

A qualitative analysis of teachers' reasons for translanguaging

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ABSTRACT: English Medium Instruction (EMI) is spreading at a rapid pace in universities the world over. At a time when internationalisation has become a key objective in higher education, EMI programmes are regarded as a pillar of the measures implemented to achieve it. The present study was conducted at the University of (anonymous), an institution that has two official languages (Basque and Spanish), which is why EMI entails the use of English as L3. This linguistic milieu makes it an ideal multilingual context to analyse translanguaging. Translanguaging has become a very relevant and, to a certain extent, controversial issue, especially in those contexts where the language teaching tradition encourages the exclusion of the L1 from the foreign language classroom, as is the case at University of (anonymous). Our objective is to identify teachers' reasons or motives to translanguage both in the EMI and the BMI (Basque Medium Instruction). We identified six objectives for these 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.

Keywords: translanguaging; English Medium Instruction (EMI); Basque Medium Instruction (BMI); multilingualism; education

Un análisis cualitativo de las razones del profesorado para el translenguaje

RESUMEN: La instrucción mediante el inglés (EMI) se está extendiendo en las universidades de todo el mundo. En un momento en que la internacionalización se ha convertido en un objetivo clave en la educación superior, los programas EMI se consideran un pilar de las medidas implementadas para lograr este fin. El presente estudio se realizó en la Universidad de (anónimo), institución con dos idiomas oficiales (euskera y castellano), por lo que inglés sería la L3. Este entorno lingüístico lo convierte en un contexto multilingüe ideal para analizar el translenguaje. El translenguaje es en la actualidad un tema muy relevante y, en cierta medida, controvertido, especialmente en aquellos contextos donde la tradición docente fomenta la exclusión de la L1 del aula de lenguas extranjeras, como es el caso de la UPV/EHU. Nuestro objetivo es identificar los motivos de los docentes para el translenguaje tanto en el contexto EMI como en el BMI (instrucción mediante el euskera). Tras realizar nuestro estudio, identificamos seis objetivos para que estos profesores recurran al translenguaje: (i) proporcionar una traducción; (ii) La influencia del español en el euskera: el uso de expresiones españolas; (iii) Translenguaje para atraer la atención de los estudiantes; (iv) Translenguaje como crítica; (v) Limpieza y purismo lingüísticos; (vi) Translenguaje en relación a la cultura y el contexto local. **Palabras clave:** translenguaje; Instrucción mediante el inglés (EMI); Instrucción mediante el euskera (BMI); multilingüismo; educación.

1. INTRODUCTION

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 numerous scholars (García, 2009a; García, 2019; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Otheguy, 2019; García & Wei, 2014; García & Wei, 2018; Ibarra Johnson, García, & Seltzer, 2019 and others) 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.

2. TRANSLANGUAGING IN THE BASQUE CONTEXT

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. 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 “Euskpañol” (Euskera + Español) and it is a quite common practice among Basque bi/multilinguals. This Euskpañol, 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 “Euskañol”, 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.

There is not an extensive literature background analysing translanguaging in the Basque Country. In fact, most studies analysing this issue have been conducted predominantly in CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) school contexts (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Cenoz & Gorter, 2019; Cenoz & Santos, 2020; Gorter & Cenoz, 2015; Lasagabaster, 2013; Leonet, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2017) and only a few of them in the university context (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Muguruza, 2014; Muguruza, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2020). Moreover, most researchers addressed this matter from a pedagogical perspective, what we would call pedagogical translanguaging. Thus, due to the scarcity of studies analysing translanguaging in EMI (English Medium Instruction) 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, 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. AIMS OF THE STUDY

As we mentioned before, in the literature, we do not find many studies that analyse the reasons for EMI teachers to translanguage. That is why, through this study, we intend

to investigate this issue, which acquires special interest in a context like the University of (anonymous), where there are two official languages, Basque and Spanish, and where the EMI offer is gaining popularity. Therefore, in this research, we carried out a qualitative analysis of teachers' reasons to translanguage both in the EMI and BMI (Basque Medium Instruction) lessons.

RQ1. What are EMI and BMI teachers' reasons to translanguage?

4. PARTICIPANTS

The participants of this research were two teachers from the University of (anonymous) belonging to the Faculty of Economics and Business. These lecturers taught in a BMI group and an EMI group, which was an essential condition to be able to participate in this research. Teacher A had been a university lecturer for 10 years (two as an EMI teacher) and taught Economic History. Teacher B had been a university lecturer for 14 years (1 as an EMI teacher) and taught Business Economics: Organization and Management. Both teachers were certified to teach in Basque, Spanish and English, being Teacher A also certified to teach in French. Lecturers' L1 differed since Teacher A's L1 was Basque and Teacher B's was Spanish. Nevertheless, as we said before, both teachers were multilingual and fluent in their L2/FL.

5. PROCEDURE AND DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

First of all, we were present at and recorded 29 lessons, making a total of 39 hours of recording (21 hours in EMI and 18 hours in BMI). Afterwards, we transcribed the recordings. To classify the data we observed through these recordings, we used an observation scheme based on the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) developed by Spada & Fröhlich (1995). This tool is a useful guide to describe and classify the events that take place during the lesson. Besides, this scheme serves to record the oral interactions that occur during the lecture. In our research, we used an adapted version of the scheme because we added some categories, altered some sections and remove some categories from the original observation scheme.

Afterwards, the Thematic Analysis method was followed to analyse and code the teachers' qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). We followed the six phases described by Braun and 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 translanguageing occurs, we came up with six themes, identifying six reasons (or objectives) for these teachers to translanguage:

1. Providing a translation.
2. The influence of Spanish on Basque: the use of Spanish expressions.
3. Translanguageing to attract students' attention.

4. Translanguaging as a criticism.
5. Linguistic cleanliness and purism.
6. Translanguaging in relation to the local culture and context.

6. RESULTS

In this section, we will examine teachers' actual translanguaging practices in BMI and EMI classrooms providing extracts and examples from the observed lessons. In a previous research (Serna-Bermejo & Lasagabaster, 2022) conducted in the same context, we already observed that from a purely quantitative perspective, there was no significant difference between Teacher A and Teacher B regarding the amount of translanguaging. Nevertheless, when we followed a qualitative approach and paid attention to *when* and *why* each teacher translanguaged, we found some differences.

Providing a translation

The most common situation for Teacher B to translanguague was when he wanted to provide the translation of a specific term, and he did 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 provided 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 was 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.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!)

2. 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?

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

In extract 2, the teacher mentioned the Basque term (*izokin*) for the colour salmon and right afterwards he mentioned the Spanish term (*salmón*). Probably, the teacher thought that the term *izokin* was not that common and that students, especially those whose L1 was Spanish, might not be familiar with it, so he provided the Spanish translation. He also used 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 3, EMI students were watching a video in English when the teacher stopped it to make some comments. The video mentioned the word “vacuum” and the teacher provided the Spanish translation (*vacío*) in case students were unfamiliar with the English term. This was, once again, an example of a pre-emptive episode, the most habitual example in this first category as these types of episodes are much more commonplace than reactive episodes in EMI settings (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2021).

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 has 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 they were loanwords or not.

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).

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

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

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

In extracts 4 and 5, we found a more informal use of translanguaging. In extract 4, the teacher used the Spanish colloquial word *quisquilloso(a)* (*picky*) adapted to the Basque grammar. In extract 5, he kind of swore 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 have 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).

6. 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 6, Teacher A used 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 them being native (*euskaldun zahar*) or new Basque speakers (*euskaldun berri*).

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?)

7. 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!)*

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

In extracts 7 and 8, we could see Teacher A using some expressions in Spanish to capture or ensure students' attention. These expressions were 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 used 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 used to encourage attention was the use of 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?)

9. 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?)*

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

In extract 9, Teacher A was talking about the Science Academy in France so he took advantage of his knowledge of French to question students in that language. He probably expected to surprise students by translanguaging in French and therefore capture their attention, as right afterwards he reformulated the question into Basque. In extract 10, the teacher used the Italian expression "capito?" which is, in a certain way, an expression often used by Spanish/Basque speakers, therefore, 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.

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

In extract 11, we could see how the teacher employed German terms to talk about a Germany-related matter. Not only that, but he also asked students in German (*Was ist zollverein?*) making use of his knowledge of this language, although he asked the same question in English right after. In this extract, the teacher demonstrated his interest in the students' understanding of the German term *zollverein* and gave some linguistic explanations. Thus, he provided students with other uses of the word *verein*, such as *Fußballverein*, in the belief that this might be more familiar to the students, or serve as an example. Then he also used 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 might have wanted his students to be familiar with the term, or he considered that they might be already familiar with it as he did not provide any translation. Doiz and Lasagabaster (2021) also observed such use of foreign languages among EMI teachers of history.

Translanguaging as a criticism

We have seen how Teacher A translanguaged often by benefiting from the various languages that he knew, especially in order to attract students' attention. However, this was not the only situation where he translanguaged (for example, to French in BMI and EMI lessons), he also used it as a criticism when students were 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).

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

In extract 12, EMI students were working in groups when one student raised her hand asking the teacher to approach her group. When the teacher arrived, the student started asking a question in Spanish, so the teacher immediately changed to French and asked her in this language why she was talking in Spanish. This was not an isolated case but a resource this teacher usually used when students were talking in a language other than the language of instruction, usually Spanish, both in BMI and EMI lessons. Students usually laughed when he did this and easily understood why he did so, and therefore, they went back to using Basque or English.

Thus, Teacher A liked making use of his multilingual condition and used French and German as well as Basque, Spanish and English, from time to time. However, he preferred

the students to stick to the language of instruction and made sure students understood this, by ironically speaking to them in French or German. Other times, before the students started an activity in groups, he warned them that they were expected to talk in the language of instruction. In contrast, Teacher B did 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 did not criticise this conduct. This was in line with these teachers' own opinions about translanguaging presented in Serna-Bermejo and Lasagabaster (2022), where this teacher showed more flexible attitudes towards students' translanguaging, especially when they worked in groups.

Linguistic cleanliness and purism

Another aspect that Teacher A was worried about, apart from students using the language of instruction, was that they use it "correctly". This happened 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 ekoizkorragoa (more productive). Ekoitzi (produce) and produzitu (produce) and manufacturatu (manufacture), three synonyms to mention in the exam, yes?)

13. 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).

14. 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 Euskararen 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?)

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

In these extracts (13, 14 and 15), we could see how Teacher A asked students to use what he calls a “cleaner” Basque. In the extracts seen previously, we presented teachers translanguaging from one language to another but, here we could see how this teacher asked students to translanguange from Spanish-influenced Basque to “cleaner” Basque. In extract 13, the student used the term *efziente(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 accepted the student's answer as good, he explained that in a “cleaner Basque” they would say *eraginkorragoa* (more efficient). We found the same situation in extract 14 where a student used the term *baporea*, which comes from the Spanish term *vapor* but also appears in the Basque dictionary, and the teacher provided the synonym *lurruna*, again mentioning linguistic “cleanliness.”

In extract 15, we found again the influence of Spanish on Basque speakers. A student used 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 understood it, and therefore, he asked for another term. This was when the student, looking for a synonym, used the term *funditu*, which also comes from the Spanish term *fundir*. However, these two terms do 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 was 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 and how terms are used by people in everyday language sometimes do not coincide. Therefore, teacher A explained that he perfectly understood what the student meant by *funditu*, but he asked what the correct term was 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 provided the corresponding Basque term to refer to “to melt”, which is *urtu*.

Teacher A's was not a rare case and came in line with what other studies (Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2014) have previously presented where teachers showed ideologies related to linguistic purism. However, we must clarify that it did not seem that the motivations of

this teacher for promoting a “cleaner” Basque language were related to his own ideologies, but rather to what he considered to be expected from university students and academic institutions. On many occasions, when the teacher asked a student to use a “cleaner” (as he puts it) term, he also justified that he understood it and would consider that answer valid; however, he requested a term that was accepted by the EGA certificate, meaning a more specialized and academic register.

Interestingly, purism was not a reason to translanguaging in EMI. This probably was due to the fact that teachers felt much more confident in Basque than in English. This was especially the case of Teacher A, whose L1 was Basque; in fact, Teacher B did not delve into issues concerning linguistic cleanliness and purism at all.

Translanguaging in relation to the local culture and context

When we talk about the 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 translanguaging in relation to those culture-related concepts. We are talking here about a conscious choice.

Teacher A, for example, liked to relate the content of the subject with real examples taken from Spain or the Basque Country. He also utilised 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.

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

In extract 16, Teacher A was talking to students about coal, so he prompted the students to think about a moment when they might have used coal. He started talking about the *txoko* and the *sociedad gastronómica* and then realised that Erasmus students might need

an explanation about what these were. Not only did the teacher use the Basque term *txoko*, but he also used the Spanish term *sociedad gastronómica* to refer to the same concept. Therefore, the teacher translanguaged to Basque and Spanish to reference the same concept, but both terms were very related to Basque culture. We could also see Teacher A making a word game while he translanguaged. He was using the word *txoko* repeatedly and, suddenly, he said *charcoal*, which is actually the topic they were talking about, and phonetically it sounded similar to *txoko*. This provoked laughter from the teacher himself and the students. So, here, we could find Teacher A not only translanguaging but also benefiting from his own and the students' multilingualism to play with language.

Towards the end of the lesson, another translanguaging case happened, when the teacher did not know how to say *parrilla* (grill in Spanish) in English, so he directly asked his students, and a student provided the English term.

(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).

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

In extract 17, we encountered a unique case because, apart from the translanguaging found in oral production, kinesics was also involved. First, ST1 stood up to leave the classroom and, on his way out, he slapped a classmate's back. The teacher interpreted that what ST1 wanted to say to his friend with that gesture was "have a nice weekend". However, ST1 did not understand that the teacher was explaining what his gesture meant and replies "*lo mismo*" (*the same*). Again, the teacher explained to ST1 that he was referring to his body language, but the student answered "*lo mismo pero en Inglés, que no me sale*", justifying that he was talking in Spanish because he could not think of the correct way to say it in English. Teacher A then explained, for the benefit of the Erasmus students, that the gesture ST1 made was a very typical gesture in the Basque Country. Thus, here, apart from ST1 translanguaging in Spanish, the teacher considered that his body language might be very related to Basque peoples' specific culture and, therefore, it might need an explanation.

We could also see Teacher B translanguaging to provide students with references and examples related to the cultural and social context where they live.

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*).

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

T.B.: In Spanish is *Doce Fuera de Casa* with Steve Martin. Cheaper by the Dozen.

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

In extracts 18 and 19, we could see how the teacher mentioned the original title of a movie in English, and then, he provided the Spanish title, both in BMI and EMI, with the belief that students would be more familiar with the name of the movie in Spanish. Indeed, most students recognised the film once the teacher provided the Spanish title.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

We classified teachers' translanguaging into six main categories which enabled us to better understand their reasons to translanguage in each concrete case. Some of these categories appeared similar to the ones presented in previous studies. For instance, teachers "providing a translation" to ensure students' understanding echoed Gotti's (2015) and Dalziel and Guarda's (2021) "appealing for assistance" category. Moreover, we wanted to highlight that, once again, local culture and context seemed to play an important role when it comes to translanguaging. Gotti (2015) and Dalziel and Guarda (2021) followed Klimpfinger (2007) to consider "signalling cultural identity" as a reason 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 for teachers to translanguage. This would reflect the influence the majority language, whose presence is predominant in teachers' 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 highlights the fluidity with which multilingual speakers move between language boundaries (García, 2009b) and multicultural identities (Celic & Seltzer, 2011). Moreover, translanguaging that we classified as "related to local culture and context" dovetailed 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.

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 translanguaged but often with a sense of guilt (Swain, Kirkpatrick, & Cummins, 2011; Macaro, 2009). 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 a minority language, feel the need to protect it. This sometimes entails isolating Basque from other languages avoiding "mixing" it with Spanish and preventing what is known as

“Euskañol”. As we have seen in other studies (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Macaro, 2014), 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.

8. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Although researchers in the applied linguistics 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, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016), 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 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.

9. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The principal limitation faced in the present study has been the limited sample size. It was a challenging task to find lectures taught by the same teachers in two parallel groups (BMI and EMI) at the University of (anonymous). 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 research shed light on the specific topic discussed in this study.

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