging, and how classmates manage in a collaborative way to complete the answer in English. The conversation continues and ST1 translanguages again to answer the teacher's question in Spanish. However, the teacher does not understand what ST1 has said so he asks, "Eh?", with a view to making her repeat the answer. This time, ST1 answers in English. It is interesting to note how ST1 answers the first time in Spanish and the second time, in a time difference of only a few seconds, in English. We can think that the student's first answer in Spanish is more spontaneous and in the second one, once she has reflected on her answer, the English term came to mind. Another possibility is that she interpreted the teacher's repetition request ("Eh?") as a request for her to answer in English instead of Spanish.

T.A.: So what do you say against that?

ST1: They put *aranceles* (some students laugh).

T.A.: Tariffs.

36. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 36, ST1 uses the Spanish word “*aranceles*” (Tariffs) and the teacher provides the English term right after without adding any comment. However, what is interesting in this case is that ST1’s translanguaging provokes laughter from the rest of the students. This example reflects how on some occasions translanguaging is a source of laughter for students, which could influence students’ future use of translanguaging.

T.A.: Yeah, a parish normally comprises an area you control or you are charged of. But really parish you know what it is? It is related to (a) religion.

ST1: *Parroquia*.

T.A.: Aham! Yes? So what is that in English a *parroquia*?

ST1: A church.

T.A.: Well it can be the building but also a *parroquia* a parish can be...well let’s say....

ST2: Like a community.

T.A.: Yeah, like a community controlling or responsible of a piece of land, ok? (...) What can you think of like a solution to motivate parishes to control, not to control but to maintain these roads in very good conditions?

ST3: XXX (says something inaudible).

T.A.: To...?

ST1: Paying fees like a... *Peaje*.

T.A.: Yes. How do we say that in English?

ST4: Toll.

T.A.: Toll, yes.

37. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 37, the teacher asks what a “parish” is, to which ST1 answers with the Spanish translation “*parroquia*”. So, the teacher asks what *parroquia* means in

English and ST1 answers that it is “a church”. The teacher confirms that, indeed, the term parish or *parroquia* can refer to that kind of building, but that it can also have another meaning. While the teacher is thinking of a way to explain the other meaning this term can have, ST2 completes the explanation in English. As the conversation goes on, ST1 translanguages again and uses the Spanish term “*peaje*”. Again, the teacher asks for the English term, which is provided by ST4. So here we again see how students translanguage, and how they complete their answers in English (when asked by the teacher to do so) in a collaborative way by helping each other.

7.1.5.2. The influence of the materials in another language

The use of materials in a language other than the language of instruction, sometimes leads to oral translanguaging.

T.A.: *Baina bueno, esaten ditu... ze **propósito**? Con el propósito de...?*

ST1: ***Mejorar las tierras.***

T.A.: ***De...?***

ST1: ***Mejorar las tierras.***

T.A.: *Hobekuntza, ez?*

(English translation).

T.A.: But well, it says... which purpose? With the purpose of...?)

ST1: Improve the lands.

T.A.: Of...?

ST1: Improve the lands.

T.A.: Improvement, right?

38. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Nork dauka benetan boterea eta lur horien gaineko erabakia?*

ST1: ***El pueblo.***

T.A.: *Nork?*

ST1: ***El pueblo.***

T.A.: *Euskaraz?*

ST1: *Herriak.*

(English translation).

T.A.: *Who has indeed the power and the right among those lands?*

ST1: *The people.*

T.A.: *Who?*

ST1: *The people.*

T.A.: *In Basque?*

ST1: *The people (herriak).*

39. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 38, the teacher makes a question that refers to a concrete scene from a Spanish video they just watched. He paraphrases what was just said in the video and asks in Spanish “*con el propósito de...?*” As he literally asks the question presented in the video, a student answers his question also in Spanish: “*mejorar las tierras*”. Finally, the teacher repeats the student’s answer but in Basque. In extract 39 we find a similar situation but in this case, after watching a Spanish video, the teacher asks a question in Basque and it is the student who answers in Spanish, possibly influenced by the video they had just watched. Then, right after the student’s answer, the teacher asks for the equivalent Basque term.

T.A.: Offshoot. I don’t know what that means so go and check.

ST1: **Vástago** (again) **Vástago**.

T.A.: Yes, I know.

ST1: What’s **vástago**?

T.A.: What’s **vástago**?

ST2: **Hijo**. (Son).

T.A.: It’s one of the meanings of **vástago**. Well I guess you are referring to offshoot. Offshoot. What is offshoot?

ST2: **Vástago**.

T.A.: *Vástago*. And what is... So Western offshoot. What is a Western offshoot? Look to what countries is referring to: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States... They are offshoots of...?

ST1: The English Empire.

40. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 40, Teacher A gives the students a text and mentions that there appears the English term “offshoot”, which he is not familiar with so he asks students to look for it in the dictionary. ST1 looks for the Spanish translation and answers “*vástago*,” but he does not know what this term means in Spanish either, so he asks the teacher. The teacher repeats ST1’s question “what’s *vástago*?” to the rest of the class and ST2 answers in Spanish, “*hijo*”. Then, the teacher explains that this is one of the meanings of that term, but he contextualises the use of this term in the material for students to deduce another conception of the term. As we can see, when the teacher asks students to look for the meaning of a term in the dictionary, ST1 did not search the definition but the Spanish translation. Besides, when the teacher asks to the rest of the students what “*vástago*” means, ST2 also provides another Spanish term “*Hijo*” (son). Therefore, in all these cases in which a material in a language other than the language of instruction is used, translanguaging is frequent and we find it both in the oral and the written production.

7.1.5.3. The influence of Spanish on Basque: the use of Spanish expressions

Many of the student-translanguaging examples that we found related to this category have been exposed in the “Linguistic cleanliness and purism” section because, apart from showing the influence of Spanish on Basque students’ translanguaging, they also show the reaction of Teacher A regarding this matter. Here, we present two examples where the same student uses two very similar Spanish expressions in two different situations.

T.A.: *Madrildik Bilbora diligentzia baten bitartez zaldi gurdiz zenbat denbora pentsatzen duzue behar zutela?* (How long do you think it would take for a carriage to go from Madrid to Bilbao?)

ST1: *Bi egun.* (Two days).

T.A.: *Zenbat? Egun bat?!?* (How many? One day?!?)

ST2: *¡Qué dices!* (What are you saying!)

T.A.: *Ezta pentsatu ere ez!* (No way!)

ST3: *Hilabete bat.* (One month).

T.A.: *Egun batetik hilabete batera... Gero ikusiko dugu.* (From one day to one month... We will see it later).

41. Extract from class 1, Basque MOI, Teacher A.

(...)

ST2: *¡No, no, no pero qué dices!* (No, no, no but what are you saying!)

T.A.: *Euskeraz mesedez, Euskeraz.*

42. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extracts 41 and 42 ST2 uses almost the same Spanish expression “*¡Qué dices!*” and “*¡No, no, no pero qué dices!*” However, in the first case the teacher does not make any comment about it, but in the second one he asks ST2 to speak in Basque. It should be noted that the teacher asks ST2 to talk in Basque instead of Spanish with a certain tone of despair or tiredness. Most likely, ST2’s L1 is Spanish, and therefore this may be a common expression for her. Besides, from time to time, students, like teachers, also use expressions in their L1 that work almost as taglines like “no sé” (I don’t know).

7.1.5.4. A personal choice

In some cases we have not been able to identify any reason for students’ translanguaging apart from this being a personal choice.

T.A.: *Liugi?*

ST1: *Sí/Si* (we do not know if he replies in Spanish or Italian because he is Italian).

T.A.: Yes, another one?

ST1: Put a long comment at the end.

T.A.: Yes, long comment or conclusion.

43. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 43, for example, ST1 confirms that his name is Liugi and he does it in Italian or Spanish, we do not know because phonetically they sound very similar.

T.A.: So we have... What time is it? Yeah, so then...

ST1: *Lo hacemos por bloques.* (We do it in groups).

T.A.: Yeah, but I need four groups.

44. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 44, Teacher A is thinking about how to organise students to do an activity, when ST1 gives him an idea “*lo hacemos por bloques*” using Spanish. We do not know if this student decides to translanguage due to a personal choice or for another reason, such as not knowing how to express that idea in English.

Students also translanguage in Teacher B’s lessons. However, as was explained before, we will only take into account the talking that occurs when students are not working in groups. So, due to Teacher B’s teaching style, when the teacher is lecturing there is not much interaction with the students, and the students barely participate orally in class. However, in the seminars when they are working in groups, students talk to each other and ask questions to the teacher continuously. It is in these situations, when students work in groups in the seminars, where most of the translanguage happens in classes 3 and 4 (those corresponding to Teacher B.) It is rare to find student-translanguage in Teacher B’s lectures however.

T.B.: *Galderaren bat honi buruz?* (Any question about this?)

ST1: *Cero.* (Zero).

45. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In extract 45 we can see an example of a student-translanguage case in Teacher B’s BMI group. The teacher asks if there is any doubt and ST1 answers in Spanish

”cero” meaning that there are no doubts. We also identified this as an example of translanguaging due to a personal choice. However, in this particular case, in the context and the way that ST1 said ”cero” this sounded a bit rude or apathetic in our view.

As we have already seen, translanguaging can be used intentionally or unintentionally to attract listeners’ attention, or it can provoke laughter from the listeners, for example. However, we have also been able to detect that translanguaging can sometimes be used by the speaker as a sign of apathy, rudeness or disinterest, or at least, the listener can identify it that way. In specific circumstances, when an interlocutor initiates an interaction in one language and another interlocutor, despite being competent in that language, answers in another , this can be understood as a lack of respect or showing rudeness, but this is moreso because of the intonation (rather than just by their switching to Spanish). Of course, this interpretation will always have a perceptual and subjective character. In addition, the interlocutor will base their interpretation on other factors such as the tone used, the body language of the other person, his/her facial expression, the context, etc.

7.1.6. A qualitative approach to translanguaging in class materials

In the quantitative analysis we observed no significant difference between BMI and EMI lessons, nor between Teacher A and Teacher B, regarding material-translanguaging.

From time to time, both Teacher A and Teacher B use materials in a language other than the language of instruction, both in BMI and EMI. In this section we want to pay attention to those situations where translanguaging happens in the materials used for the lessons. Videos, for example, are a common resource used by teachers. However, these content related videos are not always available in the MOI.

(Teacher A explains that they are going to watch two videos, the first one in Spanish and the second one in English).

T.A.: Erasmus students I don't know how good your Spanish level is... anyway well, but visually it is easy to understand what the process is about. And then we will see the English one. Is about the same theme but in English.

46. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 46, Teacher A explains that they are going to watch two videos related to the same theme, one in Spanish and one in English. He warns Erasmus students that depending on their Spanish level they might not understand what is explained in the video, but that they can easily understand what is going on just by watching the images. He then explains that the video they will watch after the Spanish one is in English, and that it is about the same topic. In this example we see how Teacher A decides to include a video in Spanish even though there is an English video about the same topic. However, the teacher also explains that he tried to get the video in English even by contacting the BBC to ask them about the original English video, but it was not available.

Finally, the teacher decides to put the video and include additional information and material, even though this is in a language other than the language of instruction. This is not an isolated case in Teacher A's lessons, as he usually plays videos in languages other than the language of instruction to support his lectures, although he appears reluctant to use them. On some occasions this teacher even apologises for the use of Spanish materials in BMI and EMI lessons, or English materials in BMI lessons.

T.A.: *Izena ingelesez esaten bada, apuntatu eta saiatuko gara hori gero euskarara itzultzen. (...) Bideoak (the teacher makes a mistake he wants to say azpigituluak) espainieraz daude, bai? Egunen batean, orain baino denbora pixka bat gehiago baldin badaukat, hartuko dut tartea euskarazko azpigituluak sartzeko, bai? Baina ezin da horretarako tarterik atera inondik ere. (If the name is said in English write it down and we will try to translate it into Basque later. The subtitles are in Spanish, yes? Someday, when I have a little more time than now, I will take a moment to put Basque subtitles, yes? But I can't find a moment for this at all).*

47. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 47 a quite common activity in Teacher A's lessons is presented. BMI students will watch a video in English while they have to complete a table in Basque with the information they collect from this video. Therefore, students will listen to the information in English, but then they have to write it down in Basque, although the teacher explains that if they get the name of an invention in English they can write it down, and afterwards, they will translate it all together. However, English and Basque are not the only languages involved, as the video has Spanish subtitles. The teacher explains that in the future, when he has more time, he wants to put Basque subtitles to this video, but for the moment, they have the Spanish ones. The reason for this is probably that Teacher A is unaware of the English level students from the BMI group have, but he takes for granted that all of them will know Spanish. On another occasion the teacher explains to BMI students that they are going to watch a video in English that has Basque subtitles. Then, he explains that these Basque subtitles have been made by the teacher himself and some of his colleagues. This example reflects that, although teacher A uses materials in languages other than the language of instruction, he is not totally comfortable with it, and he tries to include the language of instruction (Basque in this case) at least by means of subtitles. This kind of translanguaging, listening to a video in one language and writing down the information or discuss it in another language, is not an isolated case. In another class, Teacher A put on a video in Spanish and asked BMI students to write down the information in Basque. Moreover, this did not only happen with audio-visual materials but also with texts. From time to time Teacher A used Spanish

texts, both in Basque and EMI lessons, and English texts in BMI lessons. However, as he expresses when he puts on videos in a language other than the language of instruction, he does not totally agree with the use of these texts either.

(Talking about the texts they will read).

T.A.: *Batzuk Euskaraz, beste batzuk zoritxarrez Espainieraz. Ea, zenbat testu daude?* (Some in Basque, others unfortunately in Spanish. How many texts are there?)

48. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Testu batzuk euskaraz daude beste batzuk zoritxarrez ez oraindik... hortxe gaude urratsak ematen euskalduntze bidean.* (There are some texts in Basque other unfortunately not yet... we are taking steps in the process of translating them into Basque).

49. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extracts 48 and 49, the teacher explains that they are using some texts in Spanish and he regrets these are not in Basque. Besides, in extract 49 he explains that they (we suppose he refers to his colleagues and himself) are working on the translation of those texts into Basque.

T.A.: *Beraz, zuen ikuspegia defendatzeko, babesteko baliagarriak diren testuko argumentuak hartu eta itzuli eta hemen zerrendatu. (...) Testua Espainiera zaharrear dago eta ez da erraza. Beraz, zalantzak niri, bai?* (So, take those arguments from the texts that serve you to defend your point of view, translate them and enumerate them here. The text is in old Spanish and it is not easy. So, ask me your doubts, yes?)

50. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Taula bete Euskaraz, noski. Esan beharrik ez dago. Testua Espainieraz... Euskaraz saiatu itzulpen lana egiten, niri galdetu... bai? Benga.* (Complete the table in Basque, of course. There is no need for me to say this. The text in Spanish.... try to do the translating work, ask me... yes?)

51. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

The procedure followed when using texts is the same one explained in the case of the videos. No matter which language the text is, the students always have to complete their activities in the language of instruction. In extract 50, the teacher explains that the text they are going to read is in old Castilian, which makes it more difficult to understand. Students have to find some information in the text and translate it into Basque, and if they have any query, they can ask the teacher. In extract 51, the teacher explains and emphasises that “obviously”, even though the text is in Spanish, they have to translate the information to complete their task.

These situations are not exclusive to the BMI group, they also happen in the EMI one. However, in the EMI lessons another factor comes into play, namely Erasmus students. All the students in the Basque group know Spanish, and probably the vast majority also knows English (albeit to different degrees of proficiency). Nevertheless, the majority of Erasmus students do not know Spanish well enough to learn content in this language, which is why they choose the EMI courses.

So, when the teacher uses texts in a language other than English, he must adapt the activities so that Erasmus students can also participate. This teacher consequently assigns Erasmus students a different role from that of local students. For example, on one occasion local students were separated into two groups and each group had to read a text in Spanish by two different politicians. Later, a debate was organized in which each group had to defend each politician’s position based on what they read in the texts. This debate was held in English, despite the texts being in Spanish. The role of Erasmus students consisted in deciding which group had won the debate. However, even in these cases where the teacher adapts the activity so all the students feel included and work to understand the content, he feels a bit “guilty” or “sorry” and thanks Erasmus students for their comprehension.

Teacher A uses materials in Spanish or English in BMI lessons, and in Spanish in EMI lessons, but he requires students to reply in the language of instruction irrespective of the mode (oral or written).

In addition, on many occasions these activities are completed in groups. That is, for example, BMI students watch a video in English and then, they have to complete a table in Basque with the information gathered from the video. Therefore, students have to discuss with their group the information they want to put in the table. In some cases students, especially those with Spanish as L1, discuss these matters in Spanish and then write them down in Basque. This is an example of a variety of situations that take place in these contexts with multilingual students, especially when students work together and take advantage of all their linguistic resources as multilingual speakers.

As we have seen in the case of the students, the use of materials in a language other than the language of instruction can lead to oral translanguaging. This seems to affect also teachers' translanguaging, at least in the case of Teacher A.

(The teacher is talking about a video they watched in English).

T.A.: *Adibidez, oihalgintza ikusi genuen, ez? Spin engine, tarara tarara... Hor garai hortan zergatik izango da Britainia Handia protekzionista? Ze mehatxu izan dezake atzerritik?* (For example, we saw the textile industry, right? Spin engine, tarara tarara... Why would Great Britain be protectionist in that period? What threat could they have from abroad?)

52. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 52, Teacher A is talking about a topic from a video in English they watched in a previous class. The teacher uses the English term "spin engine" instead of the equivalent Basque term, probably influenced by this video and because he wants the students to remember what they watched.

(The teacher is talking about a text they have just read in Spanish).

T.A.: *Acta de navegación* edo nabigazio akta. Norbaitek badaki zer den nabigazio akta? (*Acta de navegación* or navigation act. Does anyone know what a navigation act is?)

53. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

T.A.: *Bera sentitu zen inútil bat bezala. Hau da, utilidaderik gabeko pertsona bat bezala.* (He felt like useless. That is, like a useless person).

54. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 53 they have just read a text in Spanish when the teacher uses the term “*acta de navegación*” in Spanish and immediately afterwards he provides the Basque translation “*nabigazio akta*”. From then on he uses only the Basque term. A similar thing happens in extract 54 when the teacher uses the term *inútil* (useless), because they have just watched a video in Spanish where this word was uttered, but he then provides the Basque translation.

(The teacher puts a video in English with Spanish subtitles).

T.B.: *Dago ingelesez azpitoluekin erderaz.* (It is in English with Spanish subtitles).

(... The teacher stops the video to make a comment).

T.B.: *Arrazionaltasun mugatuak, ponder rationality ingelesez, bale?*
(Arrazionaltasun mugatuak, ponder tationality in English, ok?)

55. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In extract 55 we find a simultaneous material translanguaging in two languages. Here we see a BMI lesson where students watch a video in English while they read Spanish subtitles. We suppose that English is the original language of the video, and that there were not Basque subtitles available so the teacher added the Spanish ones. Besides, the teacher stops the video to provide the Basque translation to the concept *ponder rationality*. In this case, we do not really know if the teacher provides the translation assuming that the students do not know the term in Basque and/or

supposing that they are not familiar with the English term because in both cases this is an unusual concept.

(The teacher shows the headline of a newspaper in Spanish).

T.B.: *Zer gertatu zen azkenean?* (reads) **Ander Herrera pagará parte de su traspaso al United...** *joan zen, bale? Zergatik? Oso pozik zegoen...* (What happened at the end? (reads) Ander Herrera will pay part of his transfer to the United... he left, ok? Why? He was so happy...)

56. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In extract 56, the teacher shows the headline of a newspaper in Spanish and quotes it aloud. However, the comments he makes afterwards are in Basque. This is not an isolated case, as this lecturer uses the press (especially headlines) as classroom material on a regular basis.

We already saw that there is no significant difference regarding material-translanguaging in Teacher B's lessons when we compare BMI and EMI. However, although in EMI material translanguaging is nonexistent, we find on a few occasions that Teacher B uses videos and fragments of texts in a language other than the language of instruction in their BMI lessons. Nevertheless, he does not usually use extended texts in another language. In fact, on one occasion he recommends students in the BMI group to read an article, which is in English, but reading it was optional. In EMI he never uses Spanish or Basque materials, probably because there are Erasmus students who may not be proficient in these languages.

7.2. Classroom interaction

In this section we will present the results corresponding to classroom interaction. The procedure to be followed will consist in combining the quantitative with the qualitative results, which will allow us to triangulate the data.

Through the observation of the lessons from the 4 groups, and the subsequent codification and analysis of the data using our adapted version of the observation tool COLT, we quantified and compared the number of interactions that occurred

both in BMI and EMI lessons. These interactions have been classified into 6 categories depending on the participants involved:

- The Teacher talking to the whole class (T-C). This turned out to be the most common situation where the teacher lectures and the students listen.
- The Teacher talking to a specific student, or some students (T-S). The teacher addresses some specific student or students.
- The whole class talking to the Teacher (C-T). This situation usually happens when the teacher asks a question and all the students, or most of them, answer in a choral way.
- One student, or several students, talking to the Teacher (S-T). When one student (or a few of them) engages in a conversation with the teacher.
- A student talking to another or other students (S-S). When students talk among themselves.
- A student, or several students, talking to the whole class (S-C). This usually happens when a student, or a group of students, is asked by the teacher to make a content-related presentation to the rest of the class.

A few clarifications are necessary here. As has already been mentioned, we will only take into account the data collected when the students were not working in groups. Therefore, in this research we will focus only on the academic lecture genre. As pointed out by Doiz and Lasagabaster (2021), who paraphrase Hyland (2005), genre could be defined as a term for grouping oral texts together that represents how speakers use language to respond to recurring situations, such as those encountered in a specific discipline (economics in the case of this study) when lecturing. Taking into account that lectures embody “the prototypical genre of information transfer” (Hyland, 2005, p. 10, in Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2021; 59) at tertiary level, our analysis is centered on EMI lectures characterized by a teacher-fronted teaching style, in other words, the academic lecture genre. Thus, when we talk about S-S interactions we refer to those made in front of the rest of the class and the teacher, and not to those that students may have in parallel to the lecture.

Another clarification that must be made is that when we refer to T-C interactions, we will only refer to those that are meant to obtain an answer from the students, or

those which indeed obtained an answer from them, and therefore, constitute an interaction.

7.2.1. Interaction: Teacher A vs. Teacher B

Table 25 shows that the difference between Teacher A and Teacher B regarding interaction is statistically relevant in all the categories except for the S-S and S-C categories. Regarding T-C interactions, that is, when the teacher seeks interaction, usually by providing a question to the whole class, Teacher A made significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$) more T-C interactions per hour ($M=20.20$) than Teacher B ($M=0.06$). We also found significant differences ($p=0.000^{**}$) regarding T-S interactions where the teacher asks a question to a specific student or students. Teacher A made 21.37 T-S interactions per hour, while Teacher B made 0.09 T-S interactions per hour. These results were in line with S-T interactions, when a student or some students talk to the teacher. This interaction may be caused by a previous comment or question asked by the teacher and to which students give an answer, or it could be the students themselves who initiate the interaction. In Teacher A's lessons we found significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$) more S-T interactions (31.00) than in Teacher B's (0.15).

Table 25. Interaction: Teacher A vs. Teacher B. and BMI vs. EMI. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

	Interaction								
	T-C	T-S	S-T	S-S	S-C	MP	WTC	Teacher Talking	Student Talking
Teacher A vs. Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	0.000* *	0.000 **	0.000 **	0.261	0.434	0.000 **	0.004 **	0.053	0.000**
BMI vs. EMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	0.946	0.946	0.720	0.842	0.267	1.000	0.904	0.105	0.929
Teacher A in BMI vs. Teacher A in EMI	0.319	0.319	0.189	0.678	0.210	0.389	0.963	0.160	0.684
Teacher B in BMI vs. Teacher B in EMI	0.361	0.361	0.176	1.000	1.000	0.361	0.361	0.144	0.176

Very related to this are the categories *Motu Proprio* (MP) and WTC. When the teacher asks a question to the whole class and one student answers that question voluntarily, we included that interaction in the MP category. Other cases of MP interactions would be, for example, when the teacher asks a question to a specific student but she or he does not respond and another student intervenes to answer that question voluntarily.

Furthermore, the MP intervention does not necessarily have to be the answer to a previous question, but students also can make a MP intervention related to a previous comment made by the teacher. Therefore, the results showed that the difference between Teacher A and Teacher B regarding students' MP interactions were statistically significant ($p=0.000^{**}$). In teacher A's lessons students made 10.43 MP interactions per hour, while in Teacher B's lessons students made 0.06 MP interactions per hour.

The WTC category refers to those cases when students participate or interact voluntarily without being previously asked by the teacher. When a student asks a question or makes a comment just because she or he wants to, but not because the

teacher has requested or promoted this participation, that intervention is included in the WTC category. Students in Teacher A's lessons made significantly ($p=0.004^{**}$) more WTC interventions (1.39) than students in Teacher B's (0.09) classes.

MP and WTC interactions showed student engagement and their motivation to participate in the lesson. Results showed that although WTC interactions do not require the teacher's previous promotion of interaction, these type of interactions were more likely to happen in lessons where interaction was usually promoted by the teacher (like teacher A's lessons) rather than in those lessons where the interaction between the teacher and the students was rarely promoted (like in Teacher B's.)

We will present now the results related to the amount of time both students and teachers talked. We did not find a significant ($p=0.053$) difference regarding teachers amount of talking time. However, significance ($p=0.000^{**}$) was detected regarding students' oral production. In Teacher A's lessons students talked 1.93 minutes per hour, while in Teacher B's lessons students talked 0.01 minutes per hour. We must bear in mind that the organisation of the lessons differed between lecturers. Officially, if we check the UPV/EHU's lesson organisation, we can see three modalities that are supposedly followed: lectures, seminars, and practical lessons. However, the reality is that teachers organised their lessons differently. Teacher B distinguished his lessons, both in BMI and EMI, in seminars and lectures and the dynamics in these two modalities differed. Lectures were teacher-centered lessons where the lecturer presented some slides on the projector and gave explanations to a big group of students. Seminars were more practical lessons. In practical lessons, two types of dynamics could usually be distinguished. At the beginning of the class, the teacher normally provided the answers to the activities carried out in the previous practical lesson, and it was done in a lecture format. However, afterwards the teacher usually provided time for students to work in groups of 4-5 people on a new activity. While the students worked in groups, S-S interactions were common and, from time to time, also some S-T interactions took place, usually, because students asked task-related questions to the teacher.

Teacher A did not distinguish among lectures, seminars, and practical lessons, but he did a mix of all of them in all the lessons depending on the moment. Therefore, this teacher always gave his lessons to the big group of students regardless of the

lesson modality and combined “lecture kind” of teaching with practical tasks, group tasks, etc. Therefore, our results tallied with the teaching style observed in each case. Teacher A opted for more dynamic and interactive classes where there was a continuous interaction between teacher and students, despite the fact that students’ interventions were not particularly long and therefore did not constitute a very large amount of time compared to Teacher A’s talking time. On the other hand, Teacher B had a more classical teaching style where the teacher lectured while the students listened, and there were very few (sometimes none) T-S/S-T interactions. Finally, Table 26 shows that there was no significant difference between Teacher A’s and Teacher B’s lessons regarding S-C and S-S interactions. S-S interactions occurred predominantly when students were working in groups and, as previously mentioned, we did not take these classroom situations into account.

Table 26. Interaction: values per hour.

	Interaction								
	T-C	T-S	S-T	S-S	S-C	MP	WTC	Teacher Talking min/h	Student Talking min/h
Teacher A (BMI + EMI)	20.20	21.37	31.00	0.11	0.52	10.43	1.39	35.48	1.93
Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	0.06	0.09	0.15	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.09	40.91	0.01
BMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	12.41	14.38	20.18	0.10	0.72	6.97	0.79	32.91	1.04
EMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	12.69	12.42	18.58	0.04	0.00	6.10	0.98	41.30	1.33
Teacher A in BMI	22.95	26.57	37.24	0.19	1.33	12.86	1.33	30.13	1.92
Teacher A in EMI	18.45	18.06	27.03	0.06	0.00	8.88	1.42	38.88	1.94
Teacher B in BMI	0.11	0.17	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.17	36.14	0.01
Teacher B in EMI	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.63	0.00

7.2.2. Interaction: BMI vs. EMI

RQ4. Does the MOI (Basque or English) affect classroom interaction?

We have already seen the significant differences between Teacher A and Teacher B regarding interaction. In this section we will present the results comparing BMI and EMI.

Table 27. Interaction: BMI vs. EMI * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

	Interaction								
	T-C	T-S	S-T	S-S	S-C	MP	WTC	Teacher Talking	Student Talking
BMI vs. EMI (Teacher A + Teacher B)	0.946	0.946	0.720	0.842	0.267	1.000	0.904	0.105	0.929
Teacher A in BMI vs. Teacher A in EMI	0.319	0.319	0.189	0.678	0.210	0.389	0.963	0.160	0.684
Teacher B in BMI vs. Teacher B in EMI	0.361	0.361	0.176	1.000	1.000	0.361	0.361	0.144	0.176

The most remarkable result was that there was no significant difference when comparing the two main languages of instruction regarding interaction in any of the previously described categories. Table 27 indicates that the differences between BMI and EMI lessons in any of the interaction categories were not statistically significant when comparing BMI and EMI lessons.

Table 28. Interaction: teachers' and students' talking percentage.

	Teacher Talking %	Students Talking %
Teacher A (BMI + EMI)	95%	5%
Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	100%	0%
Teacher A in BMI	94%	6%
Teacher A in EMI	95%	5%
Teacher B in BMI	100%	0%
Teacher B in EMI	100%	0%

In table 28 it can be seen that Teacher A's talk in BMI constituted 94% of the talking and students' talk entailed 6%, while in EMI lessons this teacher's talk represented 95% of the talking and students' only 5%. Teacher B's talking encompassed 100% of the talking time both in BMI and EMI lessons. Therefore, it could be stated that the language of instruction (Basque or English) did not have a significant influence on classroom interaction. It had no significant influence either regarding the quantity of interactions, the type of interactions or teacher and student talking ratios.

Our interpretation of these results leads us to affirm that a teachers' teaching style exerted a more significant influence on classroom interaction than the languages of instruction (which in this case, had no influence at all.) This concurs with previously conducted studies irrespective of whether the MOI is the minority language (our study) or the majority one (Sánchez-García, 2016).

The lessons that followed a more traditional teaching style (in this case Teacher B's lessons) where the teacher lectured in front of the class and the students adopted a passive role only taking notes and listening to the teacher, did not appear to promote interaction. On the contrary, the more dynamic lessons where students were required to adopt an active role, for example by completing activities, answering questions or participating in debates, did boost interaction. Therefore, in relation to interaction, teacher's teaching style seems to be a much more influential factor than the language of instruction. Although the two teachers under scrutiny in this study did not change their teaching style depending on the medium of instruction, further studies should analyse whether this tends to be the general trend in other contexts.

Finally, regarding wait time, that is, the time teachers wait for the students to answer a question before starting their speech again, both teachers provided a wait time that was in line with the optimal one. Some scholars (Tobin, 1980; Mujis & Reynolds, 2001) establish an ideal wait time of around 3 seconds or more. We found a mean time of 3.55 seconds in Teacher A's BMI lessons and a mean time of 3.38 seconds in EMI. In the case of Teacher B a mean time of 4.5 seconds was found in BMI lessons, and a mean time of 3.22 second in EMI lessons.

7.2.3. Summary

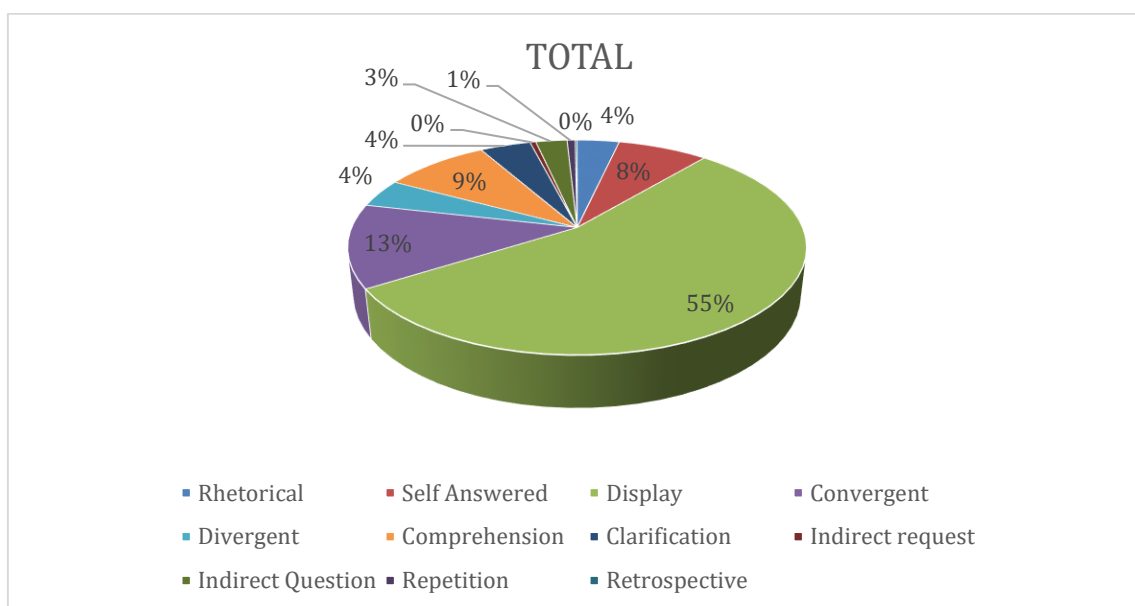
1. They were significantly more T-C, T-S, S-T interactions in Teacher A's lessons than in Teacher B's.
2. More MP interactions and WTC were found in Teacher A's lessons than in Teacher B's.
3. Students participated significantly more in Teacher A's lessons than in Teacher B's.
4. No significant differences were found in any of the categories related to interaction when comparing BMI and EMI.
5. Teachers' teaching style seemed to be a more influential factor in interaction than the language of instruction.

7.2.4. Questioning

RQ5. Does the language of instruction (Basque or English) affect the questions asked by the teacher?

There are numerous features involved in teachers' talking, but questioning has been proven to be closely connected to classroom interaction. Questions foster students' participation and interaction, and at the same time, promote students' learning and understanding. Moreover, questions scaffold students' learning process by eliciting collaborative meaning-making, and they are also cognitively stimulating (Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013).

Graph 2. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher A and Teacher B both in BMI and EMI.



In the analysis of the discourse of 29 lectures involving 39 hours of teaching practice, a total number of 1451 questions were identified. In Graph 2 we can see the distribution of the different kinds of questions asked by the teachers.

The most habitual question types were Display Questions (55%), followed by Convergent Referential Questions (13%). The remaining types of questions had a lower incidence: Self-Answered Questions (8%), Confirmation Checks (9%), Divergent Referential Questions (4%), Clarification Request (4%), Rhetorical Questions (4%), Indirect Questions (3%), Repetitions (1%), Indirect Requests (0%) and, Retrospective Questions (0%).

7.2.4.1. Questioning: Teacher A vs. Teacher B

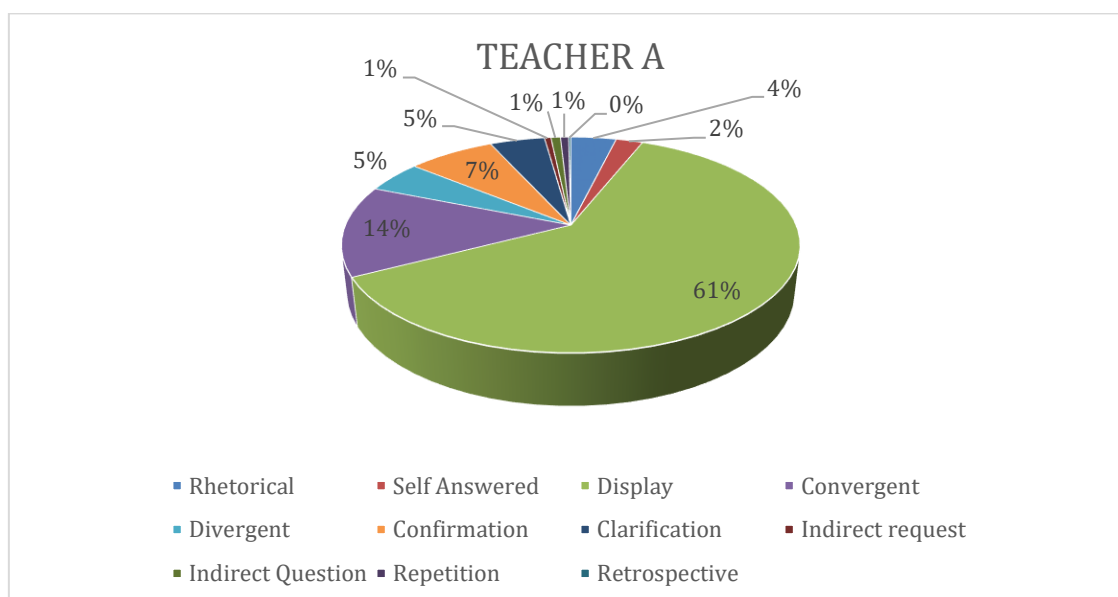
Table reveals that Teacher A asked significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$) more questions (50.96 per hour) than teacher B (11.12). These results were another clear reflection of the difference in these teachers' teaching styles. The difference between pedagogic styles was also very clear when we looked into the amount of questions asked by each of them, and directly related not only to the promotion of interaction but also to the kind of questions more recurrently used by each teacher.

Table 29. Questioning: number of questions per hour and significance * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

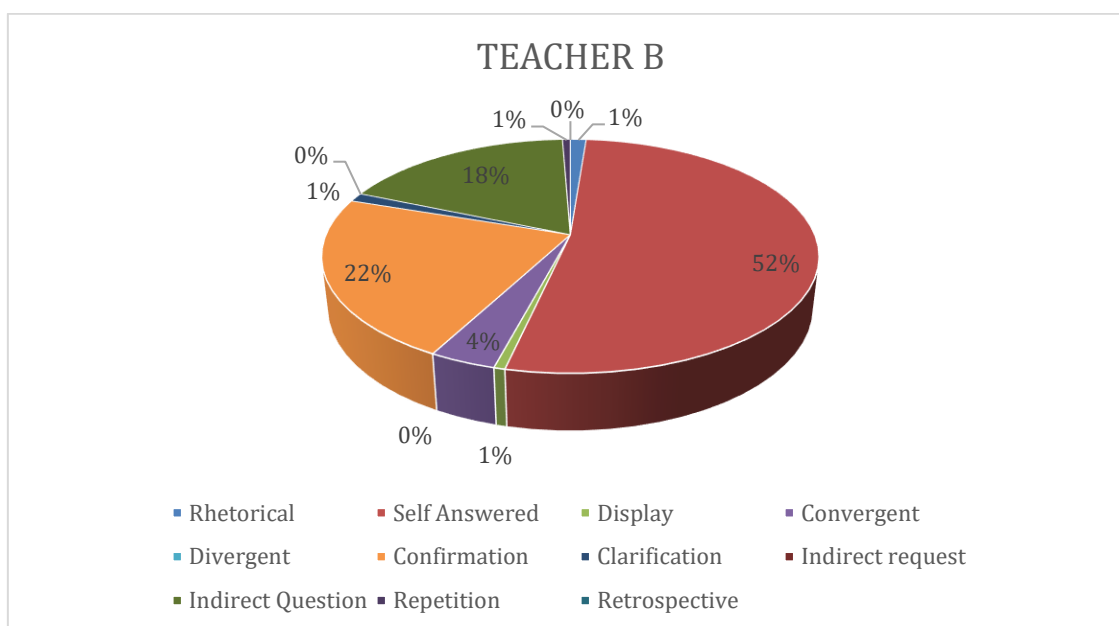
Number of Questions per Hour												
	Rhet	Self Answ	Disp	Conv	Diver	Clari	Confir	Indi R	Indi Q	Repe	Retros	Total
Teacher A (BMI + EMI)	1.94	1.15	31.24	6.94	2.44	2.35	3.73	0.28	0.41	0.35	0.09	50.96
Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	0.12	5.18	0.06	0.36	0.00	0.12	2.21	0.00	1.79	0.06	0.00	11.12
Significance												
	Rhet	Self Answ	Disp	Conv	Diver	Clari	Confir	Indi R	Indi Q	Repe	Retros	Sig.
Teacher A vs. Teacher B (BMI + EMI)	0.002*	0.004**	0.000**	0.000**	0.007**	0.000**	0.205	0.036*	0.060	0.076	0.261	0.000*

Teacher A’s most used type of questions were Display Questions (61%), which are promoters of interaction, whilst Teacher B’s most recurrent type of questions were Self-Answered Questions (52%), which do not involve any kind of interaction. In the following sections we will individually analyse the results corresponding to each type of question.

Graph 3. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher A both in BMI and EMI.



Graph 4. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher B both in BMI and EMI.



7.2.4.1.1. Display Questions

Display Questions are those type of questions in which a speaker, in this case the teacher, already knows the answer to the question but nevertheless invites students to answer it. These questions help the teacher check students' knowledge of a topic or if they have internalised some previous content. Therefore, these types of questions are commonly found in the classroom context.

Display Questions were the type of questions most widely used by Teacher A. In fact, they accounted for 61% of the questions asked by this teacher, which means that more than half of the questions asked by this teacher belong to this category. This finding is in line with the results reported in a number of previously conducted studies (Long & Sato, 1983; Musumeci, 1996; Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013; Sánchez-García, 2016), which found that teachers tend to use more Display Questions than Referential Questions in class.

However, Display Questions only represented 1% of the questions asked by Teacher B. Unsurprisingly, the results obtained from the Mann-Whitney test showed that the use of Display Questions was significantly different ($p=0.000^{**}$) depending on the teacher. Teacher A asked 31.24 Display questions per hour and teacher B 0.06, the difference being statistically significant.

Display Questions seek interaction with students. In fact, the objective of these questions is to check students' knowledge, and therefore, they require students' participation. However, because the teacher does know the answer of the question, Display Questions are usually not considered to trigger interaction as much as Referential Questions. Nevertheless, some studies (Sánchez-García, 2016) argue that the interaction promoted by Display and Referential Questions does not differ that much.

The interaction promoted by Display Questions usually follows an I-R-F structure:

T.A.: Dagoeneko egin zion ekarpen tekniko bat... ze sektoreri? Ze sektorean sartuko dugu hau? (For the moment it made a technical contribution... to what sector? In what sector are we going to put this?)

ST1: Burdingintza. (Iron industry).

T.A.: Burdingintza, bale ados. (Iron industry OK).

57. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

Extract 57 shows a very common I-R-F structure lead by a Display Question. The teacher initiated the interaction by asking a question to the whole class, a student responded voluntarily, and the teacher provided feedback to confirm the student's answer. However, in Teacher A's lessons interactions between the teacher and the students were usually longer.

T.A.: Saioa, which was the institutional situation in the role game? Which were the main institutions in the village?

ST1: Feudalism.

T.A.: Yeah well, we tried to... yeah um... perform a game located in a feudalism system. So then the next question is how was feudalism structured?

ST1: Well so first...

(The teacher asks another student to stop talking).

ST1: ...there is a king...

T.A.: There is a king, OK.

ST1: ...the nobles and the church.

T.A.: the nobles and the church maybe in a lower but still high status in that society.

ST1: the artisans...

T.A.: In the very bottom?

ST1: farmer families.

T.A.: farmer families, peasants and other poor inhabitants, OK?" + "So Well, regarding...what institutions do we have leading that society? So which are in the top ranking of that?

ST1: Monarchy, church...

T.A.: Well yeah, church and monarchy. Maybe the king and also the nobles could be leading that community, OK?

58. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 58 we can see a common kind of interaction in Teacher A's lessons that demonstrate I-R-F sequences that are longer. In this case we can see how the teacher lead the interaction by asking Display Questions and ST1 answered them. Furthermore, these longer I-R-F sequences are often not only T-S-T-S-T, as sometimes more than one student takes part in the interaction.

T.A.: Lander urtea? (Lander the date?)

ST1: Mila zazpirehun eta zazpi. (One thousand seven hundred and seven).

T.A.: (The teacher makes a gesture denying) Mila zazpirehun eta bideratzi. Ia-ia. Abraham Darbyk asmatu zuen? Bere asmakizuna zein da? Ez da makina bat baizik eta da...? (One thousand seven hundred and nine. Almost. Abraham Darby invented it? What is his invention? It is not a machine but...?)

ST2: Ideia bat. (An idea).

T.A.: Ideia bat, zein da ideia hori? (some students laugh). (An idea. And what is that idea?)

ST2: Kokea. (Coke).

T.A.: Bueno Kokea den... Kokea asmatu zuen bera. Ez da Atheltico de Madrileleko jokalaria, ez dakit txistea ja balio duen. Jarraitzen du Atheltico Madrilen? Bai, ez? Kokea asmatu zuen berak K-O-K-E (writes it down on the board). Eta zer da kokea? Zer da kokea? (pointing ST2) Badakizu? Zer da

kokea? (to the whole class). (Well, coke... He invented coke. He is not the Athletic de Madrid player, I don't know if that joke still works. Does he continue in the Athletic de Madrid? Yes, right? He invented coke C-O-K-E. And what is it coke? What is it coke? Do you know? What is it coke?)

ST3: Ikatz prozesatua. (Processed coal).

T.A.: Ikatz... harri-ikatz prozesatua. Da harri-ikatz baina eraldatuta, bai? Eta eraldaketa horretan zer kentzen zaio harri-ikatzari? (Coal... processed stone-coal. It is stone-coal but modified, yes? And in this modification, what is removed from the stone-coal?)

ST3: Sulfuroa. (The sulfur).

T.A.: Sulfuroa. Beraz harri-ikatzari sulfuroa kentzen zaio eta daukagun emaitza da harri kozkor bat ikatza bezalakoa dena, harri-ikatz bezalakoa dena baina ez da harri -ikatz. Da harri-ikatz sulfurorik gabera joatea, bai? Beraz, zein da problema? Eh... bueno harri-ikatz zertarako erabili nahi da? Hor zertan ari da? Hemen zer dago? (The sulfur. So, the sulfur is taken from the stone-coal, and the result is that we have a piece of rock that is like stone-coal, but it is not stone-coal. It is stone-coal without the sulfur, OK? So, what is it the problem? Eh... well, what is stone-coal used for? What is he doing here? What is it in here?)

Some students: Burdina. (Iron).

T.A.: Burdina. Eta burdina zertarako nahi da temperatura altua jarri eta likido egoerara pasa. Zer egitera doa orain? (Iron. And and why would they want to put iron at a high temperature and transfer it to liquid state? What is he going to do now?).

Some students: Landu / Landu ahal izateko. (Manipulate / To be able to manipulate it).

T.A.: Landu ahal izateko. Eta adibidez burdinarekin zer erremienta egin daitezke, zitezkeen? Bueno mila gauza, ez? Kokea zertarako erabiltzen da? (To be able to manipulate it. And for example, what tools can be made, could be made, with iron? Well, a thousand things, right? What is coke used for?)

Some students: Burdina desegiteko. (To melt the iron).

59. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 59 we see a longer interaction lead by Teacher A asking Display Questions. The interaction is initiated by the teacher who asks a question to ST1. However as the interaction goes on, other students join the conversation voluntarily. In this example we can see how Teacher A uses Display Questions to engage in a conversation with students while he tries to elicit more information through asking questions. Moreover, these types of questions sometimes provoke some negotiation of meaning situations.

T.A.: You know what a rubric is? Your name is?

ST1: Lucenzo. I don't know what a rubric is.

T.A.: You don't know what a rubric is... in Italy you don't use rubrics?

ST1: Rubrics?

T.A.: Rubric yes (points to the word in the slide) this is the technical word for that... International.

ST1: I have no idea.

60. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 60 we can see Teacher A asking ST1 what a rubric is and this student answers that he does not know what it is. Then, the teacher asks him (ironically) if they do not use rubrics in Italy (because ST1 is an Italian Erasmus student), and this leads to a negotiation of meaning when ST1 makes sure if he is understanding it properly and asks "rubrics?" Negotiations of meaning do not only occur when the interaction is initiated by a Display Question. However, they usually promote the necessary type of interaction for this to happen.

In conclusion, these results regarding the use of Display Questions are a clear example of teacher lecturing style. Teacher A asked 31.24 Display Questions per hour (and other type of questions also had a high presence in his lessons) which bolstered a continuous interaction between the students and himself, although his interventions are much longer than those of the students. The almost non-existent presence of Display Questions in teacher B's lessons is due to his teacher-centric lectures. This teaching style corresponds to the classic university lesson or lecture genre where the teacher presents in front of the class without promoting much interaction (or even none at all) with students.

7.2.4.1.2. Referential Questions

Referential Questions are considered the most suitable kind of questions to promote the participation and interaction of students. In this type of question, the speaker (in this case the teacher) asks a question whose answer he does not know. Due to their genuine interrogative nature, Referential Questions are very common in the social context where people are actually in search of new information.

Referential Questions may be classified into two subcategories, Convergent Questions, which are closed Referential Questions (i.e. Where are you from?), and Divergent Questions, which are open Referential questions (i.e. What do you think of the book we have read?).

As can be observed in Table 2, Teacher A used significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$; $p=0.007^{**}$) more Referential Questions (9.38 per hour) than Teacher B (0.36). In fact, Referential Questions were Teacher A's second most used type of question (19%) from which Convergent Questions constitute 14% and Divergent Questions 5%, the former representing almost three out of four questions in this category.

T.A.: Was anybody.... Did we comment that text? I did not write down his or her name. I don't know if somebody helped me with this comment...

ST1: All the group.

T.A.: Eh?

ST1: All the group, all together.

T.A.: Yeah, it was not just one person. In the page... (The teacher is looking for the page).

ST1: Twenty-four.

T.A.: Yes, thank you.

61. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

Extract 61 shows a situation where a Convergent Referential Question is asked by Teacher A who does not remember who helped him completing a task in the previous class. ST1 answers the question voluntarily, and then also helps the teacher by providing him the number of the page he is looking for. In this case, the teacher asks a genuine closed question for which he does not know the answer but which

requires a short answer. In Teacher A's lessons Divergent Referential Questions usually take place when students are engaged in some specific task, like "performing a debate" or "designing something on their own", but not so much in the more common dynamic where the teacher is located in front of the class and asks the students questions whilst he lectures. By contrast, in the case of Teacher B, referential questions were not that frequent and they only constituted 4%, which were entirely only Convergent Questions.

The literature indicates that Referential Questions (Dalton-Puffer 2007) are believed to be the greatest promoters of interaction, as they trigger longer and more "authentic" interventions from students. Nevertheless, Sánchez-García (2016) argues that the difference between Referential and Display Questions regarding students' oral output does not differ so much. Therefore, if both Referential and Display are the types of questions that foster interaction to a greater extent, and these constituted 80% of Teacher A's questions, it could be concluded that the majority of this teacher's questions promoted (or at least sought to promote) interaction. Conversely, Referential and Display questions only constituted 5% of Teacher B's questions, and we can conclude that this teacher did not stand out by his promotion of students' interaction via questions.

7.2.4.1.3. Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical Questions are those questions which do not expect an answer from the listener. Therefore, these questions do not look for interaction but serve as discursive devices. Sometimes Rhetorical Questions are asked by the teacher to make students reflect and think about something.

Teacher A asked significantly ($p=0.002^{**}$) more Rhetorical Questions than Teacher B. They constituted 4% of Teacher A's questions and 1% of Teacher B's.

T.A.: *Benga, minutu bat beheko taula huts hori betetzeko. Nola beteko dugu?*
(Come on, one minute to fill that empty board down there. How are we going to fill in the table?)

62. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 62, Teacher A gives some time for students to complete a task which consist on writing down some information in a table. Then the teacher asks “How are we going to complete it?” but he does not expect an answer from students, therefore it is a Rhetorical Question, and in fact the students go on completing the table because they already know how to fill it out and make no attempt to answer the question. These kinds of questions do not encourage classroom interaction and, as we have seen, they were not very frequent in Teacher A’s nor Teacher B’s lessons.

7.2.4.1.4. Self-Answered Questions

Self-Answered Questions, as Rhetorical Questions, do not trigger interaction, because the speaker (in this case the teacher) answers them right away. These questions also act as discursive devices, which do not expect an answer from students.

First of all we must make a clarification. Self-Answered Questions do not refer to other types of questions that are finally answered by the teacher himself because they do not get an answer from the students. For example, if the teacher asks a Display Question and eventually answers the question himself because the students do not give or do not know the answer, we would not classify this question as a Self-Answered Question. Therefore, Self-Answered Questions are those that the speaker poses knowing from the beginning that he will provide the answer.

Teacher B used significantly ($p=0.004^{**}$) more Self-Answered Questions than Teacher A. Actually, these were the type of questions most habitually used by Teacher B, to the extent that they constituted 52% of his questions. That is, more than half of all the questions asked by Teacher B were Self-Answered Questions and, furthermore, they did not trigger interaction. In comparison, these types of questions only constituted 2% of Teacher A’s questions.

T.B.: *Nagusia zein da kasu honetan? Ba unibertsitatea. Zenbat agentzia desberdin bereizten dira? Sei guztira. Apunteetan dituzue.* (Who is the boss in this case? The university. How many agencies are distinguished? Six in total. You have it in the notes).

63. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

In extract 63 we can see Teacher B asking two questions and giving the corresponding answers right away, preventing any interaction from taking place. The use of Self-Answered Questions as discursive devices is very common not only in classroom contexts but also in situations like the social context. However, if the teacher would be interested in the promotion of students' interaction (as recommended by scholars and specialists), these Self-Answered Questions could be offered as Display Questions. This may not always be the case, as these types of questions are sometimes used to articulate the teacher's discourse and students may lack the knowledge to answer them because this is the first time that a particular piece of information is presented. In conclusion, if Self-Answered Questions constituted the majority of teacher B's questions (apart from the low presence of Referential and Display Questions in his lessons), it stands out that this teacher was not prone to promote students' interaction, at least by asking questions.

7.2.4.1.5. Confirmation Checks

Some scholars such as Long (1983) and Pica (1994) distinguish between Comprehension Checks and Confirmation Checks, whereas others like Dafouz and Sánchez-García (2013) and Sánchez-García (2016; 2018b) integrate the two types of questions under the umbrella term "Confirmation Checks".

Initially, we followed the distinction made by Long (1983) and Pica (1994) and started classifying questions as Comprehension Checks and Confirmation Checks. Afterwards, we realised that on many occasions it was very difficult to distinguish one type of question from another. This is why we finally decided to follow Dafouz and Sánchez García's method and integrate the two types of question into a single category.

Confirmation Checks are used by teachers to check whether students are following the lesson (or not), and evaluate their understanding. Confirmation Checks are considered promoters of negotiations of meaning and, therefore, of interaction.

No significant ($p=0.205$) difference was found when comparing Teacher A and Teacher B regarding Confirmation Checks. Teacher A asked 3.73 Confirmation Checks per hour and Teacher B 2.21.

Confirmation Checks represented the second type of question most used by Teacher B (22%). However, in this teacher's lessons it was observed that most of the times these questions did not obtain an answer from the students.

Usually Confirmation Checks look for the confirmation of a previous statement. Nevertheless, they are also commonly used by teachers as discursive devices that ensure fluency and dynamism in the lectures, and sometimes they do not even expect an answer. In these kind of situations Confirmation Checks act almost as Rhetorical Questions. In this study, Confirmation Checks that were used as automatized formulaic expressions which did not expect an answer were not taken into account. Thus, we only considered those questions that indeed sought students' confirmation.

T.A.: You understand what I mean?

Some Students: Yes.

T.A.: Yes.

64. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 64 we can see Teacher A asking the students if they understood what he just explained and some students answer affirmatively.

T.B.: (After giving an explanation) *Galderaren bat edo zeozer honi buruz?*

Ez? (Any question or anything about this? No?)

65. Extract from class 3, BMI, Teacher B.

Extract 65 shows a very common situation where the teacher, after giving an explanation, makes different Comprehension Checks ("Any question about this? No?") but does not receive an answer back from students. This is a very common situation in the classroom context and, in most cases, the lack of an answer to a Comprehension Check is usually understood by teachers as a confirmation that students are following the explanation.

These results, especially in the case of Teacher A, contrasted with previous studies (Dafouz and Sánchez-García, 2013; Sánchez-García, 2016; Sánchez-García, 2018), in which Confirmation Checks were the most used type of questions. However, this

may be because those studies acknowledged the, sometimes, automatized use of these type of questions, which were used as “transition markers” (Dafouz and Sánchez-García, 2013, p. 138) and took them into account, which increased the number of Confirmation Checks, unlike in the case of this study.

T.A.: *Iparkorea, bai, izan daiteke gaur egun munduan dagoen herrialderik itxienetariko bat, ezta? Ekonomikoki, politikoki, sozialki... bai? Nahiz eta atzo elkartu zen... ez? Bertako burua Trumpekin, ezta? (Wait time) Bai? (North Korea, yes, nowadays it may be one of the most enclosed countries in the world, right? Economically, politically, socially... yes? Even though yesterday he met...right? The head of there with Trump, right? (Wait time) Yes?*
Some students: *Bai.* (Yes).

66. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

In extract 66, Teacher A makes some Confirmation Checks which do not expect an answer: “right?”, “yes?”, “no?” But, at the end he then asks the Confirmation Check “Yes?” looking for students’ confirmation and checking their understanding, and leaves some wait time after which the students answer “Yes”.

T.B.: It’s not that much text to copy, OK? With the computer or a pen whatever you want but please don’t take pictures, OK? Because I think is part of the process of learning so make that little effort of getting things copied by yourself not by the phone.

67. Extract from class 4, EMI, Teacher B.

In extract 67 we can see another example of the use of Confirmation Checks as automatized discourse devices which do not expect an answer from students. In this case, Teacher B uses the Confirmation Check “OK?” after two sentences but, as he does not look for an answer, he does not leave any wait time for students to answer and carries on speaking.

7.2.4.1.6. Clarification Requests

This type of questions is used when the interlocutor of a conversation did not understand or hear what the speaker said, due to external circumstances (like a distractive noise), and asks for a clarification. Due to their nature, these questions are not great promoters of interaction, but they do ensure the continuation and comprehension of the conversation.

Teacher A asked significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$) more Clarification Requests than Teacher B (we did not find a single case in the classes analysed). However, they were not very frequent in any case, as they only amounted to 5% in Teacher A's lessons.

It should be taken into account that for Clarification Requests to happen, an interaction between the teacher and a student (or some students) is required. That is, teachers must be engaged in an interaction with students when they ask for clarification. Therefore, taking into account that we found significantly more interactions between the teacher and the students in Teacher A's lessons, this type of question was more likely to happen in his lessons than in Teacher B's.

ST1: *Azenarioa*. (Carrot).

T.A.: (The teacher makes a gesture with his head meaning that he could not understand what ST1 just said).

ST1: *Azenarioa*. (Carrot).

T.A.: *Azenarioa. Besterik? Beno, zuek baserri girokoak...* (Carrot. Anything else? Well, you the ones from the rural environment...)

ST2: (says something inaudible)

T.A.: *Eh?*

ST2: (says something inaudible)

T.A.: *Zer?* (What?)

ST2: *Letxugak*. (Lettuce).

T.A.: *Letxu... Letxugak*. (Lettu... Lettuce).

68. Extract from class 1, BMI, Teacher A.

Extract 68 shows three moments of Teacher A asking for clarification in three different ways. First, he made a gesture raising his chin while frowning. This is a

very common gesture, which ST1 rapidly understood and, consequently, repeated the answer. Then, the teacher asked ST2 for clarification by using the also very common interjection “eh?” ST2 repeated the answer but it was inaudible so the teacher asked “What?” to which the student answered again. On other occasions this teacher also used different gestures to ask for clarification, such as putting his hand behind his ear or moving his hand up and down to ask a student to speak louder.

7.2.4.1.7. Indirect Questions

Indirect Questions are part of the speaker’s discourse to exemplify a concrete situation and do not expect an answer. These type of questions are commonly used by teachers when they “pretend” to be another person and present questions that person may ask themselves.

These were the third type of questions most used by Teacher B and constituted 18% of his questions. These questions were almost non-existent (1%) in Teacher A’s lessons. However, the difference between the two teachers regarding the use of Indirect Questions was not statistically significant ($p=0.060$).

T.B.: What are you saying? Are you criticising the classicals? Are you criticising the forty principals? Are you criticising Taylor’s scientific management? You are saying that this is not a way of improving the firm’s activity every time?

69. Extract from class 4, EMI, Teacher B.

In extract 69, Teacher B offers some questions by putting himself in the place of another person. In this way he raises the questions this person could hypothetically ask her/himself. These questions do not expect an answer from students and, therefore, do not promote interaction.

7.2.4.1.8. Indirect Requests

Indirect Requests are those questions that intend to spark an action from the interlocutor, the students in this case. These questions may obtain an oral answer

from the interlocutor, but their objective is usually to make a student or students fulfil a request like opening the window, going to a specific page on the book, etc. These types of questions were practically non-existent in the case of Teacher A (1%) and non-existent in the case of Teacher B (0%). The difference between the two teachers was statistically significant ($p=0.036^*$), because, although these questions were not very frequent in Teacher A's lessons, we did not find any of these questions in Teacher B's lessons. However, this statistical difference should be considered with caution due to the low figures in both cases.

T.A.: Christian. Can you read the first question?

70. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

Extract 70 shows an example where Teacher A uses an Indirect Request. Here, when the teacher asked the student if she or he could read the question, he did not expect an answer (although the student could have answered something), but he expected the student to complete the action she or he had asked for and, therefore, read the question.

7.2.4.1.9. Retrospective Questions

Retrospective Questions refer to something previously seen in other lessons. These questions are usually used by teachers to help students think and remember some content seen in a previous lesson, so that they can make connections between previous information and the present lesson/content.

No Retrospective Questions were found. Although a very few examples were detected, their numbers were so low that they did not even reach 1% of the questions both in Teacher A's and Teacher B's lessons. Therefore, the difference between the two teachers regarding the use of these types of questions was not statistically significant ($p=0.261$).

T.A.: Do you remember which was the other change we introduced between period two and three in the role game?

ST1: That the peasants didn't pay the taxes.

71. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

In extract 71 we can see one of the few occasions in which Teacher A uses a Retrospective Question to remind students of certain information they learnt in a previous class. In this case, this question triggers student interaction, but this was a most uncommon type of exchange in these teachers' lessons.

7.2.4.1.10. Repetition Questions

These questions repeat the last word, utterance or idea expressed by the last speaker. Sometimes teachers use these questions to repeat a student's answers, usually asking for something like a clarification, confirmation or a more detailed explanation.

Repetition Questions only represent 1% of the questions both in Teacher A's and Teacher B's lessons. Therefore, the difference between the two teachers was not statistically significant ($p=0.076$).

T.A.: Beraz, desberdintasunari ze izen jarriko diogu? (So, what name will we assign to the difference?)

ST1.: Askatasun politikoa. (Political freedom).

T.A.: Askatasun politikoa? (The teacher moves his head doubtfully). (Political freedom?)

ST1: Antolamendu politikoa. (Political arrangement).

T.A.: Gehiago gustatzen zait hori. Antolamendu politikoa. Askatasun politikoa agian da eragina. (I like that better. Political arrangement. Political freedom may be the consequence).

72. Extract from class 2, EMI, Teacher A.

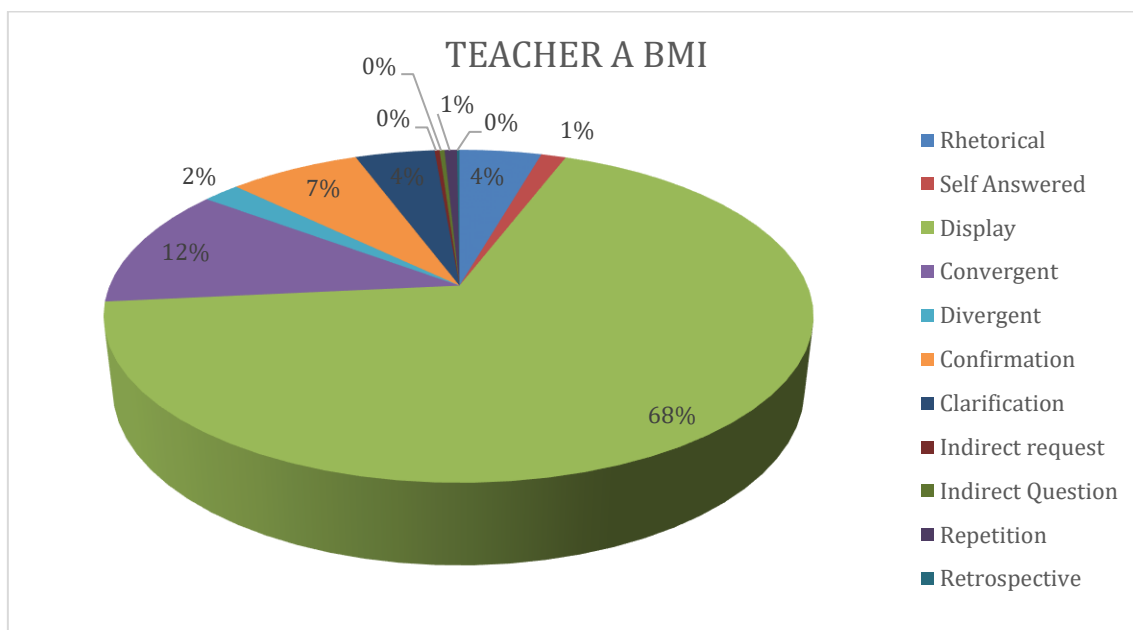
In extract 72, Teacher A starts by asking a Display Question and ST1 answers. Then, the teacher repeats ST1's answer using a Repetition Question whilst making a

gesture with his head meaning that he is not very satisfied with that answer. Consequently, ST1 gives another answer and Teacher A agrees. These questions, rather than promoting interaction, ensure its continuity once the interaction has already occurred.

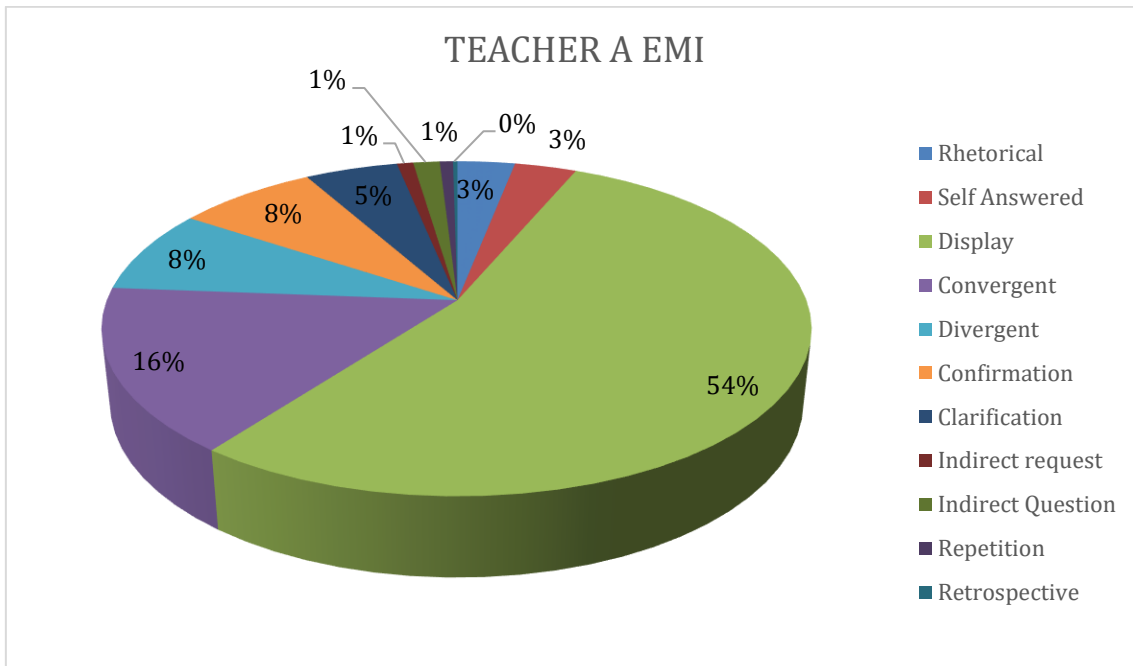
7.2.4.2. Questioning: BMI vs. EMI

The answer to RQ5 “Does the language of instruction (Basque or English) affect the questions asked by the teacher?” would be it does not. Table 30 shows that there was no statistically significant difference between BMI and EMI regarding the questions asked in these lessons. When we compared BMI and EMI lessons, taking into account both Teacher A’s and Teacher B’s lessons, none of the question types showed a significant difference.

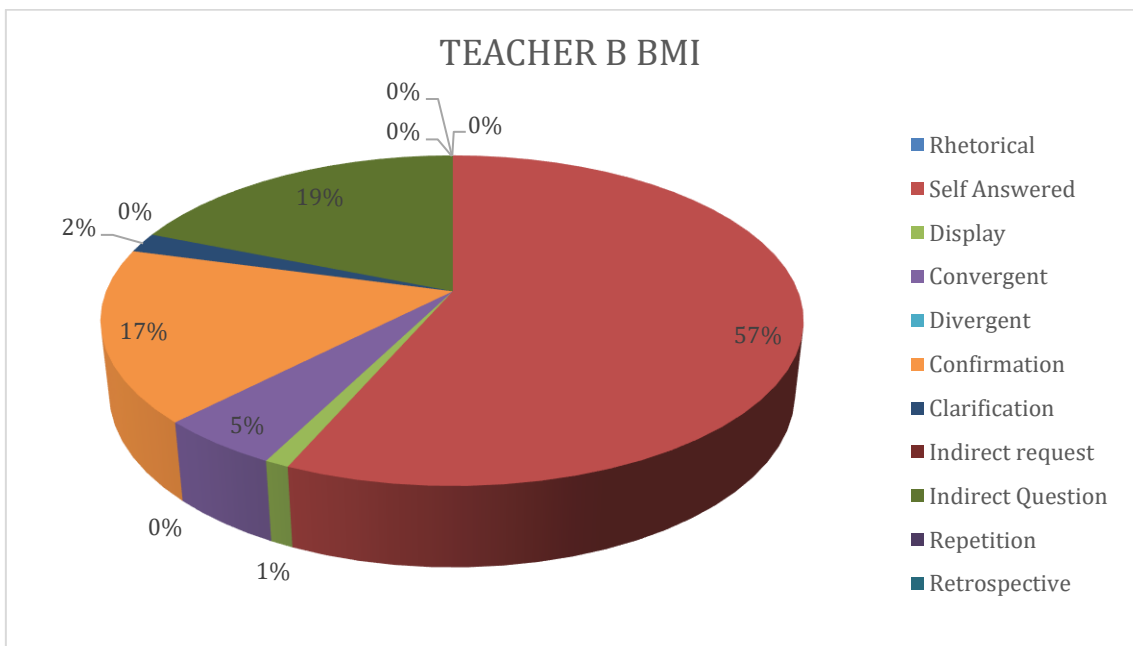
Graph 5. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher A in BMI.



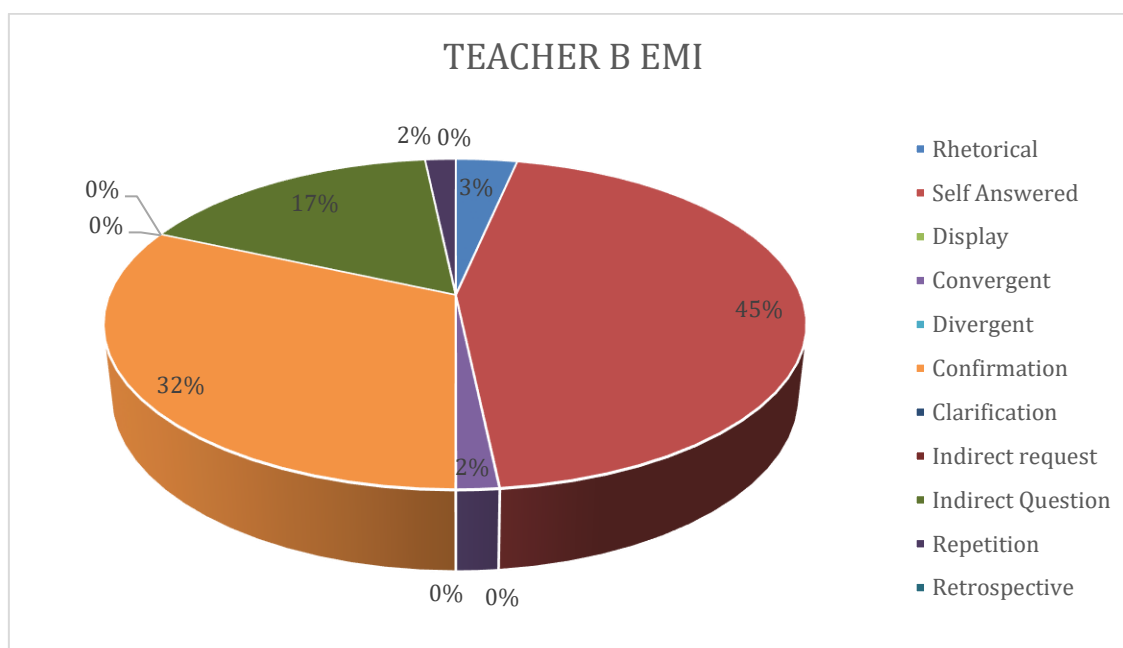
Graph 6. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher A both in EMI.



Graph 7. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher B in BML.



Graph 8. Percentages of the types of questions asked by Teacher B in EMI.



Let us examine these results more in detail. The majority of Teacher A’s questions were Display Questions both in BMI (68%) and EMI (54%), followed by Convergent Referential Questions (12% BMI and 16% EMI). The majority of Teacher B’s questions were Self Answered Questions both in BMI (57%) and EMI (45%), followed by Indirect Questions (19%) in BMI and Confirmation Checks (32%) in EMI. Table 30 shows that the difference in the use of Confirmation Checks ($p=0.229$) and Indirect Questions ($p=1.000$) by Teacher B in BMI and EMI was not statistically significant.

Table 30. Questioning: Teacher A vs. Teacher B and BMI vs. EMI (questions per hour and significance). * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.

Number of Questions per Hour												
	Question Types											Total
	Rheto	Self Answ	Disp	Conv	Diver	Clari	Confir	Indi R	Indi Q	Repe	Retros	
Teacher A in BMI	3.14	0.95	47.81	8.29	1.43	3.05	5.04	0.19	0.19	0.48	0.10	70.67
Teacher A in EMI	1.18	1.27	20.70	6.09	3.09	1.90	2.88	0.33	0.55	0.27	0.09	38.36
Teacher B in BMI	0.00	6.50	0.11	0.56	0.00	0.22	1.94	0.00	2.17	0.00	0.00	13.72
Teacher B in EMI	0.27	3.60	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	2.53	0.00	1.33	0.13	0.00	8.00

	Significance											
	Question Types											
	Rheto	Self Answ	Disp	Conv	Diver	Clari	Confir	Indi R	Indi Q	Repe	Retros	Total
BMI vs. EMI	0.962	0.893	0.620	0.772	0.349	0.815	0.724	0.456	0.796	0.801	0.921	0.442
Teacher A in BMI vs. Teacher A in EMI	0.128	0.627	0.063	0.171	0.498	0.645	0.254	0.587	0.494	0.324	0.804	0.094
Teacher B in BMI vs. Teacher B in EMI	0.273	0.583	0.361	0.560	1.000	0.361	0.229	1.000	1.000	0.273	1.000	0.269

These results are in line with the ones presented regarding classroom interaction in section “7.2.2. Interaction: BMI vs. EMI” in which no difference was found when comparing BMI and EMI either.

7.2.4.3. Summary

1. Teacher A asked significantly more questions than Teacher B.
2. The types of questions used by Teacher A and Teacher B were significantly different in most cases.
3. Teacher A’s most utilised kind of questions were Display Questions, which are considered great promoters of interaction.
4. Teacher B’s most utilised kind of question were Self Answered Questions, which do not involve any kind of interaction.
5. The language of instruction was not a statistically significant variable regarding questioning. There were no significant differences between BMI and EMI regarding questioning.
6. Teacher’s teaching style seemed to be a more influential variable regarding questioning than the language of instruction.

7.2.5. Students' opinion: Interaction

RQ6. What are students' opinions regarding classroom interaction?

In this section we will present students' opinion about classroom interaction gathered by means of a questionnaire (see Appendix 1).

We grouped three factors in relation to interaction: "The negative influence of EMI on interaction", "The positive influence of EMI on interaction" and, "The impact of students' English proficiency on interaction". Table 31 displays the items comprised in each factor and the values (0.762, 0.717 and 0.726) obtained in the Cronbach Alpha test, which were satisfactory.

Table 31. Interaction: Cronbach Alpha test.

Factor	Items	Cronbach α
The negative influence of EMI on interaction	63. I feel more repressed when it comes to participating in classes in English than in those in my mother tongue (Basque and/or Spanish). 65. I consider that the fact that a subject is taught in English affects negatively the interaction between teachers and students. 66. I feel embarrassed to participate in classes in English. 67. I think there is more interaction between teachers and students in classes in Basque/ Spanish than in English. 69. When I participate in English classes I try to make the interaction as short as possible. 74. When I talk to other students in English classes I usually do it in Basque and/or Spanish but not in English.	0.762
The positive influence of EMI on interaction	68. I feel comfortable participating orally in English. 71. I consider that I participate to the same extent (more or less) in classes in English and in those in my mother tongue. 75. When I talk to the teacher in English classes I usually do it in English. 76. I feel comfortable interacting in English with other students. 77. I consider that my English level is enough to be able to participate in class.	0.717
The impact of students' English proficiency on interaction	64. I would participate more in class if it was in my mother tongue. 70. It could happen that I have a doubt/question but I do not express it so I do not have to talk in English. 72. If I had a higher proficiency in English I would participate	0.726

	more in class. 73. I think that those students with the best level of English are the ones who participate most in class.	
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We will now present the results related to these categories. In general terms, students gave low scores to the items belonging to “The negative influence of EMI on interaction” category (61.4%) and high scores to the items belonging to “The positive influence of EMI on interaction” (78.6%). Therefore, students deemed EMI more positive than negative when it comes to classroom interaction. But let us present these results more in detail.

Table 32. Interaction: students’ response percentages to the 3 categories.

Factor	Items	Likert Scale 1-3 (negative)	Likert Scale 4-6 (positive)
The negative influence of EMI on interaction	63. I feel more repressed when it comes to participating in classes in English than in those in my mother tongue (Basque and/or Spanish).	59.6%	40.5%
	65. I consider that the fact that a subject is taught in English affects negatively the interaction between teachers and students.	79.6%	20.4%
	66. I feel embarrassed to participate in classes in English.	73.2%	26.8%
	67. I think there is more interaction between teachers and students in classes in Basque/ Spanish than in English.	58.2%	41.8%
	69. When I participate in English classes I try to make the interaction as short as possible.	62.2%	37.8%
	74. When I talk to other students in English classes I usually do it in Basque and/or Spanish but not in English.	35.6%	64.4%
	TOTAL	61.4%	38.6%
The positive influence of EMI on interaction	68. I feel comfortable participating orally in English.	26.8%	73.2%
	71. I consider that I participate to the same extent (more or less) in classes in English and in those in my mother tongue.	36.9%	63.1%
	75. When I talk to the teacher in English classes I usually do it in English.	9.9%	90.1%

	76. I feel comfortable interacting in English with other students.	28.1%	71.9%
	77. I consider that my English level is enough to be able to participate in class.	5.3%	94.7%
	TOTAL	21.4%	78.6%
The impact of students' English proficiency on interaction	64. I would participate more in class if it was in my mother tongue.	57.1%	42.9%
	70. It could happen that I have a doubt/question but I do not express it so I do not have to talk in English.	73.2%	26.8%
	72. If I had a higher proficiency in English I would participate more in class.	48.8%	51.2%
	73. I think that those students with the best level of English are the ones who participate most in class.	44.8%	55.2%
	TOTAL	56%	44.0%

Regarding the items belonging to “The negative influence of EMI on interaction”, 40.5% of the students confessed that they felt more repressed when they had to participate in EMI lessons than participating in Basque/Spanish ones. If we only take into consideration local students’ responses, as these were the ones that may combine both EMI and Basque/Spanish lessons, the percentage increases slightly (41.6%). Besides, 41.8% of the students considered that there was more interaction between teachers and students in Basque/Spanish MOI than in EMI. Again, if we only consider local students’ answers, this percentage increases (44.8%). However, the majority (79.6%) of the students did not believe that the fact that a subject was taught in English affected the interaction between teachers and students negatively. In fact, 78.6% of the students did agree with “The positive influence of EMI on interaction”. Paying attention now to some of these items, 73.2% of the students felt comfortable participating orally in EMI lessons, and the majority of the students (63.1%) considered that they participated in EMI lessons to the same extent as those delivered in their L1.

However, 44.0% of the students agreed with “The impact of students’ English proficiency on interaction”. Focusing on specific items, we found that 42.9% of the students affirmed that they would participate more in class if the lesson was in their L1, while 51.21% would participate more if they had a higher English proficiency.

This means that half of the participants acknowledged that English proficiency becomes a stumbling block when it comes to their participation in EMI classes.

7.2.5.1. Factors that may influence students’ opinion regarding interaction

In this section we will present how the variables of gender, university faculty, being an Erasmus or local student, students’ L1, and English proficiency, affect students’ opinions in relation to classroom interaction.

7.2.5.1.1. Gender

Students’ gender did not affect their opinion about classroom interaction, which is the reason why we will not dwell too long in this section.

Table 33 shows that the scores given by the students to the factors “Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions” ($p=0.763$), “Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction” ($p=0.816$) and “The impact of English proficiency on interaction” ($p=0.527$) were not significantly different depending on students’ gender. In fact, we can see that the scores given both by females and males were very similar.

Table 33. Interaction: students’ opinions about interaction depending on gender. * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.

Factor	Female (M)	Male (M)	Significance
Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions	3.03	3.01	0.763
Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction	4.53	4.56	0.816
The impact of English proficiency on interaction	3.28	3.18	0.527

7.2.5.1.2. University faculty

In this section we will compare students' opinions regarding interaction depending on their faculty: Social Science and Communication, Education, Architecture, Economics and Business, Engineering and, Computer Sciences.

Table 34. Interaction: students' opinions about interaction depending on the faculty. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Social S.and Commu. (M)	Archi. (M)	Educ. (M)	Econ. and Bus. (M)	Engin. (M)	Comp. S. (M)	Significance
Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions	2.77	2.76	3.43	3.04	3.11	3.19	0.001**
Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction	4.62	4.57	4.44	4.58	4.46	4.41	0.754
The impact of English proficiency on interaction	3.24	3.23	3.68	3.24	2.80	3.14	0.003**

Table 34 shows that the means of “Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions” were significantly ($p=0.001^{**}$) different depending on the university faculty students were enrolled in. Students from the faculty of Architecture showed the least negative perceptions (2.76), closely followed by the students from Social Science and Communication (2.77). Students from the faculty of Education (3.43) showed more negative perceptions of EMI for interaction. We also found significant ($p=0.003^{**}$) differences regarding “The impact of English proficiency on interaction” category. Students from the faculty of Computer Sciences were the ones that disagreed the most, with a mean score of 3.14. Students from the faculty of Education were the ones that agreed most ($M=3.68$).

No significant differences were found in relation to the “Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction”.

7.2.5.1.3. Erasmus vs. local Students

The type of student variable affected students’ opinions regarding interaction. In general terms Erasmus students held a more positive perception of EMI in relation to interaction than local students did.

*Table 35. Interaction: Local vs. Erasmus students’ opinions about interaction. *p<0.05; **p<0.01.*

Factor	Local (M)	Erasmus (M)	Significance
Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions	3.23	2.41	0.000**
Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction	4.44	4.85	0.000**
The impact of English proficiency on interaction	3.23	3.27	0.770

Table 35 shows that the scores given to the “Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions” category were significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$) different, as local students harboured more negative perceptions (3.23) than Erasmus students (2.41). These results were in line with the “Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction” ($p=0.000^{**}$), in which Erasmus students showed more positive perceptions, with a mean score (4.85) significantly higher than that of local students (4.44).

Lastly, no significant differences were found between local and Erasmus students regarding the category labelled as “The impact of English proficiency on interaction” ($p=0.770$).

7.2.5.1.4. Students' L1

In this section we will present the results after comparing students' opinions regarding interaction depending on their L1. When students completed the questionnaire (Appendix 1) they were asked to specify their L1 by choosing from the following options: Basque, Spanish, Both Basque and Spanish or, Other L1. In general terms, students with Other L1s showed more positive (and less negative) perceptions of EMI for interaction.

Table 36. Interaction: students' opinions about interaction depending on their L1. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Basque (M)	Spanish (M)	Basque and Spanish (M)	Other L1 (M)	Significance
Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions	3.37	3.21	3.17	2.47	0.000**
Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction	4.44	4.42	4.43	4.85	0.000**
The impact of English proficiency on interaction	3.30	3.23	3.20	3.26	0.992

The scores given to the factors “Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions” are significantly ($p=0.000^{**}$) different depending on students' L1. Basque L1 students were the ones that showed more negative perceptions (3.37), while Other L1 students showed a much lower mean score of 2.47. Significance ($p=0.000^{**}$) was also found regarding the “Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction”, where Other L1 students presented the most positive perceptions ($M=4.85$), and Spanish L1 students were the ones that showed less positive perceptions ($M=4.42$). Finally, students' L1 did not turn out to be significant regarding the “The impact of English proficiency on interaction” scale.

7.2.5.1.5. English proficiency

The results showed that English proficiency influenced students' opinion regarding classroom interaction. Students with a higher English proficiency had more positive perceptions of interaction in EMI than students with a lesser command of English.

Table 37. Interaction: students' opinions about interaction depending on their English proficiency. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Low English Level (M)	High English Level (M)	Significance
Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions	3.18	2.93	0.027*
Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction	4.39	4.85	0.000**
The impact of English proficiency on interaction	3.52	2.83	0.000**

Significance ($p=0.027^*$) was found regarding the “Negative perceptions of EMI for interactions” scale. Students with lower English proficiency showed more negative ($M=3.18$) perceptions of EMI for interaction than students with higher English proficiency ($M=2.93$). This was in line with the results found in relation to the “Positive perceptions of EMI for interaction” ($p=0.000^{**}$) where students with higher English level manifested more positive perceptions ($M=4.85$).

Students with a lower level of English were the ones who saw a greater relationship between English proficiency and interaction. These students rated the “The impact of English proficiency on interaction” category ($p=0.000^{**}$) with a mean score of 3.52, while students with a higher level gave this factor a mean score of 2.83.

7.2.5.1.6. Summary

1. Gender did not influence students' opinions regarding interaction.
2. Students from the faculty of Architecture were the ones that showed the least negative perceptions and students from the faculty of Education were the ones that showed the most negative perceptions of EMI for interaction. The latter are also the ones that see a closer relationship between English proficiency and interaction.
3. Erasmus students presented more positive perceptions of EMI for interaction than local students.
4. Basque L1 students were the ones that manifested more negative perceptions, while Other L1 were the ones that showed more positive perceptions of EMI for interaction.
5. Students with a higher level of English manifested more positive perceptions than students with lower English proficiency, the latter being the ones that agreed to a greater extent about the impact of English proficiency on classroom interaction.

7.3. Students' motivation

RQ7. What are students' and teachers' motivations to enrol in EMI courses

In this section we will present the results related to students' motivations to enrol in EMI. Three factors were obtained in relation to motivation: "Ideal L2 Self", "Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI" and, "EMI interest". As can be seen in Table 38, the values (0.808, 0.710 and 0.784) from the Cronbach Alpha test were rather high, especially regarding the Ideal L2 Self. Please note that initially item 39 (I decided to matriculate in subjects in English with the expectation of improving my competence in English) was part of the "Ideal L2 Self" category, but we decided to move it to the "English proficiency improvement" component, which caused an increase in the Cronbach Alpha value in both factors.

Table 38. Motivation: Factor analysis, Varimax rotated factor matrix and, Cronbach Alpha. Factors related to Interaction.

Factor	Items	Cronbach α
Ideal L2 Self	25. I am interested in taking this subject in English because in the future I would like to continue studying in English. 27. I am interested in studying this subject in English in order to be able to live in an English-speaking country in the future. 28. I consider that taking a subject in English will be beneficial for my future professional career (work). 32. I am interested in taking this subject in English so that I can apply for a specific job in the future. 33. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because I am personally interested. 34. In the future I want to work or study abroad. 35. I consider that taking a subject in English will be beneficial for my student career. 41. In the near future I imagine myself using English at work.	0.808
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	26. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because the schedule suits me better. 29. I feel obliged to study in English by the university. 31. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because the university requires me to complete a minimum of credits in English. 36. I feel obligated to study in English by my parents (guardians). 38. I have enrolled in this subject in English because I think it is easier than in Basque/Spanish (because I think there will be less academic load). 40. If I could enrol in subjects in Basque/Spanish instead of English I would do it. 43. I have enrolled in this subject in English because there were no other options.	0.710
EMI interest	37. I am more motivated to classes taught in English than to those taught in Basque or Spanish just because they are taught in English. 44. I would like to enrol in more subjects in English but the schedule does not fit me. 45. If I could, I would enrol in more subjects in English. 46. I think there should be more offer of subjects in English in this degree. 47. If there was the option of completing my degree (all the subjects) in English I would do it. 49. I do not enrol in more subjects in English because there is no more offer of subjects in English in my studies.	0.784

In general terms, the majority of the students (77.3%) gave high scores to the items belonging to the “Ideal L2 Self,” and the majority of the students (83.9%) gave low

scores to the items belonging to the “Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI”. These findings led us to conclude that students’ motivations to enrol in EMI were more related to the Ideal L2 Self than to the Ought-to Self. Also, the student participants seemed quite divided regarding the factor “EMI interest”, as 46.3% of the students gave this factor low scores, while the remaining 53.7% gave this factor high scores. Let us present these results more in detail.

Table 39. Motivation: students’ motivations to enrol in EMI.

Factor	Items	Likert Scale 1-3 (negative)	Likert Scale 4-6 (positive)
Ideal L2 Self	25. I am interested in taking this subject in English because in the future I would like to continue studying in English.	12.5%	87.5%
	27. I am interested in studying this subject in English in order to be able to live in an English-speaking country in the future.	27.7%	72.3%
	28. I consider that taking a subject in English will be beneficial for my future professional career (work).	2.9%	97.1%
	32. I am interested in taking this subject in English so that I can apply for a specific job in the future.	44%	64.8%
	33. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because I am personally interested.	9.5%	90.6%
	34. In the future I want to work or study abroad.	14.1%	85.9%
	35. I consider that taking a subject in English will be beneficial for my student career.	5.1%	94.9%
	41. In the near future I imagine myself using English at work.	7.5%	92.5%
	TOTAL	16.8%	77.3%
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	26. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because the schedule suits me better.	73.9%	26.2%
	29. I feel obliged to study in English by the university.	84.6%	15.4%
	31. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because the university requires me to complete a minimum of credits in English.	88.8%	11.2%
	36. I feel obligated to study in English by my parents (guardians).	93.2%	6.8%
	38. I have enrolled in this subject in English because I think it is easier than in Basque/Spanish (because I think there will be less academic load).	80.9%	19.1%
	40. If I could enrol in subjects in Basque/Spanish instead of English I would do it.	82.4%	17.6%

	43. I have enrolled in this subject in English because there were no other options.	83.3%	16.7%
	TOTAL	83.9%	16.1%
EMI interest	37. I am more motivated to classes taught in English than to those taught in Basque or Spanish just because they are taught in English.	54.3%	45.7%
	44. I would like to enrol in more subjects in English but the schedule does not fit me.	73.8%	26.2%
	45. If I could, I would enrol in more subjects in English.	36.3%	63.7%
	46. I think there should be more offer of subjects in English in this degree.	20.7%	79.4%
	47. If there was the option of completing my degree (all the subjects) in English I would do it.	39.4%	60.7%
	49. I do not enrol in more subjects in English because there is no more offer of subjects in English in my studies.	53.6%	46.4%
	TOTAL	46.3%	53.7%

Regarding the “Ideal L2 Self”, the vast majority of the students believed that EMI lessons would be beneficial for both their academic (94.9%) and professional career (97.1%). Furthermore, these beliefs were in line with students’ willingness, as 87.5% would like to continue studying in English, 85.93% wanted to work or study abroad in the near future and, 92.53% imagined themselves using English at work in a near future. All these items garnered strong support and reached very high percentages, which indicate that EMI students are well aware of and convinced about the important role that the English language will play in their future.

Moving on to the “Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI” component, Table 39 shows that the majority of the students did not feel obliged to enrol in EMI lessons either by the university (84.6%) or their guardians (93.2%). Nor did the students attribute their having enrolled in EMI to practical reasons like the schedule (73.8%) or the lack of other options (83.3%).

However, we would like to open a parenthesis here to show an extract from class, in which Teacher B projects his beliefs regarding the importance of knowing English for students’ future professional careers.

(The teacher is talking about a video).

T.B.: And also... You can see also the importance of eh... eh... being able to talk in English also... see this big company, ok? Campofrío the marketing manager, the govern manager... García. In fact nowadays Campofrío is part of a multinational so, being able to talk also in English is a good quality for being able to be govern... manager of the company.

73. Extract from class 4, EMI, Teacher B.

In extract 73, Teacher B comments on a video they have just watched. In the video, we can see some workers from the Spanish company Campofrío talking to the camera in English, even though they are Spanish. The teacher explains that this company is now part of a multinational and, therefore, it is more international. The teacher then highlights the importance knowing English has for being the manager of a company. Thus, the teacher is transmitting to the students a message about the importance of knowing English to be able to prosper in a company, especially when it is an international company.

We have considered it important to show this extract as an example of the messages that students may receive from third parties in relation to the importance of knowing English, despite the fact that, as we have seen, the motivations of EMI students are not so closely related with the Ought-to Self as with the Ideal L2 Self. Finally, in relation to the “EMI interest” scale, the EMI student population seems quite divided regarding item 37. 54.3% did not agree so much to feel more motivated to EMI lessons than to Basque or Spanish lessons just because they are taught in English, whereas 45.7% agreed with that statement. Interestingly, 79.4% of EMI students considered that there should be more EMI offer in their degree, and 60.7% of them would be willing to complete their studies entirely in English.

7.3.1. Summary

1. The vast majority of EMI students showed motivations related to the Ideal L2 Self.
2. Most EMI students imagine themselves studying or working in English in the near future.

3. The majority of EMI students thought that the offer of EMI should be increased.
4. The majority of EMI students would complete their studies entirely through EMI if they had the option.
5. The EMI student population is divided in regards to the ones that feel more motivated to EMI lessons than to Basque/Spanish lessons just because these are taught in English.

7.3.2. Factors that may influence students' motivation

As we did in the case of Translanguaging and Interaction, we also analysed EMI students' opinions regarding their Motivation depending on a series of variables: gender, university faculty, being an Erasmus or Local student, students' L1 and, English proficiency.

7.3.2.1. Gender

In this section we will show the influence gender has on EMI students' motivations to enrol in EMI.

Table 40. Motivation: students' motivations depending on their gender * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Female (M)	Male (M)	Significance
Ideal L2 Self	4.92	4.70	0.003**
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	1.96	2.09	0.084
EMI interest	3.66	3.20	0.212

In the previous section we have seen that the vast majority of EMI students' motivations to enrol in EMI were related to the Ideal L2 Self. Table 40 shows that gender had a significant ($p = 0.003^{**}$) influence regarding that factor since female students ($M = 4.92$) gave higher scores to the items that belong to the "Ideal L2 Self" scale than male students ($M = 4.70$). However, no gender influence was found in the

case of the other two motivation scales, namely “Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI” and “EMI interest”.

7.3.2.2. University faculty

In this section we will present how which university faculty students belonged to affected their motivations to enrol in EMI. Table 41 shows that EMI students’ opinions regarding the factor “Ideal L2 Self” were significantly ($p=0.001^{**}$) different depending on their university faculty. Students from the faculty of Education identified most with the Ideal L2 Self (5.05), whereas students from the faculty of Computer Sciences were the ones that gave this factor the lowest scores (4.33).

Table 41. Motivation: students’ motivations depending on their faculty. $*p<0.05$; $**p<0.01$.

Factor	Social S. and Commu. (M)	Archi. (M)	Educ. (M)	Econ. and Bus. (M)	Engin. (M)	Comp. S. (M)	Significance
Ideal L2 Self	4.76	4.78	5.05	4.91	4.83	4.33	0.001**
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	2.04	2.16	2.00	2.03	1.83	1.80	0.057
EMI interest	3.94	3.29	3.62	3.80	3.53	2.92	0.000**

No significance ($p=0.057$) was observed regarding the factor “Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI”.

Finally, regarding the factor “EMI interest” we did find significant ($p=0.000^{**}$) differences in students’ opinions depending on their faculty. Students from the faculty of Social Science and Communication were the ones that showed more EMI interest (3.94) and students from the faculty of Computer Sciences were the ones who manifested less interest (2.92).

7.3.2.3. Erasmus vs. local students

In this section we will show if students' motivations to enrol in EMI varied depending on whether they were Erasmus or Local students. No significance ($p=0.670$) was found regarding the factor "Ideal L2 Self" when we compared Local and Erasmus students' opinions. On the contrary, we found significance ($p=0.000^{**}$) regarding the factor "Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI". Erasmus students (2.50) related their motivations more to the Ought-to Self and to practical reasons than Local students (1.85).

Finally, Table 42 shows that Local and Erasmus students' opinions regarding the factor "EMI interest" were not significantly different ($p=0.879$).

Table 42. Motivation: Local vs. Erasmus students' motivations. * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.

Factor	Local (M)	Erasmus (M)	Significance
Ideal L2 Self	4.84	4.79	0.670
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	1.85	2.50	0.000**
EMI interest	3.59	3.63	0.879

7.3.2.4. Students' L1

In this section we will present whether students' L1 (Basque, Spanish, both Basque and Spanish and, Other L1s) affected their motivations to enrol in EMI. No significant ($p=0.533$) differences were found regarding "Ideal L2 Self" depending on students' L1.

Table 43. Motivation: students' mean scores to the factors "Ideal L2 Self", "Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI", and "EMI interest" depending on their L1 * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.

Factor	Basque (M)	Spanish (M)	Basque and Spanish (M)	Other L1 (M)	Significance
Ideal L2 Self	4.74	4.89	4.76	4.79	0.533

Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	1.85	1.88	1.80	2.43	0.000**
EMI interest	3.03	3.69	3.54	3.69	0.009**

We found significant ($p=0.000^*$) differences regarding the factor “Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI”. In general, students with Other L1s gave higher scores to the items related to this factor, with a mean score of 2.43, in comparison to L1 Basque students (1.85), L1 Spanish (1.88) and, both Basque and Spanish L1 (1.80). However, we can see that the scores given by the L1 Basque/Spanish students do not differ so much. This is in contrast with previously conducted studies (Ytsma, 2007; Laugharne 2007; Ó Laoire, 2007; Lasagabaster 2004; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2013a) where students with minority languages as L1 showed less positive attitudes and motivations towards English and foreign languages than students with majority L1s. However, studies whose participants were EMI students did not show any impact of the L1 either (Lasagabaster, 2016), as is the case of the current study.

Finally, Table 43 shows that the scores given to the factor “EMI interest” are significantly ($p=0.009^{**}$) different depending on students’ L1. Spanish L1 and Other L1 students were the ones that manifested more interest towards EMI with an equal mean score of 3.69, while Basque L1 students’ mean was significantly lower (3.03).

7.3.2.5. English proficiency

No significant ($p=0.136$) differences were found in students’ responses to the “Ideal L2 Self” depending on their English proficiency. Nevertheless, we found significance ($p=0.001^{**}$) regarding the “Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI”. Students with a lower English proficiency presented motivations more related to the Ought-to Self and to practical reasons ($M=2.08$) than students with a higher English level ($M=1.82$).

Table 44. Motivation: students' motivations depending on their English proficiency. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Factor	Low English Level (M)	High English Level (M)	Significance
Ideal L2 Self	4.82	4.91	0.136
Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI	2.08	1.82	0.001**
EMI interest	3.56	3.72	0.171

Finally, no significant ($p=0.171$) differences were detected regarding students' responses to the "EMI interest" scale depending on English proficiency.

7.3.2.6. Summary

1. The "Ideal L2 Self" played a more significant role in EMI students' motivation than the "Ought-to L2 self".
2. Female students showed more "Ideal L2 Self"-related motivations than male students.
3. Those students who manifested a motivation more linked to the Ideal L2 Self (Education) were also the ones who presented more interest towards EMI. On the contrary, those students who did not connect that much with this kind of motivation were also the ones who showed less interest towards EMI.
4. Erasmus students presented more "Ought-to Self"- and "Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI"-related motivations than local students.
5. Students with L1s other than the official languages of the Basque Country manifested more "Ought-to Self" and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI"-related motivations.
6. Students with a lower English proficiency presented more "Ought-to Self and Practical reasons for enrolling in EMI"-related motivations.

7.4. Teachers' motivations to teach EMI

As we have already explained in the section "6.5.1. Data collection instruments", an interview was conducted to gather information about Teacher A and B and to find out their opinion regarding different issues related to EMI. We also took the opportunity to ask teachers about their motivations for deciding to teach EMI instead of BMI or SMI.

Teacher A's subject, Economic History, belongs to a so-called "group of subjects" by the UPV/EHU. The "group of subjects" is an organisation system that encompasses subjects that need to meet certain requirements. One of the requisites to belong to this organisation system is to offer all the subjects both in Basque and in English. As teacher A explains, belonging to a "group" gives a subject certain prestige and stability, because it ensures the offer of that subject for at least 4 years – regardless of the number of students enrolled in it. This is why teacher A teaches his EMI subject because, in a certain way, he is obliged to, although he was not displeased with this situation. However, he believes that the university does not reward BMI and EMI teachers as they deserve. In lecturer A's opinion being an EMI teacher requires more effort than being a SMI teacher. For example, there is much more work to do: translating the material they already have in Spanish, preparing new materials, attending EMI teacher training, working on their own English, etc. But this is not just the case of EMI, in this teacher's opinion, BMI also requires more effort from teachers than SMI, because there are not enough materials in Basque to teach their courses, so teachers have to translate all their materials if they want them to be delivered in Basque.

In the case of EMI he considered that although there is more information available than in other languages, he has to adapt this information for the students, and therefore has to invest even more time preparing material for his lessons beyond spending considerable time on his own training and improving his English. In the case of BMI there is not much content in this language, so he has to create the majority of the materials he uses for the lessons.

This lecturer complains that all this extra effort is not rewarded in any form since it does not entail any economic compensation, and EMI teachers have the same conditions as the rest of their colleagues.

In the case of teacher B, lecturing in EMI was his personal choice. As he explains, the university launched the offer of teaching that subject in English and he decided to take that opportunity. This teacher argues that he had never taught in English before and that he wanted to live this new experience and get to know more diverse students (international students, etc.).

In sum, it could be concluded that teacher A's motivational drives result of a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), whereas intrinsic motivation predominates in the case of teacher B.

8. CONCLUSIONS

To our knowledge, no previous study has carried out an analysis that integrates the aspects of translanguaging, interaction, and motivation in two MOIs (Basque and English), a gap we have endeavoured to fill with this research study.

Our aim was to analyse and compare BMI and EMI lessons at the UPV/EHU, focusing on the aforementioned three main constructs. In this section, we will present the conclusions for the research questions considered in this study.

RQ1. Does translanguaging happen both in BMI and EMI?

Translanguaging was found both in BMI and EMI lessons, but no significant difference was observed regarding Student-Translanguaging and Material-Translanguaging when we compared both languages as means of instruction. However, most Teacher-Translanguaging was observed in BMI, but it was because of Teacher B, as no difference was observed in the case of Teacher A's lessons. As for Student-Translanguaging, more instances were observed in Teacher A's classes. We can see a correlation between these results and the ones presented above concerning interaction. Students participated significantly more in Teacher A's lessons, meaning we subsequently found more Student-Translanguaging. Therefore, it seems that the more students participate, the more possibilities for Student-Translanguaging to happen. Once again, the teacher factor seemed to have a greater impact on translanguaging than the language of instruction. Nevertheless,

on this occasion, we did find an aspect where the MOI was a significant factor. More Subject-related translanguageing than Non-Subject-related translanguageing was found both in Teacher A's and Teacher B's lessons, but only when Basque was the medium of instruction, as no differences were observed in EMI. Thus, in BMI translanguageing was used in more formal situations than in informal ones.

This result has caught our attention as we expected to find quite the opposite. On a day-to-day basis, it is very common for Basque speakers to translanguage probably due to their contact with Spanish (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). However, in the BMI classes, we found more Subject-related than Non-Subject-related translanguageing. A reason for this could be that Basque students may have internalised the strain not to use a language other than the MOI (usually Spanish), since this is the trend in the Basque academic context. According to Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017), this is due to the Canadian immersion programmes' impact on Basque immersion programmes, as the former foster the exclusive use of the L2 and claimed that languages should be kept separate. Therefore, students only "allow" themselves to translanguage in situations more related to content that entail more unfamiliar terminology. However, this is just a hypothesis, since this issue requires further research, and it would be interesting to analyse what are the reasons underlying BMI students' choice to translanguage more in formal than informal classroom situations. We have to take into account that we only focused on lecture-style moments and did not analyse students' interactions when they were working in groups which might have been a situation where more informal translanguageing took place.

In addition, we classified students' translanguageing in four main categories and teachers' in six categories (see sections "7.1.3. Reasons for teachers to translanguage" and "7.1.5. Reasons for students to translanguage"). This enabled us to better understand the reasons for students and teachers to translanguage in each concrete case. Some of these categories are similar to the ones presented in previous studies. For instance, students translanguageing due to a "lack of vocabulary or not remembering it" and teachers "providing a translation" to ensure students' understanding would be similar to Gotti's (2015) and Dalziel and Guarda's (2021) "appealing for assistance" category. Moreover, we want to highlight that, once again, local culture and context seem to play an important role when it comes to translanguageing. Gotti (2015) and Dalziel and Guarda (2021) followed Klimpfinger

(2007) to consider “signalling cultural identity” as a reason for students to translanguage. This concurs with our findings in two different ways. On the one hand, we identified “The influence of Spanish on Basque: the use of Spanish expressions” as a reason both for students and teachers to translanguage. This would reflect the influence the majority language, whose presence is predominant in most students’ social contexts, has on the minority language. Therefore, we could say that this is a case in which one language influences the other due to the presence and contact of both in society. On the other hand, we also identified the category “Translanguaging in relation to the local culture and context” as a reason for teachers to translanguage. In this sense, translanguaging would be a reflection of the individual’s culture and identity and “helps reveal the fluidity with which multilingual speakers shuttle across both fuzzy language boundaries (García, 2009b) and fluctuating multicultural identities (Celic & Seltzer, 2011)” (Dalziel & Guarda, 2021, p.138).

RQ2. What are teachers’ attitudes and beliefs regarding translanguaging? And RQ3. What are students’ attitudes and beliefs regarding translanguaging?

The student community was divided between those who saw it as positive the occasional use of translanguaging, and those who were more reluctant to do so. But in general, students showed more negative than positive attitudes towards translanguaging. These results concur with those obtained by Macaro, Tian and Chu’s (2020) and Palfreyman and Al-Bataineh (2018), who also reported this division among students in China and the United Arab Emirates respectively. Among the different situations considered, the students agreed most on translanguaging for avoiding communication breakdowns caused by teachers’ difficulties to express an idea or not remembering a word, or when students needed assistance to express themselves. This last finding was also observed in Fang and Liu’s (2020) study conducted in the Chinese context.

Our results do however contrast with those obtained by Muguruza, Cenoz and Gorter (2020), where students manifested positive attitudes towards translanguaging. These academics collected EMI students’ opinions after having

implemented a series of translanguaging pedagogies in a course at the UPV/EHU. Whereas our study examined students' opinions concerning spontaneous translanguaging that occurs in the classroom without any type of pedagogical intervention. Therefore, it is possible that students show more positive attitudes when it comes to pedagogical translanguaging, which follows a specific strategy and planning and through which they receive certain information, and even prior instructions in relation to translanguaging, than when it comes to spontaneous translanguaging.

Furthermore, the variables that were taken into account (gender, students' university faculty, being local or Erasmus, students' L1, English proficiency) had a significant influence on students' opinions in relation to translanguaging.

As for the teachers, both manifested a preference to use the language of instruction as much as possible in their lessons. These results confirm Breeze and Roothoof's (2021) conclusion that lecturers in Spain are reluctant to use the L1 in university-level EMI. These results are also in line with the findings presented by Kim and Tatar (2017) and Karakas (2016) in their studies conducted in Korea and Turkey, in which lecturers also appeared unwilling to use the L1 in their lessons. This trend thus seems to be found in many contexts in which the implementation of EMI is rather recent, provided that students' English proficiency allows it.

In our study, Teacher A explained that he would only change to Spanish/English in BMI, or Basque/Spanish in EMI, for specific vocabulary that he believed might be unfamiliar for students. Moreover, he considered that the use of the other languages in the classroom can be "dangerous" since it could lead to an overuse of these languages instead of the language of instruction (Basque or English in this case). Teacher B also highlighted his preference to maintain other languages than the MOI one outside of the classroom, although he explained that he was usually more permissive with students using other languages in practical lessons. He explained that when students were working on some tasks (generally in groups) and asked him a question in another language (e.g. a student asking a question in Spanish in the BMI lesson, or a student asking in Basque/Spanish in the EMI lesson), he would sometimes answer in that language. Teacher B's attitude would be in line with the results obtained in Gallego-Balsà and Cots's (2019) and Fang and Liu's (2020) studies, where teachers tended to be more permissive with students'

translanguaging, although they themselves avoided using languages other than the language of instruction. However, Teacher B went a step beyond, as not only did he accept students' translanguaging, but he even answered in the language concerned when students initiated an interaction in a language other than the language of instruction (when students were working in groups).

Therefore, despite the fact that this teacher declared that he tried to discourage the use of languages other than the language of instruction, in a certain way he employed a strategy (even if it was not intentional or premeditated) through which he allowed students to interact in their L1 during group work. Mazak, Mendoza and Perez Mangomé (2017) argue that pedagogical translanguaging, although it must be intentional, is not always related to a previous plan or structure and sometimes may happen more organically. In such cases, pedagogic translanguaging would be more related to the stance or attitude adopted by the teacher (in this case, Teacher B) in relation to translanguaging than to any concrete didactic planning.

This was not the case for Teacher A, who was quite critical with students using their L1s while working in groups and he usually reminded them to use the language of instruction.

Another aspect our research revealed was that some teachers (in this case, Teacher A) still demonstrated a sense of protectionism towards the Basque language. In fact, Teacher A translanguages but often with a sense of guilt (Macaro, 2009; Swain, Kirkpatrick, & Cummins, 2011). Some of Teacher A's translanguaging episodes were classified under the category "Linguistic cleanliness and purism", as this was an issue that seemed to worry this lecturer. On more than one occasion this teacher asked the students for "cleaner" vocabulary. As Cenoz and Gorter (2017) exposed, this is a common fear among part of the Basque academic staff who, due to historical reasons and the current situation of the Basque language as minority language, feel the need to protect it. This sometimes entails isolating Basque from other languages, and to avoid "mixing" it with Spanish and preventing what is known as "Euskañol". As we have seen in other studies (Macaro, 2014; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017), this is a very widespread position among teachers. In this case Teacher A, despite being a content teacher, did show awareness of the role that he played as the input provider. On many occasions the teacher resorted to synonyms for students to acquire new vocabulary, or split terms that were unfamiliar to the students so that they could

guess and then remember their meaning. It might be precisely for this reason that this teacher was more reluctant to allow the use of languages other than the medium of instruction, since he confessed a fear that this could lead to an overuse of these languages. Furthermore, on more than one occasion we observed the tendency of this teacher to use expressions such as "cleaner Basque" to ask students to use Basque terms that were not influenced by Spanish. This is related to linguistic hygiene and language purity (Cameron, 1995; García & Otheguy, 2019), which are not great allies of translanguaging practices.

RQ4. Does the MOI (Basque or English) affect classroom interaction?

Results showed that no significant difference was found when comparing BMI and EMI lessons whether regarding the agents involved in it (T-C, T-S, S-T, S-S, S-C), or in relation to the amount of time teachers and students talked. Therefore, the MOI did not affect classroom interaction. These results coincide with previous studies like the one carried out by Ngussa (2017) in a Tanzanian university where no significant difference was found concerning classroom interaction depending on the MOI (English or Kiswahili).

Nevertheless, in our study, significant differences were found when comparing Teacher A and Teacher B. Teacher A was a better promoter of interaction (he even expressed his concern regarding interaction and participation to the students) and this was reflected in the results. Consequently, it could be concluded that teachers, and more concretely their teaching style, have a greater influence on interaction than the languages of instruction. This concurs with Sánchez-García's (2016) study, wherein teachers' teaching styles and personalities appeared to play a significant role when it came to promoting interaction.

RQ5. Does the language of instruction (Basque or English) affect the questions asked by the teacher?

The language of instruction did not seem to be a significant factor regarding questioning. Results showed no differences regarding the type of questions used, or the number of questions asked in BMI and EMI. Again, teachers constituted a more

influential factor than the MOI. Teacher A asked significantly more questions than Teacher B, and the type of questions asked by each teacher also differed. The types of questions most used by Teacher A were Display Questions, which are considered great promoters of interaction. On the contrary, Self-Answered questions were the type of questions most used by Teacher B, and they did not entail any kind of interaction. Hence, once again, teachers' teaching style seemed to be of higher influence rather than the language of instruction.

These results differ from the ones presented by Sánchez-García (2016), where questions were more frequently deployed in EMI than in SMI. The researcher concluded that teachers felt a greater need to carry out confirmation checks to verify that students were following the lesson in EMI since it was not their L1, and therefore, they might have more difficulties than in SMI. That is, teachers could use more questions in EMI as a "compensatory strategy" to cope with the difficulties students may encounter due to their lack of competence in the language (Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013). This was not the case in our research, where we delved into subjects taught in English, which was (in most cases) students' FL, and subjects taught in Basque, which was in some cases students' L1 and in others their L2. This last situation might have caused that, unlike in the research mentioned above, teachers considered it necessary to verify students' understanding in both BMI and EMI classes, the latter being a L2 for many students. This may be the reason why we did not find differences regarding questions when we compared BMI and EMI.

However, having examined our results, it is worth mentioning that the outstanding lack of questions (except for Rhetorical Questions, Indirect Requests, or Self-Answered Questions – all of which do not promote interaction), as was the case for example with Teacher B in our study, seemed to be a determining factor when it came to the little amount of interaction found in the lectures studied (Sánchez-García, 2010; Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013).

RQ6. What are students' opinions regarding classroom interaction?

Students considered EMI more positive than negative when it comes to classroom interaction. The majority (79.6%) of the students did not consider that EMI affects negatively teacher-student interaction, and the majority (78.6%) believed that EMI

positively influences classroom interaction. Furthermore, we identified some factors that seemed to influence students' opinions in this respect: the university faculty where EMI students were enrolled in, if the students were Erasmus or local, students' L1, and students' English proficiency.

In relation to previous research, our results coincide or contrast depending on the study we take as a reference. For example, students' positive perceptions regarding EMI and interaction concur with the opinion expressed by the students in Maiz-Arévalo and Domínguez-Romero's (2013) study. Nevertheless, our results contrast with those presented by Byun et al. (2011) where Korean students saw their lack of fluency in English as an obstacle for interacting with their classmates. In Kim, Kweon, and Kim's (2017) study, which was also carried out in Korea, students felt L1 MOI lessons to be more interactive than EMI. Our results also diverge from the ones showed in Al-Masheikhi, Al-Mahrooqi and Denman's (2014) study (conducted in Oman) where the majority of the students avoided participation due to their fear of making mistakes, whereas the majority of our participating students claimed to feel comfortable interacting in English. We must take into account that Maiz-Arévalo and Domínguez-Romero's study was carried out in Spain, therefore, most of our students shared their L1 (Spanish; despite counting also with a smaller number of international students), while the other studies were performed in contexts very different from ours. In this way, it could be hypothesised that some geographical context may be an influential factor with regard to students' opinions about the effects of EMI on classroom interaction, as Asian students tended to show a more negative stance. Asian students' more negative perspective may be due to, firstly, a lower English proficiency on the part of both EMI teachers and students and, secondly, a cultural trend to be less interactive than Western university students, as underscored by several researchers (Hu & Wu, 2020; Kim, 2017; Kim & Yoon, 2018). However, this matter would require further research.

Our students' opinions regarding interaction aligned with the results obtained through the COLT observation scheme and analysis of the lessons, since the majority of EMI students considered that receiving their lectures in English instead of their L1 did not have any negative influence on classroom interaction, which was confirmed by means of the statistical analyses performed.

RQ7. What are students' and teachers' motivations to enrol in EMI courses?

In this study, we also aimed to find out UPV/EHU students' motivations to enrol in EMI instead of BMI/SMI. Most of the students' motivations to enrol in EMI corresponded to the Ideal L2 Self, as found by other authors both in the Basque context (Lasagabaster, 2016) and in other settings (Kojima & Yashima, 2017). Most students did not feel pressured by other agents (the university, their parents/guardians, etc.) to study in English, but rather showed motivations more related to their personal preferences. Furthermore, these students imagined themselves using English in their near future careers like in a job or in further studies, which is in accordance with several studies in the field (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009). In this way, the large sample allows us to generalize our results to the whole EMI student community at this university, and conclude that students show motivations mainly related to the Ideal L2 Self and not so much to the Ought-to L2 Self. In this regard, a clear effect of the educational context was found, as the Ought-to self plays a greater role at pre-university level than at university level, where participants are more mature and independent (Lasagabaster, 2016).

Another interesting point was that EMI students were divided between those who felt more motivated by EMI lessons than by Basque/Spanish lessons just because the former were taught in English, and those who did not. Consequently, we can conclude that a subject being taught in English is a motivational drive for some EMI students. Once more, we identified some factors that influenced students' motivations to enrol in EMI – such as gender, university faculty, being Erasmus or local, students' L1 and their English proficiency. Female students' motivations to learn through EMI were more related to the Ideal L2 self than those of male students. These results contrast with those obtained by Lasagabaster (2016), who concluded that EMI seemed to help dilute gender-related differences regarding students' motivations contrary to what was previously argued in studies (Ryan, 2009) carried out in other contexts such as EFL courses. This is a question that deserves further attention in future research.

We also wanted to know the participating lecturers' motivations to teach EMI. Teacher B confessed having voluntarily requested to teach in English out of personal interest. Teacher A did not choose EMI voluntarily, although he was not displeased

with the situation. Nevertheless, the latter expressed his dissatisfaction regarding the greater workload involved in being an EMI and/or BMI teacher at the UPV/EHU compared to being an SMI teacher, citing for example the lack of rewards (monetary, workload reduction, etc.) that these teachers endure. The extra workload that teaching in English entails seem to be a common concern amongst teachers (Deignan, & Morton, 2022; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Göpferich, Machura, & Murphy, 2019; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018; Macaro et al., 2017), and may indeed have an influence on teachers' motivations to teach through this language. These results can be interpreted in two very different ways: a) only those teachers who have a genuine intrinsic motivation to teach through English would opt for EMI, even though, in theory, it requires more time and effort; b) since teaching in English involves extra workload, only those teachers with extrinsic motivations would be the ones to choose EMI, either in the belief that this will benefit their future career or because they are somehow "forced" by their university or their superiors (as is the case of one of our participants, Teacher A).

9. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Although researchers in the field have claimed that translanguaging practices entail meaningful benefits if cogently approached, this evidence seems not to have trickled down to some university students and lecturers (at least, this is the case of the UPV/EHU). This is why we believe, in accordance with other academics (García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017), that providing teachers with information on the positive influences translanguaging can have both on students' learning and on the facilitation of certain dynamics in the classroom (such as interaction) would be advantageous. Moreover, this information should be combined with guidelines and training for teachers so they can implement a conscious and planned use of translanguaging, what Cenoz & Gorter (2017) define as pedagogical translanguaging.

From a teacher training perspective, our findings indicate that there is a dire need to help teachers reflect upon the use of the students' whole linguistic repertoire, as EMI lecturers seem to have negative preconceived ideas about the use of languages

other than the one used as means of instruction, while they are “unaware of the potential role of translanguaging” (Fang & Liu, 2020, p. 13). EMI teachers should be aware of the fact that research has proved the benefits of translanguaging to improve students’ content comprehension while increasing classroom interaction (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Marshall, 2020; Van Viegen & Zappa-Hollman, 2020; Wei, 2021). This reflection process should be triggered in teacher development courses as it would help teachers analyse and reflect about their current use of the L1, and to have more experientially based opinions that could help them break away from their current view of the need to keep language codes strictly separated. Training courses could make teachers overcome monolingual ideologies and linguistic prejudices by underscoring the benefits of translanguaging practices carried out in a systematic way (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; García & Wei, 2014). Once teachers have received training, they will be able to discuss translanguaging with their students and help them reflect on this issue so students can also gain awareness of their practices as multilinguals. Additionally, both teachers and students could design a kind of “linguistic covenant” in which they specify certain norms, so that students could take advantage of their multilingual status whilst still ensuring that there will be no overuse of the L1/L2 over the language of instruction. We also advocate for training to promote interaction in the classroom. As we move up the educational levels, it seems that the importance given to interaction decreases, as is also reflected in the research regarding this matter (at least in EMI context, Macaro et al., 2017). We do not conceive of a pre-school or primary education classroom where students do not actively participate in class, and where the teacher lectures through the entire lesson without seeking interaction with their students. However, in this research, we have observed lessons in which students did not participate at all in the entire lesson, and this does not seem to be an isolated case (see Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit, 2010). For this reason, through specific training, university teachers could understand the importance of interaction to promote students’ learning (Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Simpson, Mercer & Majors, 2010), increase their motivation and foster more dynamic and student-centred lessons, while they are provided with the techniques and tools for this purpose. All in all, it seems vital that both teachers and students raise their linguistic awareness so they can reflect on its influence on the teaching-learning process. In

the case of teachers, they should be provided with the necessary training so they can be aware of the impact their discourse has on students' learning. A reflection on how different interactional strategies (such as questions) can affect students' learning, combined with some guidelines, could bring great benefits (Dafouz & Sánchez-García, 2013). Previous studies have demonstrated that when EMI teachers are given the opportunity to reflect on their teaching practices, they welcome such reflection, which eventually leads them to a more student-centered teaching approach and a more flexible attitude towards the use of the L1 (Guarda & Helm, 2017; Pagéze & Lasagabaster, 2017). However, surveys (Broggini & Costa, 2017; Costa & Coleman, 2013; O'Dowd, 2018) carried out in the European context have brought to light that many universities still do not offer EMI teacher training, and this is a weakness that needs to be tackled if EMI programmes are to be based on solid pedagogical ground (Lasagabaster, 2022).

Last but not least, we encourage universities to periodically ask students about the motivations that led them to enrol in a specific MOI, and their degree of satisfaction with it. This information can help policy makers to make top-down decisions more attuned with bottom-up opinions regarding the offer of studies in different languages. If EMI programmes are to be cogently implemented, all stakeholders should be given voice (Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2014).

10. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The main limitation encountered in the present research has been the limited sample size, at least in one part of the study. We counted with a robust sample in the case of the data collected through the questionnaire, as it was completed by 455 EMI students. Nevertheless, it was a more challenging task to find lectures taught by the same teachers in two parallel groups (BMI and EMI) at the UPV/EHU. Moreover, not all the contacted teachers agreed to participate in the study. Therefore, we had to carry out the research focusing on two specific cases. In this sense, the findings exposed in this study regarding these two case studies must be interpreted cautiously, as they have to be understood in this restricted context. A larger sample size would be recommended to obtain more generalizable results, although we do

believe that the data obtained in this study shed light on the importance of teachers' teaching style.

In any case, it should be considered that ours is an ecological approach, as many of the EMI teachers are young faculty who have decided to take the plunge and teach subjects in English. This ecological approach should not be dismissed; as Kramsch and Steffensen (2008, p. 27) put it: "The articulation of local and particular experiences, might lead to global changes, not by way of generalizability, but by way of analogy, because dialogue implies the emergence of shared experiences." In this sense, our results should be compared with those obtained in other contexts and this dialogue ought to help to improve EMI practices.

Another limitation relates to the data collection process, particularly the recording of the lessons. The recordings were made by a single researcher and with a unique camera, and we could therefore only record the discourse that took place when the students were in a lecture kind of lesson (and not when they were working in groups). This is why it would be interesting to record students whilst they are working in groups or pairs, since it is in these kinds of situations when they engaged the most and the most interactions between them occurred.

A further limitation is also related to data collection. The COLT observation scheme (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995) (part A) was originally designed to be completed in the classroom while attending live lessons. However, we have used an adapted version of this scheme specifically designed for this study, and to which, amongst other changes, we added new categories. This made the scheme more extensive, which hinders its completion in the classroom. This is why we decided to change the methodology and fill in the scheme afterwards whilst we were observing the recordings. This allowed us to review, stop and go back in the recordings when necessary. This meant that during the observation of the live classes we could take notes of what we considered important, or write down parts of the discourse when we thought it might not be heard clearly on the recording. This brings us to our next limitation: sometimes some parts of the recorded speech were difficult to understand due to external noises or because the speaker was speaking softly. This could be solved by adding more microphones in the classroom. At any rate, and fortunately, these situations were rare.

11. FUTURE LINES OF RESEARCH

In regards to future lines of research, we believe that the following issues should be considered. It would be interesting to analyse students' interactions and translanguaging when they work in groups, since it is in this context when most interactions amongst them take place and, therefore, there are also more possibilities for translanguaging to happen. Although teacher-fronted classes are predominant in university lectures (Sánchez-García, 2020), and therefore our focus was on this type of interaction, student-student interaction may shed some interesting light on the issues under scrutiny in this dissertation.

Future research should also be undertaken to accurately measure the impact of translanguaging on content learning. The few studies available so far at university level are small scale, limited to a single group and do not measure content learning. This is a research avenue that undoubtedly deserves further attention, as it would help to dispel the doubts shown by some of our participants.

Another aspect that remains pending in future research is to identify what are the reasons for Teacher B to translanguage more in BMI than in EMI. Basque was Teacher B's L2 and Teacher A's L1 and English was both teachers' FL. Nevertheless, we only found significant differences regarding translanguaging in the case of Teacher B, who translanguage more in his L2 (Basque) than in his FL (English). It would be of value to research this matter further to determine whether this was an isolated case or a trend.

As has been stressed on several occasions throughout this study, the figure of the teacher seemed to be a very influential factor regarding issues surrounding the promotion of interaction. This is why we consider it necessary to delve into this matter and research the influence lecturers' personalities, personal preferences and teaching-styles may have on translanguaging and classroom interaction.

In the present investigation, we asked our two participating teachers about their motivations to teach EMI and we obtained two very different responses. It would be very interesting to ask that question to a larger sample of university teachers to obtain more generalizable results. Concretely, it would be beneficial for the UPV/EHU to know their teachers' motivations for deciding to teach in English, as this may be a conditioning factor for some aspects of their teaching.

The protection of minority languages, Basque in this case, is a matter that concerns both the UPV/EHU and society at large. More research around the impact the increase in the offer of EMI courses may have on the protection and promotion of the Basque language, both in the social and academic spheres, should be carried out. Only in this way will we be able to assess the real effects that the increase of English as the language of instruction may have on the Basque language.

This study was not conceived as a longitudinal investigation. Nevertheless, it would be highly interesting to replicate the same study in the future and determine if there are significant variations. It would be especially intriguing to prove if students' and teachers' opinions regarding translanguaging, interaction or their motivations to enrol in EMI change over time.

In conclusion, the incorporation and increase in recent years of English as a language of instruction in many non-English speaking countries requires a great deal of research. This research should be frequently updated in order to provide current evidence about its effects so decision-makers can take action and make decisions supported by results and data. Research should also provide help and guidance to teaching staff, and delve into teachers' and students' opinions about the educational changes that have occurred in recent years, since they are the ones who are most directly involved, and the ones most likely to "suffer" the effects.

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APPENDIX 1. The questionnaire

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire is part of a research that aims to analyse some aspects of learning through English at the University of the Basque Country. This is why it is essential for us to know the opinion of the students since you are the true protagonists of this teaching-learning process.

The data obtained in this research will be published in a doctoral thesis carried out by Iratxe Serna Bermejo (iserna008@ikasle.ehu.eus) at the University of the Basque Country.

CONFIDENTIALITY COMMITMENT

The personal data you have provided for this research project will be treated with absolute confidentiality in accordance with the Data Protection Act. When this investigation is published the data will always remain anonymous.

TIME

You will have 20 minutes to complete all the questions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Please read these instructions carefully before beginning to complete the questionnaire:

The questionnaire consists of 4 parts, please be sure to complete all of them. At the beginning of each part, you will find a brief explanation of how to answer the questions. Not all the questions have the same response system so please read the instructions carefully.

When you finish filling out the questionnaire and you have verified that you have not left any questions blank, you can hand it in to the teacher.

CLARIFICATIONS

In some questions you will read the term *mother tongue*, which refers to the language you were exposed to from birth (your native or first language).

For example, if your parents (guardians) always talked to you in Basque, your mother tongue is Basque.

If one of your parents talks to you in Basque and the other in Spanish, you have 2 mother tongues (Basque and Spanish). But, if at home you speak in Spanish and at school you speak in Basque, your mother tongue is only Spanish.

GRATITUDES

This investigation would not be possible without your collaboration and this is why we want to thank you for your effort and time. **Thank you very much!**

PART I

In this part, we would like you to mark with an the proper answer (remember that you can choose more than one answer when you consider it necessary) or to fill the gaps.

1. Date:

2. Gender: Feminine Masculine Non-binary

3. Age:

4. University degree you are enrolled in:

5. Academic course (you can select more than one):

1 2 3 4 5

6. Are you an Erasmus student? Yes No

7. I am/or/have been enrolled in more than one subject in English (at the University of the Basque Country):

Yes No

If yes specify which:

8. Those subjects that I do not study in English I study in (you can select more than one option):

Basque Spanish Other (specify which):

9. My mother tongue is (you can select more than one option):

Basque Spanish Both Basque and Spanish

Other (specify which):

10. I have a title/degree in English:

No

Yes:

A1/Young Learners English Test (YLE)

A2/Key English Test (KET)

B1/ Preliminary English Test (PET)

B2/First Certificate in English (FIRST)

C1/Certificate in Advanced English (CAE)

C2/ Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE)

Other (specify which):

PART II

In this part, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply circling a number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave any of items.

(Ex.) If you strongly agree with the following statement, write this:

I like traveling.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

11. I consider myself prepared to follow English classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Subjects in English have helped improve my English listening ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I feel a sense of achievement when taking English courses.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Subjects in English have helped improve my English reading ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. I consider that classes in English are easier than those in Basque / Spanish because the teacher teaches less content.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Subjects in English have helped improve my English learning motivation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. I believe that studying a subject in English can negatively affect my content learning.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. I consider that if subjects in English were taught in my mother tongue, I would learn more about the subject.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Subjects in English have helped improve my English speaking ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I feel stressed when taking English courses.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Subjects in English have helped improve my English writing ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. I think that subjects in English should be elective and not mandatory.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. I believe that students should be required to have a minimum level of English in order to be able to take the courses in this language.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. I feel that through the subjects taught in English my level in this language is improving.	1	2	3	4	5	6

PART III

These are new questions but please answer them the same way as you did before.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

25. I am interested in taking this subject in English because in the future I would like to continue studying in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because the schedule suits me better.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. I am interested in studying this subject in English in order to be able to live in an English-speaking country in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. I consider that taking a subject in English will be beneficial for my future professional career (work) .	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. I feel obliged to study in English by the university.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Outside classroom I have contact with the English language.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because the university requires me to complete a minimum of credits in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. I am interested in taking this subject in English so that I can apply for a specific job in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33. I have enrolled in some subjects in English because I am personally interested.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34. In the future I want to work or study abroad.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35. I consider that taking a subject in English will be beneficial for my student career.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36. I feel obligated to study in English by my parents (guardians).	1	2	3	4	5	6
37. I am more motivated to classes taught in English than to those taught in Basque or Spanish just because they are taught in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38. I have enrolled in this subject in English because I think it is easier than in Basque/Spanish (because I think there will be less academic load).	1	2	3	4	5	6
39. I decided to matriculate in subjects in English with the expectation of improving my competence in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40. If I could enrol in subjects in Basque/Spanish instead of English I would do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41. In the near future I imagine myself using English at work.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42. I do not enrol in more subjects in English because I am not interested.	1	2	3	4	5	6
43. I have enrolled in this subject in English because there were no other options.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44. I would like to enrol in more subjects in English but the schedule does not fit me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
45. If I could, I would enrol in more subjects in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6

46. I think there should be more offer of subjects in English in this degree.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47. If there was the option of completing my degree (all the subjects) in English I would do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
48. Sometimes I have enrolled in a subject in English because I like the teacher.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49. I do not enrol in more subjects in English because there is no more offer of subjects in English in my studies.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50. University requires students in my degree to complete a minimum of credits in English if they do not have the First Certificate (or equivalent B2 Level).	1	2	3	4	5	6

PART IV

These are new questions but please answer them the same way as you did before.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

51. If I am participating in English and, at a given moment, I do not know how to express an idea I switch to my mother tongue.	1	2	3	4	5	6
52. I believe that although the subject is in English, the teacher can also use other languages that she/he and the students know (Basque/Spanish) from time to time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
53. I prefer that in English subjects the teacher does not use other languages than English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
54. If the teacher is speaking in English and at a given moment she/he cannot express an idea or does not remember a term, I think it is appropriate that she/he changes to Basque/Spanish.	1	2	3	4	5	6
55. Being able to use Basque / Spanish at a specific moment when I cannot formulate an idea in English would help me participate in class.	1	2	3	4	5	6
56. I would like to see teachers using more Basque or/and Spanish in English classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
57. I prefer that in English subjects students do not use other language than English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
58. I think that the use of Basque/Spanish in English classes can lead to an excessive use of these languages instead of English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
59. In exams we should be allowed to use some Basque/Spanish if we do not know some vocabulary or how to express and idea.	1	2	3	4	5	6
60. I see appropriate the use of Basque/Spanish materials in English classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
61. If I approach to the teacher out of the class time to ask about subject matters I do it in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
62. Out of class time (in tutorials for example) I prefer talking to the teacher in Basque/Spanish than in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6

PART V

These are new questions but please answer them the same way as you did before.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

63. I feel more repressed when it comes to participating in classes in English than in those in my mother tongue (Basque and/or Spanish).	1	2	3	4	5	6
64. I would participate more in class if it was in my mother tongue.	1	2	3	4	5	6
65. I consider that the fact that a subject is taught in English affects negatively the interaction between teachers and students.	1	2	3	4	5	6
66. I feel embarrassed to participate in classes in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
67. I think there is more interaction between teachers and students in classes in Basque/ Spanish than in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
68. I feel comfortable participating orally in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
69. When I participate in English classes I try to make the interaction as short as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6
70. It could happen that I have a doubt/question but I do not express it so I do not have to talk in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
71. I consider that I participate to the same extent (more or less) in classes in English and in those in my mother tongue.	1	2	3	4	5	6
72. If I had a higher proficiency in English I would participate more in class.	1	2	3	4	5	6
73. I think that those students with the best level of English are the ones who participate most in class.	1	2	3	4	5	6
74. When I talk to other students in English classes I usually do it in Basque and/or Spanish but not in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
75. When I talk to the teacher in English classes I usually do it in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
76. I feel comfortable interacting in English with other students.	1	2	3	4	5	6
77. I consider that my English level is enough to be able to participate in class.	1	2	3	4	5	6

If you want to add any comment feel free to do it in Basque/Spanish/English:
