



English-medium instruction in higher education and the ELT gaze: STEM lecturers' self-positioning as NOT English language teachers

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how three Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) lecturers working in English-medium instruction (EMI) grapple with the prospect of self-positioning as English-language-teachers (ELTs), drawing on interviews in which they explicitly deny acting in this way. It begins with essential background, first discussing key concepts such as EMI, internationalization, Englishization in higher education and 'CLIL-ised EMI', the latter understood as what happens when EMI is reframed as sharing key characteristic with Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) – language teaching. The paper then outlines the main focus – the notion that STEM specialist EMI lecturers might, on occasion, act as ELTs – examining selected findings from previous research exploring this topic. This discussion is followed by further background information about the context and the methodological framework adopted here, a revised version of Positioning Theory. These preliminaries aside, the paper presents a series of excerpts from interviews with informants, which then serve to construct a narrative about EMI lecturers as ELTs. In the face of informants' resistance to this identity, the paper ends with some thoughts on what has been learned, both in this context and further afield.

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1. Introduction

In the course of his study of how Swedish university lecturers make sense of their English-medium instruction (EMI) experiences, John Airey (2011) talked to his informants about the extent to which they saw themselves as English language teachers in addition to content teachers. One of his informants, an industrial engineering lecturer, made the following comment:

During the lessons or at examination I do not correct the students if they are using a wrong expression or making any mistakes when using English. In my opinion I am not that skilled in English and have not the confidence to correct another person. (Airey 2011, 46)

This lecturer's self-positioning as a professional who does not correct his students' English – and, it is understood, does not engage in activity deemed to be in the realm of English language teaching – is not exclusive to higher education (HE) contexts in Sweden, nor HE contexts in the Nordic countries, nor even HE contexts across Europe; rather, worldwide, researchers have observed how the allegiance to a disciplinary identity (e.g. an engineering professor) is systematically invoked and the prospect of acting as an English language teacher is systematically minimized, if not rejected outright. In this paper we explore how three EMI lecturers, working at an HE institution in Catalonia, grapple with the prospect of self-positioning as English-language-teachers (ELTs), drawing on interviews in which

they explicitly deny acting in this way. We begin with background to the paper, first discussing key concepts such as EMI, internationalization, Englishization in HE and 'CLIL-ised EMI' (Moncada-Comas and Block 2019), the latter being what happens when EMI incorporates language learning as one of its goals, thereby assuming one of the main functions of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). We then move to the main focus of this paper – the notion that EMI lecturers might, on occasions, act as ELTs – and examine findings from previous research exploring this topic. This discussion leads into the presentation of the context of our research and the methodological framework that we adopt here. These preliminaries aside, we proceed to the presentation of excerpts from interviews with our informants, which help us to construct a narrative about EMI lecturers as ELTs. In the face of our informants' resistance to this identity, we end the paper with some thoughts on what we have learned, both in our context and further afield.

2. EMI, internationalization and Englishization in HE and CLIL-ised EMI

EMI has been defined, in general terms, as 'the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English' (Dearden 2015, 2). However, as authors such as Baker and Huttner (2017), note, it is worthwhile to remember that there are, broadly speaking, three distinct types of EMI program. These are: (1) student-mobility programs, which include the reception and incorporation of students from a range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds, leading to the emergence of multiple, novel varieties of English (e.g. Englishes as *lingua francas*); (2) what Dafouz (2014) terms 'internationalization at home' programs, where it is the curriculum for local students that is internationalized and this curriculum is delivered in locally emergent Englishes; and (3) Anglo-phone-context programs, which by Dearden's definition would not be EMI programs, in the strictest sense of the term, even if the internationalization of HE has brought with it the culturally and linguistically diverse populations and the emergent new varieties of English that characterize program types (1) and (2). In each of these contexts, there is the additional need to view the phenomenon of EMI as multi-dimensional (Baker and Huttner 2019). For this purpose, Dafouz and Smit (2016) propose what they call the 'ROADMAPPING framework'. This framework is composed of six inter-locking components which need to be taken into account in the study of EMI in action: (1) English as part of a broader multilingual environment, as EMI is never a monolingual phenomenon; (2) the existence of academic disciplines and their effects on EMI in practice; (3) the who-what-where-why-when-and-how of the management of language and content in the EMI curriculum; (4) the different actors involved; (5) the practices and processes constituting EMI; and (6) the broader material and discourse shapers of EMI – from the global economy, to internationalization discourses, to Englishization of HE. Together, the sensitivity to the different types of EMI and the engagement with EMI as multidimensional have undergirded the exponential increase in publications on EMI, which have served to chronicle its rapid spread worldwide over the past decade (e.g. Brenn-White and Faethe 2013; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013; Jenkins and Mauranen 2019; Lasagabaster 2019; Macaro 2018; Macaro et al. 2018; Murata 2019; van der Walt 2013; Wachter and Maiworm 2014).

When EMI in HE occurs, it is usually part of a broader internationalization policy adopted by a university (Jenkins 2013), appearing alongside other activities such as the promotion of study abroad programs aimed at widening students' linguistic and cultural horizons; an explicit cross-curricular focus on the preparation of students for work in a global economy; staff mobility in the form of stays abroad; the incorporation of foreign teaching staff; teaching in other countries and/or franchising courses; and recruiting international students (both to enhance a university's international credibility and to generate revenue) (Byram 2012). In this paper, we focus on EMI as an internationalization activity in HE, and we do so in Spain (and more specifically, Catalonia), where, in marked contrast to what has occurred in Northern and Central European countries, this modality has only made serious inroads in the past decade and a half (Wachter and Maiworm 2014). In principle, Spanish EMI in HE contexts oscillate between Baker and Huttner's (2017) 'student-mobility' and 'internationalization at

home' modalities. Thus, while we often find the reception and incorporation of students from a range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds and English used as a *lingua franca*, we also frequently encounter groups entirely composed of local students who presumably are benefitting from an 'internationalized' curriculum delivered in locally emergent Englishes.

From the number of issues that one can focus on when examining EMI (see Macaro 2018 for a comprehensive survey), we concentrate here on a language pedagogical one that we see as extremely important, namely the extent to which – and how – EMI lecturers teaching Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects at a university in Catalonia see themselves as English language teachers. In doing so, we touch on, to varying degrees, the six components of the ROAD-MAPPING model mentioned above: the internationalization of HE and the Englishization discourses that accompany it; how these are embedded in a multilingual HE context; an EMI curriculum aligned with dominant internationalization and the Englishization discourses; EMI lecturers as the chief actors in the implementation of this curriculum; and the latter's self-positionings vis-à-vis academic disciplines (their STEM disciplines and English language teaching). We take as our starting point the idea that in the context that we examine, EMI has become CLIL-ised (Moncada-Comas and Block 2019). We use this term to capture how EMI, which in principle is about the use of English as a *lingua franca* (a way to cater to the comprehension and learning needs of students who come from different L1 backgrounds), is transformed into a practice which is more CLIL-like, where CLIL is understood to be 'a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language (Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010, 1). CLIL-ised EMI is what happens when HE stakeholders – program administrators and lecturers – draw on a naïve theory of language learning, seemingly based on an under-theorised version of Krashen's (1985) input hypothesis. In effect, they assume that the mere fact of sitting in classrooms in which content is taught in English will lead to the learning of English. Unfortunately, such thinking ignores the necessity of a language teaching pedagogy if language learning is to take place in a formal setting, which in turn requires lecturers to assume the subject position of language teacher.

3. The question at hand: EMI lecturers as English language teachers

As mentioned in the previous section, EMI is in many HE contexts an aspect of more general internationalization processes and specifically a means through which subject lecturers can teach to a linguistically diverse groups of students. In such diverse contexts, lecturers, in principle, are responsible not for improving their students' English but for teaching them course content using English instead of local languages that might normally be used. It is therefore not surprising that when EMI lecturers are asked to talk about their teaching, they tend to minimize or completely ignore the prospect that they might act as ELTs. For example, the many lecturers cited in Jenkins's (2013) in-depth survey of EMI in contexts worldwide did not talk explicitly about their roles (or not) as ELTs. Meanwhile, in a comprehensive report commissioned by the British Council on the state of play of EMI at seven universities in Japan and eight universities in China, researchers found that while students in both contexts tended to see EMI as an English language learning opportunity, teachers framed it more as an 'an instructional approach to content learning, rather than as a tool for learning English' (Galloway, Kriukow, and Numajiri 2017, 33). Especially in Japan, there was support among students for additional CLIL-like and ESP-like classes, which in many cases would be taught by native speakers of English. Meanwhile, EMI lecturers in both countries tended to see such additional English language instruction as unnecessary. Most importantly, this report contains no references to EMI lecturers acting in any way, shape or form as ELTs. One can infer from this absence that this aspect of EMI was not mentioned by informants (both lecturers and students) because it seldom if ever occurred. This trend is notable in other publications examining EMI in Japan, China and East Asia more broadly (e.g. Bradford and Brown 2017; Fenton-Smith, Humphries, and Walkinshaw 2017). Nevertheless, despite the absence of references to language teaching in these contexts, Baker and Huttner (2019, 513) highlight how in their research on EMI in HE in Thailand, EMI lecturers often situated '[t]he learning of

English and improvements in English alongside gains in content knowledge ... [.] again blurring the distinction between content knowledge and linguistic proficiency, EMI and CLIL'. As we shall see below, while this fusing of English language learning and content learning may be taken as a positive orientation of content lecturers towards the teaching of English, it may also be a way of avoiding an
155 ELT identity altogether by subsuming whatever language teaching and learning activity that takes place under the heading of discipline-based content teaching and learning.

Moving to contexts in which EMI is well established in HE, that is in Northern Europe, we see that there is also either a lack of attention to the prospect of EMI lecturers acting as ELTs or a denial that these lecturers should ever take on the role of ELT. This denial applies to the explicit presentation of
160 linguistic features, the correction of learners' errors, attention to language functions and aspects of discourse, the teaching of vocabulary and pronunciation, guided practice in academic writing and the teaching of disciplinary genre. For example, in his research examining the language attitudes of ten physics lecturers from four different Swedish universities, Airey found that while his informants 'expected their students to accomplish complex physics meanings with language ... they ... [did] not
165 seem to think it ... [was] their job to teach this language' and that further to this, they did 'not feel confident correcting ... [students'] English' (Airey 2012, 54). In a study carried out in Denmark, Werther et al. (2014) came to a similar conclusion, as none of their main informants even mentioned the prospect that they might act as ELTs. Indeed, these lecturers seemed more concerned with surviving the task of lecturing in English. Meanwhile, Wilkinson (2013) noted that EMI lecturers in Netherlands,
170 on the whole, positioned themselves as content experts whose exclusive aim was to develop subject knowledge, which, as a consequence, meant that they seldom if ever engaged in ELT-like activity.

Moving from northern Europe to southern Europe, we find similar findings in countries such as Italy (Costa 2013; Guarda and Helm 2016) and Spain (Aguilar 2017; Dafouz 2011; Lasagabaster
175 2019), where EMI lecturers consider it neither their duty nor responsibility to contribute explicitly to the development of their students' English language proficiency. Finally, in their research on EMI in a Turkish university, Jenkins and Mauranen (2019, 113) note how EMI lecturers 'avoid[ed] acting like language teachers by intervening in students' language practices to direct them towards using English in particular manners' (Karakaş and Bayyurt 2019, 113). The reason offered by lecturers was that they valued 'communication and the intelligibility of content' and saw English as 'a means that can be used varyingly to get things done rather than an end in itself'
180 (Karakaş and Bayyurt 2019, 113).

Nevertheless, in the midst of this generalized denial of an ELT identity, EMI lecturers often afford vocabulary a special status, acknowledging that they explicitly teach it to their students as a necessary part of the acquisition of broader 'academic language' (Pritchard and O'Hara 2017, 419). Thus with
185 reference to a range of EMI contexts, Basturkmen (2018, 693) suggests that 'disciplinary lecturers draw attention to language, usually vocabulary, ... for example, by means of repetitions, code switching, and semantic elaborations (definitions, paraphrases, synonyms, examples, and explanations)'. Elsewhere, in her research on focus on form in EMI classrooms in Italy, Costa (2012, 32) notes that lecturers 'are educationally disposed at teaching content over language' and that they, therefore,
190 tend to use more lexical than grammatical focus on form. These and other cases lead Macaro to conclude that EMI lecturers 'see themselves as content experts' and that 'the shift towards their incorporating a greater concern with students' English language development into their pedagogy becomes less likely the more their identity is grafted onto the intellectual community of practice [i.e. the academic discipline] they belong to or aspire to belong to' (Macaro 2018, 260). Thus, across a range of HE
195 contexts, there is a general tendency for EMI lecturers to see vocabulary as part of a more general English language-mediated academic discourse of which students need to acquire a command. However, as regards syntactic, morphological and phonological aspects of this discourse, or indeed higher-level aspects of language such as functions or disciplinary genre, students are on their own. In the midst of this state of affairs our aim in this paper is to explore in detail the whys
200 and wherefores of EMI lecturers' refusal to assume an ELT identity. Specifically, we aim to provide an answer to the following questions:

- How do EMI lecturers self-position as regards the prospect of acting as English language teachers?
- What reasons do they give for their self-positionings?¹

Before moving to our answers to these questions, we first provide, in order: (1) information about the research context and our informants and (2) an explanation of our methodological framework, which draws on language and identity research, positioning theory and Michel Foucault's work on discourse formations and his notion of the gaze.

4. The research context, researchers and informants

This paper is based on data collected during a year-long study of EMI in action at the University of Lleida, a medium-size university in the western part of Catalonia.² Six professors were followed as they taught subjects in their academic disciplines (engineering, and veterinary and animal production studies) in English. This entailed the collection of multiple data sources from stakeholders, including official documents, interviews, audio logs (diaries) and classroom observation. In this paper, we first focus on data which lays out the university's EMI policy – an operational plan for multilingualism at the university and an interview with an EMI coordinator – before moving to a more detailed consideration of interviews with a program administrator and three of the EMI lecturers who participated in our study. For the purpose of anonymity, these informants have been assigned pseudonyms: the program administrator – Carles – and the lecturers – Jaime, Raquel and Isabel. Carles is an engineering professor who is responsible for organizing and overseeing EMI in his faculty. Jaime is an agronomic engineering lecturer who teaches a BSc-level course on swine production. Raquel is a veterinary science lecturer who teaches a BSc-level course on animal biotechnology. Isabel is a mechanical engineering lecturer who teaches a BSc-level course on installations. These three lecturers fit a common profile of early career academics who are (1) positively predisposed to EMI and (2) interested in learning more about themselves as EMI lecturers. In addition, all three claimed to have a C1 English competence and they reported a range of international experiences, such as giving papers at conferences, and mobility experiences, such as stays at universities abroad. Indeed, Jaime, Raquel and Isabel manifested a very positive attitude towards Englishization processes in general and they seemed to see English as an important and essential element in their academic lives. They accepted that academic articles must be written in English, conference papers must be delivered in English, and what concerns us here, that some discipline subjects should be offered in English. All three lecturers insisted that their entry into the world of EMI was voluntary, more out of personal curiosity than a response to university administration dictates. In addition, from the interviews and classroom observations conducted during the study, we can say that they all seemed to feel comfortable in this role.

Meanwhile, the researchers who appear in the interview excerpts cited below – Derek and Gerard – are the principal investigators on the project from which the excerpts are taken. Both have a great deal of English language teaching experience in their pasts, although it is Gerard who in recent years has worked on ESP courses specifically designed for EMI lecturers. Both would be seen by the EMI informants as 'language teaching specialists' and this no doubt has had some effect on how the lecturers responded in interviews. As we shall see in the second half of this paper, both researchers take an active role in introducing the notion that the three EMI lecturers act, on occasion, as ELTs. In principle, we do not see this interviewer behavior as problematic given that following a long line of research interview specialists (Kvale 1996; Mishler 1991; see also Block 2000), we see interviews as co-constructed conversations and not as clinical exchanges in which interviewers mine interviewees' minds for information. In this sense, Derek and Gerard may be seen to be holding up their side of the conversation just as interviewees hold up theirs. This is not to deny that it is the interviewers who establish the agenda in such interactions, but it is to suggest that there was an overall atmosphere of conversation among colleagues and not interrogation by an inquisitor from on high in the interviews carried out.

5. Identity and positioning theory

The approach to identity adopted here is based broadly on social constructivist work in social theory, sociology and anthropology over the past four decades (see contributions to Preece 2016). This approach understands identities (in plural to indicate the multiplicity of the phenomenon) as ongoing narratives that emerge in situated practice, that is, during individuals' engagements in activities and communication with others. Identity construction is seen as the negotiating of subject positions in a range of contexts, and this negotiation involves, on the one hand, self-construction, self-ascription and self-positioning by individuals, and on the other hand, the simultaneous other-construction, other-ascription and other-positioning by those with whom the individual comes in contact. In the midst of negotiation, perceived and invoked sameness and difference, authenticity (projecting the recognized attributes of those normally associated with a given identity) and inauthenticity and many other binary relations, all come into play.

In order to operationalize this understanding of identity in our research, we turn to a version of Positioning Theory (hereafter PT), based on the work of Harré and his colleagues over the years (see Kayi-Aydar 2019, for a recent discussion). According to Davies and Harré (1999, 37), '[p]ositioning is the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines'. By 'discursive process', the authors mean individuals' day-to-day participation in interactions involving one or more other individuals. And by 'conversation', they mean 'a structured set of speech-acts, that is as sayings and doings of types defined by reference to their social (illocutionary) force' (Davies and Harré 1999, 45), even if in this model, conversation has always been understood more broadly as 'other acts'. These 'other acts' presumably are acts of communication involving the use of multiple semiotic forms, involving a range of interlocutor combinations (i.e. not just face-to-face and one-on-one). Storylines, meanwhile, are defined as 'the conversational history and the sequence of things already being said' (Harré and van Langenhove 1999, 6), although it is worth adding that storylines are, in effect, narratives, and as such they emerge as ongoing tellings of our lives. Importantly, in these storylines, there emerge 'rights and duties [which] are taken up and laid down, ascribed and appropriated, refused and defended in the fine grain of the encounters of daily lives' (Harré 2004, 4). This version of PT is captured in Figure 1.

Positioning is also about how individuals portray themselves as socially situated, recognizable (to interlocutors) 'types of people' which correspond to 'ways of being in the world' and 'forms of life' (Gee 2008, 3). These 'ways of being in the world' and 'forms of life' have their material bases, but they are also constructed and shaped in (and by) what Foucault (1989 [1969]) some time ago termed 'discourse formations'. Discourse formations are assemblages of articulated discourses which construct what in effect are the accepted and legitimate rules and regulations, practices, behaviors, and ultimately, the subjects of institutions. Discourses here are understood as acts of meaning-making which may manifest themselves in a range of genres and styles through media ranging from the written and spoken word to other semiotic modes such as the visual media, music, clothing and

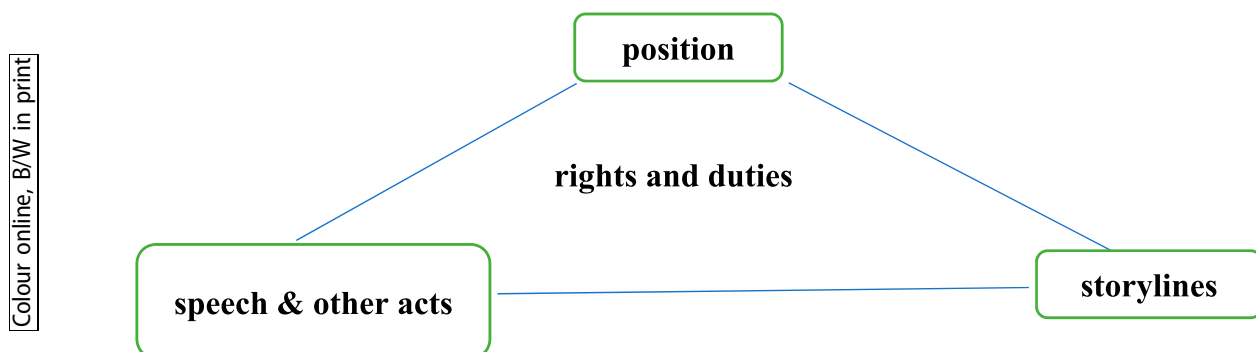


Figure 1. The positioning triangle (van Langenhove and Harré 1999, 18).

ornamentation, bodily movement and so on. A key element in Foucault's understanding of discourse formations is how those in positions of power in institutions act as 'authorities of delimitation' (Foucault 1989 [1969], 41–42). These authorities of delimitation establish who is in and who is out with regard to categorizations, as they devise 'grids of specification'. The latter are 'the systems according to which the different [group members] are divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another as objects of ... discourse' (Foucault 1989 [1969], 42) and they are activated by the authorities of delineation via what Foucault calls 'gaze'. This term arises in Foucault's (1973) detailed analysis of how observation is a key element in the establishment and maintenance of the authority of gatekeepers in institutions. As Foucault explains, gaze is not just about taking in and documenting what is happening before the observer's eyes; it is also about categorizing and shaping others according to dominant discourses of normativity. Foucault focused above all on the discursive formations of the medical and psychiatric professions, but his ideas apply to the context that concerns us here: higher education, and more specifically EMI in a Catalan university.

Of course, where there is a gaze, there is a wide array of possible responses on the part of subject. These range from compliance, acquiescence and acceptance, at one extreme, to resistance – understood as the 'intentional, and hence conscious, acts of defiance or opposition by a subordinate individual or group of individuals against a superior individual or set of individuals' (Seymour 2006, 305) – at the other extreme. Resistance always exists as a counter to hegemony and uneven power relations and it may or may not be successful as an attempt to challenge and overturn such relations. This means that in any analysis of storylines emergent in interaction, it is interesting not only to consider instances in which the gaze is, in effect, accepted and owned by the gazed-upon, but also instances in which it is resisted, and beyond this, the effect of resistance. Resistance will be key focal point of our discussion in the second half of this paper, when we turn our attention to how EMI lecturers position themselves when asked about the prospect of acting as ELTs.

Bearing in mind the extensions on PT that we have introduced in this section, we propose a new version of the PT triangle, which is reproduced in Figure 2. In this figure, the reader can see the additions of several elements not present in the original PT triangle (Figure 1).

In this figure, we retain the original triangle from van Langenhove and Harré (1999), although we have added more explanation to the boxes for 'position' ('as particular types of people') and 'speech & other acts' (now 'speech & other multimodal communicative acts'). At the bottom of the figure we see the inclusion of shaping political, economic, social, cultural and geographical structures as the necessary background to all activity. Moving upwards, these shaping structures generate institutions and their discursive formations, which then (still moving upwards) engender the gaze as power residing in institutions. The subject's understanding of their rights and duties then appear in the figure as mediating between the gaze and eventual positions (as particular types of people) and the box containing compliance, acquiescence, acceptance vs denial, defiance resistance captures the different responses to the gaze, which will also necessarily shape eventual positions.

In the next section, we draw on this version of PT as we analyze excerpts from interviews carried out with Jaime, Raquel and Isabel in 2017 and 2018.³ We show how both the EMI gaze and the ELT gaze are introduced during interactions with EMI lecturers and to what extent participants align with or diverge from these gazes.

6. The EMI gaze and its acceptance

As we see in growing number of publications on EMI, there are general (and global) discourse formations about internationalization which include discourses about Englishization, and further to this, EMI as a key element in the process. These discourses undergird what we might call the EMI gaze. As Macaro et al. (2018) explains in his survey of EMI worldwide, English has come to be seen by language policy-makers as both a mediator and a carrier of internationalization and it is a skill that lecturers today are expected to possess. This comes through in publications on the state of play in individual universities around the world (e.g. see contributions to Jenkins and Mauranen

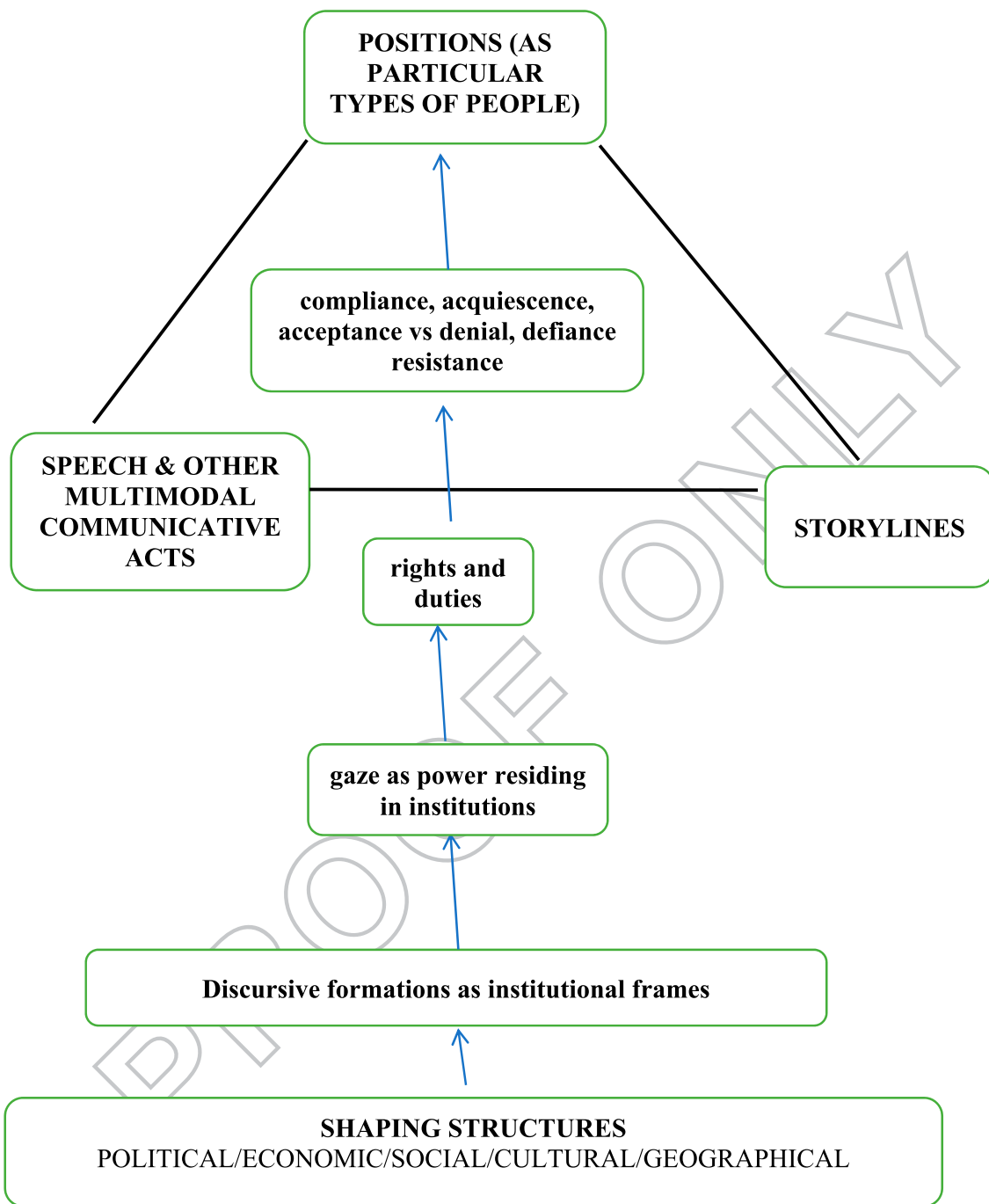


Figure 2. Positioning theory expanded (based on Block 2017, 2020).

2019). However, in the official operative plan for multilingualism at the University of Lleida, the site of our research, we find very little specific information about the specific role of English and nothing about the operationalization of EMI beyond vague statements such as the following: 'The UdL [Universitat de Lleida], with the coordinated action of the Institute of Languages ... and the Department of English and Linguistics ... , must support teachers to facilitate teaching in English' (UdL 2013, 15; authors' translation from the original in Catalan).

This document lacks any real treatment of EMI as regards what exactly it means in this context or how it might be implemented; therefore it provides little that would constitute an institutional gaze on the matter. In such a policy vacuum, the EMI gaze is left to stakeholders, both administrators and practicing EMI lecturers to articulate. For example, Carles, an EMI coordinator in the Engineering school, made the following statement about Englishization and the necessity of Englishization processes such as EMI:

Interview excerpt 1⁴:

... in the future we need to evolve/if I said before that engineers because of their professional environment need and will need English/because the market is large and you can make it here and sell in China or Australia or wherever/as a university we have to do the same/because if not/really what we will end up being is a local university.
(CS, 16 January 2018)

Here we have the expression of the EMI gaze, emanating from a deeper discourse formation constructing the accepted and legitimate rules and regulations, the practices, the behaviors, and ultimately the subjects of higher education in the world today. This discourse formation, often labeled as 'neoliberal' in recent sociology of education research (e.g. Smyth 2017), moves through series of *topoi* that Carles activates in his comment: the globalized economy ('the market is large'); the 'professional environment' of engineers (where according to the dominant discourse, English is necessary); the university as a key player (not just 'a local university', but acting as a server of the globalized economy); and finally, (and implicit here), the idea that academic staff need to transmit English to their engineering students. As for our informants' response to this gaze, we found, in general, an alignment with the official language policy of the university, as expressed (albeit vaguely) in the operative plan for multilingualism and (more explicitly) by the coordinator cited above. Above all, as noted above, all three lecturers seemed to accept and incorporate into their professional identities their duty to act as model academics for students, teaching their discipline subjects in English. Raquel perhaps expressed matters most clearly when she stated the following:

Interview excerpt 2:

So how do I see mmm?/I'll tell you in a different way/why did I get involved/why do I like it/because they told me I might be able to teach classes in English/I like to encourage them/them to study it and they can use it and can go abroad/which is very important for them/and that's why I got involved/did I do it because there is an incentive from the/the dean of teaching?/no. (Raquel, 16 February 2017)

If these lecturers expressed an acceptance of EMI as one of their many duties as academics, the same cannot be said for another aspect of the EMI gaze, one that has emerged not as intrinsically EMI, but as collateral effect of CLIL-ised EMI, that is, EMI framed not only for international (and internationalizing) functions, but also as a means through which local students can learn English. The position of EMI lecturer as an ELT thus becomes a part of the broader EMI gaze in the particular context in which we carried out our research. Our informants acknowledged its existence in their interviews; however, as we shall see in the next section, they resisted our attempts to position them as *de facto* ELTs.

7. The ELT gaze and resistance

As noted above, in previous research in a range of contexts there is a tendency for EMI lecturers to deny any semblance of an ELT identity. They do not ascribe themselves enough authority, authenticity or knowledge to address language issues and so they do not adopt the English language-related identity that would sustain such a position. In addition, for STEM lecturers, language is often not the chief meaning-making resource in the disciplinary discourse, where numbers, graphs, images and so forth often dominate (Airey 2012). In our contacts with our three informants we noted how they repeatedly and unequivocally self-presented as content lecturers while rejecting the ascription of ELT, which we introduced in our interactions with them. Again in line with previous research, Raquel, Isabel and Jaime did not consider the presentation of linguistic features or the correction of students' English to be part of their duties as EMI lecturers. Indeed, in their comments, they claimed their right not to act in this capacity. For example, Jaime self-positioned as *not* an ELT in the following manner:

Interview excerpt 3:

of course what I have transmitted to them is that I am not going to do/I'm not going to correct any of/their English/ ... they should understand the English that is communicated to them/and they should know how to communicate a little/but without going beyond that/without going into grammar. (Jaime, 07 March 2017)

455 This view was shared by Raquel and Isabel, although when it came time to explain *why* they did not think it their responsibility or duty to inhabit an ELT identity, and therefore why they resisted the ELT gaze, the three lecturers provided different reasons. For example, when Raquel was asked about her use of a PowerPoint slide that listed typical expressions used for giving opinions in English, the following exchange occurred:

460 Interview excerpt 4:

DER: I was going to say that that is typical of an English teacher/that type of practice/

465 RAQ: but I am ashamed to give them this information/

GER: well don't take it for granted that they know it eh?/

RAQ: because I find it a little condescending you know? (2) giving them such basic grammar things of/it's simply a *glimpse* you know?/teaching and saying/ look you know you have it here now/

470 GER: no/this isn't grammar/it's knowing how to express something right?

RAQ: OK/but I find it's not my role/and there I feel/out of place/

GER: of course/

475 RAQ: it's embarrassing/ (Raquel, 12 July 2018)

480 In this explanation, Raquel acknowledges that providing students with information about how to give opinions is 'typical' of an ELT, as Derek suggests. However, she responds by saying that she feels 'ashamed' about having done so, even if she does not explain exactly how and why she might feel shame. This mystery is resolved somewhat when Raquel explains that she wishes to avoid being 'condescending' towards her students, the implication being that addressing language-related issues in her classes is tantamount to looking down on her students as incompetent users of English. She seems unfazed by Gerard's interjection that students may need such guidance, adding that acting as an ELT is 'not my role' and that she feels 'out of place'. Nor does she address Gerard's euphemistic 'knowing how to express something' as a replacement for 'grammar', simply saying 'OK' as a way of acknowledging that it might be a way to describe her actions. As if to finish off the topic, she adds that 'it's embarrassing' for her to introduce this type of activity in her teaching, although, as we observed with her reference to 'shame', the source of her feeling is not entirely clear.

485 After this exchange, Gerard continued to suggest that at least on some occasions Raquel might be positioned as an ELT, and this led him to ask about another classroom episode in which he observed Raquel explaining a language point, in this case when it is more appropriate to use the verb 'load' than the verb 'put' when referring to samples in lab activity reporting. Raquel justified this additional foray into ELT-like activity as follows:

Interview excerpt 5:

495 RAQ: because I understand that they are very specific words/and it's something technical to be sure/no one says/ *put the samples in the gel/everyone loads* them/ so I think they have to understand that word/but on the other hand/ ... I find it hard though/because I find it absolutely condescending/ ... teaching them to write or teaching them very basic things/conditionals or:

GER: ok [but

500 RAQ: [(xxx)] one thing=

GER: = ok

RAQ: (xxx) you'll find it for yourself if you're interested =

GER: = but

505 RAQ: but I think it's not my place. (Raquel, 12 July 2018)

Here Raquel introduces a warrant for her linguistic intervention – the scientific community – when she interjects 'no one says ...', which also serves to relinquish her from total responsibility for her action. In effect, it is her duty to make sure that her students understand how veterinary researchers use English in lab reports and other communicative contexts. She is, therefore, justified in correcting her students on this occasion because she is dealing with a very specific (and 'technical') use of vocabulary. This reasoning is in line with the notion that vocabulary forms part of subject knowledge and is not language teaching *per se*, as addressing aspects of grammar (she mentions 'conditionals') would be. Interestingly, at this point in the exchange, Gerard attempts to contest this view and in effect invoke the ELT gaze again; however, when he utters 'but', he is cut off by Raquel, who interjects 'one thing'. This allows her to resist the gaze and take the floor away from Gerard. Raquel suggests that students will find out about grammar on their own ('finding it for themselves'), if, that is, they are 'interested' in doing so. In this statement, Raquel effectively shifts responsibility for grammar from herself to her students, adding, once again, 'it's not my place'.

520 Meanwhile, Jaime also invoked his duty to socialize his students into subject language (from technical vocabulary to technical genres), which he did not see as ELT-like activity. In the following interview excerpt, he responds to a question about how he might help his students learn the English of his subject:

525 Interview excerpt 6:

of course here I understand that the content subject is in English/so the first thing that they have to learn is the basic vocabulary of the subject right?/and from there you can ... go higher no?/so they need to be able to/to already be able to describe using the vocabulary no?/with what they know to be able to write a sentence with subject verb and predicate/and then there already/and within what they write/because some already write more complex things and others less so no?/ ... but that level of basic vocabulary is lacking/which in the end is about studying/as they have always done/so even with/I don't know/ ... with videos/ with I don't know/this or that/it's just a matter of spending hours [studying]/ (Jaime, 29 June 2018)

This is an interesting response to a question about what Jaime can or is willing to do to improve his students' English. In a nutshell, he accepts that he can teach vocabulary as he considers this to be an essential part of understanding and knowing the subject he is teaching. However, when it comes to using vocabulary in writing, Jaime, in essence, steps off the pedagogical bus, as he sees writing in English as a skill that students should 'already' have when they come to his classes. He then divides students into those who actually can already write and those who cannot, seeming to suggest that in the latter case a lack of writing skills is paired with a lack of vocabulary. Coming full circle, and echoing Raquel's view presented above, Jaime ascribes to students the duty of organizing their own English language learning – 'studying as they have always done' as 'it's just a matter of spending hours'.

540 Meanwhile in her discussion of this topic, Isabel offered a series of inter-linked reasons why she could not and should not act as an ELT in her classes. She began with a reference to academic disciplines – hers and that of her interviewers:

545 Interview excerpt 7:

so your area is an area of knowledge that I have never had contact with right?/ I've always had contact with it as a student/ (Isabel, 28 June 2018)

550 Here, Isabel clearly positions the interviewers, both specialists in language studies, as language experts, and herself, not as a rightful user of English, but as a perennial student of this language. Implicit in this comment, but explicit elsewhere in our contacts with her, is the notion that the

combination of her insufficient English competence and lack of formal disciplinary knowledge about language pedagogy disqualify her from acting as an ELT.

Beyond this linguistic/disciplinary boundary argument, Isabel offered other reasons for not taking on the ELT role. For example, in the following interview excerpt she moves from what she has already said about having neither the right nor the duty to be an ELT to an altogether more practical, student-oriented argument:

Interview excerpt 8:

I also think that if you dare to/with the already limited student participation/if you dare to dive in/I could scare them/ (Isabel, 28 June 2018)

A further reason that Isabel proffered for not acting as an ELT also included a reference to students, albeit with the intention of criticizing their behavior as opposed to respecting their comfort:

Interview excerpt 9:

OK/let's see/when I correct their lab reports or whatever/if I see something in English/that I'm sure is wrong/I correct it/but do you really think they look at what I upload ... with their reports corrected?/well I can tell you NO/if they passed no/ (Isabel, 28 June 2018)

Here Isabel's reasoning seems to be that she need not correct her students because they do not pay attention to her language-focused feedback. In this case, she positions students as passive individuals, shifting responsibility for her not taking on an ELT identity to them. In effect, even if she wanted to act as an ELT, she could not because it would have no effect. Importantly, this role as corrector, and therefore as linguistic authority, is not typical of Isabel's comments, as her principal positioning as linguistically incompetent prevails. In this sense, she refers on several occasions to her limited proficiency in English, hence denying herself a base for an ELT identity. In effect, she positions herself as a poor language model for students. The following comment is typical of this self-positioning:

Interview excerpt 10:

Sometimes I just talk nonsense/but when I realize that I've said something wrong ... yeah I stop and say/hey it's not this, it's that/(Isabel, 28 June 2018)

Nevertheless, Isabel regains authority as an engineering lecturer more generally when she introduces Catalan, her first language, into the discussion. Indeed, when she talks about Catalan, she shifts positions from the incompetent (English) language user to competent (Catalan) language user who can even act as a language teacher:

Interview excerpt 11:

in Catalan I give them a hard time/because I can/I think I write very well in Catalan/but of course with English I am not so sure I do so well/I mean write well/so if I criticize something I might do it worse/so I don't dare/it's more like that eh?/that is/if I felt super secure in English I would correct them/because in the end it doesn't matter/I mean yes I'm training them in engineering/but in the end I'm teaching people who will end up having to write reports/and here language is very important for EVERYTHING/ (Isabel, 28 June 2018)

The reference in the final part of this excerpt to 'training them in engineering', where 'them' refers to 'people who end up having to write reports', returns us to self-positioning as subject expert and further to this, a position as socializer of her students into a broader community of engineers. In addition, and coming full circle, it leads to certain recovery of Isabel as a user of English with some authority, and as a model for her students as an academic researcher. Still, in the following excerpt, she makes clear that this English is not 'literature' but the seemingly more basic genre of 'scientific texts':

Interview excerpt 12:

they're not writing a novel are they?/rather ... it's a scientific text/so I feel pretty comfortable/I write papers don't I?/I don't know/I feel pretty comfortable with this/ (Isabel, 28 June 2018)

In interview excerpts 7–12, we see some degree of inconsistency in how Isabel positions herself in response to the ELT gaze. First, we find several dichotomies mediated by language in relation to her EMI lecturer identity: authentic/non-authentic, authoritative/non-authoritative, knowledgeable/non-knowledgeable, and competent/incompetent. We thus see how Isabel explains her unwillingness to act as an ELT by citing her lack of disciplinarity as an ELT, her insufficient English language competence and her continuing position as an English language learner. However, we also see how Isabel shifts the responsibility for her refusal to act as an ELT to her students: first, because they might be frightened if she were to correct them, and second, because they would not pay attention to her corrections.⁵ In addition, as if to make clear that she is not linguistically deficient overall, she explains how she is very competent in Catalan and that she confidently acts as a corrector of her students work in this language. Thus, as Isabel develops her storyline of 'I am not an English teacher', she adopts several subject positions such as *I am not fully competent in English*, *I am not trained to be an English teacher*, *I am a competent academic (in English)* and *I am competent in my L1 (Catalan)*. Her comments resonate with those of Airey's industrial engineering lecturer cited at the outset of this article, and they bring us full circle with regard to the main theme of this paper: STEM lecturers' self-positioning as NOT English language teachers.

8. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed research carried out in an EMI context combining elements of Baker and Hüttner's 'student-mobility' and 'internationalization at home' modalities, which focussed to varying degrees on the six components of Dafouz and Smit's (2016) ROADMAPPING framework; English in contact with other language (Catalan and Spanish) in a multilingual environment; academic disciplines – STEM subjects and ELT – in contact; the management of language and content in the EMI curriculum (the university's language policy and Carles's views on EMI); the different actors involved (in this case primarily lecturers); the practices and processes constituting EMI (as explained by lecturers in interviews); and the broader material and discourse shapers of EMI (the effects of Englishization in an HE institution). Specifically, we have shown how three EMI lecturers – Jaime, Raquel and Isabel – resist the ELT gaze cast onto them by interviewers who, in turn, give voice to an inchoate EMI policy in which EMI has been CLIL-ised by default and not according to a plan. The lecturers align themselves with their academic disciplines as they draw on their understandings of their rights, duties and obligations as STEM discipline-bound lecturers.

At this point, the reader might well ask if these lecturers' self-positioning as *not* ELTs is in evidence in their teaching. Space does not allow a thorough discussion of the three lecturers' teaching; however, on these occasions when they were observed (Jaime, 11 times; Raquel, 9 times; and Isabel, 17 times), there were very few classroom episodes that could reasonably be described as ELT-like behavior along the lines of the two examples from Raquel's teaching discussed in the previous section (interview excerpts 4 and 5). In this sense, the three lecturers say they did not act as ELTs and it would appear that in practice they remain faithful to this self-positioning. They therefore *talk* and *do* their EMI identities in ways similar to what has been found in studies taking place in a range of contexts worldwide. We think that this finding is interesting in and of itself. The reader, however, may want to know if identifying this resistance to the ELT gaze has any real consequences. We think that it does.

First, in relation to research question 1 – How do EMI lecturers self-position as regards the prospect of acting as English language teachers? – the three lecturers' persistent and total resistance to the ELT gaze means that their students may never really have the opportunity to focus on language – be this syntax, morphology, pronunciation and lexis, or higher-level aspects of language such as functions or disciplinary genre – in ways that would allow them to improve as English language users. This means that they also do not really take full advantage of EMI experience as they are not required to do anything in English beyond learning technical and academic vocabulary, and this occurs only because it is deemed by lecturers to be subject knowledge rather than linguistic knowledge (see Baker and

Huttner 2019). Apart from vocabulary focus, there is no attention to language manifested in the classroom, as there are no pedagogical moves towards a true CLIL-ization of EMI (Moncada-Comas and Block 2019): a true CLIL-ization would mean explicit teaching and not the naïve notion of learning by osmosis mentioned in the introduction to this paper (Dafouz 2014).

655 When we explained our assessment of this situation to Jaime, Raquel and Isabel, their reaction was generally one of curiosity and an apparent desire to perhaps change their ways and take on board more English language pedagogy in their teaching. For example, in response to a question about why she agreed to take part in the research, Raquel responded as follows:

660 Interview excerpt 13

665 because if I didn't believe in the importance of offering/now we're back to the beginning/subjects in English/I wouldn't do anything to support them right? /I think that what you are/what you are trying to do somehow is/even if this is not the primary objective/but what you end up doing is helping us/because I think the observations you make with me/the ones you make with other people in the department/with people at other universities etcetera/you will end up spotting common patterns/ patterns where we need some kind of support/or mistakes we make in common/or/I see this as-as an investment/in way as long-term/and I think that the university would be mistaken if it did not give more support/I don't know if support is the word but/if it did not encourage at a minimum more activities in English. (Raquel, 12 July 2018)

670 This comment by Raquel suggests that even if ongoing EMI experiences were probably never going to be enough to make these lecturers reflect deeply on pedagogical matters, our research might just have that effect, at least to some extent. In addition, it might lead administrators to set up support systems for EMI lecturers, although the exact nature of this support would need to be fleshed out. Thus, our presence in their classrooms and our conversations with them in interviews might be the necessary catalyst for a move towards more reflective practice in the future. However, this surely is not enough. In a context where there is 'a gap ... between the top-down pressure to incorporate EMI programs and the bottom-up EMI teacher implementation of these programs without any real institutional support or clear pedagogical guidelines to follow' (Farrell 2019, 2), there is the need for a teacher development perspective on EMI, and more specifically a reflexive practice perspective (Farrell 2019; Lasagabaster 2018). It remains to be seen if those responsible for administering EMI at the university are minded to move in this direction.

680 With regard to research question 2 – the reasons that EMI lectures give for their self-positioning – we found that the most cited reason was the lecturers' lack of expertise in the field of language pedagogy due to the professional paths they had followed – studying STEM subjects and not languages. Teaching English is simply not their duty as EMI lecturers and they invoke their right not to engage in it. This is a 'perfectly legitimate and sensible' claim as Dafouz (2014, 293) states, and it is certainly one found in most of the studies cited in section 3 above. This orientation to a STEM disciplinary identity and the denial of ELT is also an understandable rhetorical move in the face of interviewers positioning STEM lecturers in terms of the ELT gaze. However, the outright resistance to the ELT gaze that we observe in the three lecturers' comments could obey a different logic, one having to do with what Hyland (2012) has called 'disciplinary identities'. Disciplinary identities are about individuals' affiliations to disciplines, of which Hyland writes the following:

690 Disciplines ... have a very real existence for those who work and study in them, who attend conferences, supervise students, manage programmes, read journals, write books, sit through lectures and take exams. Although they work day to day in local *institutions*, members have a sense of being part of a *discipline* and of having a stake in something with others. ... It is in disciplines, rather than particular physical sites, that the important interactions in a professional's life occur, bringing academics, texts and practices together into a common rhetorical locale. Group membership, in other words, implies some degree of group identification and this, in turn, presupposes that members will see themselves as having some things in common and being, to some extent, similar to each other ... (Hyland 2012, 25)

700 Bearing Hyland's observation in mind, we might consider that these EMI lecturers resist the ELT gaze because of deep feelings of attachment and belonging to their respective academic disciplines.

These strong links to disciplinary identities have been forged over years of engagement in the discipline-based activities cited by Hyland: attending conferences, supervising students, managing programs, reading journals, writing books and so on. And their strength means that the suggestion made to them by Gerard and Derek, that they do on occasion (or should on occasion) assume an alternative disciplinary identity (ELT), is rejected and resisted. Thus repeated claim – ‘I am not and cannot be an ELT’ – makes perfect sense.

Notes

1. In this paper, we aim to answer these questions by focussing exclusively on interviews. For an examination of how lecturers in our research self-positioned in classroom interactions, see Block (in preparation), Moncada-Comas and Block (2019) and Moncada Comas (in preparation).
2. The data discussed in this paper are from the project entitled *Towards an empirical assessment of the impact of English medium instruction at university: language learning, disciplinary knowledge and academic identities* (ASSEMID). The project was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (*El Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad* – MINECO), code FFI2016-76383-P. 30 December 2016–29 December 2019.
3. Specifically, we draw on interviews with Jaime, taking place 7 March 2017 and 29 June 2018; with Raquel, taking place 16 February 2017 and 12 July 2018; and with Isabel, taking place 28 June 2018.
4. For reasons of space, we present only the English translations of interview excerpts. Interviews were conducted in Catalan (for informants Carles, Raquel and Isabel) and Spanish (for Jaime). Translations were carried out by the authors, both of whom are fully proficient in English, Catalan and Spanish. All interview excerpts have been transcribed using the following conventions:

Convention	Function
/	Indicates natural pauses between units of speech.
...	Superfluous text edited out (e.g. hesitations, false starts, pauses of one second or more, incomprehensible speech).
italics	In the English translations of the interview excerpts, anything that was said in English in the original Spanish version is italicised.
Capital letters	Words uttered with emphasis.
[]	Extra-linguistic activity is described in square brackets.
?	Rising intonation (as in a question).

5. Isabel also mentioned that her class was optional and that she was afraid that if she pushed students with regard to their use of English, or penalized them in some way for not producing appropriate or correct language, they would simply choose to do a different course.

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