Chinese Master's Students' Translanguaging Practices in the UK Classroom: A Linguistic Ethnographic Study

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Abstract

Over the last ten years, UK universities have been increasingly interested in becoming more internationalised, and a central approach is international student recruitment. While this has been an undoubted success, these institutions seem to have given little thought to how to integrate such students and, importantly, how they should teach them, especially when most international students are learning through a second language.

By far the most significant proportion of international students in the UK comes from China (over 100,000 in 2017–18 according to UKCISA (2020)). Still, there has been little research on how they learn and use their linguistic resources during their study abroad. To address this gap, this project examines: 1) Chinese master's students' translanguaging practices inside the classroom, 2) their reasons for these practices, and 3) the contributions that this linguistic ethnographic study of a specific UK HE context brings to the current understanding of translanguaging.

The research was conducted in a UK master's TESOL programme. A linguistic ethnography approach was adopted, and the methods are participant observation, audio recordings and interviews. The key participants were six Chinese students, and the data from three of them are presented.

The data were analysed through the lenses of capital and agency. The results indicate the intricate nature of classroom translanguaging practices, which were guided by three reasons. A revised, empirically driven definition of translanguaging is proposed, along with a new conceptual model.

The findings show a tension between policy and practice regarding HE internationalisation and appropriate pedagogy. They assert that HE institutions should create more opportunities for international students to speak English outside the classroom and encourage translanguaging to become part of international higher education. This research will benefit future students, lecturers, and other stakeholders by increasing mutual understanding among them. Implications for further study and suggestions for practices are provided.

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The PhD journey is a lone journey on which I had to make decisions and conduct most of the work on my own, and there were ups and downs, but the precious help from a lot of people has made it less lonely and more enjoyable.

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1 Introduction

This study is rooted in my personal experiences as a Chinese student studying in the UK. While earlier experiences were responsible for piquing my interest in the translanguaging practices of international students, particularly Chinese international students, later experiences have helped me form the study and understand my participants' approaches to learning and to language. As my personal experience is so salient, I shall first explain my experience in the UK in detail, which is linked to the topic of my research, Chinese students' translanguaging practices.

The reason why I chose the UK to further my studies is that it is an English-speaking country with a long history and a prestigious education system, one where I expected to improve my English, as I would have ample opportunities to speak English in an English-speaking environment (this is one of the main reasons for other international students to decide to come to the UK, as will be presented in Chapter 2). I came to the UK immediately after I finished my bachelor's degree in Logistics Management (Major) and Business English (Minor) in China and started my life here as an MSc (Master of Science) TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) student because I was interested in becoming a teacher. The university (which is not the one where the research was conducted) offered mixed/same gender/nationality student accommodation. I chose same-nationality and same-gender (i.e., Chinese female) during the application process, thinking that this might help me avoid unnecessary conflicts in daily life, which I soon regretted, as it essentially reduced my chance of having social interaction with non-Chinese students. As for that master's programme, more than two-thirds of the students were Chinese (this proportion is similar to the MSc TESOL programme where my research was conducted), most of whom did not have prior full-time work experience. This was different from what I expected, as I had never imagined there would be such a large number of Chinese students in the same class with me in a foreign country.

In that year, most of my friends were Chinese, and some of them I accompanied to class and sat with; it felt weird to speak English with them as we were all Chinese, and none of us initiated English conversations with others. I did not have much chance to speak English outside the classroom in social interactions with non-Chinese nationals and, while in class, I was a passive student and did not participate actively. I am now aware that there was a contradiction in my behaviour: on the one hand, I would have loved to have had more chances to speak English, while on the other, I did not dare to initiate conversations with the non-Chinese students with whom I was not familiar (this experience is similar to that of one of the key participants, Olivia, as will be discussed in Chapter 4), and I did not take the opportunities offered in class to speak in English. My friends from the same programme who chose mixed-nationality accommodation, whether mixed- or single-gender, had more opportunities to speak English and discover British university life. Not only did they engage in 'small talk' (Meierkord, 2000, p. 1) in their shared kitchen, but they also went out (e.g., for dinner and to the movies) and spent time together as friends, getting to know each other, personally, socially, and culturally.

Later, when I moved on to enrol in a second master's degree in Educational Research at another UK university, my situation changed completely. One of the major differences was that all of my classmates and the majority of my flatmates at student accommodation, who also became my friends and with whom I had frequent interactions, were non-Chinese, including Europeans, local students, Africans and Asians. (This happened, partly, because the second university only gives students the choice of whether they would prefer mixed- or single-gender in the accommodation but not whether they would like to stay with students from the same nationality.) I did not apply for this accommodation specifically and was assigned to it two weeks after the semester began, when all the others had moved in. The occupants in the flat next to ours were mainly Chinese (seven out of 10), which is similar to my participants' situation. I do not know the exact reason why my situation was different, but I assume that it might have to do with the timing of my application; as I applied late, there was only a limited number of rooms available. In addition, the choice of accommodation options was probably limited by then, and therefore I was assigned one of these rooms by chance.

In that year, I definitely felt that my spoken English improved considerably. I did not actively seek chances to engage in English conversation, and these opportunities just happened to me naturally in my everyday life as I interacted with my flatmates and friends. There were times when I became tired of using English all the time, though. I also learned about different cultures from my non-Chinese friends and developed a better understanding of religions from my Muslim friends and Christian friends, who were indeed the first religious people I had ever met in person. Before that, all my knowledge of culture and religion had come from media, such as books, movies, and the Internet. All these intercultural interactions were what I had expected to experience during my first year in the UK when I studied towards my MSc in TESOL.

It was also this year that I started to become interested in the topic of Chinese students' translanguaging practices in UK classrooms. A non-Chinese friend came to me in the middle of a semester and complained that she could not understand why most of her Chinese classmates spoke Chinese in class. I could see her point, as she saw English as the only language that should be allowed in the classroom because we were in the UK, and there were non-Chinese students inside the classroom who could be excluded from discussions in Chinese. As a Chinese international student myself, on the other hand, I could also feel the need for these students to speak Chinese among their Chinese peers, as it is easier to understand and more comfortable to use. I also had this attitude in my first year in the UK when I was surrounded by Chinese students, both inside and outside of the classroom.

In addition, I also noticed that students from other countries, such as those from Europe, Africa, and Asia, spoke their own languages and mixed languages when they came together, both in and outside of class. Chinese students using more than one language seemed to be no exception, as other bilingual students also spoke in that way from my perspective. The reason why Chinese students' language behaviour might have been more noticeable could have been because of the large Chinese student population in the UK, the size of which, in turn, creates more chances for these students to speak their first language, compared with other nations that have fewer students on campus.

It was the dramatic difference between my first two years, together with my friend's question, that led me to decide to research Chinese students' translanguaging practices. I was curious to develop my understanding of this matter from these students' experiences and perspectives, with the hope of boosting mutual understanding between Chinese and non-Chinese, including, but not restricted to, students and lecturers in UK higher education (HE).

International students make up a considerable number of students in HE in English-speaking countries such as the US, the UK and Australia; nevertheless, there has been little research on international master's students' classroom translanguaging practices. Previous research has examined international students' translanguaging practices during their time of study, but only a few have focused on these students' classroom translanguaging practices specifically (e.g., Abrar & Mukminin, 2016; Ha, 2014; Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). These studies, moreover, adopt self-report methods such as interviews and focus groups, which have a creditability issue (Paulhus & Vazire, 2007), as what participants say they do during the interviews might not be what they actually do. This is not because the participants are lying; instead, this might occur because their perceptions might not match their practices, or because they might wish to present a particular identity to the interviewer. This is where my research comes into play, as the credibility of the findings is enhanced in the use of participant observation, audio recordings and interviews to investigate the students' actual practices as well as their perspectives.

Once I began exploring the existing knowledge about international students' language practices, I soon discovered the term 'translanguaging', which I found useful in explaining bilingual language practices, mainly as I am bilingual myself. Translanguaging does not distinguish among languages and posits that individuals have linguistic systems that comprise all their languages, which matches my experience. For instance, when I talk to other students who were bilingual in Chinese and English, I may stick to using one language, depending on the context, but there are times when I draw on the other language to express myself. As my interlocutors can understand both languages, I am not restricted to either one of them and can use both freely. I do not adopt the other language on purpose, knowing that it is a different language, but because the words, phrases or sentences in this language help me convey my meanings. Two other theoretical concepts emerged as being salient as I went into the field and started to analyse my data. These are agency, or 'the socioculturally mediated capacity to act' (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112), and Bourdieu's (1986) concept of capital, including economic, social, and cultural capital.

The research presented in this thesis, therefore, investigates Chinese master's students' classroom translanguaging practices in the UK, drawing on the explanatory values of agency and capital. It was conducted at a TESOL programme at a UK university, and the data are drawn from fieldwork carried out in the academic year of 2017–18. Adopting a linguistic ethnography method, I carried out participant observations within the programme. As the fieldwork progressed, six Chinese participants were identified, and their learning practices were audio-recorded in the classroom. They also participated in individual interviews.

Initially, five research questions were identified, as indicated on the participants' information sheets in Appendices 1, 2 and 4, as follows:

1. What language(s) do the Chinese students in a master's programme at a UK university use in the classroom?
2. Under what circumstances do they use Chinese?
3. Under what circumstances do they use English?
4. What factors influence their choice of language?
5. What are the features of translanguaging for these Chinese students?

However, in qualitative research, the development of research questions is a dynamic and 'ongoing process' (Agee, 2009, p. 431), and questions will change as researchers reflect on the processes in developing an increased understanding of other people's lives and perspectives. Therefore, my research questions were refined as the project developed. After considering these questions in relation to the overall aim of the research and in light of existing knowledge, the first three questions were merged to form Research Question 1, the fourth was paraphrased to form Research Question 2, and, as my understanding of translanguaging in this context advanced, the fifth was revised into Research Question 3, as outlined below. The study was thus guided by the following three research questions:

1. What are Chinese TESOL master's students' classroom translanguaging practices?
2. What are the reasons for these Chinese participants' language choices?
3. How does this linguistic ethnographic study of a specific UK HE context contribute to the understanding of translanguaging?

The next chapter presents a literature review of 1) previous research on Chinese international students in the UK and international students' use of languages; and 2) the theoretical framework of translanguaging, agency, and capital that underpins this research. Chapter 3 details the methodology that informs this research, linguistic ethnography, followed by a discussion of each method, namely, participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews. Chapter 4 presents the data collected with the key participants. A vignette is initially presented for each participant, which has been created from the data and which distils each participant's translanguaging practices, allowing their individual experiences to be described. The discussion presented in Chapter 5 responds to the three research questions by exploring the findings in relation to the existing literature to reveal the insights that have emerged from this research. The final chapter presents the Conclusion, where the implications of these insights are considered, and where a reflection on the research processes is made, and where recommendations in light of these inferences are made.

2 Literature Review

This chapter first briefly presents some background information about UK HE and then moves on to discuss the theoretical framework that supports the present study, which consists of three main theories: translanguaging (Section 2.2), which helped me to understand my participants' language choices; and capital (Section 2.3) and agency (Section 2.4), which are instrumental in exploring the reasons for their language choices. Specifically, under translanguaging, there is a discussion relating to the literature on international students' translanguaging practices. Section 2.5 reveals the relationship between practices, capital, and agency in this research.

2.1 The UK HE context

This section includes the UK HE internationalisation policy context and Chinese students in the UK.

2.1.1 UK HE internationalisation policy

With the worldwide globalisation and high mobility of people, a large number of Western HE institutions are promoting internationalisation (Lantz-Deaton, 2017), which is greatly influenced by government policies (Healey, 2020). Internationalisation is typically twofold: internationalisation at home and internationalisation abroad (Knight, 2004). The former includes attracting and recruiting international students to the home country and the latter creating joint award programmes with HE institutions in other countries and building campuses in foreign countries. The focus of this thesis is the former, internationalisation at home.

Apart from financial gains, international students also bring with them diverse knowledge, such as their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, which could contribute to the international interactions and understandings at universities and local communities (Lillyman & Bennett, 2014). Other major benefits that universities can obtain from internationalisation are providing all students with an international environment in the preparation of becoming global citizens (Leask & Carroll, 2011), maintaining and developing international academic networks (Madge, Raghuram, & Noxolo, 2015), enhancing global reputation (Lillyman & Bennett, 2014), and building long-term political power (Walker, 2014).

While other countries focus on student mobility (e.g., Scandinavian countries), international accreditation (e.g., France), and graduate attributes (e.g., Australia), the UK seems to concentrate more on international student recruitment than other aspects (Warwick & Moogan, 2013). This may have to do with the policies in the 1980s, when the UK government abrogated quotas, cancelled tuition grants for international students, and allowed universities to charge international students as high tuition fees as possible (Healey, 2020). International students pay more than double the fees of local students at UK universities, and such 'above-cost' (p. 107) tuition fees are used to supplement the reduced public subsidies for research and home students (Healey, 2020). The economic incentives from international students, the 'cash cows' (Caruana & Spurling, 2007, p. 33), are prioritised, whereas other aspects of internationalisation, such as the need to 'prepare all learners for the global context' and 'promote global citizenship in the curriculum' (p. 33), have not been attached with the same value in practice (Caruana & Spurling, 2007). Other policies that are introduced to increase the market share of international students include the ease of restrictions on the international student visa since 2010 (Healey, 2020), and the reintroduction of Post-Study Work visa after Brexit (Courtois & Veiga, 2019).

After they arrive in the UK, instead of bringing in their multicultural and multilingual backgrounds to the universities, international students are expected to fit into the existing environment (Hayes, 2019a; Healey, 2020). For instance, academically, it is assumed that students should learn autonomously and independently, while students from a more teacher-centred education background may struggle to do so, as they are used to relying more on teachers' guidance than self-study (Ploner, 2018). In their daily lives, international students are also expected to behave in certain ways, from how to queue and check out at supermarkets to how to recycle rubbish. While these behaviours might be very different from the ones that the students perform at home, they are expected to follow all these rules automatically and as soon as they arrive in the UK without any proper training or guidance provided to them.

In terms of languages specifically, contrary to what most UK universities aim for – internationalisation – only one language, English, is used for student admission and assessment in most programmes, and the corresponding pre-sessional English courses and in-sessional English support services. All of these seem to underpin the assumption that English is the sole valid language on campuses and bi-/multilingual students' proficiency in other languages is neither included nor valuable. Students whose first languages are not English are expected to integrate into the English-speaking environment, whereas local students are not expected to adapt in the opposite direction (Jenkins & Wingate, 2015). Such policies perpetuate monolingualism on the UK campuses and ignore the diverse and rich linguistic capital international students possess that can contribute to internationalising HE (Jenkins & Wingate, 2015). Although educators may make genuine attempts to engage students from different language and cultural backgrounds in the international classroom in understanding the influence of culture on learning to better accommodate for the multilingual settings (Caruana, & Spurling, 2007), there seems to be a lack of equivalent inclusion at the policy level. To tackle such issues, various parties propose different measures. For instance, HEA (Higher Education Academy) (2014) suggest a substantial recognition of international students' diverse knowledge, culture, and language. Jenkins (2014) calls for a change to English language policies and practices. Ploner (2018) and Minocha, Shiel, and Hristov (2019) recommend a more inclusive pedagogy.

Inclusive education in the UK has developed since the disability movement in the 1990s (Gibson, 2015). Gibson (2015) argues that inclusive education at UK universities should not be restricted to assist the teaching for and learning of students with disabilities, and instead, that other socio-cultural factors, such as class, gender, and ethnicity, should be taken into consideration. This includes engaging individuals and institutions in the process of developing an inclusive education, being open-minded and critical towards the differences between various socio-cultural backgrounds, and not forcing them to fit in (Gibson, 2015).

Inclusive pedagogy, specifically, should 'facilitate international student academic adaptation based on rendering tacit aspects of local learning cultures explicit to international full degree students, rather than adapting them' (Blasco, 2015, p. 85).

Inclusive pedagogy places students at the centre of learning and teaching and focuses on helping them to perform well instead of expecting them to fit in. It includes but is not restricted to involving more culturally diverse teaching contents and allowing the use of students' first languages in class. A more inclusive pedagogy, however, does not mean that international students' languages and cultures are seen as a deficit, but rather, it recognises and takes into consideration their diverse backgrounds, seeing them as an ethnic minority in the country rather than 'inferior' (Hayes, 2019b, p. 8).

Inclusive education and pedagogy benefit not only international students but also home students. For home students, an international campus would mean more than just international students' presence while everything else remains unchanged. They will be exposed to a multicultural and multilingual environment, getting to know others' cultures and the ways to communicate and work with them, which prepares the home students for the increasingly globalised world. By adopting inclusive education and pedagogy, UK universities, who have gained so much from their presence, can go further than international student recruitment and move one step closer to achieve their goal of internationalisation, which could serve both international and local students.

2.1.2 Chinese students in the UK

With the current economic prosperity in China, more and more 'middle-aged and relatively wealthy families' (Bamber, 2014, p. 49) are sending their children abroad to study, despite the high costs, seeing it as an investment. The one-child policy, in place from 1979 to 2015, has also contributed to this phenomenon (M. Li & Bray, 2007), as the parents are more willing to offer the best to their child as they were only allowed to have one child.

Since the mid-1990s, the number of overseas students coming to the UK to study has increased steadily (IPPR, 2013). Before the 2012–13 academic year, students from the EU made up the majority of international students studying in the UK. Thereafter, the number of Chinese students began to soar and exceeded that of the number of EU students in 2012–13, becoming the largest percentage of international students in the UK (HESA, 2020a). In 2017–18, there were 106,530 Chinese students studying in the UK, far outnumbering the second nationality (India) with only 19,750 students (UKCISA, 2020), which is less than one-fifth of the population of Chinese students.

One of the major motives for Chinese students to further their study in the UK has to do with the English language (e.g., Huang, 2013; Z. Li & Lowe, 2011; Spurling, 2006; Wu, 2015). In Wu's (2014) research with 169 Chinese master's students in three UK universities, for example, the top two reasons for their choice of the UK as their postgraduate study destination are English-related, i.e., opportunities for English proficiency improvement, and being in an English-speaking environment. However, in Bamber's (2014) research, where only female Chinese master's students were recruited, the potential career gains of faster promotion from obtaining the qualification were cited as reasons for studying in the UK, and therefore they would prefer to gain a degree before starting employment. Similarly, the enhancement of English language competence was awarded great significance by Chinese students studying in the UK in other research studies, such as those conducted by Spurling (2006) and Z. Li and Lowe (2011).

In terms of classroom performance, Chinese students are described as being quiet learners who are unwilling to participate in group discussions inside the classroom; instead, they prefer to ask questions outside the classroom (Wu, 2015). Such quietness in class might be influenced by a number of factors – for example, the difference in language proficiency (e.g., Trenkic & Warmington, 2019), the teaching and learning approach employed in China, and their attitudes towards 'face' (Wu, 2015, p. 758).[1] There exists a large number of significant differences between Chinese and UK students in terms of language proficiency and literacy skills (Trenkic & Warmington, 2019), which places Chinese international students at a disadvantage when it comes to classroom participation, including group discussions and answering questions in front of the whole class. As the entire curriculum is presented in English, Chinese students are also at a disadvantage in terms of understanding the content and being able to prioritise and organise information.

[1] 'Face' in this context refers to an individual's image and/or reputation that is presented. Making grammatical mistakes, for instance, will result in 'losing face' by some Chinese individuals. In Wu's (2015) research, one of the students was described as adopting a 'thick face' (p. 759), which differs from being shameless, in that it signifies that he did not mind whether other students laughed at his English and was not ashamed to speak up in class.

In addition, the classroom in China tends to be teacher-centred, and students are more likely to receive knowledge passively through teachers' lecturing practices (Turner, 2006). For most of the classroom time, students sit in their seats and listen to the teacher's talk, rather than raising their questions inside the classroom; active participation in group discussions is not common, although students may ask teachers questions after class and will study in groups with other students after class. (This mirrors my own behaviour in my first master's programme.) The Chinese postgraduate students at UK universities in Wu's (2015, p. 758) research claimed that they only joined a conversation when they considered what they were going to say was 'safe', and/or when it would not cause any criticism of themselves or others. They described how they did not want to embarrass themselves by saying anything stupid, not wanting to lose face, and that they did not want to annoy others by saying something that may possibly offend them so that others would not lose face, either. Such phenomena may be related to the Confucius culture of being modest and not standing out. Besides, being the largest international student group in the UK means that there are more Chinese in class compared with other non-UK nationalities, and they have more opportunities to speak their own languages as well. Nevertheless, their silence in class did not mean that they were not interested in the content; they were participating, but in their own way – they were thinking about the topic in their mind and would not speak up until they were certain that their answer could contribute to the discussion (Wu, 2015). Chinese students may not be educated in an environment where active classroom discussion and expression of their own opinions are encouraged (Wang, 2019), but learning does not happen only with verbal engagement. In summary, the Chinese students may not seem to be taking part in conversations on the surface, but chances are that they are interested in the topic and are mentally taking part. The data in my research support this view that Chinese students are engaged in learning despite often being quiet in class, as will be shown in Chapter 4.

2.2 Translanguaging

This section begins by exploring the concepts of language, languaging and translanguaging, then moves on to investigate the differences between translanguaging and other models of bilingualism, ending with a discussion about translanguaging in an international HE context, such as that in which this research took place.

2.2.1 Language, languaging, and translanguaging

Initially, people communicated through 'simple combinations of sounds, gestures, icons, symbols, etc.' (W. Li, 2018a, p. 19) and named languages were later on constructed by linguists to differentiate between various cultural-political structures. Languages 'are predominantly social, not linguistic, phenomena' (Conteh, 2018, p. 476), which means that people use languages for the purpose of communicating with others and are not generally concerned on an individual basis with the languages' linguistic features.

Languages do not exist on their own and are continuously constructed and reconstructed by human actions and are influenced by the contexts in which they develop (García & Li, 2014). For example, apples, the fruit, exist physically with or without human society, but its name, apple, was given and used by human beings. As society develops, new elements (e.g., words for new items, such as computer, which did not exist in ancient times, and new meanings such as Apple, the company, and even as a name) are added to languages, and some older ones (e.g., the use of 'thou' and 'thee') are used less and less frequently.

Languaging, or 'languagING' (Radinger, 2018, p. 63), is defined as 'the simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves and our language practice, as we interact and make meaning in the world' (García & Li, 2014, p. 8). That is, experience and language are inextricably mixed and, together, contribute to us becoming who we are. Languages are created by human beings, and, as people use languages, this use shapes languages. This is not to say that language is totally fluid and reinvented at every utterance. People follow the rules when they speak and write so that they can be understood by others. However, as they carry on using language, new rules are created and put into use. For instance, the term 'apple' just meant the fruit to me before Apple, the company, became famous worldwide. And it is quite recently that Apple, which is also the alias of one of my informants, has been used as a girl's name. As a result, in my vocabulary, apple now refers to one of these three, depending on the context. As time moves on, the meanings of Apple, the company, and Apple, the name, have been added to and have become part of my linguistic repertoire (the languages I have at my disposal) and my languaging (how I use it).

Similar to languaging, translanguaging focuses on individuals' practices rather than on named languages. Translanguaging is defined by Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015, p. 283) as 'the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages'. Translanguaging, therefore, examines people's translanguaging practices as a whole, rather than concentrating on each of the languages they use separately. These translanguaging practices are influenced by social and historical factors, and they are able to reproduce existing utterances as well as producing new ones (Heller, 2007). When they are translanguaging, people are creating their own '*new* language practices' as a whole, instead of using 'separate languages', 'a synthesis of different language practices', or 'a hybrid mixture' of languages (García & Li, 2014, p. 21, emphasis in original).

Conteh (2018) and Otheguy et al. (2015) argue that translanguaging practices are available to not only bi/multilinguals but also monolinguals, as translanguaging is about 'what people do with language' (Conteh, 2018, p. 476), rather than about distinguishing the boundaries between the different named languages that they might use (Otheguy et al., 2015). Monolingual people also employ translanguaging when they use different terms, depending on the context and the interlocutors (Otheguy et al., 2015). For example, in academic settings, such as when writing their thesis and during meetings with supervisors, monolingual students would use the term 'translanguaging'; in contrast, they may instead simply use terms such as 'language practices' or even 'how people use language' to describe translanguaging when they are speaking with their friends or parents at home. In this view, translanguaging provides a useful description for the practice of shifting between registers. My research, however, did not adopt this perspective because the starting point of the research is how the different named languages are used by bilingual people, not the different registers employed within the same language.

Translanguaging understands individuals as having only one linguistic 'pot' with all their linguistic resources in it, from which they select features 'depending on contextual, topical, and interactional factors' (García & Li, 2014, p. 644). Contextual factors can be, for example, who the interlocutors are, where the interaction takes place, and the topics under discussion. For topics that are usually discussed in one or several particular language(s), it is more likely for people to use the same language(s) when discussing the same topics.

Translanguaging, unlike code-switching, ‘is not an object to describe and analyse, but a practice and a process’ (W. Li, 2018b, p. 23). Mazak (2016, pp. 5–6) takes this position when she summarises translanguaging as 1) ‘a language ideology that takes bilingualism as the norm’ (p. 5); 2) ‘a theory of bilingualism’ (p. 5) that sees bilinguals having only one linguistic and semiotic repertoire; 3) ‘a pedagogical stance’ (p. 5) which allows bilingual teachers and students to draw on all of their integrated repertoires; 4) ‘a set of practices’ (p. 6) that includes all practices when bilinguals drawing on their integrated repertoire; and 5) ‘translanguaging is transformational’ (p. 6), and it changes people’s views on (named) languages and languaging. As can be seen, the third and fourth definitions are both related to the notion that bilingual individuals have only one integrated repertoire.

Tian, Aghai, Sayer, and Schissel (2020, pp. 5–7) instead see translanguaging through three lenses: 1) descriptive – multilinguals’ ‘readily observable practices and their meaning-making process’ (p. 5); 2) theoretical – multilinguals have ‘only one unitary repertoire’ for ‘flexible and fluid use’ (p. 6) without making distinctions among named languages; and 3) pedagogical – multilingual students and teachers’ complex use of languages to make sense of teaching and learning and allowing them to do so. Tian et al.’s (2020) practical and pedagogical lenses correspond to Mazak’s (2016) fourth (practices) and third (pedagogy) definitions, respectively, and the theoretical lens encompasses the remaining three. Because Mazak’s (2016) understanding of translanguaging is transformational, it can also be related to all of Tian et al.’s (2020) three lenses.

To summarise, translanguaging is the notion that individuals have one unitary repertoire from which they draw on freely to make meaning; it involves practices and pedagogy, and it changes the world as it challenges the traditional perspective of named languages and their political and ideological implications (Mazak, 2016; Tian et al., 2020). This thesis focuses on the practice aspect of translanguaging, and the discussion of practice as a theory will be presented after the following Sections; 2.3 Capital, and 2.4 Agency, as the concept is easier to understand when framed in this way.

Translangugaging is a relatively new concept, and it has been subject to criticism. For instance, in terms of translanguaging pedagogy, Conteh (2018) claims that, although research has shown positive outcomes in some complementary schools in the Western world, there has not been enough support for teacher education and student teachers' professional development in multilingual education settings, and that there is a lack of translanguaging research on detailed classroom interaction analysis (this is where my research comes into play). As for social translanguaging, some authorities (e.g., governments) (Jaspers, 2018) and some members of the public (W. Li, 2018a) show concern over the flexible use of multiple languages, as they prefer the notion of citizens using their own national language(s) and do not embrace the introduction of foreign languages into their society, which is one of the views that my thesis challenges (see Section 6.5). In Singapore, where English and Mandarin Chinese are two of the official languages, for example, Chinglish, a traditional multilingual translanguaging practice with the mixed use of Mandarin, English, as well as Teochow and Hokkien, have been regarded with contempt for years, while English-Mandarin bilingualism has gained its popularity among the younger generation (W. Li, 2018a).

In addition, although May (2018, p. 68) agrees that multilinguals' linguistic repertoires are far more complicated than the simple distinction of named languages, he criticises the tacit acceptance of the term, as it 'over-emphasizes the influence/impact of individual agency and under-emphasizes or even simply ignores, the ongoing impact of structural constraints, particularly on the already most (linguistically) marginalized'. Structural constraints can include the resources available to students from poorer families to pursue English language learning despite a will to do so, and the quality of education they receive from the state. Capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is clearly relevant to this critique, and, in response, my research included the lens of capital in examining translanguaging, as will be presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.2.2 Translanguaging and other models of bilingualism

There are several models of bilingualism. I shall first introduce one that differentiates bilingual and monolingual modes, which I do not adopt as I have reservations about it. Grosjean (2020) distinguishes between monolingual and bilingual modes, pointing out that bilingual people adopt the former to interact with monolingual individuals and the latter to interact with those who are bilingual (see Figure 2-1 below).

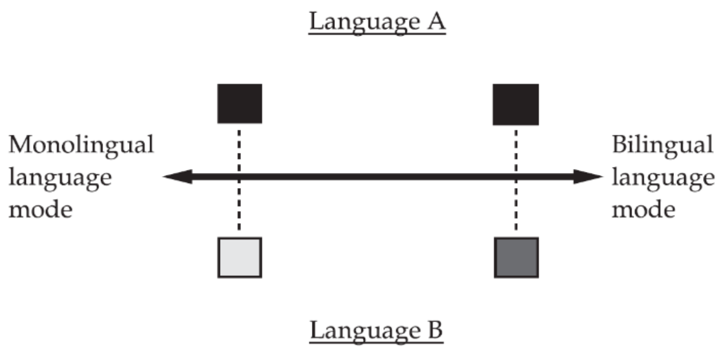


Figure 2-1 Grosjean's (2020, p. 166) language mode

The three different levels of darkness of the four squares (two black squares on top, light grey of the bottom left, and dark grey of the bottom right) in the model above indicate different levels of activeness of the language (Grosjean, 2020): the darker the shade, the more active the language is, and vice versa. Therefore, Language A's two squares are both black, which means that it is very active and remains the same level of activeness throughout the figure and that it is the main language in this figure (Grosjean, 2020). Towards the left end, the colour of the square of Language B becomes lighter, which means that it is less activated towards the monolingual language mode; towards the right end, the colour becomes darker, which means that it is more active towards the bilingual mode (although it is not more active than Langage A).

Although it is not illustrated explicitly, this figure seems to indicate that the two languages are not parts of the same linguistic repertoire and that they are instead two separate linguistic systems, leaning towards code-switching. Although connected by a dotted line, the top square and the bottom square do not seem to have an influence on each other, as Language A remains the same, while Language B changes. This is different from the understanding of translanguaging mentioned earlier in this section, where García (2012) argues that bi/multilingual individuals have only one linguistic repertoire with all of their linguistic characters inside. Grosjean (2020) seems to see each language as a separate entity, which will be further discussed in Section 6.2, where a new translanguaging model based on my research will be proposed.

Below are four further bilingualism models where translanguaging is mentioned. García and Kleyn (2016, pp. 13–14) distinguish translanguaging from three other models of bilingualism: 'traditional models of bilingualism', 'Cummins's interdependence hypothesis', and 'code-switching' (see Figure 2-2 below, where L1 and L2 refer to first and second language respectively, and F indicates linguistic feature).

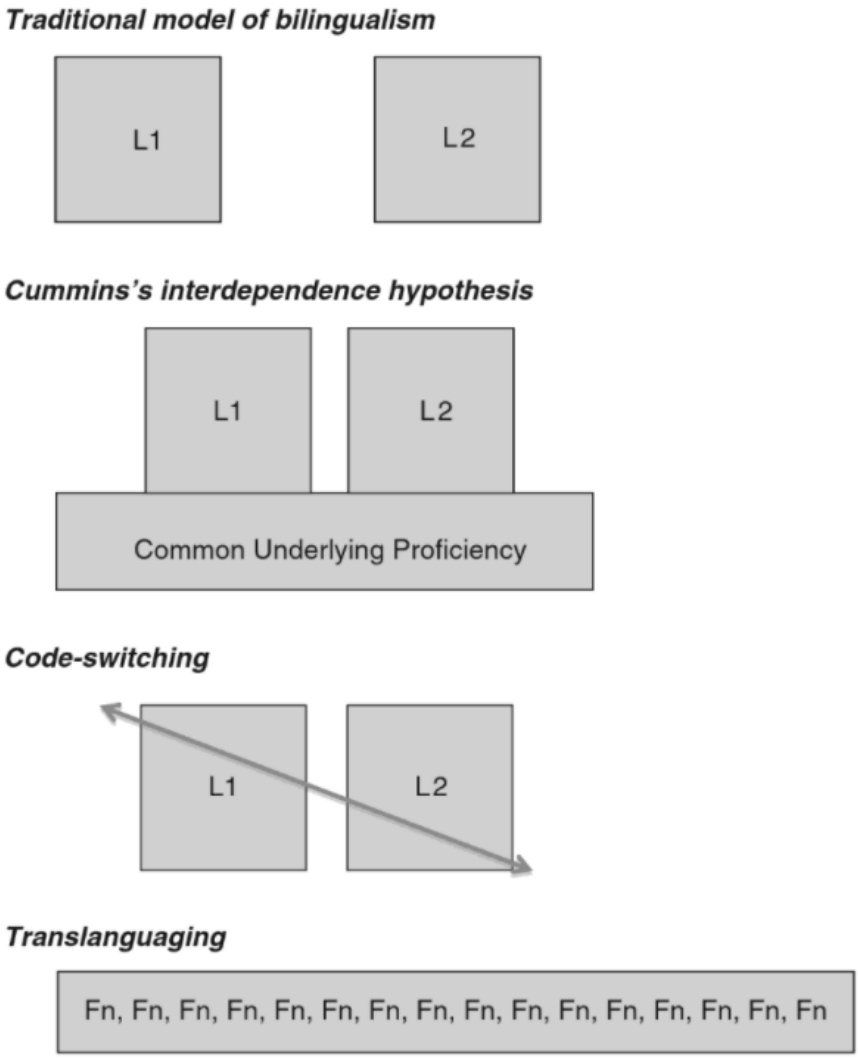


Figure 2-2 Four models of bilingualism in García and Kleyn (2016, p. 13), extended from García and Li (2014, p. 14)

Traditional bilingualism considers L1 and L2 as two separate language systems with various linguistic features in each; by learning a second language, students simply add a second language to their first (García & Kleyn, 2016). This is a model that is still used by many educators (García & Kleyn, 2016). Cummins's linguistic interdependence proposes instead that the two language systems that bilingual people possess are still kept separate; a Common Underlying Proficiency enables students to exchange concepts between the two languages (García & Kleyn, 2016) so that L1 and L2 proficiency are related to each other (Cummins, 1979). The third form of bilingualism, code-switching, is a concept that can be easily confused with translanguaging. García and Li (2014, p. 12) refer to code-switching as 'going back and forth from one language belonging to one grammatical system to another', which means that code-switching is also based on understandings of languages as separate systems, which bilingual individuals cross between (García & Kleyn, 2016; Otheguy et al., 2015). In the translanguaging model, bilingual people only have one language system with all of their linguistic features inside. From a translanguaging perspective, a bilingual speaker uses a word not because this word belongs to either of the two languages, but because it is an item in his/her vocabulary, one of the words in his/her linguistic system; s/he just uses it because it is one of the words s/he knows (García & Kleyn, 2016).

As is mentioned in Section 2.2.1, taking a translanguaging perspective means that the focus is placed on what speakers do with languages rather than how the languages are described (García & Li, 2014, p. 22):

> translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that makes up the speakers' complete language repertoire.

The reason why these practices 'cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language' (García & Li, 2014, p. 22) is that these are semiotic resources, i.e., signs, instead of merely linguistic resources. Peirce (1955) distinguished among the signifier (or the sign), the signified, and an interpretation. For instance, in Extract 4-13 in this research, there is a sign, /əmˈhm/, the signified of which can be the Chinese '嗯哼' and the English 'mhm', and both can be interpreted as an acknowledgement token of the previous turn. A code-switching lens needs to specify which language this sign belongs to, whereas translanguaging can include both, thus adapting to the current social phenomenon of new and complicated translanguaging practices emerging.

Translanguaging is not just another term for code-switching (García & Lin, 2017a; W. Li, 2018a) as there are fundamental differences between the two: 1) translanguaging sees bilingual people as having one linguistic repertoire with all their language resources in it, whereas code-switching sees them as having two language systems that are separated from each other; and 2) translanguaging is not restricted to language only, as it also takes into consideration semiotic resources, while code-switching considers languages as codes and focuses on languages per se. Translanguaging, then, 'concerns effective communication, function rather than form' (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a, p. 641).

Although translanguaging and code-switching are differentiated in many ways (Copland & Ni, 2019), they are not completely disconnected from each other. Translanguaging includes practices such as code-switching and translation (García & Sylvan, 2011), but is not restricted to these two; translanguaging 'goes beyond code switching and translation because it refers to the *process* by which bilingual students perform bilingually in the myriad multimodal ways of classrooms' (García & Lin, 2017b, p. 121, emphasis in original). Translanguaging focuses on the development of one's linguistic repertoire, which is constantly changing and can be used to produce various translanguaging practices, while code-switching concentrates on the linguistic aspect and translanguaging is 'essentially sociolinguistic, ecological, and situated' (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b, p. 659). Nevertheless, this is not to say that code-switching cannot be helpful in any way, as code-switching practices can be useful in indicating students' level of language proficiency (Lewis et al., 2012b), compensating for comparatively low language competence (Lin, 2005) as well as acting as a creative way to negotiate between the target language of the classroom and the language(s) that the students know better (Martin, 2005). My research adopts a translanguaging lens rather than a code-switching one because the participants' practices support the theoretical view of one integrated repertoire.

2.2.3 Translanguaging in the classroom context

The concept of translanguaging was first used in an educational setting by Cen Williams (1994), who coined the term *trawsieithu* in Welsh in 1994. He used the term to describe a pedagogic practice where students were asked to receive input in one language and produce output in another (A. M. Y. Lin, 2020). Later on, the term was expanded to describe the practices of bilingual individuals in social situations and was explored in terms of pedagogy from this new perspective (García & Li, 2014).

In the language education classroom context, translanguaging can be described as:

> a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include *all* the language practices of students in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality. (García & Kano, 2014, p. 261, emphasis in original)

Teachers are included in this definition because, in language education, bilingual teachers are the norm (especially in non-English-speaking countries). These bi-/multilingual teachers mostly share the same language(s) as the students, and their attitudes towards and behaviour in translanguaging, such as doing or not doing translanguaging, may have an influence on the students' translanguaging practices.

This definition of translanguaging in language classrooms is quite complex and covers a number of areas. In terms of 'new language practices', García and Kano (2014) consider translanguaging by exploring the practices of three Japan-born students who came to the US at the age of twelve and were studying English essays for the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) at the time of research, as they needed to learn to not only write essays in English but also to come up with ideas in their essay writing that were more adapted to the Western culture rather than an Oriental one. One way in which the tradition of imposing the strict separation of languages in education contexts, where teachers and/or students are only allowed to use one language at a time, can be challenged is by giving 'voice to new sociopolitical linguistic inequality' (García & Kano, 2014, p. 261). There are, for instance, schools offering Spanish language classes in the US that insist on separating Spanish, the target language, from English, allowing only one language to be 'used at different times or spaces, or by different teachers and for different subjects' (García, 2014, p. 69); a Welsh school in the UK that has a Welsh-only policy within the school, even though the students are bilingual in Welsh and English (Selleck, 2016); and primary schools in German-speaking areas in Switzerland, where English is the first foreign language and French the second, that have only French instruction in class in their education programme (Haenni Hoti et al., 2011). In some cases, these translanguaging practices reduce the educational opportunities of children who are not able to access the curriculum through a language they understand; translanguaging pedagogies, on the other hand, allow students to use their entire linguistic repertoire to learn, thereby reducing linguistic inequality.

Apart from the institutional restrictions, from the speakers' side, bilingual teachers (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) and students (Daniel, Jiménez, Pray, & Pacheco, 2019) themselves are not always comfortable using their L1 in English classes. They are still influenced by the ideology of an English-only classroom (A. M. Y. Lin, 2015), despite evidence that L1 supports both language learning (Neokleous, 2017) and content learning (A. M. Y. Lin, 2015). Therefore, the notion of the English-only classroom has been challenged (e.g., Copland & Ni, 2019; Hall & Cook, 2014; Phillipson, 1992), and it is argued that allowing teachers and students to access their full semiotic repertoire in class at the same time can benefit the students in their learning, in language education programmes (e.g., English essay writing class for Japanese students in the US (García & Kano, 2014)) as well as content-based classrooms (e.g., an EMI science class by a Cantonese English bilingual teacher to Urdu-as-first-language students (A. M. Y. Lin, 2019)). This is also one of the arguments that my research supports (see Section 5.2.1).

Despite the institutional restrictions and bilingual students feeling guilty when using their L1, translanguaging is still common in schools, where bilingual teachers and students use both of their languages for pedagogic purposes, regardless of whether the schools require them to separate the two languages (e.g., Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014; Sayer, 2013) or not (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010). In these studies, the translanguaging process seemed so 'effortless and natural' that sometimes the participants did not realise they were using two languages simultaneously (Palmer et al., 2014, p. 764). In addition, research in a variety of different contexts, such as in schools (e.g., Creese, 2004; Lehti-Eklund, 2012; Neokleous, 2017; Seltzer, 2019) and in foreign language classrooms at universities (e.g., Gallego-Balsà & Cots, 2019), have explored the reasons for students using different languages in class, a key focus of my study. Different students have their own reason for using the target language in class: some who have high language competence wanted to present themselves as proficient users of the language (Gallego-Balsà & Cots, 2019), while some aimed to hide their ethnic identity, which protected them from being marginalised as well as from other potential risks (Seltzer, 2019). The advantages of using L1, on the other hand, include that it is time-saving and creates a higher level of clarity (Neokleous, 2017), which is helpful in students' understanding of the classroom content and their access to the curriculum (Creese, 2004). From these studies, it appears that translanguaging is the norm for bilingual teachers and students in the classroom, whether they are aware of it or not, and whether they are expected to do so or not, which seems to support the argument that bilingual individuals have only one linguistic repertoire containing all of their language resources. This concept will be further discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the data gathered in my research.

Going back to the definition, one of the new socio-political realities that can be observed in my research is the emerging phenomena of bilingual students' translanguaging in international HE in the UK. While there are a number of research papers on students' and teachers' behaviours in and/or perspectives of classroom translanguaging practices in HE (e.g., Carroll & Mazak, 2017; Hurst & Mona, 2017; Kuteeva, Hynninen, & Haslam, 2015; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2015; Mbirimi-Hungwe, 2019; Reilly, 2019; Troedson & Dashwood, 2019), only very few of them focus on international students' translanguaging practices in English-speaking countries, which is one of the gaps that the current project is aiming to fill. Traditionally, English is the dominant language in UK HE classrooms, which is understandable, as the UK is an English-speaking country. Nevertheless, many master's levels programmes in subjects such as Business, Engineering and TESOL would not be viable without the large numbers of Chinese students, who bring their language(s) with them to class and use them, with their English, for both academic and social purposes. My research will show that the pedagogic translanguaging practices in a TESOL classroom context are common, complex, and varied, although of a different order to those described by, for example, García and Kano (2014), because the teachers, for the most part, are not Chinese users.

Phillipson (2009) argues that the English dominance in the HE classroom is disadvantageous to those whose first language is not English and that such disadvantage is socially constructed (as opposed to existing inherently, with or without the influence of human beings). Instead, adopting English as the classroom language in HE in the UK has been assumed, with discourses of English-only restrictions in ELT (English Language Teaching) classrooms contributing to this hegemony. This research interrogates how languages are used by bilingual students in class and how their practices support them in being successful in the UK master's TESOL programme, despite having to navigate these prevailing hegemonic structures.

The main difference between García and Kano's (2014) definition and García's (2011) definition is that the former focuses specifically on pedagogy, referring to teachers and students as 'bilinguals' and concentrates on the language classroom. I have adopted García and Kano's (2014) definition in my research because, although my research context is not specifically language-based (the master's modules are knowledge-based), the context is a learning environment. While the students in language education are aiming to develop their language proficiency, the participants in my research attempt not only to improve their English, but also to gain new knowledge (about how to teach English) through communicating with others (both the lecturers and their peers), as do many other international students in the UK (see Copland et al., 2017 for master's students in TESOL). My research investigates what the participants' translanguaging practices are and how context affects these practices (for example, the context of being inside class), instead of which language(s) is/are used. To put it a different way, although the participants may use the same languages (i.e., Chinese and English) in the same ways (i.e., Chinese only, English only and a mixture), their translanguaging practices may not be similar. It is their translanguaging practices – that is, how they use their linguistic repertoire to communicate with others – that interest me. This has led to the development of the following research questions in this project:

1. What are Chinese TESOL master's students' classroom translanguaging practices?
2. What are the reasons for these Chinese participants' language choices?
3. How does this linguistic ethnographic study of a specific UK HE context contribute to the understanding of translanguaging?

Now, I shall move on to present a review of previous literature on international students' translanguaging practices in general, and then focus on their classroom translanguaging practices.

2.2.4 International students' translanguaging practices

Naturally, language would be less of a problem for international students whose first language is (one of) the local language(s) of the host country (for instance, Americans or Australians studying in the UK). Such international students fall out of the scope of my study, as I was not interested in this section of the population. The following discussion is divided into three categories, according to whether the international students and the countries in which they study are English-speaking: 1) English-speaking students in non-English-speaking countries, 2) non-English-speaking students in non-English-speaking countries, and 3) non-English-speaking students in English-speaking countries.

2.2.4.1 English-speaking students in non-English-speaking countries

I shall begin by discussing English-speaking students in non-English-speaking countries. In the studies by McGregor (2016) and Shively (2016), the focus was placed on participants who were American students and whose first language is English. The two participants in McGregor's (2016) research, Brad and David, studied in Germany, while Jared, in Shively's (2016) paper, studied in Spain. All of these students went abroad with motives related to language learning: Brad wanted to 'meet Germans and speak a lot of German' (McGregor, 2016, p. 19), David wanted to 'have native-like pronunciation' (McGregor, 2016, p. 24), and Jared wanted to 'gain fluency in Spanish' (Shively, 2016, p. 62). Their aim of learning the local language seems similar to the motives described by Chinese students who wish to improve their English proficiency in the UK (e.g., Huang, 2013; Z. Li & Lowe, 2011; Spurling, 2006; Wu, 2015).

According to McGregor (2016), Brad expected to use either English or German in conversations, but the reality was that he mixed both languages when he talked with others (McGregor, 2016). Like Brad, David hoped to have only German friends and 'speak German all the time' (McGregor, 2016, p. 24) to improve his German proficiency in Germany. His homesickness, however, forced him to make other friends, irrespective of the languages they spoke. Another experience Brad mentioned is that he had to speak English all the time after other people found out that he was from America and an English speaker, which frustrated him because he could then not improve his German in this way (McGregor, 2016).

As for Jared, an American student studying overseas in Spain, Shively (2016) investigated his interactions with two Spanish speakers, the host mum and a peer. The host mum took her responsibility as a provider of language immersion for Jared seriously and set the rule that only Spanish was allowed to be spoken in the house; as a result, Jared communicated with her in Spanish and only Spanish (Shively, 2016). In addition, the host mum, who worked as a teacher (although the subject she taught was not specified in the article), was strict with Jared's language accuracy, and she corrected his grammar mistakes every time she noticed one (Shively, 2016). One of Jared's peers, in contrast, understood Jared's desire to obtain fluency in Spanish and did not interrupt him, even when he made mistakes in his speech, as long as he could express his points; and even the peer himself used some English words occasionally (Shively, 2016). Outside the classroom, with people other than the host family, Jared used more English (Shively, 2016).

As can be seen from the previous paragraphs, English-speaking students used both their first and second languages when they were abroad; the use of English seemed to be unavoidable, given English's position as a *lingua franca* (Jenkins, 2015; Kennedy, 2017; Ku & Zussman, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2009). Moreover, the degree to which their first language (i.e., English) was used may also have depended on the person(s) they were talking to and their attitudes. For instance, it was not common for Jared to speak English in front of his host mum, who felt that it was her obligation to improve Jared's Spanish accuracy; and Brad had to switch back to English at his German friends' request (McGregor, 2016). Neither of these studies describes the students' use of language(s) in class, however, so it is not known whether they followed similar language patterns inside the classroom.

2.2.4.2 Non-English-speaking students in non-English-speaking countries

In countries where English is not the official language of the host countries, it is reported that the local languages were important for students' daily lives (Leinonen, 2014; Simic & Tanaka, 2008). In contrast, English was the dominant language in academia for international students, regardless of whether they were studying in English-speaking nations (Simic & Tanaka, 2008).

Specifically, in Tanaka and Simic's (2008) study, 103 international students in Japan, over half of whom came from Asia and the rest from other continents, were researched through questionnaires on their use of both English and Japanese. For these students, English was needed for their main aim of staying in Japan – academic studies; but using English only would make it difficult for them to live in Japan, 'a mono-linguistic country where English is not widely spoken among the native population' (Simic & Tanaka, 2008, p. 45), and this is where Japanese came into play. Simic and Tanaka (2008, p. 55) reported that Japanese was primarily used by the international students for socialisation, such as that with friends and within the community, as well as pragmatically, such as activities in 'daily life' (for instance, when the students dined in a Japanese bar or shopped in a local grocery shop) and 'future plans' (for example, if the students would like to further their study in Japan or start their career there). Additionally, the more confident they were with their Japanese, the more useful they considered this language to be, the more Japanese they used, and the less importance they attached to English (Simic & Tanaka, 2008).

The use of English presented these participating international students, whose first language was neither English nor Japanese, with a dilemma: on the one hand, they had to speak English because it was a must for their study; on the other, the sole use of English in their studies restricted them from learning Japanese, which, in turn, constrained their potential interactions with the community (Simic & Tanaka, 2008). They were also frustrated by the use of Japanese, which made them feel anxious due to their limited proficiency in the language and the level of difficulty in mastering it (Simic & Tanaka, 2008).

Compared with Japan, an Asian country where English is not widely used by the local population, the situation might be a little different in Finland, a European country where the ability to speak English is commonplace for its people. Leinonen's (2014) master's dissertation studied eight international students in Finland. One of her participants, a Chinese student who had been in Finland for two-and-a-half years, said that 'I need English to complete my studies, and I need Finnish to make my life here better' (Leinonen, 2014, p. 61). This is similar to Tanaka and Simic's (2008) findings. It seems that, in non-English-speaking countries, international students study through English as a second language and live their life via the local language as a third. In particular, the frequency of English use depended on the attitudes of the people to whom they were talking: one of the respondents reached a consensus with her friends that they should speak Finnish with one another so that they could improve, and thus they seldom spoke in English, even though neither of them was Finnish (Leinonen, 2014). This is similar to Jared's situation in Shively's (2016) paper, where he used less English with the host mum, who disapproved of him speaking English at home, than with his peer, who also used English. These findings suggest that the interlocutors' beliefs do have an influence on the international students' language choices.

Finnish was used when the students wanted to become familiar with Finnish culture or to 'improve the bonding' (Leinonen, 2014, p. 81) with Finnish society, as quoted by one of the students in Finland, which can be related back to the students in Tanaka and Simic's (2008) research in Japan who were trying to fit into the community through the local language, Japanese. To these international students, the local languages were bridges with which they could approach the countries they were studying in and the cultures they were immersed in; through their use of the local languages, they were able to understand the host countries better, and it was easier for them to integrate into the culture.

Simic and Tanaka (2008) did not investigate the participants' classroom translanguaging practices, while Leinonen (2014) reported that the courses were mainly delivered through the medium of English. In the latter study, the use of English for study purposes, including reading, writing essays, and discussing assignments, was the primary reason for the participants to use English. However, the analysis did not focus on the classroom context specifically, as Leinonen (2014) researched these international students' overall translanguaging practices.

To summarise, when it comes to the issue of non-English-speaking students studying in non-English-speaking countries, the language that international students use in their academic studies is primarily English. What is different among the two countries discussed above is the necessary level of the use of the local languages: Japanese was vital for participating in daily life activities and commonly used in Japan, whereas English is enough for survival in Finland, although mastery of Finnish did contribute to an even better experience.

2.2.4.3 Non-English-speaking students in English-speaking countries

The third and final type of international students' translanguaging practices discussed here are those of students whose first language(s) is not English and who study in English-speaking countries, the context of which is closest to my research. For the 17 Chinese students in Ranta and Meckelborg's (2013) research in Canada, English was the principal language of study, although some Mandarin was also used for academic work (e.g., for academic work such as preparation for presentations and exams). As for extracurricular life, a mix of both languages was used, although comparably more Mandarin was used than English (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). In terms of how they felt when talking to English-as-their-first-language speakers, students with a lower frequency of interaction with locals tended to be more uncomfortable when speaking to them (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). The reasons given by the students for their feelings of discomfort were that they felt nervous when speaking English and that they had difficulties in understanding and speaking English (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013).

Moglen (2017) presented a different view of three students' use of English for academic purposes in the United States. A Chilean PhD student (whose first language was Spanish) responded that English was 'rarely' used in his studies, and 'almost never' in non-academic situations (Moglen, 2017, p. 32). The reason for his occasional use of English in academic studies, such as the language he used to communicate with his supervisors and colleagues, was not given (although it could be because the supervisors and colleagues were also Spanish speakers, which is similar to one of the Chinese participants in Canada, whose supervisor was also Chinese and so they would talk in Chinese, in Ranta and Meckelborg's (2013) research). However, Moglen (2017) describes how this student's lack of English use in socialising was the result of the lack of English-speaking friends: the majority of his friends were Spanish-speaking, and they communicated with each other in their language (which is similar to my own experience in my first master's degree).

A student from China in the same study had a different use of English: he used English in academic studies for the majority of the time (60%–79%), and less than 40% outside of school; for the rest of the time, his L1, Chinese, was used (Moglen, 2017). (This is also an experience I shared as an international student in an English-speaking country.) This supports the statement by Simic and Tanaka (2008) that English is the primary language in academic studies for international students. Despite the different levels of English used, both the Chinese and the aforementioned Chilean students felt nervous or uncomfortable when speaking English, which is similar to the experience of the students in Japan (Simic & Tanaka, 2008) and Canada (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013), who felt anxious in speaking Japanese and English, respectively.

A distinction can be made with a third student, who frequently used English in both academic and non-academic settings (Moglen, 2017). The difference between this student and the previous two was that her friends were made up of international students and English speakers with whom she spoke English, whereas the other two had limited interaction with English-as-first-language speakers or students who used English as a lingua franca (Moglen, 2017). If the students do not have many English-speaking friends, it may be less likely for them to use English in daily life (see also Olivia, one of the participants in my research, who was in a similar situation, as will be discussed in Section 4.2), and, consequently, such a lack of practice may contribute to their anxiety when using the language.

Using a mixed-method design, drawing on self-reported diaries and interviews, Wright and Schartner's (2013) research examined international students' language use from a broader viewpoint, and they found that their 20 international master's student participants in the UK had a good deal more listening than speaking practice in their interactions with others, and that, within the small amount of speaking practice they had, the majority of it happened with speakers whose first language was not English. Observations that international students tend to interact with students from the same nation – referred to as ‘ghettoisation’ (Brown, 2009, p. 440) – and the lack of contact among international students from different nations (Copland & Garton, 2011) and between international students and local ones (Brown, 2009; Campbell, 2012), were also quite evident in previous research. The reasons for the difficulty in establishing friendships with other nationalities include external factors, such as time-demanding programmes and same-country accommodation, and internal ones, such as their being ‘lazy’ (Wright & Schartner, 2013, p. 120) in making local friends, which indicates ‘a lack of self-agency’ (p. 122). Agency emerged as one of the key concepts in my research (see Section 2.4) and was one of the reasons behind my participants’ translanguaging practices (discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5). The lack of interaction with other international and local students outside the classroom has ‘frustrated and disappointed’ (Copland & Garton, 2011, p. 241) international students, as improving English is one of the main reasons they chose to further their study in the English-speaking countries. As a result, international students across different contexts thought that they had to take up the chance to speak English inside the classroom (e.g., Brown, 2009; Bui, 2019; Copland & Garton, 2011; Freeman & Li, 2019; Teo & Arkoudis, 2019), and many international students felt that their improvement in English proficiency was not as high as they had expected after completing their studies in the UK (Copland et al., 2017; Yu & Moskal, 2019).

To conclude, international students’ translanguaging practices is a complicated issue. English is generally necessary for engaging in their studies and is widely used at universities around the world (although there are exceptions, such as those offering foreign language courses), but not necessarily in daily life. Depending on the country they are in, the language used in non-academic settings could be the local language (when the local language is not English) and/or English. In addition, international students’ choice of which language to use is determined by a number of factors, such as the person they are talking to (e.g., Dubiner, 2018; Grosjean, 2020; Zhang, 2013), their language proficiency, and how confident they are in using the language (see also Chou, 2018; K.

Forbes & Fisher, 2018; Lehti-Eklund, 2012; Machida, 2016) and the context of communication (e.g., Selleck, 2016; Zhang, 2019). My research provides further evidence of the complexity of international students' translanguaging practices and will suggest that these practices can be understood in part by examining them through the lenses of agency and capital.

It is equally important to note that each individual mentioned in the studies described above had their own experience of translanguaging practices, irrespective of the country s/he came from, or the country s/he went to for their studies. Each student has his/her own background, language level, different people around him/her and different agency according to the particular context. Even students of the same age from the same country studying at the same university abroad will have different experiences, and each international student's experiences will differ from those of others. This study, through presenting a detailed examination of three Chinese international students' translanguaging practices, both recognises and reveals this complexity, as well as the reasons that contribute to such complexity.

2.2.5 International students' translanguaging practices in the classroom

Most of the abovementioned translanguaging research in HE focuses on either EMI (English as the medium of instruction) classrooms, language education, or bilingual education, where teachers share their students' first languages. This is different from the context of the current research, where the lecturers (mostly) in the UK do not understand the international Chinese students' first language. Although English is used as the primary language in academia worldwide (Simic & Tanaka, 2008) (with some exceptions), its use in the international HE classroom context is not well-researched, which is surprising, given the number of students who study abroad, the importance of language for accessing the curriculum, and the role of language in the overall study abroad experience. Moreover, there is limited research on international students' translanguaging practices inside the classroom (e.g., Abrar & Mukminin, 2016; Ha, 2014; Hirsu & Zacharias, 2019; Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013; Zhang, 2013).

Abrar and Mukminin (2016) administered a questionnaire and conducted interviews with eight Indonesian master’s students in the UK to explore their classroom discussion experiences. Although these participants started learning English in primary school, which is also the case for my participants, they said that they still found it challenging to engage actively in classroom discussion due to their weak speaking skills, including aspects of vocabulary, grammar, accent, and fluency (Abrar & Mukminin, 2016). They felt anxious in participating in classroom discussions and were not confident to do so (Abrar & Mukminin, 2016). There is also a difference between the Eastern culture, where the students are used to simply listening to the teachers, and the Western one, where students actively take part in the classroom discussion (Abrar & Mukminin, 2016). Such cultural distinction is true for not only the Indonesian students but also the Chinese master’s students in my research.

Ha (2014) investigated the factors that influence classroom verbal participation with four international postgraduates studying in the US, including PhD and master’s students, using interviews, questionnaires and classroom observations. Some of the factors revealed in Ha’s (2014) research are similar to those found by Abrar and Mukminin (2016), such as anxiety and lack of confidence in speaking English, being afraid of making grammar mistakes (see similar findings in Nerlicki, 2011; Sawir, 2005), and Eastern versus Western cultural differences (see also Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). In addition, Ha (2014) also argues that one of the participants cared more about her relationship with her peers than her English proficiency, and thus her peers’ perspectives might have caused her to be silent in class. This finding, however, is only descriptive, and no data from the interviews, questionnaires or classroom observation had been provided in support of this argument.

In terms of Chinese international students, there are three papers that investigate participants’ translanguaging practices in and out of the classroom. Hirsu and Zacharias (2019) investigated nine students (five of whom were Chinese) in a master’s TESOL programme at a UK university using self-reported methods, including surveys and interviews; Ranta and Meckelborg (2013) examined 17 Chinese master’s and PhD students at a Canadian university using one questionnaire, interviews and a computer log, where participants recorded their language activities; and Zhang (2013) administered one questionnaire with 53 Chinese Mainland students in undergraduate and postgraduate levels as well as informal follow-up interviews with some of them at an EMI university in Macao, where Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages.

Although Hirsu and Zacharias's (2019) case study did not focus on Chinese international students and their classroom language specifically, they emphasised that all of the five Chinese students admitted using all of their languages in and out of class, and that their choice of language depended on the interlocutors. One Chinese student mentioned that she used some English, even when she was talking to Chinese students, because these were English words that she had learned in an English context, and she did not translate them into Chinese (Hirsu & Zacharias, 2019). Inside the classroom, another Chinese student reported that Chinese was used for peer interactions and English when the teacher approached to give 'the impression that the students are using English' (Hirsu & Zacharias, 2019, p. 14).

At the end of a six-month data collection period, the participants in Ranta and Meckelborg's (2013) research used less English and more Chinese compared with what they did at the start. The time they spent on reading and writing English averaged 6 hours per day, which is much larger than the 46-minute duration of their English oral interaction, including speaking in academic talk (including discussion and presentation) and conversation with friends (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). English conversation with friends accounted for only slightly over 25% (10.9 minutes) of the 46 minutes (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013), which corresponds to the abovementioned situation, where international students lack opportunities to speak English outside the classroom. There is distinct individual variation among the participants, with the duration of academic speaking time ranging from 3.9 minutes to 71.1 minutes per day, and the duration of conversation-with-peers time from 1.8 minutes to 47.1 minutes. This confirms that there are differences among individual experiences (as discussed in Section 2.2.4.3) and that international students lack speaking opportunities, especially outside the classroom (e.g., Brown, 2009; Campbell, 2012; Copland & Garton, 2011; Moglen, 2017).

In Zhang's (2013) research, the participants always used English with 'foreigners'[2] (which is the only category when they always used English), often with professors in and after class, sometimes with local students (whose first language is Cantonese, i.e., Yue Chinese, and who can speak some Mandarin) in and after class, and seldom with other Chinese Mainland students (who are Mandarin speakers, the same as the 'Chinese' students included in my research) in class. These Chinese students also tended to sit together in group discussions where they spoke Chinese with each other, although the lectures were delivered in English; one of the informants claimed that speaking English with other Chinese students 'made them feel uneasy' (Zhang, 2013, p. 58).

There are some similar findings in the latter two reports (i.e., Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013; Zhang, 2013): 1) bilingualism is the norm for Chinese international students in English-speaking countries (this also applies to the first paper by Hirsu and Zacharias (2019)); 2) the participants' English exposure was unbalanced, and that the chance for them to speak English, both in and out of the classroom, was comparatively small; and 3) more English was used in class compared with out of the classroom, where more Chinese was used.

As illustrated, not only is there a lack of research on the issue of international students' classroom translanguaging practices, but also, most of the research that has been conducted used methods such as interviews and focus groups, which are able to investigate what participants say they do, but not what they actually do. This is where my research diverges from the existing knowledge, as I have drawn on audio recordings, classroom observations and fieldnotes, which allowed me to explore students' actual translanguaging practices from both inside the classroom and in interviews, which helped me to investigate their practices in more depth and allowed me to examine their reasoning for these behaviours.

The above discussion focuses on the first key concept in this research, translanguaging, while the sections below concentrate on the other two, capital and agency, which have further helped me to understand my participants' translanguaging practices.

[2] The term 'foreigner' is used in Zhang's (2013) paper to refer to non-Chinese.

2.3 Capital

Human society is an 'accumulated history' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46). That is, human society is the build-up of various resources over time. In order to understand the social world, the notion of capital, together with its accumulation and effects, must be introduced (Bourdieu, 1986).

Capital can be conceptualised as 'accumulated labour' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46); that is, capital can be obtained through people making efforts, for example, spending time and energy to achieve something. There are three main kinds of capital: economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. Bourdieu (1977, p. 179) suggested that economic capital may be 'the most valuable form of accumulation in a society' and that it 'may be institutionalized in the form of property rights' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47), and, furthermore, that it can encompass 'financial resources, land or property ownership' (Pinxten & Lievens, 2014, p. 1097). The major difference between economic capital and the other two kinds of capital is that it can be changed into money straight away.

Social capital can be described as:

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition — or in other words, to membership in a group — which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51)

In short, social capital is the social networks that a person owns, and acquaintances in the network have to be mutual rather than one-way: 'relationships matter', as Field (2003, p. 1) suggests. For example, I may know lots of names and information about the leaders of many countries and regions, but such recognition is not mutual, as they do not know me. They are not within my social network, and thus they are not part of my social capital. I cannot ask them to do anything for me, but I can ask my friends, who know me, to do things for me, and I would be expected to do things for them in return. The volume of social capital one possesses is related to the size of one's social network and how much of these people's capital that s/he is entitled to (Bourdieu, 1986).

Social capital requires maintenance (Bourdieu, 1986). For economic capital (and cultural capital as well, which will be discussed later on in this section), once a person possesses this, little further effort is needed in keeping it, although its worth might fluctuate. For instance, the money I make and the degree I earn, they belong to me, and I do not need to make any effort to keep them. Conversely, social capital needs post-possession effort to maintain the membership within a group, for example, as a friend, as a family, as a colleague, and so on. This can be achieved, for instance, through offering help and comfort when others are in need. If a person refuses to do anything for others, chances are few people will be willing to help her/him in return. It is this kind of constant investment, in the form of material or symbolic resources, that keeps the social relationship working.

There are ways to include favourable exchanges and exclude unwanted ones by offering occasions (e.g., family gatherings), places (e.g., a private golf club for its members) and practices (e.g., road trips with friends), which bring together the members within the group (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, friends, families and colleagues may have gatherings together, which can strengthen their connections but are only accessible to members. Another example, drawn from my research, is when Chinese is used among Chinese students in the presence of non-Chinese students, the non-Chinese students' access to the Chinese group is denied. These Chinese students might not do so on purpose, or even realise it, but such exclusion of non-Chinese speakers also influences the Chinese students' access to non-Chinese students' networks. There might have been a chance for the non-Chinese to join the conversation and possibly a friendship to be built up, which would have provided the Chinese students with more people in their social network and thus improve their social capital. However, the new link would then have required maintenance, which may not have been considered worthwhile.

Cultural capital is 'convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47). Specifically, there are three states of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied cultural capital refers to the 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47), such as skills, accent, dialect, and posture. These characteristics have become part of the individual and cannot be easily deprived. Linguistic capital, which is directly related to the focus of translanguaging practices in this research, falls into this category. This kind of cultural capital ‘costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor’ and ‘cannot be done at second hand’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 48). This means that embodied cultural capital can only be gained through personal effort, and that no one else can do it for the investor. That is to say, ‘external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 48) and can be acquired through ‘an effort that presupposes a personal cost … an investment, above all of time’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 48). Over time and through effort, the embodied cultural capital becomes and stays as part of the person and cannot be changed instantly. In my research, embodied cultural capital can be observed in English proficiency and knowledge about and experience of British culture.

Objectified cultural capital exists in the form of cultural goods, such as ‘pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47), and people can, of course, possess both economic capital and cultural capital of their objectified cultural capital. For example, a painting by Picasso (objectified cultural capital) is both worth money (economic capital) and aesthetically valuable as a piece of artwork (embodied cultural capital). In my research, objectified cultural capital can take the form of books and study-related materials (such as handouts), personal computers, electronic dictionaries, etc. However, none of the key participants had mentioned possessing these resources, and they did not emerge as salient in the observations, thus objectified cultural capital will not be discussed any further in the following chapters.

Institutionalised cultural capital ‘confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47), and an example of this can be educational qualifications. Bourdieu (1986, p. 50) argued that academic certificates, as a form of objectification of cultural capital, make ‘the difference between the capital of the autodidact … and the cultural capital academically sanctioned by legally guaranteed qualifications, formally independent of the person of their bearer’. The qualification examination is a test of one’s knowledge or ability in a particular subject; without taking and passing the relevant exams, the cultural capital of those who educate themselves cannot be guaranteed. Academic qualifications can be compared (Bourdieu, 1986); for example, a Master of Science in TESOL with Distinction degree tends to have a higher value than that with a Pass or a Merit from the same university in the same academic year, and a master's degree in TESOL has a higher capital value than that of a bachelor's degree in the same field. Institutions' acknowledgements of the cultural capital of academic qualification holders also 'establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51). There is a two-way conversion between economic capital and cultural capital: to obtain a master's degree in TESOL requires more economic capital than to gain a bachelor's degree, as one needs to obtain a bachelor's degree first before moving on to a master's; in general, the salary for a master's degree holder in the labour market is higher than that for a Bachler's holder in the same field.

Economic capital, social capital and cultural capital can be developed from economic capital, with a certain amount of effort for transformation (Bourdieu, 1986). For instance, new economic capital can be acquired from economic capital through investment in the stock market. An example of how economic capital can produce cultural capital is that, in order to obtain a master's degree, the economic capital for the tuition fees and living expenses is required at the beginning, and personal effort, such as attending lectures and finishing assignments, is also necessary for the completion of the degree. During the time in the master's programme, one can make acquaintances with new people, including classmates and lecturers, which is the accumulation of social capital.

As illustrated in the above discussion, these three kinds of capital are not isolated from one another; they are all convertible among themselves. It is the convertibility among them that can ensure the reproduction of different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The convertibility among different kinds of capital also makes the accumulation of capital possible. In order to make the conversion happen, personal labour is also required. However, not every conversion turns out to be a successful accumulation of capital. For instance, a failure in an investment in the stock market can cost the loss of all the economic capital invested, and a failure in completing a master's degree will cost the loss of both the economic capital and the personal efforts paid.

Overseas study benefits international students in terms of capital accumulation, including economic (e.g., increased incomes, Baláž & Williams, 2004), social (e.g., networking, Moon & Shin, 2019), and cultural capital (e.g., language proficiency and intercultural competence, Gerhards & Hans, 2013). The convertibility between these three types of capitals is also evident. International students choose to study abroad with the hope of improving their language proficiency, knowledge of the local culture (cultural capital), and future employability (economic capital). In order to do this, they need to pay for tuition fees and living expenses (economic capital).

Home students should be able to benefit from international HE in the same way that their international peers do. Although they do not leave their country, it does not mean that they could not develop their capitals in similar ways. They could be accumulated through interactions with international students in and out of the classroom, enhancing their interpersonal skills (social capital) and intercultural competence (cultural capital) to prepare them for the future job market that is increasingly globalised (economic capital).

Nevertheless, the actual capital gained from studying abroad varies from individual to individual depending on their experience, even when they study in the same programme in the same academic year. While the students who complete all their assessments successfully will be awarded the degree (cultural capital), the people they make acquaintance with (social capital) and their language improvement (cultural capital) might not be the same. For instance, if a Chinese student has a British student as a best friend and they interact frequently, s/he may be able to improve greatly in English proficiency and the knowledge of British culture, whereas a Chinese student who mostly interacts with other Chinese may not.

Bourdieu's (1986) theory considers these forms of capital, in a broader social sense, in relation to people's backgrounds and the family (including their social class) into which they were born, and how these resources have an influence on their initial possession of and accumulation of forms of capital. At the time of my data collection, this theory was not known to me, and it emerged as being relevant once I started analysing the data. Therefore, aspects of the participants' life histories that may have been relevant to the discussion of capital were not available to me, as I had not asked pertinent questions.

Nevertheless, this is not my research goal, as Bourdieu's (1986) theory is used here to help me interpret the data that I collected, which are relevant for the study of translanguaging practices that I set out to undertake, although having more data could contribute to a more comprehensive picture. The discussion of capital in this thesis focuses on the possible forms of capital that students can gain from their master's year in the UK with respect to their past and future.

2.4 Agency

While the early literature describes agency as an individual's capacity, Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson (2015) argue that such definitions are problematic in being too individualistic and understand human agency as being merely related to their capability or potential to act, and suggest that other conditions should be taken into consideration. Both the individuals and the physical surroundings in which they are situated during their social actions should be analysed when it comes to agency: individuals do not simply act; they act according to the contexts in which they are situated. Agency is not something that people can exercise as they wish, regardless of the conditions, as they might find themselves being able to act in certain contexts but not in others, and, therefore, there are fluctuations in agency over people's life courses (Biesta & Tedder, 2007). There are times that people are more agentive than others, even though the same group of people may be involved in the comparison.

Researchers in various fields, such as philology, sociology and anthropology, have been interested in the notion of agency for a considerable length of time (Vitanova, Miller, Gao, & Deters, 2015). Ahearn (2001) has a provisional definition of agency as 'the socioculturally mediated capacity to act' (p. 112), which has been adopted by a number of researchers (e.g., Copland & Garton, 2011; Ilieva & Ravindran, 2018; Miller, 2010; Xu, 2012). Drawing on Karp (1986, cited in Ahearn (2001)), Ahearn further differentiates between an actor and an agent, in that the former is governed or oriented by rules, while the latter does not necessarily follow the rules in his/her attempt to change to the world. The difference between the two is that an actor does not aim to make a difference to the world while an agent does, with the hope of bringing in something new. Actors who follow the rules may not be highly agentive, as they 'simply go with the flow' (Priestley et al., 2015, p. 26).

The Bourdieusian concept of rules is related to another two concepts: field, and game. 'Each social field of practice (including society as a whole) can be understood as a competitive game' (Maton, 2014, p. 53), where actors practise strategically. There are multiple unwritten rules in the game, and 'one can't just do anything and get away with it' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 64). Different games have different rules for different actors, who are expected to follow these regularities to play the game.

In their article on international students' agency, Ding and Devine (2017, p. 1163) refer to agency as 'being capable of taking autonomous and empowered action', which acknowledges the role that an individual's state of being autonomous or intentional plays in their agency. However, this may be an example of a somewhat misguided approach to agency, which equates agency with free will. The major shortcoming of such an approach is that it only gives credit to individuals' intentions, beliefs and actions, but it fails to recognise the factors that have a profound influence on an individual's mind as well as behaviours, such as those expected within the society and culture that they grow up in (Ahearn, 2001). Although, in their analysis, Ding and Devine (2017) have examined contextual factors, their definition of agency on its own does not imply the significance of socio-cultural mediation on individuals' agency.

Van Lier (2008) maintains that Ahearn's (2001) provisional definition of agency does not explain what socio-cultural mediation means (although Ahearn's distinction between an actor and an agent seems to answer this question, at least to some extent: an agent tries to change the world, which can be seen as a reaction mediated by and back to the context). Van Lier (2008, p. 163), like Ahearn, describes agency as being 'not simply an individual character trait or activity, but a contextually enacted way of being in the world'; agency should not be seen as one's possession, but rather his/her actions that are shown in certain contexts. These two definitions are very close in their views and, because of the importance of the classroom context in my analysis, I shall adopt van Lier's (2008). Van Lier (2008, p. 164) also points out that agency 'is always a social event that does not take place in a void or in an empty wilderness', which again emphasises the importance of the socio-cultural context in agency. This also aligns with my choice of linguistic ethnography, which aims to understand the context through ethnography, and therefore is another reason for using this definition.

There are different kinds of student agency, such as making friends with classmates (Wright & Schartner, 2013) (or not) and answering questions voluntarily in class (Jiang & Zhang, 2019) (or not). Within the classroom setting, van Lier (2008, p. 171) argues that 'agency is situated in a particular context and that it is something that learners do, rather than something that learners possess, i.e., it is behavior rather than property'. Furthermore, based on previous research, van Lier (2008, p. 172) proposes three major characteristics of agency in the classroom:

1) agency involves initiative or self-regulation by the learner (or group);
2) agency is interdependent, that is, it mediates and is mediated by the socio-cultural context;
3) agency includes an awareness of the responsibility for one's own actions vis-à-vis the environment, including affected others.

There are two elements here: 1) the individuals themselves and their intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, autonomy, and self-regulation; and 2) the socio-cultural context in which learning takes place, including other people who are involved in the same context (van Lier, 2008). In this research, which was conducted with TESOL students in different classes (where there were different kinds of teaching), the specific socio-cultural context includes the interlocutors (and their past experience), the place where the conversation happens (e.g., inside or outside the classroom) and the type of conversation (e.g., group discussions or chit-chat).

In exercising their agency, individuals have an influence on themselves as well as the context (the classroom, in van Lier's case, and can also be the society in a broad way or other contexts, depending on the circumstances), including other people. It is worth pointing out that what is indicated by 'it mediates and is mediated by the sociocultural context' (van Lier, 2008, p. 172) is that the mediation effect is mutual: while the individual's agency is influenced by the context, it also influences the context in return. In this way, agency is 'constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual and with the society at large' (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2014, p. 148) or 'co-

constructed, both by the sociocultural environment and by those around the L2 user' as Ros i Solé (2007, p. 205) proposes. For instance, Lily, one of the Chinese participants in my research, spoke mainly English in class (agency) because she considered the classroom to be an English-speaking environment (socio-cultural context); her using English in class caused other students to use English too, which is how her agency mediated the classroom context (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion on Lily's, Olivia's and Apple's agency).

My research mainly adopts van Lier's (2008) definition of agency and draws on his three characteristics of agency for analysis, as my research context is also the classroom, although van Lier's (2008) research setting is the language classroom, where the main goal is to learn a language, whereas, in my research, the participants want to gain academic knowledge in TESOL whilst improving their English. In addition, not every aspect in van Lier's (2008) paper is applicable in my research. For instance, van Lier (2008) describes six different levels of agency, with voluntarily entering a debate with others being the most agentive, and not responding or minimising respond being the least. However, my research focused on what the students' translanguaging practices are rather than on their classroom interactions, and thus did not go into the details of such categories of agency in the analysis as van Lier (2008) does.

Adopting van Lier's (2008) agency theory, Jiang and Zhang's (2019) research, including one teacher working in an English-as-a-medium-of-instruction (EMI) context and 134 medical students at a Chinese university, discovered that there were four main kinds of reaction from students in response to the teacher's attempt at interaction: remaining silent, answering in Chinese, answering in a mixture of the two languages, and answering in only English. Different students were agentive in different interactions: the high achievers tried to speak as much English as possible and were more likely to answer only in English, thus exercising a greater level of agency than others of speaking English in class, while the comparably lower achievers were less likely to answer questions in class. According to these authors, the factors that influence students' English learning agency include students' 'English learning motivation', 'the teacher's use of English', 'the protocols for English use' (i.e., if they were required by the teacher to use English), and 'the group presentation task' (Jiang & Zhang, 2019, p. 10). The authors concluded that students' agency is primarily mediated by their motivation, and that the autonomous use of English indicates a higher level of agency in using English (Jiang & Zhang, 2019).

International students 'have the potential to exercise different forms of agency' (Tran & Vu, 2018, p. 168) depending on the situation and needs. Inside the classroom, for example, some may be agentive in speaking English and some in speaking Chinese. Agency is not only what the participants think, however, and it is more than motivation, goal, or desire. It may be true that all the participants hoped to speak more English in class to improve their English ability, and yet their translanguaging practices may still vary: some speak more English and some more Chinese. This is the result of their agency, a contextual enactment to the world (van Lier, 2008).

Lantolf and Thorne (2006, p. 143) contend that agency is more than the action itself; it is also related to 'the ability to assign relevance and significance to things and events'. Different individuals may have different interpretations of the importance levels of certain capitals. In Jiang and Zhang's (2019) research, it may be that the students who did not speak English were motivated by other concerns and were agentive in achieving those through remaining silent. In my research, for instance, sometimes in class, Olivia, one of the Chinese participants, had to choose between speaking Chinese to maintain her friendship with her Chinese peers and speaking English to improve her English proficiency. As a result, sometimes she was more agentive in maintaining her social capital with her friends and sometimes more agentive in speaking English to accumulate her cultural capital.

The kind of agency displayed is related to the type of capital an international student possesses. A student with higher English proficiency (cultural capital) and more friends from different cultures (social capital) may be more likely to speak English. On the other hand, the accumulation of capitals can also be influenced by the agency performed. For instance, a student who is more agentive in speaking English has more opportunities to speak English and is thus more likely to improve his/her English proficiency (cultural capital).

Agency and capital affect each other mutually, and both have an impact on translanguaging practices, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.5 Practice, capital, and agency

As mentioned in Section 2.2.1, translanguaging has been theorised from different perspectives, including 1) the notion of one integrated repertoire, 2) practices, 3) pedagogy, and 4) the challenge to the traditional perspective of named languages and their political and ideological implications (Mazak, 2016; Tian et al., 2020). This thesis focuses on the practice aspect of translanguaging. I use the term practice in its basic meaning of 'action rather than thought or ideas' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021) – what the participants do with their languages. In this, I follow many scholars who use practice in the dictionary citation sense rather than a theoretical concept (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Kano, 2014; García & Li, 2014; Selleck, 2016) – and I present evidence of these actions in the fieldnote and classroom data.

Theories of practice have, of course, been proposed by a number of scholars (e.g., Anthony Giddens and Michel Foucault). Perhaps the most influential is that of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g., Reckwitz, 2002; Michael, 2015). He put forward three main elements of practice (i.e., habitus, field, and capital) and suggested the corresponding formula: [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101). However, applying this formula to data requires the researcher to engage fully with all three elements of the equation: habitus, field, and capital. My sustained engagement with the data suggested that, while Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital was a particularly productive theoretical framework (see Sections 4.1.4, 4.2.4, and 4.3.4), agency (e.g., van Lier, 2008) was more helpful in understanding my participants' translanguaging actions than either field or habitus. Therefore, I have not applied Bourdieu's theory of practice in the thesis.

What I propose instead is that translanguaging practices are the result of the participants' capital and agency, both of which are influenced by the context. However, it is not as simple and straightforward in that practice is the result of agency, capital, and context. The interplay between agency, capital, context, and practice is complex. As my data will show, the participants' translanguaging practices are situated in the context and affect their capitals. In addition, their agency and capital mutually influence each other.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a review of the relevant literature to provide the background information relating to Chinese international students in the UK, introduced the concepts of translanguaging (including international students' translanguaging practices), capital, and agency, and discussed the relationship between translanguaging practices, agency, and capital. The next chapter presents the methods adopted in this research.

3 Methods

This PhD project is guided by qualitative research methodology, taking a constructionist position, and adopting a linguistic ethnography design. This chapter starts by discussing the broader term of qualitative research, including the paradigmatic position of the research, and the tradition, ethnography, to then focus specifically on linguistic ethnography. The research methods employed (i.e., participant observation, audio recordings and interviews) are presented, as well as the procedures followed for data collection and data analysis. Finally, the ethical considerations relating to the research are considered.

3.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is defined by Creswell (2017, p. 4) as 'an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem'. Qualitative research attempts to make sense of the world from the perspectives of the people who are situated in it, and to understand phenomena through an interpretation of the meanings that people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The qualitative research process involves using a set of material practices to gather empirical data in the space in which the phenomenon of interest takes place (Creswell, 2017). It is characterised by emerging research questions, data collection usually conducted in the participants' contexts, and analysis using themes and interpretations of the data (Creswell, 2017). Qualitative research begins with the researcher's attention being brought to some interesting phenomena in society and among human beings, and research questions are formed from these as the researcher investigates. To research and answer these research questions, qualitative researchers use a variety of different research methods or a mix of them. The forms of qualitative data vary, but include such materials as interviews, fieldnotes, photographs, audio/video recordings, and so on (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Qualitative research is usually situated in contrast to quantitative research (e.g., Creswell, 2017; Davies & Hughes, 2014; Punch, 2013), which can be defined as 'an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables' (Creswell, 2017, p. 4). Quantitative research collects numbered data with the aim of accumulating statistics, while qualitative data cannot be counted (Creswell, 2017; Punch, 2013), which is one of the major differences between the two. Quantitative research is interested in larger numbers and aims to present a full picture of the object of enquiry: qualitative research, in contrast, focuses on a comparably small number of people and their personal experiences and own viewpoints. Because my research attends to individuals' translanguaging practices and the rationales for their behaviours, a qualitative approach was deemed to be the most appropriate to adopt.

In qualitative inquiry, it is important to understand the specific tradition (such as ethnography, grounded theory and action research (Richards, 2003)) that underpins the research methodology, and this must align with the intellectual and philosophical foundations of the research (Richards, 2003). In the remainder of this section, I will first introduce the concept of paradigm, 'a set of basic beliefs' (Richards, 2003, p. 12), which, at the highest and philosophical level, guides the research process. I shall then discuss the tradition, which can be defined as 'a historically situated approach to research covering generally recognised territory and employing a generally accepted set of research methods' (Richards, 2003, p. 12).

Qualitative research is conducted within certain worldviews, and qualitative researchers, who have an essential impact on the research, will arrive at the research with their own philosophy (including their ontological and epistemological positionings) of the world, which they may or may not realise (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Ontological considerations concern 'the nature of our beliefs about reality' (Richards, 2003, p. 33). That is, they relate to how the social world should be viewed and whether people have control over it. For instance, positivism sees the world as objective, external to human beings and governed by certain laws (Richards, 2003). In contrast, for constructivism (aka interpretivism), 'reality is socially constructed' by each individual human being (Richards, 2003, p. 38), and thus, realities are multiple. In this research, I position myself as an interpretivist because I consider that, not only do the participants have an impact on the research context, but the context also affects the participants. Therefore, each is mutually influenced by the other. The participants did not simply exist in a context; they reacted in accordance with the context, on which they also make an impact. If I were situated within a positivist paradigm, I would perceive that the participants' translanguaging practices must follow specific laws that can be applied to other bilingual students as well; I would not be interested in each individual and their own rationales for their behaviours.

Epistemology is concerned with 'the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge' (Bryman, 2012, p. 27). Positivism agrees that general laws that are applicable to all can be observed and investigated, and, once discovered, they can be used to explain the past and the present as well as predicting the future (Richards, 2003). Interpretivism, contrasting with positivism, explores the relationship between actors and the contexts with which they interact to understand how they interpret the world and construct knowledge (Richards, 2003). Interpretivists believe that human beings cannot and should not be treated as being the same; people are different from individual to individual. It is important to highlight that there is no right or wrong research approach: it all depends on the research and the researcher themselves. Different research and different researchers may choose different positions. Taking an interpretivist point of view, I 'begin with individuals and set out to understand their interpretations of the world around them' and 'try to see the social world through the eyes of the participants' (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018, p. 20). This is sometimes called an emic perspective (Copland & Creese, 2015). I present both the key participants' reasoning for their translanguaging practices (mainly from their interviews) as well as my interpretation based on my reading and my experiences as a participant-observer. My interpretation was therefore coloured by 1) my identity as a Chinese international student in the UK, which is the same as that of the participants; 2) the relationships I developed with the participants as I was involved in their study as well as their daily life during data collection; and 3) my reading and growing understanding of the theories that informed and supported my research.

After illustrating the paradigms in which this research is situated, I shall now discuss ethnography, one of the major traditions in qualitative inquiry. Taking an interpretivist position, I am interested in understanding translanguaging practices from the participants' points of view, which is what ethnography seeks to do. Ethnography aims to describe 'the behaviour of a particular social or cultural group' (p. 14) and to understand it from their viewpoints; in order to gain the emic perspective, an extended period of time immersed in the field is required (Richards, 2003). The following discussion first explores ethnography, and then shows how linguistic ethnography, which uses both language and ethnography to understand complex human phenomena, takes a slightly different approach, and why it was adopted for this research project.

3.1.1 Ethnography

Ethnographic research has its roots in Western anthropology (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Taylor, 2002). In the 19th century, European colonisers were interested in the tribal cultures in non-industrialised countries outside Europe, and later, in the early 20th century, in the US and their migrants and ethnic groups (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Taylor, 2002). In its early days, ethnographic research could be described as a research method that requires 'long-term participant observation in far-flung, "exotic" places' (Scott-Jones, 2010, p. 3). Researchers went to live alongside their participants for considerable periods of time (Taylor, 2002), usually in a faraway location with which they were not familiar. What they were also not familiar with was their research subjects; they went to the participants to immerse themselves in their lives and the surroundings to learn about their cultures. At that time, an ethnography was considered 'a descriptive account of a community or culture' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 1), and ethnographic fieldwork was at the heart of anthropology.

At approximately the same time, from the 1920s to the 1950s, the University of Chicago had developed a similar method to anthropology in urban cities, which was usually referred to as case study research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In these studies, it was the everyday life and interactions of some certain groups that were analysed (Deegan, 2007). The researchers in the Chicago School of Ethnography were investigating something that they were more familiar with, in places located closer to them, instead of something completely strange to them somewhere far away, in contrast to classic anthropological studies. These studies are considered to be the first ethnographic studies, where ethnography was defined as:

> a commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting on the basis of (though not exclusively by) participant observation. (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2007, p. 4)

Ethnography is used to describe a culture, to study how culture is formed by a specific group of people, and to understand the culture from the perspectives of the locals

(Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Spradley, 2016). Culture is a keyword in ethnography (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Spradley (2016, p. 5) describes culture as 'acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour'. People learn their own culture by observing and learning from others in the group as they grow up. The participants with whom ethnographers conduct their research gain the knowledge of their culture in this way, and so do ethnographers. By immersing themselves in the context, the researchers observe, record, and learn from the participants, trying to understand their behaviours and beliefs.

Although ethnography originated from anthropology, ethnography is different from anthropology. Anthropology is defined as 'the science of the diversity of humans, in their bodies and their behaviour' (Eller, 2014, p. 2). Although both anthropology and ethnography investigate human beings and attach importance to culture, the difference between the two lies in that, ethnography examines humans and their behaviours at a specific setting, and anthropology investigates human beings in a broader sense, such as biologically, socially, and culturally. Methodologically, anthropology is grounded in 'empirical investigation' and 'based on intensive field research' (Atkinson et al., 2007, p. 5). By contrast, in recent years, ethnographers have started to draw from a wider range of 'research techniques – analysing spoken discourse and narratives, collecting and interpreting visual materials (including photography, film and video), collecting oral history and life history material and so on' (Atkinson et al., 2007, p. 5) and have moved beyond anthropology.

What distinguishes ethnography from other qualitative methods is that ethnographers collect data in 'natural' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 4) ways. For instance, as well as asking my participants about their translanguaging practices through interviews, I joined them in their classes, watching them, making fieldnotes, and taking audio recordings of their utterances. In this way, I was able to record the participants' translanguaging practices as they were, as well as what the participants reported they were. One advantage brought by observational data collection methods is that researchers are not limited to the participants' words; they are able to hear more, see more, feel more, and thus record more in 'natural' settings, which is less likely to be achieved through other qualitative instruments which are 'set up for research purposes' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 4). Admittedly, ‘natural’ settings have been criticised for not being natural, as there is the presence of the researchers and/or research instruments (e.g., recorders). Ethnography, however, should not be devalued by such a minor disadvantage, the effect of which can be minimised. In fact, in my research, one of the participants mentioned that she did not even recognise me in the classroom in the beginning, despite having introduced myself when seeking participants’ consent, due to the large number of Chinese students in the programme who did not all know each other at first.

Participant observation is a characteristic of ethnographic research, but conducting participant observation alone would seem ‘strange and unnatural’ (Atkinson et al., 2007, p. 5). Purely participating and observing would be strange without having any communication between the researchers and the researched. (Imagine how it would feel if someone kept observing and participating in the same activities with you but never talked to you!) Often, ethnographers will take part in the activity being researched and will interact with the participants in the process. Engaging in conversations and interviews with participants are also included in the fieldwork process (Atkinson et al., 2007). Compared with everyday conversations, interviews collect data systematically. In this research, both participant observation and interviews are part of the research methods, which will be discussed in detail in Section 3.2.1 and Section 3.2.3, respectively.

Qualitative research – including ethnography – is unavoidably subjective. In the process, researchers’ thinking will be oriented by their past experiences and the context of the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, it is ‘a research tradition’ (Harrison, 2018, p. 32) for ethnographers to be reflexive. Reflexivity in ethnography means that researchers need to be aware of their own participation in the research and critically self-evaluate their influence on it, as well as how it may influence the research (Berger, 2015). In my research, I tried to be reflexive at all points, from data collection, through analysis to writing the thesis. Being reflexive changed how I behaved and how I interpreted the data. For example, after the first round of interviews, and while I listened to the recordings, I realised that I might have been pushy during the interviews and might have added to the participants’ pressure. During the remainder of the interviews, I repeated to the participants again that they should feel free to skip the questions if they wanted, and Olivia did so regarding the questions of why they kept speaking Chinese in class because she ‘did not know why’ (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). This might be because they simply use language(s) without thinking about why they are using it, and thus they cannot provide a rationale when asked. The reflexivity approach adopted in this research will be discussed further in Section 6.2.

Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma (2001) argue that, when it comes to educational research, ethnographers tend to know the context well, and that they themselves may have experienced similar schooling to the participants. Most of the participants in the previous research projects were students in school, and other forms of education were also included, such as adult education and higher education (Gordon et al., 2001). It might be worth pointing out that the researchers are more likely to be the teachers (or those who used to be teachers), not the students (e.g., Y. Li & Wang, 2018; Michel & Durdella, 2018; Sharma, 2018; Urquhart, Ker, & Rees, 2018). In my research, my identity as a doctoral student and researcher lies somewhere between teachers and students. I was definitely not a lecturer, and my doctoral student status might have pushed me closer to the student side, although I cannot claim that I was fully seen as being a student in the class. Therefore, I might be able to provide the perspective of a third party – not that of a student or lecturer.

In ethnography, an emic perspective refers to an insider’s perspective, and an etic one an outsider’s (Murchison, 2010; O’Reilly, 2009; Wolcott, 2012). For instance, in this research, an emic viewpoint would be the one from one of the Chinese students in the programme, and an etic one from the non-Chinese students, the lecturers, and me, the researcher. By exploring their opinions, attitudes, and rationales, I was trying to understand the key participants’ translanguaging practices from their points of view rather than my own. In addition to the emic viewpoint, this research is also able to examine their practices from an etic angle. I have been and am still a Chinese student in the UK and, as the researcher and participant-observer, it is important to highlight that I am presenting my interpretation of their practices through my own knowledge and understanding.

3.1.2 Linguistic ethnography

Linguistic ethnography is defined by Copland and Creese (2015) as:

> an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social context and structures. (p. 13)

To do this, it examines 'language and cultural practices' (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 13) and how each affects the other. Language and culture do not exist on their own, and they are constantly changing; if we want to study one of them, we have to study the other as well (Copland & Creese, 2015). Let me provide my own experience with a lecturer who is Chinese and teaches English at a Chinese university as an example. I read one of this lecturer's English publications and had some questions that I wanted to ask her. I contacted her through the email address provided in the publication. To protect her identity, let us first give her a Chinese alias, Xiaomei Wang, with her English name being Esther. My first email to her was in English because 1) I did not want to assume she is Chinese (though I can tell from her name that she should be), and 2) I was used to the English environment and writing emails in Chinese might take up too much time. Our email correspondences were conducted in English, and I called her Esther. Later on, we added each other on WeChat. As our conversation language changed to Chinese, I called her '王老师' ('Teacher Wang' in Chinese) naturally without giving a second thought to it. I myself did not even notice the change that I had made at that time. However, the language we used affected our terms of address: what was natural in one was not natural in the other. It was not only the change in the forms of address; my relationship with her was mediated by the language we used. The very terminology created a different kind of relationship, and that is where the link between language and culture comes in. Language and culture have a mutual shaping influence: the language we used determined the culture we were in, which, in turn, changed my translanguaging practices. Linguistic ethnography aims to uncover these relationships between culture and language.

As this research is constrained to the classroom context instead of the broader society, in this research, the broader context is the UK, an English-speaking country with English being the only nationwide official language and with a large number of international Chinese students, who have been influenced by Eastern culture and were immersed in a

Western one at the time that the research was performed. They are master's students, so, unlike other Chinese students who come to the UK for primary/secondary school, undergraduate or doctoral study, they are here for only one year, and most of them have not studied in an English environment before. The specific context is the particular classroom environment of the MSc TESOL programme, where the research was conducted in the 2017–18 academic year.

The two main effects of the combination of linguistics and ethnography can be summarised as 'tying ethnography down' and '[o]pening linguistics up' (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4). While ethnography traditionally documents the behaviours and lives of the participants, linguistic ethnography pushes ethnography into focusing on language(s) specifically and examining the social actions with a clear aim, and thus increases the amount of data collected for analysis (Rampton et al., 2004).

In addition, the use of ethnography encourages linguistics to be open to the uncertainty of the field (Shaw, Copland, & Snell, 2015) and brings sensitivity into analysis in linguistics, which 'typically only looks beyond what is actually said/signed/written when implied meaning is highly conventionalized' (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4). This is because ethnography usually requires a comparably long time for immersion in the field, which enables the researchers to become familiar with the setting and participants and equipped with more insider knowledge when conversations happen, and thus be more conscious about what is said and the connotations behind it. In my research project, for example, ethnography contributes to contextualising the students' translanguaging practices in my research project. That is to say, if I am able to understand the conversational context, it may be easier for me to uncover the meanings encapsulated in their words and behaviours. For instance, in my research, when the participants referred to a specific student in the class, I was able to know who this student was and thus understand the conversation which followed. Had I not been following the participants, I might not have been able to identify the student and therefore might have had difficulty in making sense of what the participants were talking about. This is the main reason for my using participant observation in the project. The length of time spent on participant observation varies from one research project to another, and it can last several months to several years (Shaw et al., 2015). In my research, the classroom participant observation lasted one semester (11 weeks) due to the limited time in which I had to finish the thesis. The participant observations conducted outside the classroom lasted the whole academic year until the participants left the university, giving me enough time to get to know them well.

While an ethnographic approach is a way of looking into everyday life, it is its combination with linguistic analysis that allows us to gain in-depth knowledge of the ethnographic description of the issue(s) in research to 'understand the complexities of modern life' (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 8). The combination of linguistic analysis and ethnography 'sheds light on small (but consequential) aspects of social practice, taking the ethnography into smaller and more focused spaces and drawing analytic attention to fine detail' (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 8). Although the ethnography in this research can provide some knowledge of the Chinese students' classroom translanguaging practices, I could not have obtained a deeper understanding without the turn-by-turn analysis of their utterances in class that were recorded on the audio recorders. Ethnography can provide a general description of their utterances, but it is with the linguistic analysis of their classroom recordings that such description can be specific, detailed, and contextual.

Another vital element in linguistic ethnography is that it examines the people and things that are around the researchers and that they are familiar with, such as their friends and colleagues, and these people's daily activities, rather than something that is far away or that the researchers are not familiar with, which is what anthropologists traditionally do (Shaw et al., 2015). When something has become too natural for people, and they start to take this for granted, they may get to know it too well, so that it becomes invisible to them (Erickson 1990, cited in Copland & Creese, 2015). People may say or do things as they used to, not thinking about why they say or do things in this specific way; it is due to this characteristic that linguistic ethnography requires interpretive approaches to investigate the activities that have become too familiar to the actors. Interpretive methods offer an opportunity for linguistic ethnographers to change their role from complete insiders to half insiders and half outsiders, to be observers of their daily practices, to see, listen to and examine the can't-be-more-familiar casual everyday life as research projects, in a rigorous and scientific way, to use their own understanding and cultural background to make sense of and interpret the participants' words and activities, and to present it to the readers.

Depending on the time that they have to spend in the research sites, linguistic ethnographers adopt different methods to collect data to answer their research questions, such as ethnographer 'in residence' (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 8) and autoethnography. Not every linguistic ethnographer has the luxury of being able to spend years in the research sites, and sometimes it is not necessary to do so, either; they need to choose what is practical for their research and feasible for the researchers. In my case, instead of only observing the classroom as an outsider, I chose to be a participant-observer, because this was better for building rapport with my participants and developing a closer relationship with them benefitted the quality of the data that were collected (further discussion on my identity as a participant-observer can be seen in Section 3.2.1).

I chose to use audio recordings because I was not able to write down everything the participants said in class, and, without audio recorders, I would not have been able to remember the nuances in how participants spoke when I was trying to analyse the data (further discussion on audio recordings can be found in Section 3.2.2). On the other hand, I decided not to use video recordings, as they require constant attention to ensure they are capturing classroom practices, and they are also, in my view, more intrusive than small audio recorders, which can be easily ignored. I also chose to interview each key participant because I believed that spending time together would ensure that their opinions were systematically gathered, which might not be the case had I used only 'go-alongs' (Kusenbach, 2018, p. 344) (i.e., 'techniques of data collection during which researchers participate in patterns of movements with their human subjects', such as walking and running with their participants as the participants engaged in their own activities), which may not be long enough to collect sufficient data, or focus groups, which do no emphasis individuals' experiences and perspectives as much (see Section 3.2.3 for more details).

3.2 Research methods

This section discusses the three research instruments in turn: participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews.

3.2.1 Participant observation

The data in previous research on international students' (classroom) translanguaging practices were mostly collected through participants' self-reports, such as questionnaires (e.g., Simic & Tanaka, 2008), interviews (e.g., Moglen, 2017), both questionnaires and interviews (e.g., Hirsu & Zacharias, 2019; Zhang, 2013), and/or a computerised log (e.g., Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). Ranta and Meckelborg (2013) admit their limitation in their use of self-report instruments – namely, that what the participants said about their language use might not correspond to what they actually did. The researchers called for the application of 'a direct recording of language use through something like the portable device' (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013, p. 25). Because this research examines not only what the participants say they do and why, but also what they actually do, observations and recordings were needed.

There are another two kinds of information that participant observations can provide. The first one was the broader context of the classroom (and, as a matter of fact, outside the classroom as well). For instance, through observation, I noticed that one of the six Chinese participants, Olivia, sat with the same group of Chinese students every class. In the interview, I asked her why and she said it was because they were familiar with each other, although she would like to sit with Paula, a British student, so that she would be forced to speak more English (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). When asked why she did not sit with Paula, Olivia answered that she was shy to do so, as she had not known Paula for long. Had I not observed the class, I would not have asked these questions and would not understand that her language(s) was not only decided by the interlocutors' nationalities but also related to her relationships with them. The second type of information provided by observations was about the interlocutors of those who were given an audio recorder. I was not able to distinguish all the speakers only through their voices, and, by making notes of the students' seating patterns, I was able to determine who was sitting in a group with/next to each of the six participants, and thus distinguish who the speakers were (although there were still times when I was still not able to identify the speakers).

In participant observation, which I adopted for this research, researchers observe through participating. Participant observation 'comprises one core activity in ethnographic fieldwork' (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2007, p. 352), and is 'a key characteristic' (Watt &

Scott-Jones, 2010, p. 110) of ethnography. Ethnographers immerse themselves in the natural surroundings; they are members of the community and participants of the everyday practices as well. Participant observation is a 'continuum' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 161), and the ethnographer's role moves along it. This means that, at one extreme, the researcher is a complete observer, and at the other, a complete participant; in between these two is a continuous graph of combinations of various levels of participant and observer: sometimes the ethnographer may be more of a participant than an observer, and sometimes the other way around. Whether the researcher is more participant or observer may not always be his/her choice. Often it depends on the nature of the activity and the attitudes of the participants. For example, O'Reilly (2009) mentions that he was not well when he turned up for an interview, and the participants invited him to join them for a swim, saying that it would do him good, and he argues that he was more of a participant in this situation, experiencing the local life; in another, he was not allowed to participate in a meeting and only sat next to the wall, and this time, he was more of an observer.

I struggled with the role of participant-observer during my pilot study in the academic year of 2016-17. I first tried being a mere observer, and then half observer and half participant, and these two different roles led to different outcomes. When I was a complete observer, there was a distance between my participants and me – I sat slightly apart from the class in the back of the classroom (see Figure 3-1) and did not always feel immersed in the context.

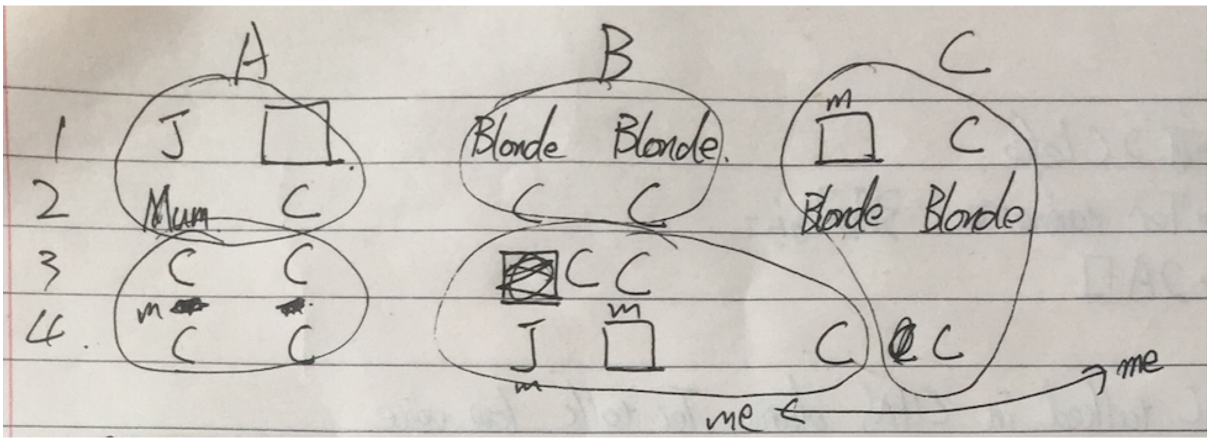


Figure 3-1 Scribbles indicating my physical position in a class in the pilot study

When the students were having a group discussion, which is when intensive talking happened, I would walk to one of the groups close to me, get down on my knees, listen to their speaking, and perhaps move to another group if the discussion time was long enough. I felt like a monitor of the class, and the students would not greet me when I walked into the classroom in the morning. This is the downside of this method, as my participants and I were not close to each other, which is not good for rapport building and interviews. Nonetheless, my scribbles were substantial (see Figure 3-2) (please note that I deliberately blurred the figures in the scribbles so that they remain private and that the blackened parts are the information that may reveal the participant's identity and research site), and I was able to focus on many different features of the class (e.g., the role of the lecturer, who participated eagerly, and who did not, and so on). Scribbles are what I wrote down in class in my notebook, including the thoughts that occurred to me during the observations, and fieldnotes are what I typed into the PC after class, based on the scribbles, including my own reflections on these, which will be further discussed in Section 3.2.1.2.

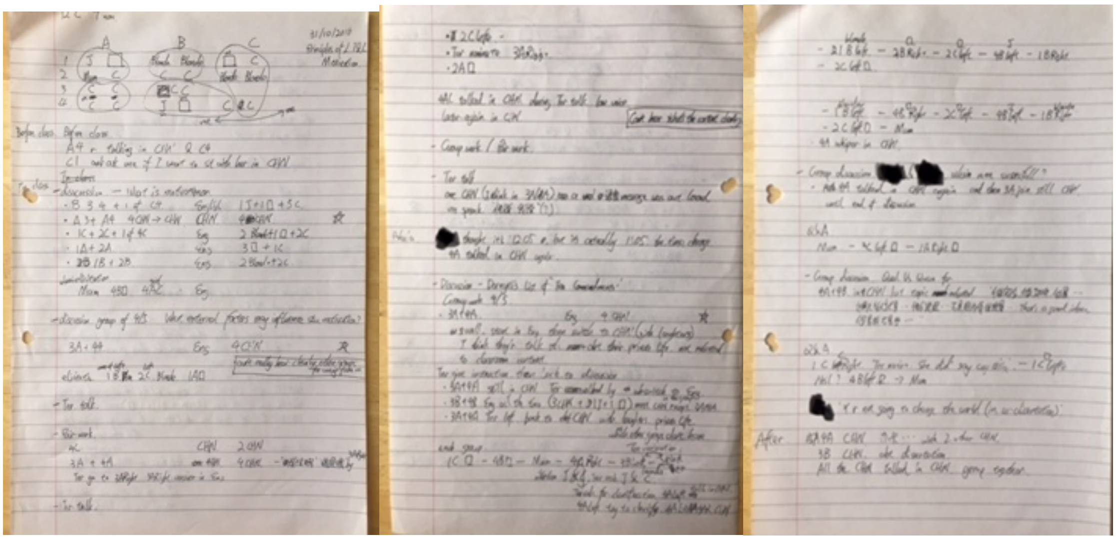


Figure 3-2 Scribbles on a class I observed early on in the pilot study

In the later part of the pilot study, I tried being both an observer and participant when I could feel that my participants and I were clearly closer to each other (maybe because both they and I regarded me as part of the class, too). I sat together with other students (see Figure 3-3) instead of separately from them, doing what other students did in the class (e.g., listening to the lecturer and joining the discussion).

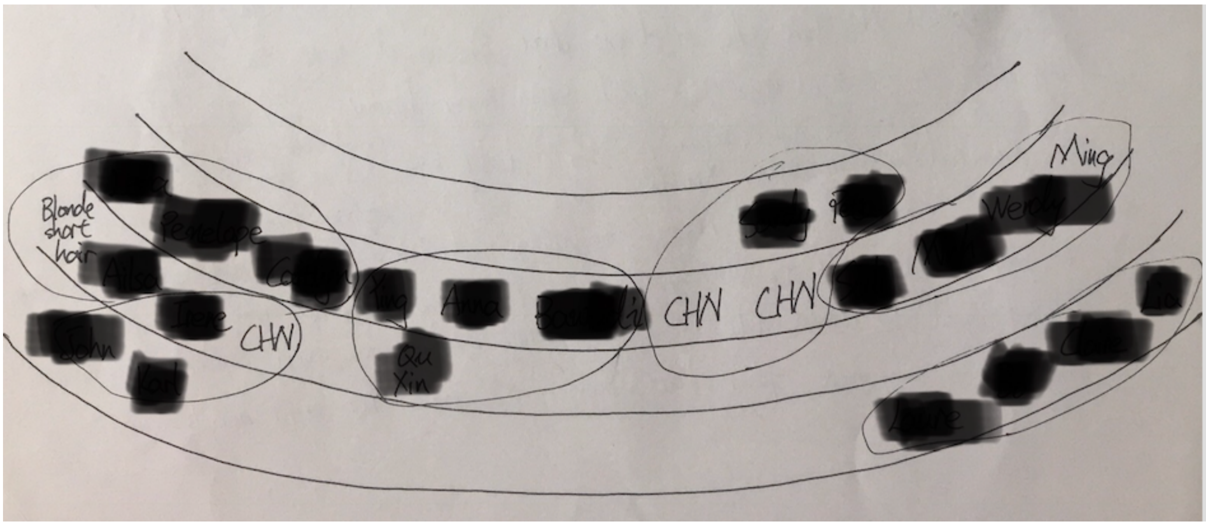


Figure 3-3 Scribbles representing my choice of seat next to the students

At this stage, I had more interaction with the students and became closer to some of them (although this may also be because we got to know each other as time went by). I felt more like a student in the class and less of a researcher. As my attention was drawn away from observing and note-making only, however, my scribbles during this period became considerably shorter (see Figure 3-4).

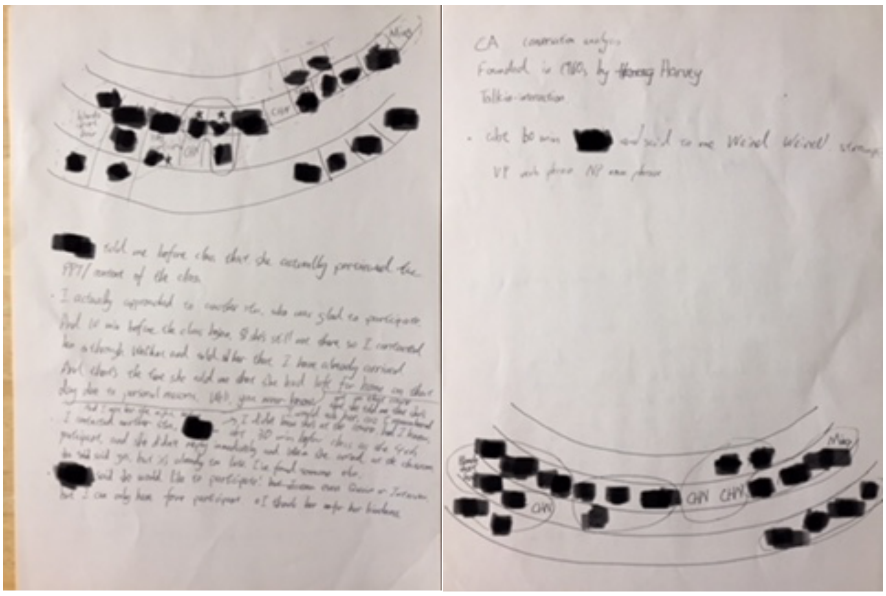


Figure 3-4 Scribbles on a class I observed later on in the pilot study

In the main research project, conducted in the academic year of 2017–18, I chose to be a participant-observer to build a closer relationship with my participants, which was vital for my data collection, especially in interviews. Through my experience of conducting the interviews in my master's dissertation and the pilot study, I came to realise that they were able to answer the questions to a fuller extent and to express themselves more comfortably when they came to know me (well) before the research. Establishing a better relationship with the participants also allowed me to gain more information from the participants (e.g., there was a time when Lily, one of the six Chinese participants, sent me a screenshot of her chatting with others, showing that she mixed her use of both Chinese and English a lot after class), although the scribbles were not as long and detailed. I was an observer, writing scribbles, and a participant, building rapport with the students, which worked well. Sometimes, I had to remind myself that the purpose of the observation was to collect data so that I would not be too attracted by the classroom content and the discussion to forget to write my scribbles.

Each ethnographer has his/her own style and preferences when it comes to participant observation (Emerson et al., 2007). They have their own ways of participating and observing and their own reasons, which might or might not be the same as others. Therefore, even if there are two researchers in the same context doing participant observation, what and the way in which they observe tend not to be the same. An example could be that, in one of the classes in the main research, both one of my supervisors and I had written fieldnotes based on our observations, and we compared with each other afterwards. This supervisor was the lecturer of that class, and I was one of the students. Because she was lecturing and not able to write the notes during the class, she had to do so after the class, while I had made the scribbles in class and added my reflections after class when I was typing my notes into the computer. The contents of our observations were also different. Bearing the research questions in mind, I paid attention to the individuals, focusing on their own translanguaging practices; her observation concentrated more on the bigger picture of the class, i.e., what most students did, without any research questions in mind. The subjectivity of the participant observation technique makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the research to be re-done by others and the same or similar outcomes found. Even if I had the opportunity to repeat my research in exactly the same context, the data collected would doubtless be different, too. It is therefore inevitable that researchers themselves will have an impact on the research, one way or the other.

Participant observation involves mainly three steps: gaining access to the field, immersion with the participants and in the environment, and writing (Emerson et al., 2007). The first step is usually accomplished through making contact with gatekeepers (see Section 3.3), and the second and third steps will be further discussed in the following two sections on immersion with participants and the environment (Section 3.2.1.1) and writing fieldnotes (Section 3.2.1.2), respectively.

3.2.1.1 Immersion with participants and the environment

In the first half of the semester, when I practised collecting data, there were five modules, two of which were compulsory and three, optional. The former two had two classes for two different groups (the students in the programme were divided into two groups), and the latter three had only one class; all of the classes lasted two hours. In the first half of the semester, I participated in all the classes, which made up 14 hours of classes per week for five weeks. From the sixth week on, when the main data collection began, I decided to participate and collect data from only four modules (excluding one of the compulsory ones) because the workload was too much. The total amount of time that I participated in classroom observation was 62 hours in the end.

In most of the classes in all weeks, the students sat in groups. I did not deliberately choose a certain group/student to sit with because I hoped to get to know as many students as possible, but I tended to sit in the back of the classroom so that I would not take up a seat in the front where it was closer to the lecturer, and I could see the whole class easily without turning my head around. This was to minimise the effect of my note-taking on the class.

In class, I acted as though I were one of the students, arriving on time to the class, paying attention to what the lecturer said, making notes of the content when necessary, and discussing questions with other students. What I did not do was ask or respond to questions in the class (unless I was asked to by the lecturer) in order to avoid depriving the other students of their studying rights. This is because, unlike other students in the class, my major goal of being inside the classroom was not to obtain knowledge about the topic taught during the class; I was there to conduct my research. Furthermore, these students were paying the tuition fees to come to the class to study, and I was in no position to take their learning opportunities away. Sometimes, when other members in the group asked me to answer the question representing the group, I would tell them that I was not supposed to do so, and they would not insist.

Although my main data collection was conducted in class, I also interacted with the students outside the classroom, the experience of which I also observed and wrote scribbles about. Outside the classroom, I would try to get to know the students as a classmate would, greeting them on the street when we met, inviting them to come over to my place for dinner, going to their parties, etc. If I noticed something interesting in their translanguaging practices, I would note it down in the notebook afterwards and would ask about it in one of the subsequent interviews. For instance, there was an incident when Lily invited some of her friends, including David, a Japanese student from the programme, to her home for hotpot. During dinner, when she started talking to David, she used Chinese. This did not happen just once: there were two other occasions outside the classroom when she talked to David in Chinese. I wrote this down in the scribbles, and, later in the interview, I asked her about it. My interaction with the participants after class was not only a way to build my relationship with them, but also a way to enrich the data. Such immersion with the participants and the context is a common practice in ethnography and helped me to build up the emic perspective and get to know how my participants see things.

In participant observation, participation is a way of building rapport with the participants and performing data collection, and fieldnotes are the product of the observation (Emerson et al., 2007). Originally, fieldnotes were just mere written descriptions of what the researcher, as an outsider, observed in the field; later, as ethnography developed, they also became observers' written accounts of their own 'lived experience' (Emerson et al., 2007, p. 352) of being immersed with their participants in their natural setting. This was my experience, and it was through engaging in participant observation that I discovered its value as a research method.

3.2.1.2 Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes are defined by Creese (2011, p. 44) as 'productions and recordings of the researchers' noticings with the intent of describing the research participant's actions emically', and are 'the resources which the researcher uses to question, examine and contemplate their developing analyses'. (The emic viewpoint here corresponds to the perspectives of an insider (Murchison, 2010; O'Reilly, 2009; Wolcott, 2012), as mentioned in Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.) This, however, does not mean that ethnographers need to write a lengthy and well-structured text during their observations; they can just write down 'jottings or scratch notes, abbreviated words' (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 11) on the spot (i.e., my scribbles), and use these later (this can be a few hours, a few days, and even longer) to develop full fieldnotes. Through the process of writing fieldnotes again, ethnographers can reflect on their previous notes and develop a system of making fieldnotes that works best for them (Emerson et al., 1995). For me, I tended to write down as much as I could in longer sentences and with as many details as possible to remind me of the situation I observed (see Figure 3-5, which is again intentionally blurred). Apart from the Chinese words spoken by the students, most of my scribbles were written in English. Although not all of them were grammatically correct (e.g., 'S X back to E in discussion. We too.' means 'Student X was back to using English in the discussion. We did so too.'), they were still very valuable, as long as I was able to understand them later.

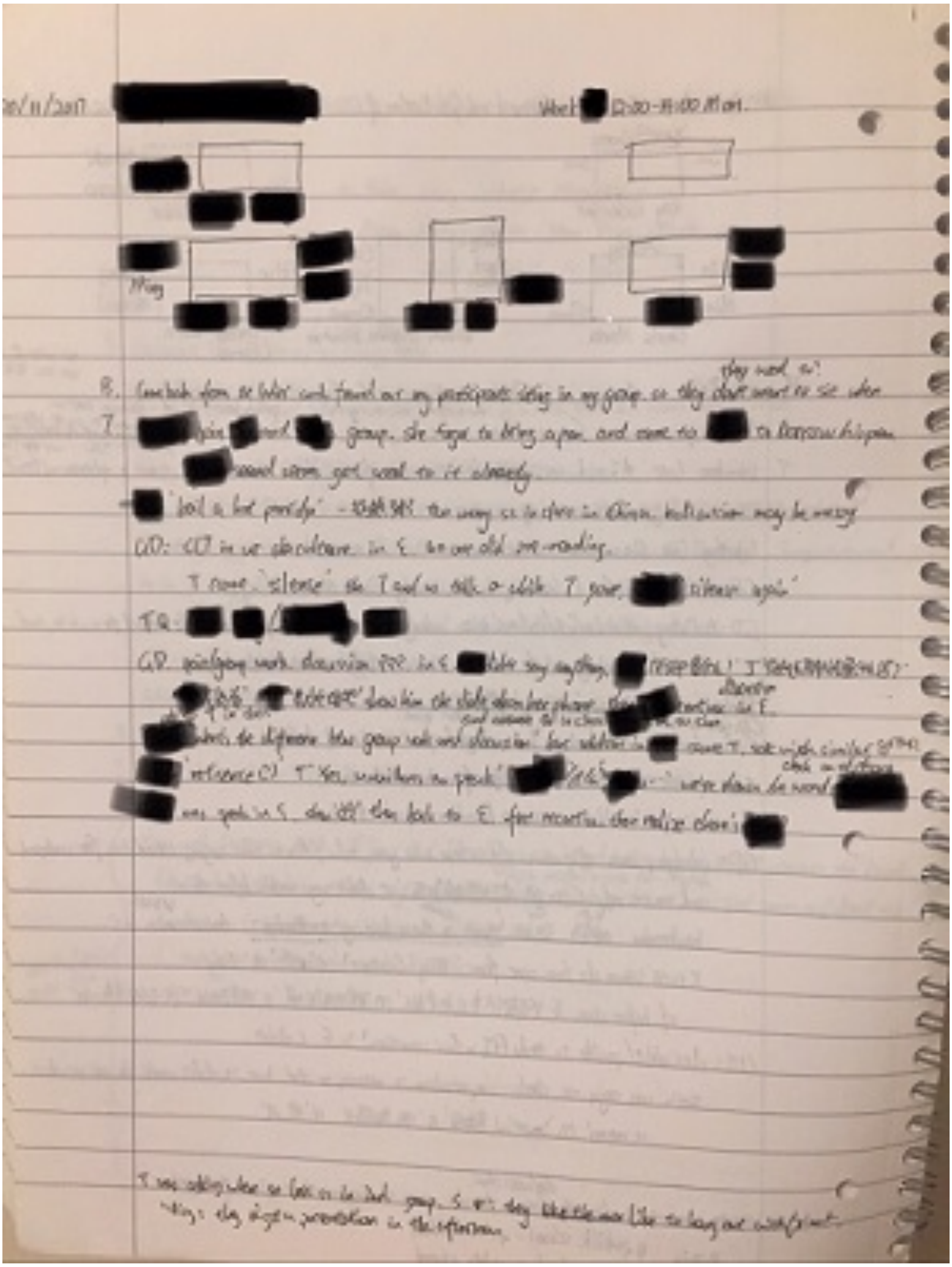


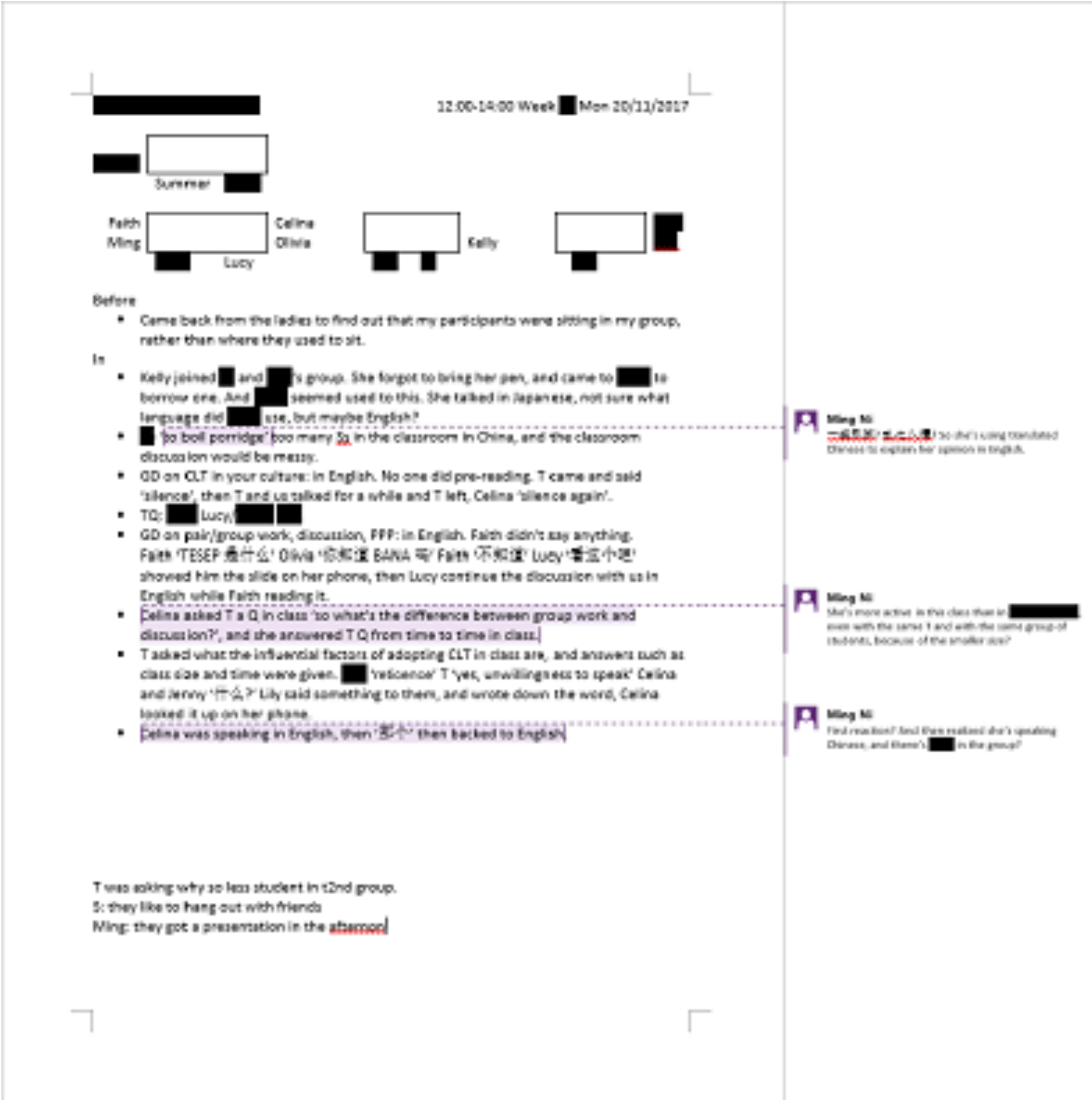
Figure 3-5 Scribbles from the main research project

As for the content of fieldnotes, it can be what the ethnographers ‘have seen, heard and experienced in the field’ (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 11), and the focus of their fieldnotes may not remain the same over time. Such change of focus also embodies the reflexivity of ethnography (Emerson et al., 1995). While researchers adopting pre-designed methods (e.g., interviews) know what will happen in the data collection process, ethnographers do not know what they will write in their fieldnotes (Emerson et al., 1995). Ethnographers may have it clear in their mind what kind of information they want to have in their scribbles at first, such as their research questions, but after they enter the field, they are exposed to all types of information, some of which they have expected, and some they have not but are also interesting to note down. As it is unlikely that ethnographers will be able to write down everything they observe (Emerson et al., 1995), in the end, their fieldnotes may lack some of the information they have planned to pay attention to, and some other information they also find worth investigating. This is one of the ways in which ethnographers reflect on their research: they need to weigh among the importance levels of different kinds of information and decide which ones are more valuable and meaningful to write down in the next fieldnotes (Emerson et al., 1995). It is through this process of reflection that fieldnotes can be improved one after another.

For instance, at the beginning of the pilot study, I started the scribbles with the seating of the Chinese students who had the recorders with them and the ones sitting next to them, but not the other students. Later, when listening to the recordings, I realised that there were other students' voices recorded, but I was not able to distinguish them. This brought difficulty in understanding the conversation because I could not tell who the speaker was. Learning from this observation, in the main research study, I changed my tactic to noting down where all the students sat (see above Figure 3-5 as an example), and even recording when they moved from one seat to another, so that I would not miss the information again.

Apart from the form and content of fieldnotes, a third, though minor, aspect that ethnographers need to reflect on is how they write their fieldnotes, which can have an influence on their relations with the participants (Emerson et al., 1995). One of the practical difficulties I encountered during data collection inside the classroom was that the students sitting next to me were curious about what I had written down in my notebook. They might not be aware that I was making scribbles, as they might think I was making notes of what the lecturer said. However, this may have raised the problem of anonymity because there were students' and lecturers' names written in the notebook. To solve this, I opened my notebook and made notes on the lecture content on the left page, and the scribbles on the right. And as soon as I finished writing my scribbles, I would fold the notebook and leave the notes page facing upward so that they would only see the notes instead of the scribbles. In the situation where there were handouts, I would use the handout to cover the scribbles.

After writing scribbles and jottings in my notebook, I needed to finish the fieldnotes as soon as I could and while my memory was still fresh. After the class, I typed them into my PC together with my comments. Figure 3-6 (which is intentionally blurred) is the digital version of a page of my fieldnotes, based on the scribbles reproduced in Figure 3-5.


[redacted] 12:00-14:00 Week [redacted] Mon 20/11/2017

[redacted]
Summer [redacted]

Faith
Ming
[redacted] Lucy
Celina
Olivia

[redacted]
Kelly

[redacted]
[redacted]

Before

- Came back from the ladies to find out that my participants were sitting in my group, rather than where they used to sit.

In

- Kelly joined [redacted] and [redacted]'s group. She forgot to bring her pen, and came to [redacted] to borrow one. And [redacted] seemed used to this. She talked in Japanese, not sure what language did [redacted] use, but maybe English?
- [redacted] 'to boil porridge' too many Ss in the classroom in China, and the classroom discussion would be messy.
- GD on CLT in your culture: in English. No one did pre-reading. T came and said 'silence', then T and us talked for a while and T left, Celina 'silence again'.
- TQ: [redacted] Lucy/[redacted]
- GD on pair/group work, discussion, PPP: in English. Faith didn't say anything. Faith 'TESEP 是什么' Olivia '你知道 BANA 吗' Faith '不知道' Lucy '看这个吧' showed him the slide on her phone, then Lucy continue the discussion with us in English while Faith reading it.
- Celina asked T a Q in class 'so what's the difference between group work and discussion?', and she answered T Q from time to time in class.
- T asked what the influential factors of adopting CLT in class are, and answers such as class size and time were given. [redacted] 'reticence' T 'yes, unwillingness to speak' Celina and Jenny '什么?' Lily said something to them, and wrote down the word, Celina looked it up on her phone.
- Celina was speaking in English, then '那个' then backed to English

T was asking why so less student in t2nd group.
S: they like to hang out with friends
Ming: they got a presentation in the afternoon

Ming Ni
So she's using translated Chinese to explain her opinion in English.

Ming Ni
She's more active in this class than in [redacted], even with the same T and with the same group of students, because of the smaller size?

Ming Ni
First reaction? And then realised she's speaking Chinese, and there's [redacted] in the group?

Figure 3-6 Screenshot of fieldnotes from the scribbles of Figure 3-5

Compared with the hand-written scribbles, the digital fieldnotes have longer sentences instead of the abbreviations and shorthand writings of my own design, as well as my comments (on the right in Figure 3-10 in section 3.4.2 below) on the fieldnotes, including what I thought of a student's specific behaviour and my reflections of my own behaviour.

3.2.2 Audio recordings

Audio recordings can faithfully record what is said by the speakers (ten Have, 2007). Because the focus of my research is students' classroom translanguaging practices, it was ideal to be able to audio-record their every utterance in class. Another type of recordings, video recordings, had been taken into consideration because they would help me to record the participants' body language and easily identify who the speakers were. As indicated in Section 3.1.2, video recordings were not chosen, however, because I felt that this would bring considerable disruption to the class, which could have a negative influence on the students' learning and the lecturers' teaching.

The recorders in this research do not look like regular audio recorders with screens and speakers; instead, they look like USB sticks (see Figure 3-7 below). The significance of their appearance had not come to my attention at first, as I attached priority to their functions (i.e., their ability to record and ease of transferring recordings to computers) and price, due to my limited budget. It was surprising to discover that such recorders helped to protect the six participants' anonymity during data collection. Because of their USB-stick-like appearances, the people around them were not able to tell that they were being audio-recorded because they did not have a recorder and a microphone attached to them. (It might be worth pointing out here that all the students in this module where audio recordings were carried out had been consulted and had agreed to be a part of the research, i.e., they were aware that some of the students in the class were being audio-recorded, and that their own utterances might be recorded, too – this is discussed further in Section 3.3.) Emily, a British student who always sat with Apple, one of the six Chinese participants, told me that she thought the recorder was a USB stick and did not realise it was actually a recorder. In terms of anonymity and minimising intrusiveness within the classroom, this choice of recorder was very effective.

Figure 3-7 USB-stick-like recorder

However, these non-conventional recorders also brought with them disadvantages, as they cannot be attached to any microphone. Therefore, the problem with these recorders is that, when the participants had to turn around for group discussions with the students behind them and forgot to bring the recorder with them, they moved further away from the recorders and the recordings became less clear. After listening to the first recording, I realised this problem and explained it to the six participants in the first interviews, but there were still instances when they forgot to bring the recorders with them when they moved places or turned around. Therefore, there are some utterances that were not recorded. Nonetheless, the advantages of such recorders greatly outweighed their disadvantages, not only because they were able to clearly record the six Chinese participants' utterances, but also what the people around them said. This made it easier for me to analyse the recordings as the contexts of the conversations were provided in the recordings as well. This is one of the things that I learned from the pilot study, where I used a more traditional recorder with an external microphone, which could record the six participants clearly but not their interlocutors, so I decided in my main research study that I needed the recorders to clearly record what everyone in the classroom said.

3.2.3 Interviews

Mann (2016, p. 2) points out that interviews are 'the most frequently used methods in qualitative research'. Qualitative interviews investigate participants' beliefs, opinions and attitudes (Talmy, 2011), in depth and in detail (Bryman, 2012). The purpose of employing interviews in this research is to understand the six Chinese participants' interpretations of their own translanguaging practices. The audio recordings and fieldnotes provide evidence of classroom translanguaging practices. However, only knowing what participants do in class is not enough for this research (Research question 1: What are Chinese TESOL master's students' classroom translanguaging practices?). I was also interested in why the participants thought they had done things in the ways that they did (Research Question 2: What are the reasons for these Chinese participants' language choices?). For this reason, I decided to conduct interviews.

In this research, I used semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews allow interviewers to investigate some certain aspects of the interviewees' perspectives while being able to ask further questions regarding their answers to the interview questions at the same time (Richards, 2003), enabling the interviewers to remain on track with certain topics while enjoying the freedom of asking follow-up questions to the interviewees' responses that are equally of interest (Copland & Creese, 2015). Structured interviews, which ask questions only from set schedules, are not as suitable for ethnographic research, where semi-structured interviews are the norm (Copland & Creese, 2015). In order to try to understand the six participants' translanguaging practices from their perspectives (i.e., from an emic viewpoint, as is mentioned in Sections 3.1 and 3.1.1), it was necessary for me to focus on their opinions and their answers rather than strictly following the interview schedule.

Although formal interviews are not as common in traditional ethnographic research, they are commonly used in linguistic ethnography, especially semi-structured ones (Copland & Creese, 2015). In my research, informal interviews (e.g., a short conversation with a participant during our walking from the classroom to the library[3], sometimes called 'go-alongs' (Kusenbach, 2018, p. 344)) would have been difficult because there was a list of questions that I aimed to ask them, which would take a long time and would not be possible to be completed through only small talk. Secondly, for most of the time, I was not alone with one participant; there were other students around as well. Therefore, it might risk exposing the six Chinese participants' identities if I were to have a number of informal interviews with them. Besides, conducting repeated go-alongs with the participants may be more destructive and time-consuming for them than three formal interviews because of the extra arrangements they would need to have made to set aside time.

In-depth interviews are designed to understand the interviewees' 'lived experience' and 'the meaning they make of that experience' (Seidman, 2006, p. 9). The lived experience, in this case, can be understood as the participants' translanguaging practices within the UK, including within their classroom, which were recorded through audio recorders; to further comprehend their behaviours within that context, I used interviews. Seidman (2006) also argues that interviews allow researchers to understand the actors' behaviours in the context. In my research, for instance, the broader context of the conversations

[3] I was allowed to enter, visit and work in their library, because UK PhD students are provided with access to most of the UK university libraries when they apply for SCONUL Access.

would be Chinese master's students inside the UK classroom, which is different from those conversations that may have taken place in a different country, outside the classroom, or with different participants. The narrower context would be the setting in which the participants were having the conversation, for example, a classroom discussion which was designed by the lecturer, or a small talk among students during teacher talk. Through in-depth interviews, I was able to obtain further information about their background and past experiences, ask questions about their rationales for adopting different translanguaging practices in various contexts, and attempt to understand their behaviours from their perspectives.

Undoubtedly, interviews do take up a considerable amount of time and energy from the researcher, from designing the interview schedules, to making arrangements with the participants for the interviews, to transcribing the recordings and analysing the data (Seidman, 2006). This is true for my research; however, interviews were still chosen as one of the methods in the research because, despite the effort and hard work, they are the ideal means of investigating the participants' opinions when compared with other methods.

The original plan was to interview the six participants every week after I transcribed the recordings (i.e., to conduct five interviews with each participant), but the participants thought that five interviews would be too much for them. In addition, after the first interviews, which were conducted in Week 6 of the teaching term, I realised that the timing of the interviews did not matter too much. If I were not able to interview them immediately after the recorded class, participants' memories would have faded to some degree. Therefore, the total number of interviews was cut from five to three, one of which had already been conducted, one at the end of the first semester, focusing on their classroom translanguaging practices, and one at the end of the second semester, when teaching had ended, to see whether their attitudes towards translanguaging practices had changed over time. The participants were also repeatedly told that they could withdraw at any point, even after the data collection began, if they did not feel like continuing any longer. In fact, two of the participants, Summer, and Faith, were not interviewed for the third time because they did not wish to continue, a decision which I, as the researcher, understood and respected. Apple was not interviewed for the third time because she had to postpone her second interview, which ended up being conducted around the end of the second semester, so I combined the questions in the second and third interviews into one interview schedule with her.

All of the interviews were conducted on an individual one-to-one basis, and all were audio-recorded. All six interviewees chose to use Chinese (even Lily) during the interviews, although sometimes English would also appear. The questions relating to the audio recordings were asked in the first and second round of interviews. Other questions I asked in the first interview, which mostly focused on their background and attitudes towards translanguaging practices, were based on the ones drawn from the pilot study, while the questions outlined for the second and third interviews were informed by the readings I had done, as well as the thoughts I developed as the research progressed. Therefore, the questions prepared for the interviews at each timepoint were slightly different among the participants. The third interview also included questions to see whether the participants' opinions about their translanguaging practices had changed over time.

Depending on the interviewees' responses, the duration of the interviews varied (see Table 3-1). The interviews were mostly conducted in the group study rooms in the library on campus, some of them in the PhD office, and one in the participant's dormitory room. The library study room was chosen as the main site for interviews as it is a neutral and familiar place for both the participants and the researcher, and it is quiet, which is ideal for audio recording. The participants had been using the library frequently for their studies, and I was also familiar with the space. The study room was preferable, but when the room was not available, the interviews would be conducted in the PhD office at the university with the participants' approval. (There were some hot desks in this office for PhD students who study at the university less than twice a week, and I was allowed to use this office as well.) On one occasion, one colleague was working in the office at the time of the interview, so we moved to the common room, which was a public space but empty at the time. One of the participants, Celina, was interviewed in her dormitory room at her request.

Table 3-1 Interview dates, places, and duration

		Lily	Apple	Summer	Olivia	Faith	Celina
1st Interview	Name	Interview 1-1	Interview 2-1	Interview 3-1	Interview 4-1	Interview 5-1	Interview 6-1
	Date	03 Nov 2017	03 Nov 2017	06 Nov 2017	02 Nov 2017	09 Nov 2017	10 Nov 2017
	Place	Study room	Study room	Study room	Study room	Study room	Study room
	Duration	02:40:57	01:17:39	01:27:51	01:19:26	01:29:18	02:23:12
2nd Interview	Name	Interview 1-2	Interview 2-2	Interview 3-2	Interview 4-2	Interview 5-2	Interview 6-2
	Date	02 Apr 2018	10 May 2018	23 Mar 2018	10 Mar 2018	18 Dec 2017	19 Dec 2017
	Place	Common room	PhD office	Study room	PhD office	Study room	Her dormitory
	Duration	01:35:45	00:50:52	01:11:35	01:44:00	01:00:01	02:20:06
3rd Interview	Name	Interview 1-3	N/A	N/A	Interview 4-3	N/A	Interview 6-3
	Date	28 Apr 2018			10 May 2018		11 May 2018
	Place	PhD office			Study room		Study room
	Duration	00:55:19			00:30:12		00:46:54

The duration of the interviews varied from between 30 and 160 minutes. For five out of the six interviewees (except Olivia), the first interview was the longest, which might have to do with its content, as the first interview asked questions about their background and experience before coming to the UK. Lily's and Celina's interviews stand out due to their length: this might have to do with their personality, as they seemed to be more talkative and willing to share their opinions when compared to the other participants.

In addition, as a Chinese student in the UK, I myself have gone through some similar or even the same experiences as the interviewees did, which is part of the reason that I chose this topic, and that linguistic ethnography was chosen as the methodology. As a result, during the interviews, sometimes I would use my own experience as a probe to help the participants better understand the questions. It is not the aim in this research to be objective, and I, as the researcher, who shares similar life experience as the participants, acknowledge that I will have had an influence on the research.

Apart from my own experiences, there was also shared experiences between the key participants and me that were brought forth during the interviews. The co-construction generated between the interviewees and me moved our relationship beyond that of participant/researcher to being classmates and friends. Garton and Copland (2010) argue that there is limited research investigating the potential influence of the previous experiences or relationships between the interviewee and the interviewer on the co-construction of interviews. The excerpt below is an example of how Lily and I, as acquaintances with shared experience, constructed the interview jointly.

Extract 3-1 Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Ming	=而且，而且你是你是一长篇讲，你不是- 我有时候会觉得有些英语的单词或者句子能表达，但是我不会长篇说 () 就是我不需要- 我没有要用到一长篇去表达这样子	=and, and you you speak long utterances, you do not- I sometimes speak English words or sentences, but I do not speak long utterances () I do not need- I do not use long utterances to express
2	Lily	是吗*?	really?
3	Ming	对	yes
4	Lily	/əʊ/我不知道，然后，我就，反正，我就是这样的，我实际上干的就是这几件事，其实很多其他的事-	/əʊ/ I do not know, and, I, just, I just do it, I just do several things, in fact many other things-
5	Ming	那你上课还迟到!	and you were late for class!
6	Lily	那只是- 我起-我去晚了而已	that's- I woke- I just arrived late
		((both laugh))	
7	Lily	但我还是上了啊! 我没有，没有	but I did attend! I did not, did not
8	Ming	那天那天那节星期一星期一那节?	how about that day that day that class on Monday that class on Monday?
9	Lily	我睡得晚	I slept late
10	Ming	((laugh))	
11	Lily	不代表我晚上干了什么不好的事情	it does not mean I did something bad
12	Ming	没有	no
13	Lily	但是我都有去上课啊，然后的话，反正就那样了 () 你刚才说的为什么我都是长篇用英文是吧?	I attended all the classes any way, and then, it's just like that () you were saying why I speak long utterances in English just now right?
*: 吗 here is a modal indicating a questioning tone with no actual meaning			

Turns 1 to 4 in above were on-topic, focusing on one of Lily's translanguaging practices, in that sometimes she would speak long utterances of English during the interviews. In Turn 4, Lily mentioned that she only concentrated on several things during her time in the UK, one of which was attending classes. This reminded me of a class for which Lily was late (Turn 5), and I mentioned it to her – not in a critical way, but in more of a teasing tone. Lily explained herself (Turn 6), and both of us laughed. The conversation continued on the same topic until Turn 13, when she finished explaining herself and changed the topic back to being research-related. Had we not had the shared experience of attending classes together, I would not have known that Lily was late for that class. Had we not been friends before the interview, I might not have been able to use the teasing tone with her, which made us laugh and created a relaxed atmosphere during the interview. It is equally interesting to notice that I, as the researcher, was the one who interrupted the interview by mentioning an off-topic incident, and Lily, as the researched, was the one who brought the conversation back on track. Had we not been acquaintances, the interview might not have been co-constructed in this way.

3.3 Research procedures

The pilot study was conducted in the second semester (January to May) in the academic year of 2016–17 to test the research instruments. The research site was an MSc TESOL programme at a UK university, the same programme and university where I later collected data for my dissertation. This specific programme was chosen because I have a similar background in this field, as I was a master's student in TESOL (at a different UK university), so that I, as the researcher, could have more shared experiences with the participants, which I believed would be an advantage in answering the research questions. A second reason was that the MSc TESOL programme enrols many Chinese students, and it was where I had noticed the classroom languages as being salient. A third reason was the ease of access, as I knew some of the lecturers on the programme, and they were willing to let me observe and record. Ethics approval was gained at both my own university and the university where the research was conducted before data collection began. Four participants in one module were audio-recorded twice in a two-hour class in March 2017 and were interviewed once at the end of the Spring semester in the same year. Participant observations of the classes that these four students attended were also undertaken during this semester.

Before my main research study commenced in 2017–18, I moved to the city of the research site and lived there for a year. Ethics approval was sought again and was granted by both universities. The head of the department, module coordinators, the director, and lecturers of the programme where the research took place (i.e., the gatekeepers), whom I had known since the previous year, were contacted about my research project and their consent gained. The research site was the master's programme in TESOL during the academic year of 2017–18 at the same university, and all the students and the lecturers in this programme were the general participants. (These students were not the same ones who participated in the pilot study because, in the UK, master's programmes usually last for only one year, and thus there is an intake of new students each year.) I was first introduced to the students as a doctoral student and researcher on the project during their Induction Day at the beginning of the academic year of 2017–18.

The data collection period can be divided into two phases, according to the different research aims of each: the first phase comprised the first five weeks of the first semester, and the second phase comprised the rest of the first semester and the second semester combined (see Table 3-2 which indicates the approximate time periods). The first phase focused on building rapport, choosing one module within which to conduct the research (see further below in this section for a discussion of how this module was selected), identifying potential participants, and practising making fieldnotes. Because I was using a linguistic ethnography method, it was important that I established a good relationship with the participants. Therefore, the data collection did not begin from the start of the semester so as to allow enough time for the students to get to know me and for me to get to know them. To accomplish this, I participated as a student during this period and socialised with the students after class, such as having meals with them and going to the library together.

Table 3-2 Timetable for data collection

	Phase 1: Practising		Phase 2: Main Data Collection						
	Semester 1				Semester 2				
	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
Observations (fieldnotes)	√	√	√	√					
Audio recordings			√	√					
Interviews			1st	2nd				3rd	

During these five weeks, there were five modules in this programme, two of which were compulsory (i.e., Modules 1 and 5 in Table 3-3), where all the students in the programme were required to attend, three were optional (i.e., Modules 2, 3 and 4 in Table 3-3), from which students could choose one, and therefore there were fewer students in the optional modules than in the compulsory ones. The information sheets and consent forms for the general participants were handed out in the compulsory Module 5, and the nature and purposes of the research project were explained by me. One of the items in the consent form asked the students whether they were willing to be one of the Chinese participants in the research who would be audio-recorded and interviewed. The students were asked to read through the information sheets (see Appendix 1) and, if they agreed to participate, to tick the items as appropriate on the consent forms (see Appendix 3) and to sign. Consent forms and information sheets were also given to the lecturers individually, and their consent was provided (see Appendices 2 and 3).

Table 3-3 Type of data collection for each module in each week

Semester 1												
Week	1	2	3	4	5	6	Reading week	8	9	10	11	12
Phase	Practising					Main data collection						
Module 1 (compulsory)	-	F	F	F	F	F	-	F	F	F	F	F
Module 2 (optional)	-	F	F	F	F	F	-	F	F	F	F	-
Module 3 (optional)	F	F	F	F	F	F+R	-	F+R	F+R	F+R	F+R	-
Module 4 (optional)	F	F	F	F	F	F	-	F	F	F	-	-
Module 5 (compulsory)	F	F	F	F	F	N/A	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-
Module 6 (compulsory)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
-: no class N/A: there was a class, but I did not attend it F: fieldnotes F+R: fieldnotes and audio recordings												

The consent forms were collected after the class, and I reviewed them. The signed names on the consent forms were checked against the attendance sheets for all of the modules. The optional module, where all the students agreed to participate (i.e., Module 3 in Table 3-3), was selected as the main site for the research. I again checked the consent forms for the students in the chosen module to find out who had indicated that they would like to be audio-recorded and interviewed.

In the fifth week of this first phase, after identifying six Chinese participants, I approached three individually, and the other three together (the three of them always sat together, and they were sitting together in a group at the time), explained the research again, asked them whether they were still interested in being audio-recorded and interviewed, and answered their questions. (From my experience in the pilot study, I decided that six participants with audio recordings and interviews was the largest number that was feasible for the research, as much as I would have liked to include more. I also made the decision that observing five modules was too much workload for me, so I went on to attend only four and left out Module 5. A sixth module started from Week 8, which was after the data collection began, and therefore was not included in the research, either.) After the six students had agreed to participate, another set of information sheets and consent forms, designed for key participants, and presented in both English and Chinese (see Appendixes 4 and 5), was given to them, and their consent was gained. I added them on my WeChat app, a Chinese social media application that most Chinese students use, to communicate with them, for example, for reminding them about the audio recordings and arranging a suitable time and place for interviews.

From the sixth week of the first semester, that is to say, the start of the second phase, the main data collection began, where the fieldnotes that were made formed part of the data material, and where audio recordings and interviews were also conducted. Within the specific module (Module 3) where the audio recordings were collected, there were altogether 23 students. Twenty-two of them were full-time students, and one was part-time. Six of them were male, and 17, female. Eighteen were Chinese (five male and 13 female), two were British (female), two were European (one male and one female), and one was Japanese (female). They had four lecturers teaching different content, with one teaching one two-hour lecture. Sometimes they sat in pairs (or alone), and sometimes they sat in groups. Apart from several students (e.g., Lily, one of the key participants), most students sat with certain people (i.e., their friends). This meant that they were closer to some of their classmates than they were to others.

The audio recording began from the sixth week of the semester, which meant that the students had already had five weeks' classes by then. The seventh week was a reading week, where there were no classes (see the below table).

Table 3-4 The basic information of the five lectures

Lecture	Week	Date	Lecturer	Classroom
1	6	19 October 2017	Lecturer A	Classroom
2	8	02 November 2017	Lecturer B	Classroom
3	9	09 November 2017	Lecturer C	Computer lab
4	10	16 November 2017	Lecturer A	Classroom
5	11	23 November 2017	Lecturer D	Classroom

Within these five lectures, only the third class (on 09 November 2017) was delivered in a different classroom, and the rest were held in the same classroom, with which the students were familiar. The five lectures were delivered by four lecturers. Lecturers A, B, and C had taught the students before, while Lecturer D was an Emeritus Professor, who the students had not met before.

The chosen optional module (i.e., Module 3 in Table 3-3) had a two-hour class every week, which meant that each of the six Chinese participants should have five two-hour recordings. However, the recordings for Lily, Apple, and Summer each totalled only four classes, due to their lateness for or absence from the class (see Table 3-5 for details).

Table 3-5 Each of the six Chinese participants' total number of classes audio-recorded

Week	6	8	9	10	11	
	1st audio recording	2nd audio recording	3rd audio recording	4th audio recording	5th audio recording	Total number of classes
Lily	√	√	√	√	X	4
Olivia	√	√	√	√	√	5
Apple	√	X	√	√	√	4
Summer	√	√	√	X	√	4
Faith	√	√	√	√	√	5
Celina	√	√	√	√	√	5

Before the class, each of the six Chinese participants was given a recorder, which was already turned on and recording. On the occasions when one or some of them were late, I would wait for them for, at most, ten minutes outside the classroom to pass the recorders to them. If they did not arrive within ten minutes, I would return to the classroom because I needed to be inside the classroom to make observation fieldnotes. There was only one time when I managed to pass the recorder to one of the participants, Lily, who had arrived late for class and after I had already entered the classroom. This was possible because the lecturer asked each group of students to take turns to gather around his table for a demonstration. When it was our group's turn, I took the chance, brought the recorder with me, and passed it to Lily when I walked past her. In this case, only part of her utterances in that class was recorded. I collected the recorders and turned them off at the end of each class. The recordings, therefore, contained not only what was said during the lectures, but also utterances made before and after class as well as during breaks.

The first one-to-one interviews were conducted in the two weeks following the first audio recording with the six Chinese participants. Another four rounds of data collection of audio recording and fieldnotes were made from the eighth to the eleventh week. After these, the second interviews with the six Chinese participants were conducted between December 2017 and March 2018. The third and final interviews were conducted in April and May 2018, at the end of the teaching of that academic year.

The participants were contacted a few days before the interviews to ask for their availability and were reminded again on the day of the interview. After the participants arrived at the interview room, I would greet them, and we would chit-chat about how they were getting on with their studies (and their life, if I was aware of any such details). Before the interview, I would thank them again for their willingness to attend the interview, repeat the aim of the research, and ask whether they were still willing to continue their participation. After obtaining their agreement, I would turn on the recorder and start asking questions. When the interview ended, I expressed my gratitude towards their participation. During the process, I tried to create a relaxing atmosphere in the room by making the formal setting of the interview less formal so that the participant would feel more comfortable and freer to talk about themselves.

The distinction between the six Chinese students and the general participants (i.e., the other students who attended the class and the lecturers) lies in that the former were audio-recorded in class to analyse their utterances, whereas what the others said was not the focus of this research, although they would inevitably be recorded as well, as they were the interlocutors of the six Chinese participants. Therefore, it was still necessary to also gain their consent. I had not told any of the six Chinese participants who the others were, except for Olivia, Faith and Celina, as they usually sat in the same group in class and knew that each of them was participating in my research. (There was one incidence, however, when Lily mentioned our interview in front of the whole class as an example of the difficulties in conducting interviews, saying that 'she (Ming) can't control me, it's planned for one hour, but we took three hours' (Fieldnotes, 10:00–12:00, 06 November 2017).)

The materials that were collected, including the classroom and interview audio recordings and fieldnotes, were transferred to a secure online storage system, a process which is adopted by my university, and which can only be accessed through my own password, for future analysis.

3.4 Data analysis

Three types of materials were collected in this research to form the body of data: classroom audio recordings, interviews, and fieldnotes from the participant observations.

I first analysed the audio recordings by borrowing procedures drawn from conversation analysis (CA). This has become common in recent years, with many in linguistic ethnography adopting this approach (e.g., Donaghue, 2018; Maybin, 2009). As for the interviews, processes from thematic analysis (TA) were adapted to look for themes of agency and capital. However, I conducted neither a CA study nor a TA one; rather, I used a selection of procedures from CA and TA in order to help me analyse the data.

The data collection and data analysis of the three types of data did not happen one after another, but rather, there were overlaps in these processes. Data were continuously analysed as the collection process progressed. For example, I needed first to analyse the classroom audio recordings to raise relevant questions in the subsequent interviews. I listened to the recordings of the classroom talk and interviews several times before I transcribed them in order to familiarise myself with the data (Bryman, 2012). I completed most of the transcription in the privacy of my flat for the sake of data protection. It was quieter in the flat compared with the PhD office or the library, where there could have been people talking and/or walking around. When I transcribed, I did not translate but instead maintained the original language(s) that were used in the originally recorded utterances: the interviews were conducted in Chinese, although occasionally some English appeared, and the classroom audio recordings involved both languages.

In the following sections, I shall first introduce how I processed the audio recordings and interview recordings into transcripts, then explain how I analysed classroom audio recordings, interviews, and fieldnotes, and finish with how I translated the data into the extracts presented in this thesis.

3.4.1 Transcription

Transcription is the process of transferring audio recordings into textual form for subsequent analysis (Poland, 2002). Two kinds of audio data were produced in my research; classroom audio recordings, and interviews, both of which needed to be transcribed for the sake of analysis. My transcription conventions (see Table 3-6), which were used for both classroom audio recordings and interviews, are adapted from those described by Richards (2003). Using these conventions enabled me to produce transcriptions of an adequate level of delicacy for my purposes of showing the participants' translanguaging practices as they interacted with each other. The conventions also enabled me to recreate the scene of the recordings and to avoid confusion during the analysis, and for readers to understand what was going on when the talk happened. The illustrations provided below are drawn from my data.

Table 3-6 Transcription conventions in the research

Sign	Explanation	Example
,	Separation clauses and words	blonde man, is it?
?	Questioning intonation	blonde man, is it?
!	Exclamatory intonation	哦！ 我把它吊到这里啊
=	Latched utterances	A: yea and they will learn = B: = passively
(())	Extra information	((walking away, voice fading)) no no no
((laugh))	Laughter	lady teeth? because ((laugh))
(xx)	Inaudible utterances	do you want to sit in the (xxxx) yea yea we can
(inaudible)		(inaudible, in English)
(TIME[4])	Time when the conversation ends/begins	A: ((laugh)) (00:48) (01:58) A: baby teeth
()	Pauses less than one second	I will brought it with me () everywhere
(NUMBER[5])	Approximate number of seconds of the pauses	诶(1) 就是如果你要转过去那个讨论的话就把它也一起带过去
-	Unfinished words	ba- baby teeth
‘’	Quotation	‘add add other’ 什么什么 ‘on the pizza’

Specifically, commas were used to separate the phrases and sentences so that they are easier to read, and question marks and exclamation marks indicate the tone because words on their own cannot always accomplish this. Equal signs were used to illustrate that the speaker did not finish the sentence that s/he had intended to say and was interrupted by the other, and therefore the sentence was unfinished. In Extract 3-2, it can be seen that, with the inclusion of such extra information (including laughter), the interaction finished in a positive way.

[4] Actual time within the parentheses, such as 11:11 and 22:22, not the text ‘TIME’
[5] Actual number within the parentheses, such as 1 and 2, not the text ‘NUMBER’

Extract 3-2 Recording 1-2, 02 November 2017

		Original transcript
1	Lecturer	((to the class)) what I do in non-reference test is, maybe one year erm the pass rate is fifty, but if the pass rate- if too many people get fifty, they up the pass rate to sixty, or they upgrade it to sixty-five, or they drop it
2	Lily	they just want people to fail?
		((whole class laugh))

Without the additional information provided in the double parentheses, it is not as clear whether the lecturer was talking to Lily individually or to the whole class. And Lily, having voluntarily interacted with the lecturer in the latter situation, demonstrated her active classroom participation.

It is also important to indicate the inaudible parts of the talk to make up for the gaps in expression and meaning. The points in time when the conversation ended and began were also recorded so that it was convenient for me to go back to the original audio recordings when needed, and for the readers to know that there was a gap in time and that the second conversation did not happen immediately after the first. The duration of pauses in the utterances are also important for promoting clarity, and I will use the below (Extract 3-3), from Olivia's recording, as an example.

Extract 3-3 Recording 4-4, 16 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Faith	Celina, 帮我把我的那个录音机拿过来	Celina, help me get that recorder
2	Celina	你(xx)哪里拿	you (xx) get from where
3	Faith	我把我所有东西都拿过来了	I bring all my stuff
		(7, 11:48)	
4	Lecturer	do you know what you are doing ladies, gentlemen? (3) yes? ok	
5	Lily	ok so Faith first	
		((laugh))	

As can be seen, there is a seven-second break between Faith and Celina's off-topic conversation in Chinese and the lecturer asking the group a question, which makes sense, as it can be assumed that the lecturer was not present at first and only approached the group after the seven seconds. Without indicating this time gap, it would appear that Faith and Celina were speaking Chinese in front of the lecturer in class, which would then be irrational to me, and I would have queried this with Olivia in the interview.

Hyphens were used to indicate unfinished words and to avoid confusion. In the last but one example, presented in Table 3-6, for instance, there is a difference between ‘ba- baby teeth’ and ‘ba baby teeth’, as the hyphen signals that the speaker was trying to pronounce the word ‘baby’. The ‘ba’ in the latter can be interpreted differently, as the two letters can be /bɑː/ as well, and the hyphen, therefore, makes it clearer to me and to the reader that it is an unfinished word. The quotation marks were placed there to refer to words that were drawn from or for other materials, such as a when reading questions from handouts, where the speaker was not the original author of these words, and when reading out an answer for the worksheets, where these words were not the speaker’s own words, meaning and expression.

3.4.2 Classroom audio recordings

In the original classroom audio recording transcripts, I made comments (see Figure 3-9 below) of my own as I transcribed, including the participants’ translanguaging use, highlighting interesting opinions expressed in class, and to record any questions I had for the participants. (The key participants’ names were highlighted in yellow so that I did not miss any of their turns. The names of other students are blacked out for identity protection.) Such comments helped me to ask relevant questions in the interviews and organise my thoughts during the analysis. As can be seen, some of my comments were made in Chinese and some in English. Writing (and, as a matter of fact, speaking) in a mix of both languages is a common translanguaging practice for me as well, for academic purposes or daily life, which coincides with the findings of previous research that provides evidence that bilingualism is the norm for Chinese international students (e.g., Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013; Zhang, 2013).

T: brilliant, ok, somebody down this end who disagrees?
Lily: yea I disagree with what [redacted] said (1) [redacted] said the language level, because even, you know, even if their language level is low, you can still use some scaffolding () measures, like, to () help them to understand the metalinguistics, like the visual clues and stuff
T: ok so they get-
Lily: = to to guide them
T: =so what- so so you disagree with the point that, very () young learners with low levels can't understand the class
Lily: yea
(24:00)
(26:02)

niming
不同意见 长回答

niming
跟老师有几个来回的讨论

Figure 3-8 Screenshot of the audio recording transcripts

After I transcribed the audio recordings into Microsoft Word documents (i.e., created transcripts of the original audio recordings), I needed to separate the key participants' utterances from others' so that I could focus on the key participants' translanguaging practices. I started to use NVivo for this purpose, but the formatting was problematic because of the Chinese characters. I then tried using tables in Word documents, as this would allow the talk to be presented clearly, without merely presenting unformatted text or adding comments. However, this method was also inconvenient because very few lines of text can be shown on the computer monitor at once (unless I used a much smaller font, which made it difficult to read). Eventually, I moved to use Microsoft Excel (see Figure 3-9 for a screenshot of the Excel table). A separate sheet was used for each participant, which quickly allowed me to pull all of the relevant data together in one place, and to create a visual overview of the individual practices I observed. Therefore, the relevant extracts from the audio recording transcripts were transferred to Excel before I started the line-by-line analysis. Figure 3-9 below shows an example containing Olivia's data for illustration.

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1		Chinese	English	Mixed	Not clear		
83	Olivia: gap fill and		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in Chinese
84	Olivia: grammar and vocabulary?		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in Chinese
85	Olivia: 嗯 gap fill				4	4	in, discussion, previous conversation in Chinese
86	Olivia: I think maybe diagnostic because		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
87	Olivia: no idea ((laugh))		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in Chinese
88	Olivia: beginning of the class?		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
89	Olivia: ha? the boy?		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
90	Olivia: because he will interrupt others		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
91	Olivia: I will let the boy go out and talk talk about it () later		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
92	Olivia: just talk about the sense with him in the class, and erm ((sign))		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
93	Olivia: but () but it's in the class, there's not enough time (3) you should () guarantee that you classes, so		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
94	[Olivia: but they lack the support		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in Chinese
95	Olivia: and design some interesting task to attract their attention at the beginning		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation in Chinese
96	Olivia: and maybe they were- they will be made more-		2			2	in, discussion, previous conversation not clear
97	Olivia: yea				4	4	in, discussion, previous conversation in English
98	Olivia: 那我的那些学生还算乖的啊 他们过了两个小时才开始闹	1				1	in, off topic discussion in Chinese
99		6	43	2	5		
100	Olivia: 没事儿 反正就只有学姐一个人听	1				1	before, with Ethel Lucy
101	Olivia: Lucy你那个鼠标能用吗	1				1	before, with Ethel Lucy
102	Olivia: 你俩的鼠标能用吗	1				1	before, with Ethel Lucy
103	Olivia(?): 他要我们干吗呢	[redacted]					
104	Olivia: ((laugh)) Beyoncé的那个			3		3	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class, except for the proper noun
105	Olivia: 嗯				4	4	
106	Olivia: cooking		2			2	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class, choose from one of the English options
107	Olivia: 上啊	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
108	Olivia: ((xx)) 直接点- 不不不 点到这儿 对 点右一个 点	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
109	Olivia: 我一直都这么用啊	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
110	Olivia: 哦 可能是因为我那个Word版本跟这个是一样的 我那个兼容版嘛			3		3	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class, except for 'Word'
111	Olivia: 嗯				4	4	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
112	Olivia: 他不是让让你做那个	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
113	Olivia: 你关了它干嘛呢	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
114	Olivia: 直接点 这 不管他那个 直接直接截	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class
115	Olivia: 'describe'		2			2	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class, English words to put in the worksheet
116	Olivia: 'Word'		2			2	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class, English words to put in the worksheet
117	Olivia: 你教它	1				1	in, basically in Chinese in this computer class

Figure 3-9 Screenshot of the Excel table of audio recordings

In the first column (Column B) of this table, each cell indicates one turn in Olivia's classroom audio recordings. Every single turn was taken as a unit for analysis. (There are a few turns (e.g., on Line 103) in the classroom audio recordings where I could not distinguish who the speaker was, and therefore, such turns were excluded from the data analysis.) The second to fifth columns (Column C to Column F) are the categories of the language(s) that were used in the corresponding turns, i.e., 'Chinese' (Category 1), 'English' (Category 2), 'Mixed' (Category 3) and 'Not clear' (Category 4), for the turns for which I was not sure which language(s) were used. The participants' translanguaging practices are classified according to the different language(s) they used, not because I support the notion of bilingual people having two separate language systems, but because that is an easier and clearer way to present the data and its analysis, and it helped me to answer my research questions. Examples of 'Not clear' include the '/əmˈhm/', which can be interpreted as both English 'mhm' and Chinese '嗯哼', both of which have the same pronunciation and convey a similar meaning in this case (this example will be discussed in Section 4.2.3.3.3). The sixth column (Column G) is the summary of these previous four, summarising what language(s) was/were used in one column. The final column (Column H), which is colour-coded, illustrates the analysis of the turns, which is based on the context, such as whether it was in or out of the class, who the interlocutors were, and the type and content of the conversation. I needed to refer to the original transcripts in the Word document to complete this column. Regarding the rows, a yellow line (e.g., Line 99 in the figure) distinguishes between recordings taken in different classes, and the black lines (e.g., Line 103) indicate that the corresponding turn is inaudible and thus not included in the analysis.

Conversation analysis is defined by Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008, p. 11) as 'the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations of human interaction: talk-in-interaction'. Similarly, ten Have (2007, p. 4) defines it as 'the study of the orders of talk-in-interaction, whatever its character or setting'. Conversation analysts examine the interactions in the specific details, using tools such as conditional relevance, preferred/dispreferred turn shape, and acknowledgement token (ten Have, 2007). This is not what I did with my data; I was guided by CA about paying close attention to what the participants said and in conducting a close analysis of their talk, but I did not draw on the common analytic ideas that conversation analysts use. I followed the three stages of CA, as described by Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008), in order to understand what was happening in the talks, which is useful, but the line-by-line analysis in my research is more aligned with the translanguaging aspects of the talk.

Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008, p. 89) suggest three stages for conducting CA, and the first stage is to 'locate a potentially interesting phenomenon in the data'. A phenomenon is interesting because it is different from other practices of the same participant. For example, for Lily, most of her utterances in the audio recordings were made in English, and therefore, my attention was drawn to the parts where she spoke Chinese. As for Olivia, the majority of her translanguaging practices followed the language(s) of her interlocutors, and thus, one of the potentially interesting phenomena in her data would be the turns where she used a language different to that of her interlocutors (this will be further discussed in Section 4.2.3). At this stage, I also needed to refer to the interviews (see the next section for how the interviews were analysed) to see what the key participants had to say about these specific turns, as well as the fieldnotes for the context.

The second stage is to provide a formal description of the examples collected, with reference to the sequential contexts (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). For instance, for the turns where the previous conversations were in Chinese, and Olivia used English, such utterances were categorised as ‘changing the conversation language from English to Chinese’. Other categorisations include ‘conveying the meaning of words that they cannot explain in Chinese’ and ‘maintaining the conversation flow’, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

The third and final stage is to determine whether other examples of the same pattern can be found in the data, which is the base for further analysis (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). I read through each of the turns of the audio recording transcripts in Excel, one by one, three times. In the first round, I made comments in Column H as I went through all the turns and, for any I was unsure of, I left these blank or entered a question mark. Afterwards, once I had gained a better understanding of the data, I read through the turns again, and completed any gaps left from the first round. In the third round, I made sure that my analysis was consistent and that the same terms were used for the same context. I also counted the number of examples for each category. For instance, there are altogether six examples of Olivia using English in a Chinese conversation out of her 238 turns, in attempting to change the conversation language from English to Chinese. Examples of these six turns will be presented in Chapter 4.

While I was performing the analysis, I also went back and forth from the Excel sheets to the original transcripts to see the contexts of the conversations, and occasionally referred to the fieldnotes and interviews for additional information. I analysed both the interesting and not-so-interesting turns, as both kinds are part of the participants’ translanguaging practices. Not all examples in each category for each of the three key participants were included in my thesis to avoid repetition; however, I did include the ones that are important: the ones that are representative, and the ones that are interesting.

3.4.3 Interviews

In analysing the interview data, I was guided by a thematic analysis method. Thematic analysis is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) as ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data’. A theme ‘captures something important about the data in relation to the research questions, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82).

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that the frequency that a theme appears in the data does not equal the importance of this theme in the research, and it is the researcher's responsibility to make the decision as to whether it is a theme or not and to make arguments to support these decisions.

The first element in determining themes is to decide whether it is important for answering the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Even if the excerpt of the data from which you derive the theme is just a sentence or two, as long as the description is clearly expressed, this theme can be more crucial than others that might take up lots of space in the data but do not answer the research questions. A second influential factor is whether a theme is mentioned among the majority of the participants; the more people talk about it, the more important it can be (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In my research, all of the six Chinese participants agreed that the UK classroom is a context where English should be used. Therefore, the place where the conversations happened can be understood as being one of the factors that influenced their classroom translanguaging practices, which relates to Research Question 2 (What are the reasons for these Chinese participants' language choices?). This theme might be more important in their decision-making processes, as all of the key participants mentioned it.

Braun and Clarke (2006) list six steps in their model of thematic analysis, and the first one is to familiarise oneself with the data. I transcribed the interviews myself, noted down my thoughts as I transcribed, and listened to and read them through a few times before starting any further analysis. I followed the same process with the classroom audio recordings. In doing so, I was able to obtain a general idea about the participants' backgrounds and their perspectives towards translanguaging practices.

The next three steps comprise generating initial codes, searching for themes, and reviewing the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After familiarising myself with the data, I had a general idea about the aspects each interviewee had talked about, which were then related to the interview schedules, and the relevant content. Therefore, it was not difficult for me to summarise what each section was about and to generate themes from the interviews.

There are several different ways of performing thematic analysis of interview data: manual coding can be performed by highlighting sections with different colours, either on paper or in Word; printing the interview transcripts out, cutting them up into sections, sorting them into piles and re-arranging them when needed; or using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, such as NVivo (Copland & Creese, 2015). For me, I analysed the interview data in Word documents by using the built-in features for highlighting and commenting. For example, Figure 3-11 below presents a screenshot of part of one of the interview transcripts I analysed.

Ming：所以你以前在国内上课也是不太发言这样子
Apple：国内上课- 也是一开始不会 后来也是 (3) 会讲的比较多
Ming：后来大概要花多久才
Apple：到大二吧 (2) 但是以前上口语课算是讲的比较多 因为跟 跟那个外教比较熟 所以就讲的比较多
(21:20)
Ming：那除了这个有压力 还有什么别的觉得比较难的吗 就是在课堂上会让你觉得
Apple：嗯 (1) 课堂上啊 (6) 没有了呀 (1) 就是我觉得有时候 idea 很重要 老师会给一个 task 给你要小组讨论 然后 (1) 对啊 你要当场想出一个那个 idea 或者()你自己的想法的时候 如果没有的时候 就那个时候挺难的

Ming Ni
cf. Olivia

Ming Ni
relation with interlucutor

Figure 3-10 Screenshot of the interview transcripts

This is a section focused on Apple's behaviours in her undergraduate classes, as highlighted in red. The parts highlighted in yellow are the English words Apple said, and the comments on the right are my notes on the interview for my own analysis. After the first round of generating themes, I read through the transcripts for each participant a few more times to make sure that I did not miss anything important and to ensure that the themes were consistent among them.

As is mentioned in Chapter 1, I first examined Lily's interviews, and the theme of agency emerged as being useful in explaining her translanguaging practices. However, when I started analysing the interviews with the second key participant, Olivia, I realised that agency did not emerge from her interviews as evidently as it did in Lily's, and the notion of capital seemed helpful. As I moved on to the last key participant, Apple, I found that both agency and capital could be applied to her data. I then went back to Lily's interviews and realised that her data could also be analysed from the perspective of capital. This is how the two themes, capital, and agency, became part of the analysis in the research.

The last two steps in thematic analysis are to name the themes and to write up the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes in my research include keywords that emerged from the interviews, such as ‘money’ in Lily’s data, which will be discussed in detail in Section 4.1.2. The report, in this case, is this thesis.

The interview data in this research were used in two ways. First, the data helped me to understand the classroom data more effectively. I did not code the interviews in such a detailed way as I did for the audio recordings; the themes in the interviews are more general, summarising the main ideas of each section. After finishing the coding of the classroom audio recordings, I located the corresponding sections in the interview data to help me to make sense of what was happening in the classrooms and in the participants’ translanguaging practices. Second, the interview data helped me to write the vignettes to make sure that I was drawing on the students’ own experiences to give an accurate account of their lives and what they told me. All of the three kinds of data, classroom audio recordings, interviews and fieldnotes, were drawn on to produce the vignettes (which will be discussed in detail in Section 3.4.4).

3.4.4 Fieldnotes

Writing fieldnotes in itself is a process of ‘analysis-in-description’ (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 106): researchers are not able to note down everything that is happening in the space, and therefore they have to be selective about what to write down. Researchers need to determine what the more salient points for their research are and pay more attention to these aspects as they continue to write their fieldnotes. By bearing the research questions in mind, writing fieldnotes helped me to observe, to stay focused, and to notice things that I had not paid attention to had I not been the researcher. I was already beginning to analyse as I wrote down my scribbles. (This can be compared to when students write notes on classroom content: having to write something down on their notebooks forces them to follow their teachers’ speech and thoughts, instead of merely sitting there and listening without any thinking going on.) My analysis of the fieldnotes includes my thoughts that I noted down when writing scribbles during the observations, and the reflexive comments I made in the Word documents as I typed the scribbles into the PC after the observations, as is mentioned in Section 3.2.1.2.

After I typed up these notes on the PC, I first read through them several times and made additional comments as needed. Erickson (2004, p. 490) suggests that, in thematic analysis, researchers should consider ‘the different kinds of things going on … especially, what are the biggest differences’. I first read through the fieldnotes, focusing on one key participant at a time, summarised their typical and/or interesting behaviours and activities that were different from those of the others, and used them as evidence to support my arguments in the analysis. For instance, from my fieldnotes, it is clear that Lily was very active in classroom participation (e.g., answering questions in class seven times, compared with Olivia’s one time and Apple’s two times). This is one of the outstanding features that distinguish her from other key participants (as well as most of the other Chinese students). This led me to understand that Lily, as a student, had been agentive in class engagement (see Section 4.1 for more details). Fieldnotes formed a record of what I observed at the moment on that day and allowed me to identify the points that became salient later on.

In addition to contributing to the analysis, some of the activities recorded in the fieldnotes were used to produce vignettes (Copland, 2018), which can be described as focused descriptions of ‘a series of events taken to be representative, typical or emblematic’ and which have ‘a narrative, storylike structure that preserves chronological flow’ (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 81). Some examples of these activities include Lily’s auditing of the two other optional modules, and Apple’s socialisation with her British friend, Emily. I chose some of the activities for each individual and then organised them into chronological order with reference to data from classroom audio recordings (e.g., what happened in class) and interviews (e.g., what their perspectives were) to produce the vignettes (presented in Sections 4.1.1, 4.2.1, and 4.3.1). Each vignette describes one day of each of the three key participants’ lives in the UK to present a vivid description of the daily life for each, and to show the readers an image of the persons I observed and with whom I interacted.

3.4.5 Translation

Translation is a common practice in linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015). All the three kinds of data, classroom audio recordings, interviews and fieldnotes, include some Chinese talk, which needed to be translated into English before being included in this thesis. I did not, however, translate everything before performing the analysis so that I could work on the original transcripts. This is one of the advantages of being a bilingual researcher, which will be discussed further in Section 6.1. I left the utterances in whichever language they were spoken while I was analysing them and only translated the parts that I chose to include in the thesis afterwards for the benefit of those who do not know Chinese. Having some knowledge and experience in translation and interpretation, I tried my best to translate the Chinese to the fullest, and, to make up for any gap in the meaning and promote a clearer understanding, I used square brackets to indicate such explanations ([]).

3.5 Ethics

Considering the implications of any potential ethical issues is an important element in any social research. Copland and Creese (2015, p. 177) define ethics as 'what is right and wrong in the research process, contingent on the context'. What is right in one setting might be considered inappropriate in another, and, therefore, the context needs to be taken into consideration when it comes to ethics issues in research. In the main research, I was introduced to the students at the beginning of the semester, and, four weeks later, I handed out the information sheets and consent forms to them. I offered only an English version of these documents, as this was what I had done in the pilot study, and it had worked well. Because there were no issues, I did not give it a second thought and took it for granted that I could just repeat the same practice in the main research. A clear problem arose in the main research in that not all of the students were able to understand the documents. For instance, the students were asked to tick, as appropriate, each of the items on the consent form if they agreed to participate, but, in one consent form, there were a mixture of both ticks and crosses made, which, in my understanding, signified that the ticks meant agreement and the crosses, disagreement. Learning from this experience, I approached some of the students individually, explained my research again in Chinese, provided them with a new information sheet and consent form, presented in both languages, and asked them to take them home to review them thoroughly. On this occasion, it worked better. This problem had not occurred in the pilot study, which may be because the pilot study was conducted towards the end of their academic year when the students had already taken modules on the research process, and the participants were more familiar with the documents at the time of research, whereas, in the main research, the consent forms were handed out at the beginning of the academic year, when the participants had not studied the research methods, and they were potentially unfamiliar with the importance of providing information sheets and/or consent forms. It would therefore have been more appropriate to have included both languages on the forms for the main research so that the participants could understand them thoroughly. Although the research sites were the same, and the two participant groups were similar, the ethics considerations proved to be different, due to the differences in the contexts.

There are two topics relating to ethics that I would like to discuss: the research procedures and appropriate guidance that I followed, and the ethical issues I faced during the research process itself.

3.5.1 Ethical procedures and guidance

Before conducting my pilot study in 2016–17, I completed the standard ethics approval request forms for both universities, discussed their content with my supervisors, and, after making some revisions, I emailed them to their respective ethics committees for their review: the General University Ethics Panel at the University of Stirling, and the committee at the university in which the research took place. In their feedback, there were some suggestions for minor changes to my forms, but one major comment was that the Panel at the University of Stirling considered it necessary for me to share my fieldnotes with my participants. Nevertheless, I was concerned that doing so may reveal the participants' identities to other participants, and my own thoughts would also appear in the fieldnotes, which may not yet have been mature enough to share with others. My supervisor discussed this matter with the Panel on my behalf, and they subsequently removed this suggestion. Ethics approval was granted thereafter, and I started data collection. The same application procedures for obtaining ethics approval were repeated for the main research, which was conducted in 2017–18.

This research followed the ethics guidance from BAAL's (The British Association for Applied Linguistics) *Recommendations on Good Practice in Applied Linguistics* (2006), as the works of researchers of BAAL form the foundation of linguistic ethnography (Shaw et al., 2015). These recommendations comprise eight sections (i.e., relationships in research, responsibilities to informants, responsibilities to colleagues, responsibilities to students, responsibilities to applied linguistics, relationships with sponsors, the relationship between applied linguists and their own institutions, and responsibilities to the public) and I would like to discuss the second one, responsibilities to informants, as it is most significant in ensuring that my research practices were ethical. Within this section (responsibilities to informants), there are nine sub-sections, four of which (deception and covert research, research with children, Internet research, and balanced participation) do not apply to my research, as deception, children, and online data were not involved, and because my participants did not have substantial control over the research procedures and the political stakes were low. In the following section, I will discuss the remaining five individually.

The first sub-section relates to the directive to do no harm and respect the informants' 'rights, interests, sensitivities, and privacy' (BAAL, 2006, p. 3). Ensuring that I upheld this guidance had a huge impact on my research practices. For example, in one interview, Lily described for me a dramatic experience that had a great influence on her (this will be mentioned in Section 4.1) (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). Although she gave me her consent to use this experience in my research, I was (and still am) not comfortable in doing so. This is because my final thesis will be available to readers all over the world, and explicitly describing this experience in my thesis might have an impact on Lily, a condition of which she might not be aware. As much as this information is valuable to my research, I feel that I cannot disclose it. This is similar to an experience described by Professor Fiona Copland, my supervisor, who chose not to use some data from her participants, even though she had their permission. She thought that her participants might not fully understand the potential consequences of revealing their experience had she published her work to a large audience (Copland & Creese, 2015). She felt that doing so may 'have put my own concerns as a researcher above my moral responsibility to my research participants, and, for me, this is unethical' (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 94) and that she was happy with her choice, as she felt she had 'made the right decision as a researcher, but more importantly, as a human being' (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 94).

As for the participants' rights, before each interview, I asked them whether they would like to continue with the research and reminded them that no further questions would be asked if they decide to withdraw at any point. In addition, Lily approached me, expressing her interest in being audio-recorded and interviewed in my research, and I happily included her as my first participant. In terms of sensitivities and privacy, before I asked questions regarding their grades, I first reminded them that they do not have to answer the question and we can simply skip it. For the interviewees who told me their grade classifications (i.e., fail, pass, merit, and distinction) instead of their specific marks, I did not go any further in requesting the numbers.

The second section relates to informed consent (BAAL, 2006). As is mentioned at the start of this section, relating to the issues regarding the information sheets and consent forms, a version containing two languages (see Appendixes 4 and 5) was provided to the key participants so that they were able to understand the research before they made the decision of whether to take part. They were also given the chance to ask questions about the research. Before each interview with the Chinese participants, they were asked whether they would like to continue to participate in the study.

The third section relates to the participant's rights to refuse to participate and to withdraw from the research (BAAL, 2006). For the third and final interview, when I asked Faith, one of the six Chinese participants, for her availability, she asked whether she could skip the last interview, and I happily accepted this and thanked her again for her participation. For another participant, Summer, it was a completely different story. Previously, I had sensed that she might be slightly reluctant to carry on participating in the research from the way in which she spoke during our talks, but, when I asked her whether she would like to withdraw, adding that it was absolutely reasonable if she wanted to, she said she wanted to continue. When I sent her a message to ask her to suggest a suitable time for the final interview, she replied that she might not be available at the time, so I asked her to contact me again when she was available. She did not reply to this request. She never got in touch again until more than a month later, when she contacted me to ask questions about her own master's dissertation research, which I happily answered. During this time period, we met by chance on the bus, and she did not mention anything about a date for her interview then, either. Summer's case differs again from another participant, Celina, who also said that she was busy when I contacted her, and I replied in the same way I did with Summer, that she could let me know when she had the time, which she did, and we had our third and final interview. I felt that Summer might not want to continue, which is the reason why I asked whether she would like to carry on, but she did not refuse directly, as Faith had. I thought it might be because she did not want to offend me by refusing me to my face, and thus I offered her the chance to drop out by not doing anything. If she would have liked to continue, she had the opportunity to approach me, and if she did not want to, she could do so by not contacting me, which is what she did. In this way, she was able to withdraw from the research under less pressure.

The fourth section relates to confidentiality and anonymity (BAAL, 2006). The research site has not been named, and each of the participating students and lecturers was given a pseudonym to maintain their anonymity. The primary concern in this research was the protection of the participants' identities, not only the six Chinese students, but also the general ones. This was accomplished by avoiding the use of identifiable characteristics, for example, when it was necessary to mention what a lecturer or a student had said or done in the interviews, s/he would be referred to as 'the lecturer' or 'a Chinese/non-Chinese student' instead of by his/her name. Towards the end of the academic year, after data collection was completed, there was an opportunity for me to present part of the data at a conference, which would have been a great chance to show my participants how their contribution to my research can be seen by others if I had invited all six Chinese participants to come along. After discussing this possibility with my supervisors, however, we decided that I should not do so because the demerit of this action outweighed the merit, as this would reveal their identities to each other.

The fifth section relates to 'consulting informants on completion of the research' (BAAL, 2006, p. 5). After the data collection phases were completed, I had asked whether the participants were interested in receiving some feedback on their translanguaging practices, and only Lily was interested. At that time, I had not completed the thesis and therefore was not able to provide them with any definitive reports. After I submit the final hard copy of my thesis, I am planning to contact them again and ask whether they are interested in reading my thesis. If they are, I will email them a copy. Lily has already expressed her interest in reading my final thesis, so I will definitely send it to her if she is still interested at that time.

3.5.2 Ethical issues

Beauchamp, Faden, Wallace, and Walters (1982) argue that there are four main principles in research ethics in social sciences: autonomy, nonmaleficence, beneficence, and justice, each of which is adopted by countless numbers of researchers (e.g., Flicker, Haans, & Skinner, 2004; Floridi & Cowls, 2019; Ridley, 2009). In linguistic ethnography, autonomy, which signifies a participant's right of refusal to participate, mainly refers to requesting informed consent and observing the right to withdraw (Copland & Creese, 2015). The second principle, nonmaleficence, signifies an acknowledgement that the research will do no harm. Both of these points are discussed in the section above (Section 3.5.1), and thus will not be repeated here.

Promoting beneficence, or the notion that the research will be beneficial to the participants, is difficult in linguistic ethnography, as the research is mainly conducted in the interest of the researcher (Copland & Creese, 2015). In return for the participants' taking part in my research, I tried my best to help them, mainly academically, which is one of the advantages of being a linguistic ethnographer in this research. I had already completed a similar one-year TESOL master's programme in the UK and had lived in the country for a few years, so my experience might have been of benefit to them (academically or otherwise). I told all the students in the programme from the beginning that they could come to me if they had any questions regarding their study or any other aspects, and I would try my best to help them. Some of them did come to talk with me about their PhD application, their essays, their visa applications, etc. These were the ways in which I was able to compensate my participants for their time and commitment to my research, which I was more than happy to do.

The last principle is justice, which means that everyone is considered equal (Copland & Creese, 2015). Copland and Creese (2015) argue that, in linguistic ethnography, this mainly refers to the balance in power, and taking steps to ensure that no one is privileged, despite their position. In the current research, although both the participants and I were students, a power balance was sustained between my identity as a PhD student and their identity as MSc students. I tried my best to reduce this potential issue by treating them as my friends and socialising with them to bring us closer and strengthen our friendship.

What also concerned me was promoting fairness among the participants and ensuring that I would try to be fair to everyone. As mentioned above, some students would come to me to discuss the problems they had with their essays, and some of them had asked me to proofread their assignments. I had to kindly turn them down because the essay was going to be marked. If I, as a tutor and marker of an undergraduate module, proofread theirs but not others, it would be unfair to those who had not come to me. I, as a researcher, should not bear such influence on my participants. I was willing to discuss the content with them, but they had to be the ones who completed the essays.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored four key considerations relating to this qualitative research: ontological, epistemological, methodological, and ethical. The linguistic ethnography methodology was discussed, and the chosen research methods, including participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews, were presented. In addition, the data collection procedures were explained. The processes that guided the analysis, drawn from conversation analysis and thematic analysis, were also discussed. The next chapter conveys the culmination of each of the processes and considerations described above by presenting the findings relating to three of the participants who took part in this research.

4 Findings

Although data were collected with six Chinese students, only the analysis relating to three of them will be discussed in this thesis so as to present a more focused account and to avoid repetition. This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the three key participants, Lily, Olivia, and Apple, one by one, starting with a description of their general background information, moving on to vignettes of a representative day in their UK sojourn (based on the fieldnotes and written using first-person pronouns), followed by the analysis of their translanguaging practices presented in the vignettes.

Although gender was not part of my focus for the study, there are aspects of the study which pertain to gender. The first is that the context I researched was typical of master's TESOL programmes in the UK in terms of overall recruitment. Copland et al. (2017) conducted a research project with 141 ELT (English Language Teaching)-related master's programmes (including TESOL, Applied Linguistics, and Language Teaching) all over the UK. Among the 502 student respondents to their pre-study questionnaire and 346 to the post-study one, around three quarters of them (77.4% and 74.7%, respectively) were female. And the majority of the same groups of students, 43.3% and 32.2% respectively, were Chinese speakers. On the programme I researched, there were 35 female and 14 male students, a similar ratio.

The second aspect of note is that the participants were all female. I selected the participants based on my observation on how interested and willing they might be in participating in my research, sustaining interest throughout the semester. Lily volunteered to participate, and I approached the other five. I asked Apple because she was the only student in the chosen module who speaks Cantonese, which is the third language that I also speak apart from Chinese and English, so I was interested in whether Cantonese would appear in her utterances. I invited Summer because she seemed to be outgoing, and I thought she might be interested in participating. I approached Olivia, Celina, and Faith as a group because they always sat together, and I wanted to know whether their group dynamic might have an influence on their translanguaging practices. Nevertheless, this is not because I targeted only female participants deliberately, as gender was not a key factor in the recruitment process.

As for why they chose to pursue a master's degree in TESOL, the reasons mentioned by the three participants who were audio-recorded include personal interest (Lily and Olivia), and career development (Apple). This corresponds to Copland et al.'s (2017) finding that profession (52.7%) and interest (23.3%) are the top two reasons that their student participants had for doing an ELT-related master's. Both Lily and Olivia chose TESOL because they were interested in teaching English, and Apple wanted to improve her teaching. As will be presented in detail, both Lily and Apple had been working as an English teacher before taking up the TESOL course, whereas Olivia worked part-time as an English teaching assistant. Their agency in choosing TESOL, a major which is highly related to English proficiency, might be a cause why later in their programme, they were agentive in speaking English to improve their English ability.

Despite my participants being female, there were two examples in which gender may have influenced translanguaging practices. One was discussed by Olivia, one of the key participants, in the interview (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). She described talking with her Chinese female peer about a private topic (she did not specify what it was) during the break. A non-Chinese male student sitting next to them asked them what they were talking about, and they were too '不好意思' (meaning embarrassed and /or shy) to answer (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Olivia had previously mentioned in the interview that English should be used in the presence of even just one or two non-Chinese (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). This means that had it not been a private topic, Olivia would have spoken English during the break. Nevertheless, Olivia chose to use the Chinese language as a barrier to create a safe space for their 'little secret' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017) so that the non-Chinese male student could not get involved in the conversation. It would seem possible that these choices were made based on the non-Chinese student's gender; however, as we do not know the topic of the 'little secret' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), it is impossible to know.

Whether gender-related or not, this conversation can be seen as one of the 'translanguaging space[s]' (W. Li, 2011, p. 1222) that are 'networks of social relations, real or virtual, that are created by individuals through distinctive (of the network) and shared (amongst the network members) practices for specific social purposes' (W. Li, 2011, p. 1222). The close friendship between Olivia and her peer (social capital) allowed them to create a translanguaging space by using only Chinese to conduct a private conversation within the classroom with students from various linguistic backgrounds. Multilingual speakers 'have an innate capacity to perceive the situation, choose between the languages they have acquired, and create space to their benefit using the linguistic resources available to them in a situation-sensitive manner, as well as the general procedures of talk-in-interaction' (W. Li, 2011, p. 1225). Although in this case, both Olivia and her Chinese peer were capable of speaking both Chinese and English, Olivia (and the peer) considered this specific topic to be personal and perhaps gender-sensitive, and thus chose to talk only in one of their languages – Chinese – to achieve the purpose of continuing their discussion while excluding other males. Their shared knowledge of the Chinese language provided them with the affordance to do so. In addition, such a choice of speaking only Chinese was not announced by Olivia nor her peer; rather, it was an agreement that they reached without even realising it, which did not interrupt their conversation flow.

Another example, which was also mentioned during interviews (Interview 1-2, 03 November 2017), and that is clearly gender-specific, is that Lily said that she would use swear words in English but not in Chinese because she found it strange for a female to curse in Chinese. This is similar to the experience of a multilingual student who found it more difficult to swear in the first language (Cantonese) than in a second language (English) (Dewaele, 2004). Dewaele (2004) argues that swearing in a second language allows the speakers to 'escape the restrictive social conventions of their native culture' (p. 96). From Lily's perspective, it is unacceptable for a female to swear in Chinese but not for a male, while in English everyone (both male and female) does so, which makes it less improper (Interview 1-2, 03 November 2017). For her, English serves as a cushion between genuine meaning expression and gender-specific acceptable behaviour. Swearing in English creates a translanguaging space that allows her to say what she wants to say without being inappropriate.

My key participants were only female, and although there are some utterances collected from male students, such audio recording data was not sufficient to make a systematic comparison between male students' translanguaging practices and those of females, and thus a convincing argument on whether translanguaging is gendered or not. However, this could be an interesting study for the future.

The three key participants' translanguaging practices are analysed through the concepts of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and agency (van Lier, 2008). I had arrived at agency as an explanatory concept when I was coding the transcripts and discussing my participants' different practices with my supervisor. However, there also seemed to be other themes that were related to their past experiences and future expectations that agency on its own could not explain. I believed that the three participants were each differently motivated in terms of their language learning, language behaviour, and language teaching. I had recently been introduced to the concept of capital by my supervisor, and I decided to examine the data from this perspective, which proved beneficial. In this findings chapter, for each key participant, I will examine their different forms of capital and then move on to discuss what the capital does not tell us and how that can be explained through considering agency. Although agency emerged first during the process, it is presented after capital in this chapter to allow the analysis to flow.

These three key participants (Lily, Olivia, and Apple, see Table 4-1 for their educational backgrounds) were chosen out of the six Chinese students (the other three are Summer, Faith and Celina) whose practices were audio-recorded because they adopted a variety of different translanguaging practices and the rationales they provide are quite different from each other.

Table 4-1 Key participants' basic information

Key participant	Bachelor's subject	English-teaching experience	IELTS scores	Pre-sessional course
Lily	Business English	Full-time and part-time, 1.5 years	7.0	
Olivia	STEM[6] subject	Part-time, 1 year	6.0 & 6.5[7]	√
Apple	English	Full-time, 1 year	5.5	√

[6] STEM: science, technology, engineering and mathematics
[7] Olivia had taken IELTS exams twice trying to achieve a higher score.

As can be seen from the table, both Lily and Apple finished an undergraduate degree relevant to English, and each had had more than one year of full-time working experience related to English education before coming to the UK. (Students were not required to have a first degree in a specific field and/or prior teaching experience to be accepted onto their master's programme.) Lily had the highest IELTS scores among the three key participants and was the only one who had not taken any pre-sessional courses.

Throughout this chapter, I use the term 'bilinguals' to refer to the three key participants because the focal languages being investigated in this research are Chinese and English, and there are no data relating to other languages in the audio recordings made inside the classroom, although, to my knowledge, Lily and Apple do know more than two languages.

4.1 Lily

Lily was born in a remote and under-developed village in China, where she grew up with her grandparents and cousins. She acknowledges that she did not study hard in her primary school and sometimes even tried to attract the attention of her grandfather, who was working at the same school, by not doing her homework. A dramatic experience (which I will not go into in order to protect personal information) happened to her in her childhood which inspired her to study much harder so that she could go to a secondary school far away from the village and leave it forever. She managed to enrol in the school in town and at a university even further away. Business English was chosen as her undergraduate degree subject at university because she was not good at science, and there did not seem to be a better option. Another reason for her choice of subject was her average academic record in English at school. She did not develop a love for English until she was inspired by a speech at her university and realised that learning English might allow her to change her life as well as the lives of others. From then on, she put much more effort into becoming proficient in English and seized every opportunity she could in order to practise.

Lily met her boyfriend at the university, whom she married two years later. After graduation, she was employed as a merchandiser for a German couple in a trading industry for one year before she became a study advisor at an English-language institute for one year and a half. She then worked as an English teacher in the same organisation and then moved to another one, teaching children for another year and a half. In addition to these three full-time jobs, she also worked as a part-time English teacher for children and adults for around one year before leaving China.

Lily then came to the UK, and started her master's programme in TESOL. As mentioned in Section 3.3, in the first semester, there are two compulsory modules and three optional ones, from which the students have to choose one. Lily went beyond the requirement of taking three modules per semester by auditing two other modules. She also audited an extra module in the second semester, even though she was only required to take three. As for extracurricular activities, she joined the public speaking club at the university, sometimes went to church, and designed an English teaching website for Chinese children. After the programme finished in the autumn, she went back to China and started teaching English to children again.

4.1.1 Lily's vignette

Today is Thursday, and now it is bedtime, when I usually go over what has happened during the day. I had breakfast in the dorm and left for the university. I had two lectures, one from 9 am to 11 am, and another from 2 pm to 4 pm. When I arrived at the classroom, Ming saw me and passed the recorder to me. I was joking with her that I will bring it everywhere with me, even to the bathroom. George (a European student) was talking with Apple about baby teeth, and I joined their conversation. After a while, as some of the students in class were sitting on their own, the lecturer asked us to sit together. I saw Maria (a European student) was looking for a seat and asked her to join me.

During the first half of the lecture, the lecturer asked several questions in class, and I responded to some of them. She was trying to initiate responses from those who have not answered yet, so when she asked another question, and I was trying to answer, she stopped me, saying that I had spoken already and asked if anyone else would like to share their opinion, so I stopped. I understood she did so to try to offer opportunities to others. Later, the lecturer was rearranging our seats, and I was assigned to pair with Olivia. The first sentence I told her in English was that I was being recorded by Ming. I do not want to force other people to speak English in class, and they can choose to speak Chinese or English with me as they wish (though I do think that they should speak more English in class). The two of us had some more discussions in English before the break. Usually, I would be the one who talks a lot in the discussion, but, in the last discussion with Olivia, I was feeling a little bit tired, and she seemed to be shy, so I encouraged her to speak more.

During the break, I asked the lecturer a few questions about access to a copy of the PowerPoint presentation. After that, the lecturer gave us some handouts, and I was discussing with Olivia in English about which language was on the handout.

In the second half, there were more discussions in English between the lecturers and the students and among the students, each in which I participated. What was interesting was that the lecturer raised the question of whether the young learners' first language should be allowed in a language class, and, while two local students strongly disagreed with it, some other students, including me, saw the importance of their languages in helping the students to understand and learn the foreign language better. There was a debate among us. In addition, I also mentioned how the English language teaching institutes where I used to work in China had lied about a teacher's nationality, telling the parents he was from the US, while, in fact, he had told me that he was from South America.

After the class, the lecturer came to talk with me on using first languages to teach grammar in the classroom, after which I returned the recorder to Ming. A friend and I had lunch at the café on campus, and our conversation was held in both Chinese and English. The friend had stayed in English-speaking countries for years, and her English proficiency was high. So, with her, I do not have to be conscious about the language I use, and just use whichever I feel like using. We studied in the library for some time and then walked to the classroom for another lecture.

This is the lecture I audited. Oh, I love the lecturer as he is such a British gentleman! Before the class, some classmates and I were standing outside the classroom waiting to get in, and we were talking in Chinese. In class, I asked and answered some questions as I usually did. I was in a group with other three Chinese students, and, due to the complex content, we used a mixture of both Chinese and English. And, during the break, we were talking in Chinese.

After the lecture, I went back to my dorm because my flatmates were hosting a hotpot party, and they had asked me to join them. I ate with them for around two hours and went back to my room to study while they continued. Two hours is enough for fun, and I needed to start preparing for the assignment that is due next month so that I will have enough time to write and revise it before submission. After all, the main aim for me to be here is to study.

I have been studying for a couple of hours now and it is time for bed.

4.1.2 Lily's translanguaging outside the classroom

Based on the observations and fieldnotes, audio recordings, interviews, and my daily interaction with the participants, I noticed that Lily was an active English user. For example, out of the three key participants, she was the only one who would have long conversations with me in English during the interviews, despite the fact that they were conducted in Chinese. A large amount of English use also occurred during our conversations in the library, in corridors, during lunch, and so on.

When I asked in the first interview why she thought she was using English this way in the UK – even with other Chinese nationals – Lily said, in English, 'I think it is an English-speaking environment and I am here, I spend so much money, I want to, of course, speak English' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). Similar statements were repeated a few times in English and in Chinese in the latter two interviews with her as well. She also mentioned that the environment (i.e., a Chinese-speaking or English-speaking space) could be a 'stimulus' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017) to her, encouraging her to use a certain language. She knows some Wenzhou (a city in China and her husband's hometown) dialect, and when she goes back to Wenzhou, she would speak the dialect there. For Lily, the UK is an English-speaking environment where she had a variety of locations in which to use the language – for example, at church, in the public speaking club that she joined, and in the classroom. Lily went to church for her religious beliefs (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017), which differs from the motivations of Chinese students in Canada, who attended church for the chance to speak English and to acquire free food (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013); Lily did not go to church for the purpose of English improvement specifically, although this did bring a positive side effect. There were opportunities for her to speak Chinese as well, and one of the circumstances was when she was with her Chinese flatmates. She was staying in the university accommodation, and all of her four flatmates were Chinese. (The accommodation did not offer the option of mixed or single nationality flatmates when Lily applied; in fact, before she came, she expected that she would have non-Chinese flatmates so that she would have lots of chances to speak English.) Because Lily and her flatmates did not have any non-Chinese flatmates to practise English with, they themselves tried to start English conversations among them; although this did not work out in the end, it was still one of the aspects that showed Lily as an active English user in the UK, trying every possible means to speak in English.

When talking about the environment as a stimulus, Lily gave the example that she felt it was natural to communicate with her Chinese colleagues in English during their English-only workshops when she was working in China (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). However, outside the workshop in their institute in China, which is a Chinese-speaking environment for Lily, she felt more comfortable talking to them in Chinese. Lily stated in the third interview that, similar to the workshops in China, the classroom in the UK is a 'formal setting' (Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018) to her, where the 'stimulus' to speak English was even stronger and where only English should be used. Lily had a self-imposed rule that she should speak English only in the UK master's classroom. She demonstrated a certain level of separating the two languages by speaking as much English as possible in class and being more flexible with the two languages outside the classroom.

Lily often mentioned money in the interviews in either English or Chinese (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017; Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018; Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018). There are two aspects of the money matter that I would like to discuss. The first one is, unlike most of the other Chinese students in her class, who came to the UK directly after their bachelor's degree with no or little work experience and therefore were not very likely to be able to pay for their own tuition fees, Lily had been working for three years, earning and saving money to come to study in the UK (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). The second point is that Lily found the tuition fees in the UK expensive (Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018). Because she had spent a lot of time and effort herself to enable her to come to the UK to study, Lily seemed to cherish and value this opportunity more than others, which, in turn, potentially had an impact on her agency, as will be discussed in Section 4.1.4.

Apart from the English-speaking environment and the expensive cost, another potential reason for her active use of English in the UK is that Lily was proficient in English and seemed to be confident in herself, which are two influential factors in speaking (e.g., Chou, 2018; K. Forbes & Fisher, 2018; Machida, 2016). Lily had the highest IELTS scores (overall 7.0 with a minimum of 6.5 in each subject) among the three key participants and was the only one who did not attend a pre-sessional or pre-master's programme. She considered herself to have 'very good English' (Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018), so she wanted to 'show off' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017; Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018). Her use of the term 'show off' may indicate that Lily is not only aware and proud of her own English competence, but she is also more than happy to let other people realise this as well. English is a 'tool' for Lily (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017); she was not afraid of making mistakes because she considered herself to 'have a high English proficiency level', and described that 'those whose fluency is not high enough will be afraid of making mistakes, and the reason why their fluency is not there yet is that they are afraid and reluctant to speak, so it is all about practising' (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018).

It seems that Lily's frequent use of English in the UK is related, at least partially, to her past experience of mastering English and earning money to pay the expensive tuition fee herself, the context of the UK as an English-speaking environment, as well as her own attitude towards English.

Although the classroom recordings were mostly recorded inside the classroom, there are two extracts (i.e., Extracts 4-1 and 4-2) which present the only two occasions that were recorded outside the classroom in Lily's recordings. (In other classes, Lily arrived at the classroom on time, and I was already there, so I was able to pass the recorder to her inside the classroom.) Because I was the one who gave her the recorder, naturally, the conversation at the beginning of the recordings would be between Lily and me. In Extracts 4-1 and 4-2, Lily seems to be more flexible in using both languages, rather than her in-class performance, where she was stricter and used English for the majority of the time. The extracts presented in this chapter are mostly from the classroom audio recording transcripts, except for one from the interview transcripts (Extract 4-5) and two from my fieldnotes (Extracts 4-3 and 4-7). In these extracts, the four columns, respectively: (i) indicate the number of each turn, (ii) identify the speaker, (iii) contain a transcription of the exact utterances as recorded, and (iv) provide a translation if needed with the translated sections underlined (the transcription conventions can be found in Table 3-6).

Extract 4-1 happened at the beginning of Lecturer 3 (computer lab). The class had already begun, and Lily had not arrived yet. I was waiting outside the classroom to pass her the recorder when she appeared.

Extract 4-1 Recording 1-3, 09 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Lily	我走了三个楼	<u>I have walked three floors</u>
2	Ming	((laugh))	
		((both walked into the classroom))	

Lily saw me standing outside the classroom and was tired from walking up three floors because it was a new classroom and she had got lost. The conversation is short, as Lily spoke one sentence in Chinese, and I replied by laughing. I turned the recorder on when I saw her and passed it to her naturally before we walked into the classroom.

Extract 4-2 happened before Lecture 4 when Lily and I met each other on campus. We walked to the classroom together, and I passed the recorder to her.

Extract 4-2 Recording 1-4, 16 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Lily	eighty seven 对吧?	eighty-seven, <u>right</u>?
2	Ming	对	<u>yes</u>
		((walking))	
3	Lily	eighty seven 在这里是吧？	eighty-seven <u>here right</u>?
4	Ming	对	<u>yes</u>
5	Lily	但是我觉得我们前段时间都没有在这边上课	<u>but I don’t think we have had classes here before</u>
6	Ming	没有，这边可以过去	<u>no</u>, <u>we can walk through this way</u>
7	Lily	/eɪ/ 等一下 (5) /əʊ/ okay (5) 还没有打开吧*?	/eɪ/ <u>wait</u> (5) /əʊ/ okay (5) <u>it’s not turned on</u>?
		((noise))	
*: 吧 here is a modal indicating a suggesting tone with no actual meaning			

The ‘eighty-seven’ in Turns 1 and 3 refers to the room number of the classroom. Turns 1, 3, and 7 by Lily employ mixed languages, with the other one (Turn 5) being Chinese-only.

These extracts seem to be consistent with what Lily said in the interview that ‘I don’t mind’ what languages other Chinese students used outside the classroom (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018), and she did speak only English inside the classroom. It seems that Lily’s use of English is space-oriented (i.e., in or out of the classroom) rather than time-oriented (i.e., in class or out of class).

Within Lily’s four classroom audio recordings (she was late for the fifth class, and I was not able to pass the recorder to her, thus there is no audio recording for Lily in that class), only seven turns involve Chinese, five of which were from the conversation with me outside the classroom before the classes began (i.e., the above Extracts 4-1 and 4-2), and the other two were three minutes apart in the same class with the same Chinese student, which will be discussed later (see Extracts 4-4 and 4-6). For the rest of the time, Lily spoke only English, irrespective of the place (i.e., inside or outside the classroom) and of the interlocutor (i.e., Chinese students or peers from other nationalities).

4.1.3 Lily’s translanguaging in the classroom

In class, Lily was an active participant, asking and answering questions frequently, and expressive in group discussions. She rarely spoke in Chinese (Extracts 4-4 and 4-6) and did less so than the other two key participants. Most of her classroom utterances involve only one language – English. This is consistent with her opinion that, ideally, only English and no Chinese should be used in class (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018).

4.1.3.1 English

As explained above, nearly all of Lily’s audio-recorded data were in English. English was used by Lily to chit-chat with others (e.g., Recording 1-3, 09 November 2017), have pair/group discussions with other Chinese and/or non-Chinese student(s) (e.g., Recording 1-2, 02 November 2017), answer questions in class (e.g., Recording 1-4, 16 November 2017), and have long discussions with the lecturer in front of the whole class (e.g., Recording 1-1, 19 October 2017).

Similar to her speaking English with her Chinese colleagues in the English-only workshop in the English-language institute she worked in back in China, Lily would speak English in class in the UK, which she considered to be an English-speaking environment. She 'wanted to speak English' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017) and 'hoped' others could speak English to her in class, but it was 'their decision to make', as long as her 'use of English was not influenced' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). This is different from the findings in Zhang's (2013) research with 53 China Mainland students at a Macao university, where English was used for instruction in class. One of the participants explained that, in group discussions with other Mainland students, they would use Chinese because 'talking to other Mainland students in English made them feel uneasy' (Zhang, 2013, p. 58).

In addition, through speaking as much English in class as possible, Lily was able to position herself as a proficient English speaker, showing her wide range of vocabulary and high level of fluency in English. Extract 4-3 was taken from my fieldnotes from Module 4 (not the module that was audio-recorded). During a group discussion, one Japanese student in Lily's group, David, misheard the lecturer's question and could not make sense of it. She was able to understand the lecturer's meaning and explained to David that the word was 'extent' and not 'stance', after which David comprehended the question.

Extract 4-3 Fieldnotes, 14:00-16:00, 02 November 2017

Module 4 (Lecture E) B.1B1	14:00–16:00 Week 8 Thu 02/11/2017
Group discussion with Lily David and Anita in English. Lecturer asked David a question, David 'stance?' Lily to David 'no, extent' David 'oh extent'.	

Within the classroom, Lily was able to hear the lecturer, and with her advanced English proficiency, Lily was able to understand the lecturer fully and to help her classmate with his understanding as well. This is similar to Gallego-Balsà and Cots's (2019) research in Spain, which found that the international university students presented themselves as proficient speakers when using Catalan, the local language, in the Catalan classroom through displaying their large vocabulary and fluency. The comparably high English proficiency enables both Lily and the students in Gallego-Balsà and Cots's (2019) research to present their identity as proficient English users. The identity of a highly capable English speaker may also provide the chance for Lily to be the competent and confident person she wanted to be – her 'ideal self' (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 13).

Lily's attitude to translanguaging practices might be similar to those of two bilingual students (Spanish and English, and Arabic and English) in a secondary English arts classroom in the US reported by Seltzer (2019). These two bilingual students would use only 'proper English' (i.e., standard American English) and excluded any other language in their assignment because they did not want to highlight their ethnic identities; using standard English was a protection of the 'more vulnerable or intimate parts of their lives and identities' (Seltzer, 2019, p. 999). Likewise, Lily may have displayed her own proficiency in English to hide her identity as a girl from a remote and underdeveloped area, which she might not be proud of (she mentioned that she wanted to get out of the village; had she not left there, she would have become one of them, too, and just as narrow-minded (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2018)), so that she could be seen equal to the rest of the class.

4.1.3.2 Chinese

There is only one exception in Lily's classroom utterances where Chinese was used. Extract 4-4 happened in Lecture 3 (in the computer lab, the same as Extract 4-1) when the students were asked to try one of the online games introduced by the lecturer. Lily was in a group with Jen (Chinese) and Maria (European). They had just returned to their seats after being at the lecturer's table, and Lily was about to sit down when Jen, a Chinese student, sat down on a seat, and Lily asked her to 'shove over'.

Extract 4-4 Recording 1-3, 09 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
		(01:14:03)	
1	Jen	你坐过去	you sit over there
2	Lily	((laughing)) 还没有坐	((laughing)) [I am] not seated yet

Lily was about to sit down on a seat when Jen said '你坐过去', which literally means 'you sit over there' or 'shove over'. Jen was asking Lily to move to another seat instead of the one Lily was able to sit on. Lily replied '(I am) not seated yet', laughing. The computer lab was a bit noisier than the usual classroom because of all the online game activities that were going on and the lecturer asking different groups of students to gather around at his computer desk, which made it possible for Jen and Lily to move around in the classroom and this conversation to happen.

I asked Lily why she spoke Chinese here, and she said, 'just because she [Jen] spoke Chinese first' (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018). I followed up and said that there were other times when the interlocutor was using both languages, and Lily used English (e.g., Interview 1-1, 03 November 2018), and Lily said, 'I don't know, I don't know about this, haven't thought of it'. This seems to indicate that Lily was perhaps caught off guard when Jen started the conversation in Chinese, perhaps because of the jokey subject or the interpersonal nature of the interaction, as this is the only Chinese she had ever used within the classroom in the audio recordings.

During our interviews in Chinese, Lily also seemed unaware of her own translanguaging practices, usually when she changed to English without realising it. Extract 4-5 below is an example of how Lily's translanguaging practice looks, drawn from Interview 1-1 (03 November 2017).

Extract 4-5 Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Ming	别的同学特别是非英语非教育专业的可能会很 struggle	other students from a non-English non-education background might struggle a lot
2	Lily	所以我觉得要有个 briefing about TESOL, we only know teaching English to speakers of other languages, we only knew this, and we didn't know a lot about this, of course, they have a brief introduction on the website, but it's not enough, Induction day a little bit about how to use the online system, briefing 没有讲为什么会设计这些课程, 他们如何 help you with TESOL programme, what is TESOL programme really about	so I think it is necessary to have a briefing about TESOL, we only know teaching English to speakers of other languages, we only knew this, and we didn't know a lot about this, of course, they have a brief introduction on the website, but it's not enough, Induction day a little bit about how to use the online system, briefing did not mention the rationale for designing these modules, how they help you with TESOL programme, what is TESOL programme really about

Such translanguaging practices seem similar to the ones described by García (2009) in her discussions of bilingual students (and bilingual teachers) in various contexts, where there are many switchings from one language to another. Later on, when I asked her whether she realised she sometimes started speaking English during Chinese conversations, even while engaging in the interviews with me, she said, 'I haven't, I haven't, really haven't, I realise when we were talking, I might have used a lot of English' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). Lily was not sure whether she used English or not, which may be why she said she 'might have' used it (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). This may be because, in the interviews, Lily was focused more on communication than on which language to use, and, therefore, such practices might be more natural to Lily compared with when she was inside the classroom when she tried her best to stick to English. What Lily had done in the classroom might be a result of her purposeful intention to speak English, whereas in the interviews, Lily was able to use her full linguistic repertoire without considering which language to speak (more discussion of this point can be found in Section 5.2.1).

The distinction in Lily's translanguaging practices between her classroom recordings and interview recordings seems to reinforce my interpretation of Lily's inside/outside-classroom division: the classroom is an English-speaking environment for Lily, and the dominant language in her classroom audio recordings is English; by contrast, outside the classroom, during the interviews, Lily was not constrained to using any of the languages and thus more flexible with her translanguaging practices.

4.1.3.3 Mixed languages

There is only one example of utterances where Lily uses both languages in all of her in-class audio recordings. Extract 4-6 was taken from the classroom audio recording in the computer lab (i.e., Lecture 3) as Extracts 4-1 and 4-4. It happened around three minutes after Extract 4-4 in the same group with Jen (Chinese) and Maria (European). The lecturer asked the students to try one of the online games in groups.

Extract 4-6 Recording 1-3, 09 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
		(01:17:13, still in the same classroom activity)	
1	Lily	(xx) yea just ask us to make the handout, just we need picture, but I cannot open one so no, I don't know how to do it (4) (xxx) write sentences to describe your pasta okay	
2	Maria	(inaudible, in English)	
3	Lily	yea I have green (2) I have a green (2) we have green broccoli blah blah blah and	
4	Jen	(inaudible, in Chinese)	
5	Lily	seasoning (4) 就是 seasoning	seasoning (4) <u>is</u> seasoning

Lily, Maria (European) and Jen (Chinese) were discussing the task. What Jen said in Turn 4 was in Chinese but inaudible. Based on Lily's answer in Turn 5, it can be assumed that Jen was asking the meaning of the word 'seasoning'. In her reply, Lily first said the word 'seasoning' immediately, thought for four seconds trying to figure out a way to explain the meaning of seasoning to Jen, and then said '就是 seasoning'. She understood the meaning of the word but 'didn't know how to explain' in Chinese (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018), so she repeated the word in English. That a Chinese student was involved in the conversation makes it possible for Lily to use both languages, or, otherwise, Lily might need to explain the word in English only, had it been a non-Chinese student who asked the question.

It is interesting to note that, as the only two examples of non-English-only turns, Extracts 4-4 and 4-6 happened only three minutes apart in the same class with the same interlocutor, who was the one who started the conversation in Chinese. This situation never happened in other in-class recordings for Lily. This seems to indicate that Lily's use of Chinese in class might have to do with her physically being inside the classroom and Jen being the interlocutor. In this computer lab class, most of the time, the students focused on completing the computer-based tasks in groups, which involved lots of discussion among the students. There were lots of moving around inside the classroom as the lecturer asked students to come to his table to watch how he completed the tasks. The two elements together might make the class less formal and livelier, which may, in turn, contribute to

Lily's feeling more at ease in this specific class and thus less strict with her language(s), or that this class does not resemble a regular MSc TESOL class and so she forgot her self-imposed rules.

As for the interlocutor, apart from Extracts 4-4 and 4-6, there is only one more interaction between Lily and Jen, which involved Marta (European), and therefore the discussion was in English. Nevertheless, in Extract 4-8 with Olivia, Jen did not participate actively in the group discussion and started a side talk with Olivia in Chinese, asking how to say Cambridge Young Learner English. So, it seems that Jen was more likely to ask for clarification on key terms in Chinese, which might indicate her English proficiency is lower than that of classmates who may have answered in Chinese to ensure her understanding. Lily, too, might have been helping Jen through using Chinese with her in class. Although this research did not examine the effect of proficiency on language choice, it could be beneficial as a focus for future projects.

4.1.4 Lily's capital

Born in a remote and underdeveloped village and having lived with her grandparents since she was young, Lily did not receive much help from her family in capital accumulation. She did not have the chance to go to extracurricular English classes, nor did she have access to other English learning resources, including TV series and songs. All Lily had was the English classes at her school. (In remote areas in China, the quality of English education is not as good as that offered in urban areas, and there were no speaking classes in her high school.)

Without the support from her family, Lily could only depend on herself and accumulate capital through her own effort in her first year at university in China, especially through the improvement of her English proficiency (i.e., linguistic-cultural capital). In her first English speaking class, Lily spoke English fluently and felt confident about herself, only to find out that the non-Chinese teacher could not understand her. Since then, she began to work on her spoken English competence through a variety of means. To improve fluency, she would 'grab a stranger' (Interview 1-1, November 2017) in the subway and practise speaking; to perfect her accent, she would record, listen to, and reflect on herself repeatedly (Interview 1-2, April 2018); to gather courage, she would stand in the playground and shout, morning after morning (Interview 1-1, November 2017). Due to the lack of economic capital, Lily did not have access to other ways in which to enhance her English ability in her undergraduate studies, such as taking English courses. Through her own effort, Lily started investing in her embodied cultural capital, raising capital of her own.

After graduation, during her employment at an English language institute, even though she had a Business English degree, Lily was not given the chance to teach because of her poor English pronunciation despite being fluent in speaking, but worked instead as a study advisor, which is more of an administrator role. This may be one of the signs of Bourdieu's (1986) statement of 'educational qualifications never function perfectly as currency' (p. 58). Her ability to teach English was not recognised, which made her feel as though she was not good enough, so she decided to join a public speaking club to continue improving her speaking. With further effort, she won second place in an international public speaking competition. After the competition, she asked her boss again for the chance to teach and was given the position as an online English teacher, from which she earned more money than she did in her previous job. In summary, with her education certificate (i.e., institutionalised cultural capital), she gained the job of a study advisor, which provided her with some economic capital and social capital. She invested her own effort into her speaking ability (an embodied cultural capital) through joining the public speaking club, which rewarded her with more economic capital (a better-paid job), social capital (the connections she made there), embodied cultural capital (her speaking ability), and institutionalised cultural capital (the second-place certificate).

Studying abroad was Lily's dream because, with her English degree, she had always hoped to be able to visit English-speaking countries (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017), which she was not able to pursue due to a lack of economic capital. Furthermore, during her time in the English education institute where she worked, she was also inspired by her colleagues' studying-abroad experiences and saw that many of her colleagues had been employed because they had obtained a TESOL degree from abroad (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). This is why she chose a TESOL master's when she decided to go abroad to study. In order to make her dream come true, she started taking part-time jobs using her knowledge of English (i.e., embodied cultural capital) to teach English and to save money (i.e., economic capital). With these, Lily was able to pay for her tuition fees in the UK; and her husband (i.e., social capital), whom she met at the university, sponsored her, providing her living expenses (i.e., economic capital).

As illustrated, after she started working, the two major changes that happened in Lily's life that led to the reproduction of multiple forms of capital include her joining the public speaking club, and coming to study in the UK, which would not have happened had she not had enough economic capital. This illustrates one of Bourdieu's (1986, p. 58) principles relating to capital: 'the direct transmission of economic capital remains one of the principal means of reproduction' (p. 58). It is quite clear from the above analysis that, with her time and effort, Lily worked hard to build up her capital and that the convertibility between the three types of capital made the reproduction of these possible (Bourdieu, 1986). Lily may not have understood capital reproduction in this way or even have been aware of the different types of capital, but she certainly understood that, through the effort and time that she spent in mastering English, she was able to gain more in her life.

In Section 4.1.2, Lily mentioned that having to pay her own tuition fees (i.e., money, economic capital) was one of the reasons for her wanting to speak as much English as she could in the UK: she wanted to get the most out of her own financial investment, which she had obtained through her own effort.

Outside the classroom, although all of her flatmates were Chinese, Lily had ample opportunities to speak English (linguistic-cultural capital) through her social networks (social capital) as she had established a group of non-Chinese friends, joined a public speaking club, and attended church.

As for the classroom translanguaging practices, Lily seemed to attach more importance to accumulating her linguistic-cultural capital than her social capital through speaking as much English as she could, regardless of the nationality of her interlocutors. She did not speak Chinese with other Chinese students in class; maintaining and developing these relationships in class (social capital) seemed secondary to her wish to improve her English-speaking skills.

After graduation, Lily brought back to China her social capital (the friends, classmates and lecturers with whom she had made acquaintance), embodied cultural capital (e.g., her knowledge of British culture and her academic writing skills), objectified cultural capital (an English-learning website she designed with the knowledge that she had gained in the UK), and institutionalised cultural capital (a master's degree from a UK university).

The next section will examine Lily's classroom translanguaging practices through the lens of agency, which provides further insights into her motivations.

4.1.5 Lily's agency

In the present section, I will draw on the classroom agency proposed by van Lier (2008), who suggests three major characteristics of agency in the classroom (i.e., students' initiatives, agency's interdependence with the context, and students' awareness of the responsibility towards the environment (including the affected others)) (see Section 2.4 for a detailed explanation). The same pattern will be followed for the analysis of Olivia's and Apple's agency (cf. Sections 0 and 4.3.5).

The first characteristic of agency described by van Lier (2008) is initiative. Lily was an active class participant, not just in pair/group discussions and in answering questions in class, but also in extended discussions with the lecturer in front of the whole class (e.g., Recording 1-1, 19 October 2017). Lily's action can be compared to the higher-achievers in Jiang and Zhang's (2019, p. 8) research with one EMI (English-medium instruction) teacher and 134 students at a university in China, who enacted 'a stronger sense of agency' by responding to teachers voluntarily in class. As a matter of fact, Lily was awarded a distinction for her master's degree.

Lily was an active English user inside the classroom as, in all her four classroom recordings, all the conversations she initiated inside the classroom were in English. In addition, the only two examples of her use of Chinese inside the classroom (i.e., Extracts 4-4 and 4-6) were initiated by others. As was mentioned in Section 4.1.3.1, although she respected other Chinese students' likelihood of using the Chinese language when interacting with their Chinese classmates, Lily herself insisted on speaking English to her Chinese classmates inside the classroom. On the other hand, Lily liked to show off how proficient she was in English and how wide her vocabulary range was, particularly advanced terms such as ‘utilitarian’ (Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018). These factors seemed to contribute to Lily’s initiative in class.

The second characteristic of agency described by van Lier (2008) is its interdependence with the socio-cultural context, i.e., the mutual mediating effect between agency and the context. Although the context includes the interlocutors, the types of conversations, etc., the main influential contextual factor for Lily was the location, that is to say, the space in which the conversation took place. As mentioned in Section 4.1.3, the classroom was a ‘formal setting’ (Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018) for her, where she would ‘purposely speak English’ and ‘hope that everyone is using English’ (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018). The UK classroom environment stimulated her to speak English (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017), which is the way in which the context, the space within the classroom, in particular, mediates Lily’s agency. Outside of the classroom, Lily spoke much less English with other Chinese students than she did in the classroom. Therefore, it is within the socio-cultural context of the classroom that Lily acted the way that she did.

How Lily’s agency, in turn, mediates the context can be seen from the interesting phenomenon that, when Lily joined the discussion, the Chinese students tended to change to speaking English due to her presence. As is mentioned in Lily’s vignette (Section 4.1.1), Olivia spoke only in English with her in that class, while Olivia never spoke only in English for the whole 2-hour class when she was with other Chinese students. (The same English-only conversation (but shorter) also happened with Summer, one of the three other non-key participants who were also audio-recorded in class.) Therefore, had it been a Chinese student other than Lily involved, the conversations were more likely to be held in Chinese or mixed Chinese/English. It is Lily’s taking part that changed Olivia’s and Summer’s language to English only. By speaking English all the time and initiating the conversation with others in class in English, Lily was exercising the agency towards herself and the context, maintaining an English-speaking environment in the classroom. With her initiatives of, and self-regulation in, using only English in the socio-cultural context of the classroom, Lily managed to extend her agency and influenced others’ translanguaging practices as well.

The third characteristic of agency described by van Lier (2008, p. 172) is the 'awareness of the responsibility' towards the environment, 'including affected others'. Not only did Lily communicate with others in English in class and was able to adhere to this, but she also reminded other Chinese students to use English explicitly when she sometimes noticed they were not speaking English. For instance, below is an extract from the fieldnotes in Module 2 (which was not audio-recorded) when Hailey (Chinese), Lily, and I were discussing 'the advantages of online tests' as a group in class (Fieldnotes, 14:00-16:00, 14 November 2017).

Extract 4-7 Fieldnotes, 14:00-16:00, 14 November 2017

<table>
<tr><td>Module 3 (Lecturer C) A.1A1 (PC)</td><td>14:00–16:00 Week 10 Tue 14/11/2017</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Group discussion: advantages of online test: with Hailey and Lily, Hailey started in Chinese, Lily 'English English'.</td></tr>
</table>

During the discussion time, Hailey started the conversation in Chinese. Lily said, 'English English', implying that she should speak English, and Hailey complied. This may contradict what Lily said in the interview (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017); that she 'did not care' which language other students used in class because it was 'their decisions', though she held the opinion that 'since you are in an English-speaking country, it is better if you use English'. It seems that, after all, Lily did care about other students' languages in class, and strongly recommended them to use English, sometimes through a verbal reminder. It was not clear whether Hailey was happy about such a reminder, but, from Lily's perspective, she felt that other students should be using English in class, and, thus, she might have felt the need to make sure that others were speaking English in class, which Lily perceives as an English-only environment. And the group discussion activity provided Lily with the possibility to point out the use of English directly and out loud.

Lily was an active student in class in participating in group discussions, asking questions, and answering the lecturers' questions, as well as a committed English user through initiating English conversations with Chinese classmates, insisting on using English during her communication with others, and reminding others to use English in class. All of these examples illustrate the various ways in which she exercised her agency inside the classroom.

4.1.6 Summary

Lily's audio recordings are characterised by her use of English, especially inside the classroom, where she seemed to be able to separate the two languages in her full repertoire and adhere to using only English. It is evident that she was single-minded and that no other aspects, such as maintaining the friendship, could exceed the importance of speaking English. Outside the classroom, Lily was less strict with her languages, mixing them as she spoke without the constraints of the English-speaking context of the classroom, taking both her cultural and social capital into consideration. Indeed, in the interviews, Lily drew on her full linguistic repertoire and seemed unaware of which language she was using to make meaning. As speaking English to accumulate cultural capital was her top priority and there were no other competing aims, she was agentive in doing so, leading to her speaking English almost 100% of the time during the classroom audio recordings.

4.2 Olivia

Olivia started learning English in an extracurricular course organised by her primary school in Grade 1 (around the age of seven) for two hours a week. The official and compulsory English classes began in Grade 4 (around age 11), and she also took English courses outside school. At that time, she did not understand English at all and did not enjoy it. She started to understand English better in junior high school, when English, especially grammar, was 'systematically taught to the students' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Olivia did not develop a love for English until her junior high school, when she participated in an English competition and made it to the final. Since then, she became increasingly interested in English and was motivated to learn it.

English was Olivia's first choice for her bachelor's degree, but her mother disagreed with it. She studied a STEM subject instead, which she also liked, and moved on to a three-year master's degree in the same subject in China. She had to interrupt her master's studies in her final year due to an allergy. That is when she decided to change her degree subject to TESOL: she had planned to become a teacher (albeit of STEM subjects), and she has always liked English, and TESOL seemed to combine both. For Olivia, English is a 'tool' and an 'interest' (Interview 4-1, 02 November 2017). Due to the lack of professional knowledge and work experience, Olivia worked part-time for a year in preparation for her application to a TESOL master's programme in the UK. She was first a translator of English documentaries for three months and then a teaching assistant in English education provision for young learners (mostly age four to six). After this one year, she realised that she liked children and enjoys teaching them.

At the beginning of her experience as a teaching assistant, Olivia lacked confidence in her English-speaking skills. She dared not speak English with the 'foreign'[8] teachers, as she had never met with an English-speaking teacher from overseas before and was a little bit afraid to talk with them. Furthermore, she did not have much speaking experience in that year because she did not often work with the foreign teachers, and she mostly used Chinese with other colleagues. Speaking English to the students was easier because she was using simple words with them, which reduces the likelihood of making mistakes.

Olivia took a three-month pre-sessional course before her TESOL master's programme in the UK, and she met some of her future master's classmates. They became friends at that time, and their friendship continued as they moved on to their master's programme together – they usually sat as a group in class. As much as she wanted to speak more English and learn more, she did not have the chance because she did not have many non-Chinese friends, which is consistent with the available literature on the difficulty faced by international students befriending students from other nationalities (e.g., Copland & Garton, 2011; Wright & Schartner, 2013). She also felt that her Chinese friends would prefer to speak with her in Chinese outside the classroom or when they were talking off-topic in class. She tried to speak English with one of her Chinese flatmates as well, who also wanted to improve her English. This is the same practice adopted by the two Chinese students in Canada, who talked to people around them in order to speak more English (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). Olivia did so through WeChat or face-to-face when they were shopping, but this did not last long, nor did that happen often.

[8] Teachers from overseas, or 'foreign teachers', who tend to be 'native speakers' of the language, are employed in some schools, universities (especially for English and relevant majors) and English language institutions in China to provide the students with an English-speaking environment.

After graduation, Olivia went back to China and wanted to resume teaching English to young learners.

4.2.1 Olivia’s vignette

Today’s class started at 9 am. I usually sit with Celina (Chinese, who was audio-recorded) in class in the front row, with Lucy (Chinese) behind us, and Faith (Chinese, who was also audio-recorded) and Kevin (Chinese) behind Lucy. The five of us have been sitting in this way in this module since Day 1. We have known each other from the pre-sessional course, in which there was one Thai student, one Turkish student, and 12 Chinese students. We remained friends after the pre-sessional course ended and, as we are all in the same master’s programme, we naturally sit together as a group.

Black Friday is approaching, and Celina, Lucy and I were talking about discounts and the brands in Chinese before the class began today. As much as I wish to speak English, I would not normally initiate a conversation with Chinese students in English, but I am happy to speak English with anyone – whether English is his/her first language or not – because both ways can help me with my spoken English.

We started today’s classroom discussion in English, although we also used some Chinese. I understand that I do not have many chances to speak English after class, as I do not have many non-Chinese friends, so I know I should use as much English in class as possible. This is the reason why sometimes, during our discussion in Chinese, I try to switch the discussion back to English. Sometimes I manage to do so, but sometimes they just continue speaking in Chinese. I am not comfortable speaking English while others are using Chinese, so I would also use Chinese instead. And I am also shy in switching the discussion language to English too often. There are also times when I cannot explain myself clearly in English, so I have to use Chinese.

In one of the group discussions, we finished early while other groups were still discussing, and this was usually the time when we talked about something off-topic, usually in Chinese. Celina said ‘let’s chit-chat’ in Chinese and started to complain that she had been gaining weight these days. Our chit-chat in Chinese did not last long before the lecturer started talking.

I seldom volunteer to answer questions in class, though I think I should, and I do think about the answers. This is because, like many other Chinese students, I am afraid that I will make mistakes, both in the content and in the language, although sometimes I realise that the answer I have in mind is exactly the answer the lecturer has given to the question.

After the class, Lily came to talk with me in English, and I used English as well. Afterwards, Celina and I had lunch, and we went to the library together.

My flatmate (Chinese) and I went shopping in the afternoon. I understand she also wanted to improve her spoken English, so sometimes we would speak and text in English between ourselves. In a shop, we were standing in front of a counter and discussing in English whether the product was suitable for us within sight of a shop assistant. Although both of us are Chinese, we spoke in English because we were inside a shop. I found it disrespectful to speak in Chinese in front of a non-Chinese person, and I also felt they would not be able to give us help with the product if the assistant could not understand us. Besides, I know my flatmate would like more chances to speak English as well. As soon as we left the shop, we changed back to speaking in Chinese as we were 'out of inertia' and because it is inevitable that, when all the interlocutors are Chinese, we would speak Chinese.

We went back to the dorm to have dinner with the other flatmates, all of whom are Chinese. Then I did some more writing before I went to bed.

4.2.2 Olivia's translanguaging outside the classroom

In the first interview, Olivia stated that her speaking opportunities were limited: '[I did] not have too many chances to speak English after class. If I do not practise in class, I will not have any other opportunities' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Her experience is similar to international students' experiences in many different contexts (e.g., Brown, 2009; Bui, 2019; Copland & Garton, 2011; Freeman & Li, 2019; Teo & Arkoudis, 2019). Even though she was living in an English-speaking country, Olivia's opportunities for interacting with non-Chinese nationals outside the classroom were limited to transactional conversations, such as while she was travelling or looking for things during shopping; otherwise, there were 'not too many' chances (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). This may be due to the fact that all of her friends and flatmates were Chinese (Interview 4-2, 10

March 2018). Although she had met two non-Chinese students on her pre-sessional course, ‘they had not had much interaction’ afterwards because ‘they were not in the same programme’ (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). This is what Brown (2009) refers to as ghettoisation, a long-observed phenomenon in which interactions between international HE students mostly happens among students from the same nation and the tendency to stay within the same group. It seems that there is not only a lack of contact between international students and locals in international HE (Brown, 2009; Campbell, 2012), but also a lack of social interaction among international students from different nations, which reduces their opportunities to speak English (Copland & Garton, 2011).

Olivia did not mind speaking English to her Chinese peers outside the classroom, and she would reply in English if others initiated the conversation in English, although she tended not to be the one who initiated an English conversation with Chinese acquaintances (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). From her point of view, ‘it does not matter whether the interlocutors are native or not, as long as one is brave enough to speak up’ (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). This seems to be different from the opinions voiced by international students in Brown’s (2009) research, who stated that language proficiency is improved mainly through the interaction with other (non-Chinese) international students.

It seems that Olivia felt that there are socio-cultural rules governing her use of the languages, and she felt that it was important to use the appropriate language for the context. For example, when she was in a shop with the shopping assistant, or when she was at a restaurant with the presence of a waiter, she would use English to accommodate the non-Chinese people; she used Chinese with Chinese students outside the classroom so that it would not feel strange. Olivia seemed to be quite sensitive to contexts and what she felt was expected behaviour in each, and this was more important to her than her desire to practise English. She seemed to maintain a kind of separate bilingualism (though to a lesser degree compared with what Lily did) depending on the location – attempting to speak more English inside the classroom because it is an English-speaking environment, and the understanding that using more Chinese when outside the classroom is acceptable.

In addition, the interlocutor also mattered to Olivia. She explained that, in China, she would use only Chinese when she talked to her students’ parents, who do not understand

English. In addition, when talking with her mum, Olivia would have to think about how to translate some English words, such as ‘reception’ and ‘presentation’, into Chinese, although she would integrate these English words in Chinese utterances when she was talking to her Chinese friends in the UK (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). One Chinese participant at a UK university in Hirsu and Zacharias’s (2019) research also mentioned that she often kept the English words and/or phrases when she was talking in Chinese to her peers without translating them.

Unlike Lily, who adopted a strict English-only-classroom rule, Olivia displayed a more complex translanguaging practice, which was affected by not only the place where the conversation took place, but also by the interlocutors and Olivia herself (see Section 4.2.1). There are times when she was not able to explain why she used English/Chinese, as she put it ‘I just don’t know, it just came out the way it was, I don’t know the reason for this indeed’, because she did not ‘give it too much thought as she spoke’ and she was ‘not thinking about the reasons why she was saying it this way’ (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018).

4.2.3 Olivia’s translanguaging in the classroom

In the five-class audio recordings, Olivia held conversations with several Chinese students, and Lily was the only one who spoke only English to Olivia (see Section 4.1.4). All of Olivia’s conversations with Lily, which only happened in the first recording when Olivia was paired up with Lily (i.e., Recording 4-1, 19 October 2017), were all conducted in English as well, including the ones Olivia initiated. The only time Olivia ever used Chinese in this recording was during the break, when I went to her to check her recorder and initiated a conversation in Chinese. By contrast, even during the break, Lily initiated her conversations with Olivia in English. This might be what Olivia meant when she said her language(s) ‘depends on the interlocutor’ (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017; Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). If the interlocutor starts a conversation in English, like Lily, Olivia would follow the language and reply in English; and if it was in Chinese, as I did, Olivia would follow and use Chinese as well. In other words, Olivia followed the practices of those around her. This is similar to Informant #05’s translanguaging practices in Zhang’s (2019) research on Chinese mainland students’ translanguaging in Macao. This informant was influenced by the people around her and followed their translanguaging practices through interspersing English with Chinese because ‘it was easy to follow their way of speaking’ (Zhang, 2019, p. 109). Olivia’s greater use of Chinese might have to do with her opinion that, although English should be the main language of the classroom, Chinese use should not be completely banned, but should be minimised to the circumstances when they do not know how to express themselves in English (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). However, Olivia’s translanguaging practices were not consistent with her opinion, an observation that will be discussed in detail throughout the remainder of Section 4.2.

Olivia answered questions more frequently in the pre-sessional course than she did in the master’s, because, in the former, everyone had to take turns to do so, and there were just 14 students in class, which was less stressful for her. The more students there are in the class and the less familiar she was with them, the less likely she was to answer questions.

During her time in the UK (including the pre-sessional course and the master’s programme), Olivia’s attitude towards speaking English changed, too. In the beginning, she dared not speak up because she was afraid of making grammar mistakes, which is the same for other students whose first language is not English across different contexts (see Abrar & Mukminin, 2016; Ha, 2014; Nerlicki, 2011; Sawir, 2005); as time moved on, she adjusted to the English-speaking environment, became less afraid, and was able to correct herself after making a mistake (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). However, my audio recording collection lasted only for five weeks, which is not long enough to document such change fully.

4.2.3.1 English

The majority of Olivia’s English turns took place in English conversations, including answering questions, group discussions and chit-chats. Interestingly, compared with the large number of chit-chats that Olivia had in Chinese, I observed only one in English with a non-Chinese student when they were talking about the food they had eaten. Indeed, this conversation is the only one that Olivia had with a non-Chinese student in the recordings (although in another module, Olivia was always in the same group with a European student with whom only English could be used). All of her other English-only utterances are more or less related to the classroom content.

There are also a number of occasions when Olivia used English when the previous conversation was in Chinese. Extract 4-8 is one of these examples. There were four Chinese students in this conversation during Lecture 2, Olivia, Celina, Lucy, and Jen, with the first two sitting in the front and the second two behind them. The lecturer asked the students, in groups of four, to discuss when they started learning a foreign/second language and how they were assessed.

Extract 4-8 Recording 4-2, 02 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Olivia	no listening, I don't think so, /ɔː/ maybe some () simple questions	
2	Celina	/eɪ/ 我们主要是 listening 欸，几乎整个试卷都是 listening	/eɪ/ we mostly have listening, almost the whole exam papers are listening
3	Lucy	没有，几乎没有	no barely any
4	Celina	这种特别简单，打勾 ABCD (3)，说呀	this kind is very easy, tick ABCD, say something
5	Olivia	说哪个？	say which one?
		((laugh))	
6	Jen	yes, 剑桥少儿英语怎么说 Cambridge?	yes, how to say Cambridge Young Learner English [in English] Cambridge?
7	Olivia	/əʊ/ Cambridge English	
8	Celina	/əm/	
9	Olivia	but I think it's () outside classroom	
10	Jen	yea	
11	Olivia	they are extra- curricular	
12	Jen	so it's nothing about the second	
13	Olivia	not tests not assessment but I think we should take the exam after we learn a level of the () materials	
14	Jen	lesson	

The topic of the previous conversation, which is not included here, was on what tasks they had for assessments in their primary schools. Olivia was sharing her experience with the group in Turn 1. Celina was surprised to find out that Olivia had no listening in her exams, which was the opposite of her own experience, where they were assessed mainly on listening (Turn 2). The on-topic discussion carried on in Chinese until Turn 5. In Turn 6, a side talk began when Jen asked Olivia a question. Olivia answered in Turn 7, which was confirmed by Celina in Turn 8, and continued this off-topic talk with Jen for another three turns (Turn 9 to Turn 11) in English. From Turn 12 until the end, the conversation went back on track and was continued in English.

As for the discussion language, only Chinese students were involved in this conversation, which makes the use of both languages possible. The previous conversation was in English until Celina changed to Chinese in Turn 2. It can be seen that, from Turn 2 to Turn 6, Chinese was mainly used, and, from Turn 7 to Turn 14, English. In Turn 6, Jen raised a question '剑桥少儿英语怎么说' (which means, 'how to say Cambridge Young Learner English') followed by an English word, 'Cambridge'. Jen used the English word 'Cambridge' here because she knew that the answer she was looking for starts with 'Cambridge'. In Turn 7, the first sound Olivia produced was '/əʊ/', which can be understood as 'oh' in English or '噢' in Chinese, both of which have the same sound and serve as a reaction to Jen's question. After '/əʊ/', Olivia said 'Cambridge English' as the answer in English, as was expected from Jen's question. Celina's '/əm/' in Turn 8 can also be interpreted in two different ways: English 'mm' or Chinese '嗯'. In Turn 9, Olivia expressed her opinion in English, which might be because of the use of English in the previous turns, which provided Olivia with affordance for English use, which is her preference for the classroom. The following turns by Jen and Olivia were all in English.

I asked Olivia in the interview why she changed to English, and she said, 'I just felt that it was in class, and if there is an opportunity to speak English, I should speak English' (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). She also mentioned that she could have said the English 'say which one' instead of the Chinese '说哪个' in Turn 5 (which would have resulted in all of her utterances in this extract being English only), and she might have unconsciously spoken Chinese. As soon as she realised she was using Chinese, she thought she should change back to English (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). It seems that, for this phrase (i.e., '说哪个'), Olivia was not making a conscious choice about which language(s) to use, but that her preference was to use English whenever possible in this class. Several other similar situations where Olivia kept using English when other group members were speaking Chinese were found in this specific class recording. In the other four class recordings, however, there is only one more instance of her trying to use English in a

Chinese conversation, which will be further discussed in Section 4.2.4. Again, similar to her use of English with her flatmate in front of the shopping assistant, under these circumstances, Olivia seemed to be aware of her own language according to the context and was able to keep the two languages separate, which was her preference. Therefore, both the interlocutors and the context of the conversation can be the influencing factors of Olivia's translanguaging practices.

Other minor English-only situations where less than four turns could be found include helping with pronunciation (e.g., the word 'diagnostic'), reading slides, repeating what was said in the previous turn (e.g., 'bring new grammar?') and previous inaudible turns.

4.2.3.2 Chinese

In the audio recordings, Olivia used Chinese before and after the class, except for the one time during a break (only one of the five classes that were audio-recorded had a break) with Lily, as was mentioned in Section 4.1.1. Although she wanted to speak more English, Olivia only spoke Chinese with her Chinese classmates outside of the class, except for the time when Lily initiated a conversation in English (see Section 4.2.3). This might be what Olivia meant when she said she needed 'someone else to drive her' to speak English (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), as she seldom initiated a conversation in English (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018), and, at the same time, found it 'embarrassing to answer in English if others initiated the conversation in Chinese' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017).

Olivia's Chinese use in class is similar to hers outside the classroom, most of which happened during Chinese conversations with the previous turn being in Chinese, as she followed the language other interlocutors used. There are three exceptions, two of which have a previous inaudible turn (and therefore will not be included in the present analysis), and the third one is presented in Extract 4-9. In Lecture 5, the lecturer asked the students, in groups of two or three, to discuss the differences, advantages and disadvantages of having two age groups of beginners, that is to say, children, starting to learn a language at the age of five or six and at the age of nine or ten. Extract 4-9 happened right after the lecturer raised the question, and all the interlocutors were Chinese.

Extract 4-9 Recording 4-5, 23 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Celina	older beginners?	
2	Olivia	就是, 年纪长一点的比和年纪小一点, 他说白了就是让讨论这两个组各有什么优点, 在年龄上	it's, older and younger, he asked [us] to discuss what are the advantages of these two groups, in terms of age
3	Lucy	/ɔː/ 就是在学习语言的那个	/ɔː/ in learning language that
4	Olivia	对	yes
5	Lucy	那五到六岁的肯定, 我觉得他应该更容易学-学语言吧*	it must be the [group of] five to six years old, I think it should be easier for him to learn- learn languages
6	Celina	I don't think it's a good thing to () start learning English earlier age the most appropriate – the appropriate age would be (2) seven yea about seven I think because they they got cognitive	
*: 吧 here is a modal indicating a suggesting tone with no actual meaning			

Celina picked up the keyword 'older beginners' but did not seem to fully understand the lecturer's question, which might be the reason why she asked this in a questioning tone in Turn 1. Olivia explained the questions to her in Chinese in Turn 2, which seemed to help Lucy with her understanding of the question as well (Turn 3). Olivia confirmed what Lucy said was correct in Turn 4, and, in the latter two turns, Lucy and Celina began to actually discuss the question. Similar to Extract 4-8, the fact that only Chinese students were involved in this conversation makes the use of both languages possible. This is the same for Extracts 4-11, 4-12, and 4-13.

In this classroom discussion, Chinese was used by Olivia to clarify the question with her peers so that everyone involved was on the same page. This also shows her sensitivity to the group, because in her opinion, the other two interlocutors, Celina and Lucy, preferred speaking Chinese with Chinese students (Interview 4-1, 02 November 2017). In Zhang's (2013) research with 53 Mainland university students in Macao, where Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages, and English is used in education, one of the participants reported that other Mainland students feel uncomfortable when a Mainland student spoke to them in English, which is the reason why more Chinese than English was used with them. Olivia's behaviour seems to be in line with that of the participants in Zhang's (2013) research and spoke Chinese with Chinese students, whereas Lily, the first key participant, who also found it strange to speak English to Chinese students, still chose to speak English with them in class, because she wanted to speak English in class.

Olivia's translanguaging practices seem to be the same as the participants' in Lehti-Eklund (2012, p. 148), which shows that the upper secondary school students in Finland who learned Swedish as a foreign language in her research tended to 'keep up a division of labour between FL used for institutional work and L1 as the language reserved for the interaction'. Olivia seemed to follow the same pattern: she used English for group discussions with Chinese students and Chinese for chit-chats inside the classroom. It seems that she was able to separate the two languages depending on the type of conversation, using only one language at a time when necessary.

4.2.3.3 Mixed languages

Olivia's mixed-language practices inside the classroom are mainly English words and phrases in Chinese sentences (e.g., '可能是因为我那个 Word 版本跟这个是一样的', '如果选 activity 的话' and '先用 different colours 给他们介绍一下'). The English words and phrases include proper nouns (e.g., people's names and Microsoft 'Word'), words/phrases that appeared in the classroom materials (e.g., 'individually' and 'different colours'), and words/phrases to put into the worksheet in English that they were working on (e.g., 'ketchup' and 'how to').

She said in the interview that she tends to use one language and not mix two languages when speaking, and would use Chinese if she could, such as '百加得' for the spirits brand Bacardi, when the conversation is in Chinese (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). (Using language(s) the other way around, i.e., using Chinese words in English sentences, was not common among these participants, as no one single example could be distinguished.) For the words she could not translate, she used the English version, such as the retailer, Primark (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017).

The following are sub-sections of different functions that Olivia's mixed-language practices serve.

4.2.3.3.1 Conveying meaning of words that they cannot explain in Chinese

The first example is a sentence Olivia said to Celina (Chinese) during their chit-chat after they finished the group discussion (i.e., Extract 4-8, on when they started learning a foreign/second language and how they were assessed) while other students were still talking in Extract 4-10 in Lecture 2.

Extract 4-10 Recording 4-2, 02 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
		((noise))	
1	Olivia	没事 之后学姐*能听到 指不定下周 interview 的时候学姐不一定问你什么	it's fine, Ming will listen to it later, you do not know what questions she is going to ask you next week's interview
		((laugh))	
*学姐 refers to a senior female student, which is used to address me, in this case. Here, I translated it into my name, Ming, for the ease of understanding.			

Because it is a chit-chat after the group discussion, Olivia might find it more acceptable to speak Chinese. As for the English word, interview, she said that 'sometimes it does not sound right to translate them to Chinese', and gave an example of a possible Chinese translation of the word 'interview', '采访', which sounds too formal to her (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). This sentence was spoken after the first interview was conducted with Olivia, so she had already had an interview experience and thus understood what an 'interview' refers to. The problem is, she could not find a proper equivalent in Chinese for this kind of research 'interview', so she used the English word instead, although, later on, in the same interview, she used the Chinese '采访' once, and for another seven times across the three interviews, she used the English 'interview'.

Another example of conveying meaning in words they cannot explain in Chinese is found in Lecture 4 in a discussion between Olivia and Faith (Chinese) on which classroom activity/task they would use for their future students.

Extract 4-11 Recording 4-4, 16 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Faith	这个 (xxx)	this (xxx)
2	Olivia	还没选完呢 如果选 activity 的话 task 的内容是 (xxxx)	haven't finished choosing, if choose activity, the content of the task is (xxxx)
3	Faith	有什么关系啊	what does it matter
4	Olivia	我也- 我没选那个题	I too- I didn't choose that one

The focal turn in this extract is Turn 2, where English words were used in a discussion that was mainly conducted in Chinese. For this one, Olivia explained that she knew the Chinese for both words but considered neither to be accurate (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). She seemed to believe that the meanings of the two English words are different, but the Chinese translation could not show such differences. Therefore, she was more comfortable using the original English words to convey the meaning she was trying to express.

Olivia seemed to behave similarly to the participants in Zhang's (2019) research where the Chinese Mainland students could not find an appropriate Chinese word for 'presentation' and only use the English word, even in Chinese sentences. Both Olivia and the Chinese Mainland students understand words such as 'interview' and 'presentation' fully, respectively, and, because they could not find any Chinese words that carry exactly the same meanings, they would instead use the English words, which are more convenient, especially when the interlocutors (mostly their peers) have no problem understanding the words. This seems to confirm the point that translanguaging 'concerns effective communication, function rather than form' (Lewis et al., 2012a, p. 641). Olivia would take into consideration whether the interlocutors could understand the English words or not, and translanguaging functions well when she was talking to her Chinese peers in the UK. For instance, if she were talking with her mum, who did not understand these English words, she would have to use Chinese and think about how to translate them properly (Interview 4-3, 10 May 2018).

4.2.3.3.2 Maintaining the conversation flow

Extract 4-12 was drawn from the class held in the computer lab (Lecture 3), and the students were asked to design a worksheet in English based on an online game for their students in the future. Lucy (Chinese), Olivia, and Celina (Chinese) were in a group together and chose the pizza-making game. They were trying to establish what the sauce was on the pizza, come up with a sentence expressing the meaning of adding the sauce onto the pizza, and type it into the worksheet. The quotation marks are used to signal the words that they put into the worksheet.

Extract 4-12 Recording 4-3, 09 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Lucy	想一句话啊	think of a sentence
2	Celina	/əm/ ‘after you add the ketchup sauce’	
3	Olivia	就简单一点	just be simple
4	Celina	/əʊ/ 写这个啊	/əʊ/ write this
		(8)	
5	Lucy	it’s it’s barbecue	
		((laugh))	
6	Lucy	it’s barbecue sauce	
		((laugh))	
7	Olivia	‘add add other’ 什么什么 ‘on the pizza’	‘add add other’ blah blah ‘on the pizza’
8	Celina	/əʊ/ 你就可以说	/əʊ/ you can just say
9	Lucy	/əm/?	
10	Celina	/eɪ/ 不行	/eɪ/ no
11	Olivia	‘add’什么 blah blah ‘on the’	‘add’ blah blah blah ‘on the’
12	Lucy	((typing)) ‘barbecue sauce’	
13	Olivia	‘barbecue’	
14	Lucy	((typing)) ‘in the pizza’	

The two focal turns here are 7 and 11 by Olivia when she was trying to come up with the sentences to put in the worksheet for the group. She ‘could not call to mind the English “blah blah” at first’ because she was ‘not used to this word’ (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018), so she used the Chinese word ‘什么什么’ instead, which literally means ‘what what’, which her interlocutors were able to understand easily. In her next turn, when she was trying to repeat her answer, she realised that she could use ‘blah blah’ to replace ‘什么什么’, and so she did. When she remembered the word that she could use as she was speaking, she stopped at the first ‘什么’ and used the English ‘blah blah’ instead, which shows her desire to use English as soon as she was able to.

Regarding Turn 3, where it seems that Olivia did not follow the language of the previous speaker who was using English, it can be argued that Olivia used Chinese because it was the main language in this discussion and most of the English appeared was in quotation marks, which means that these English words and phrases are the words that the speakers included, or were considering to include, in the worksheet, instead of the words the speakers said per se. In Turn 2, Celina pronounced /əm/, a filler which can be interpreted in both Chinese and English (this will be further discussed in Section 4.2.3.3.3), followed by 'after you add the ketchup sauce', a clause in English that she suggested should be added to the worksheet they were working on. (Celina also pronounced other similar fillers in Turns 4, 8 and 10, all followed by Chinese utterances.) Therefore, Olivia did not change the conversation language; on the contrary, she was following the conversation language and the language Lucy spoke in the first turn – Chinese.

It is important to point out that Olivia's use of Chinese in Turns 7 and 11 does not indicate her language incompetence in holding an English-only conversation, as she was able to talk with Lily in English for the whole class in the first recording, and she did know the English word 'blah', though she had forgotten it. This differs from the students in Finland, who had to use their first language due to their comparatively lower proficiency in the foreign language (i.e., Swedish) (Lehti-Eklund, 2012). It is just that, at that particular moment, the English word 'blah' slipped her mind, and she could not skip the word and because there should be a noun after 'other' to make the phrase meaningful. Therefore, in order to maintain the flow of conversation, she used '什么', a word in her repertoire that allowed her to convey her meaning and could be understood by all the interlocutors, regardless of which language this word belongs to. She used it because it is part of her repertoire (as well as of her interlocutors) and not because she intended to use a Chinese word, and this one belongs to Chinese.

4.2.3.3.3 Interchangeable language resources

Extract 4-13 is from the same class as Extract 4-8 (i.e., Lecture 2), and the students were given several names of different types of tasks (such as 'gap filling' and 'linking') and some task samples and were asked to match the types of tasks.

Extract 4-13 Recording 4-2, 02 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Celina	这是 gap filling 吗*? (6) gap filling 吧* (2) 这个最难了	is this gap filling? (6) maybe gap filling (2) this is the most difficult [one]
2	Olivia	/əmˈhm/	
3	Celina	这是啥那几个词儿? (2) 那个很多词 (12) 开心吗？明天四小时的课 ((laugh)) 从一点半上到五点半呢 (8) gap filling，再讨论一些些啊，这是什么？	what is this that [one with] a few words [in it]? (2) that one with many words [in it] (12) happy? four hours of lecture tomorrow ((laugh)) from half past one to half past five (8) gap filling, discuss a little bit more, what is this?
4	Olivia	but what about this one	
5	Celina	linking 吗？/ɑː/ 不对	linking? /ɑː/ no
6	Olivia	/ɑː/ no I don’t think so	
7	Celina	不懂，这种小学生的作业都好奇怪啊	don’t know, this kind of primary school students’ homework is weird
8	Olivia	gap fill and	
9	Jen	next next	

*: 吗 here is a modal indicating a questioning tone with no actual meaning
吧 here is a modal indicating a suggesting tone with no actual meaning

Celina started the conversation in Chinese and used mainly Chinese in her first two turns (Turns 1 and 3). The only English word employed in these two turns was the discussion keyword, that is, ‘gap filling’. In Turn 4, Olivia did not answer Celina’s question, but she asked a new question – ‘but what about this one’ – in English. Celina provided a possible answer that it could be a linking task and immediately changed her mind about it herself in Chinese. Then again, in English, Olivia showed her disagreement. Although Celina continued to speak in Chinese in Turn 7, Olivia kept on using English in Turn 8 until, finally, Jen followed her language and spoke English as well.

The two sounds made by Olivia, ‘/əmˈhm/’ in Turn 2 and ‘/ɑː/’ in Turn 6, which are similar to the ‘/əː/’ and ‘/əʊ/’ in Extract 4-8, can be seen in other parts of her audio recordings as well. The ‘/əmˈhm/’ and the ‘/ɑː/’ here can be understood in both English and Chinese, with the same sounds and similar meanings and functions. The ‘/əmˈhm/’ can be interpreted as ‘mhm’ in English and ‘嗯哼’ in Chinese, both of which are an acknowledgement to the previous comment by Celina. The ‘/ɑː/’ can be ‘ah’ and ‘啊’, a filler word in the conversation. The ‘/əmˈhm/’ and the ‘/ɑː/’ are linguistic resources that are interchangeable between the two languages, accommodating Celina as she was speaking Chinese while helping Olivia herself to speak English at the same time. Such a communication cushion could serve as a compromise between Olivia's eagerness to speak more English and her desire to maintain friendships, although it is difficult to know whether Olivia was aware at the time of the effect of using these fillers.

4.2.4 Olivia's capital

Olivia's mother (i.e., Olivia's social capital) signed her up for extracurricular English classes in Grade 1 in her primary school, an opportunity that Lily never had in her primary and secondary schools (see Section 4.1). In the beginning, she was not interested in English. It was not until Grade 7 in secondary school, when Olivia won an English competition, that her attitude towards English changed. Olivia became more interested in English and started to work hard (i.e., personal effort) to learn it. Olivia did well in English (linguistic-cultural capital) and wanted to take it as her undergraduate degree subject, but her mother did not allow it. (I did not ask why her mother rejected it, but my mother also signed me up for extracurricular English classes and suggested that I should not take English as my bachelor's degree subject because she thought that I did not need to have an English degree to be good at English and that I could study a different subject and improve my English at the same time.) Therefore, she chose a STEM subject, in which she had studied towards her degree until the second year of her master's in China, when she could not continue her study in this subject any longer due to health reasons.

She decided to take a master's degree in the UK because it only takes one year (compared with two-to-three years in China). She did not consider other English-speaking countries as her destination because the UK is 'the place where the English language originated' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), and because of the high quality of education and comparably stable temperature (out of her health concern). English education was her first choice. Instead of applying for a master's in TESOL directly, Olivia decided to work first (economic capital) in the industry with her English knowledge (linguistic-cultural capital) to check whether she would enjoy doing so and to prepare herself for the application. Because she came from a completely different background, she thought it would be better to have some relevant work experience. Her part-time work experience as an English teaching assistant led to her realisation that she liked young learners and enjoyed teaching English to them.

Compared with other Chinese students who studied English- or Education-related subjects as their bachelor's and/or had already had English teaching experience (such as Lily), Olivia chose to spend one extra year and more effort to gain relevant cultural capital related to the English education field. Lily also spent one-and-a-half years between deciding to study abroad and applying for the master's programme, not due to her lack of relevant background or experience, but because she needed time to save enough money (economic capital). (She could have asked for a substantial contribution from her husband and his family, but she preferred only to take a small amount; she wanted to support herself through her own effort.) This led to another difference between Lily and Olivia: Olivia's study-abroad experience was funded by her parents (social capital), while Lily's was mostly funded by herself.

In terms of Olivia's translanguaging practices, sometimes she spoke English in class (linguistic-cultural capital), and sometimes she spoke Chinese, which seems to have been done in order to maintain the friendship with her peers (social capital) and accommodate their needs. Different from Lily, who prioritised speaking English in class, Olivia shifted between speaking English to improve her English proficiency and speaking Chinese to maintain friendships. Specifically, Olivia's attempts to change the discussion language to English (as mentioned in Section 4.2.3.1) can be partially explained as she was planning to be an English teacher in the future, a job (economic capital) which requires high English proficiency (linguistic-cultural capital) in her opinion, so she needed to create opportunities for herself to speak English in class, particularly as her friendship groups outside class were Chinese students, and so she had few speaking opportunities there.

Olivia graduated with a master's degree (embodied cultural capital) as Lily did. However, even though the same amount of economic capital was expended by them to be enrolled in the same master's programme, the capital Olivia gained from her time in the UK could be considered less generative than Lily's, as she neither had many chances to interact with students from cultures other than the Chinese (and gain particular types of social capital and cultural capital) nor to improve her English (and gain linguistic-cultural capital).

However, it could be argued that Olivia did develop social capital in terms of friendships, which may reap benefits in her future life.

4.2.5 Olivia's agency

In the present section, I am following van Lier's (2008) three major characteristics of agency, which are related to initiative/self-regulation, interdependence, and responsibility toward others and the environment (see Section 2.4), as I did with Lily in Section 4.1.5, to analyse Olivia's translanguaging practices.

From the data collected, Olivia's agency can be mainly noticed in her attempts to speak more English with her classmates inside the classroom and with her flatmate outside the classroom. One of her motivations was that she would like to practise her spoken English as much as she could so that she would not end up like some students whose 'English had not improved after they came back from studying abroad' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). She made efforts in trying to change the discussion language to English in class, although such 'initiatives' (van Lier, 2008, p. 172) did not appear to be frequent over time (in the first recording, she spoke all utterances in English when she was paired up with Lily, five times in the second recording, and once in each of the remaining three). Yet, her agency in these attempts should not be neglected.

The second characteristic of agency is that it 'mediates and is mediated by the sociocultural context' (van Lier, 2008, p. 172). Like Lily, Olivia considered the classroom to be a space in which to speak English (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), but there was a difference between the class-related discussions and chit-chats with her peers. If the topic is not related to the class content, Chinese was used, arguably because it was easy to understand and time-saving, as Chinese was their shared first language (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017) (see also Neokleous, 2017) and because Olivia accommodated her peers and wanted to be a sympathetic interlocutor. This seems similar to the interviews with 17 (out of 20) Latino workers in different workplaces in New York, US, where they would change to Spanish after they realised the customer or co-worker they were speaking to was not fluent in English (Callahan, 2005). Both Olivia and these workers are considerate and will accommodate their interlocutors' language proficiency or language preferences. The context is also one of the factors that influenced the Chinese Mainland students' translanguaging practices in Macao in Zhang's (2019) research.

Olivia's agency mediates the context when she spoke English in Chinese conversations (Section 4.2.3.1) and used language resources interchangeably (Section 4.2.3.3.3). In doing so, Olivia did try to change the discussion language to English implicitly, which is different from Lily's strategy of saying 'English English' to her classmates to remind them to use English explicitly (see Section 4.1.5). This might be because Olivia, as a sympathetic interlocutor, seemed to care as much – if not more – about her relationship with her peers and their comfort as she did about learning English. In speaking English during Chinese conversations, Olivia gave her peers the options of using English if they wanted to, or continuing to speak Chinese if they preferred.

Similar to the classroom, the context of being inside a shop with her flatmate in the presence of a non-Chinese assistant is also an English-speaking environment to Olivia. When Olivia was in the shop with her flatmate discussing the product in front of the shop assistant, they used English; as soon as they left the shop, they changed to Chinese (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Olivia said, 'as long as we were inside the shop, we should speak English' (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Their use of English allows the assistant to understand their conversation and needs, which can improve the quality of their shopping experience and benefit everyone in the context. After she left the classroom/the shop, Olivia did not speak English with her Chinese peers/flatmate. Therefore, the socio-cultural context of the classroom/shop enabled Olivia to speak more English.

The final point about agency is related to the awareness of the responsibility towards the 'environment, including affected others' (van Lier, 2008, p. 172). As a student and a customer, Olivia held the opinion that she should use the language of the lecturers, the non-Chinese peers, and the shop assistant, so that they could understand what she was saying; and, for the flatmate who wanted to practise oral English, she also felt responsible for doing so, especially when she wanted to improve her command of spoken English as well (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). She was aware of the classroom/shop as communicative environments and of her responsibility to make herself understandable to others. She also mentioned that, if the lecturer came to their group during a discussion, she would ‘definitely’ (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018) change to English as well so that the lecturer could understand their conversation. One Chinese interviewee in a MSc TESOL programme at a UK university in Hirsu and Zacharias’s (2019) research stated that they would speak Chinese when the lecturer was not present, and English when the lecturer approached, to create the impression that they had been using English. It was reported that their lecturers required the students to use English, while the lecturers in my research did not. Olivia was aware of the context (e.g., the shop and the classroom) and her responsibility of making sure the parties involved (e.g., the shopping assistant and the lecturer) were able to understand her utterances.

The agency that Olivia displayed is not the same as Lily’s (cf. Section 4.1.5). One of the reasons that led to such difference might be what Priestley et al. (2015, p. 24) refer to as those ‘who are able to form expansive projections about their future trajectories might be expected to achieve greater levels of agency than those whose aspirations are more limited’. While Olivia wants to be an English teacher because she wants to teach and she likes English and young learners (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), Lily knows where her talents are and has the vision of what she could achieve through being an English teacher – namely, she could ‘make a difference in other people’s life’, and eventually ‘be a great person’ (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). Although both of them saw English education as their careers, the reasons why they applied to study TESOL in the UK in the first place are different: Olivia needed a degree, and it only takes one year to gain a master’s degree in the UK (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), while Lily, who was an English-related graduate with over a year of English teaching experience, wanted to experience a different education system and expand her horizons in order to improve herself (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017). Olivia’s starting point of joining the programme and the view of what she could gain from it, which many other students also share, according to Copland et al. (2017), are not as extensive as Lily’s, which might be a reason why her level of agency is different from Lily’s, and why, in terms of speaking English in class, Olivia was not as agentive as Lily.

In addition, Olivia was able to speak English in some situations but not others. For example, most of her initiating conversations in English happened in the second class (e.g., Extract 4-8), but not in the third, the fourth, or the fifth, although the classes were just a couple of weeks apart and the interlocutors were basically the same. Therefore, apart from context, there are other factors that also have an influence on Olivia's translanguaging practices, which may have to do with herself rather than the external factors, that is to say, her agentive self. It could be that, at the start of data collection, my presence, and the topic of my research, reminded Olivia of the need to use English in class, which may be the reason for her frequent initiation of English conversations; but, as time went by, the potential effect of my research faded away, and she was not using as much English as she did previously. Also, she could have become more comfortable with her translanguaging practices after she realised that she would not be scolded for using Chinese in class.

It can be concluded that Olivia's classroom translanguaging practices are complex. As much as she was able to conduct an English-only conversation, as she did in the first class with Lily, and as much as she wanted to speak English in class, she did not do so as much as was possible, due to the influence of both the context and her own desires. The reasons related to the specific interaction include 1) the time (e.g., before/after the class or in class) and place (e.g., inside the classroom, in the shop) the conversation happened, 2) the interlocutor(s) (e.g., Lily and the flatmate), and 3) the type of the conversation (such as on-topic class-related discussion versus off-topic chit-chats), etc. It is important to point out that Olivia's classroom translanguaging practices were influenced by these contextual factors jointly, not separately. As much as Olivia wanted to speak English in class, other factors were also important to her, such as maintaining relationships and taking account of interlocutors' preferences. This meant that, in class, she was torn between sitting with non-Chinese students, which would increase her chance of speaking English, and remaining with her classmates from the pre-sessional, with whom she had developed strong relationships. Such contradiction between desire and action was also experienced by the international students in the UK, who did not have many chances to speak English, partially because of 'a lack of self-agency' in making friends with students from other countries or 'reluctance to take the initiative on seeking interaction' (Wright & Schartner, 2013, p. 122).

Olivia made choices based on complex contextual and personal reasons. She wanted to speak English in class to improve her English, but she also wanted to speak Chinese to maintain the friendship with her peers. This results in the flexibility of her agency: sometimes she prioritised English enhancement and spoke English, and sometimes she attached more importance to her friendships and used Chinese with them.

4.2.6 Summary

Unlike Lily, who was fairly inflexible about speaking English in class, Oliva displayed different types of agency and prioritised different capitals in class. Sometimes, she was agentive in speaking English, prioritising her cultural capital accumulation through her improvement of English proficiency; sometimes she was agentive in maintaining the friendship with her peers and therefore decided to speak Chinese with them, prioritising social capital. The types of agency that these two participants chose seemed to depend on their motivations: Olivia needed to balance between her spoken English improvement and her friendships, while Lily put speaking English in class first without hesitation. From a slightly different perspective, it could be argued that Olivia took a social approach when separating two languages, while Lily followed a spatial approach.

4.3 Apple

In high school, Apple did well in English, and the teacher would look to her when other students could not answer questions, which, in turn, motivated her to work harder in learning English. In addition, the sense of fulfilment in being able to understand what was said in US soap operas made her like English more. She had considered taking English or Politics for her bachelor's degree and decided to choose English because she wanted to study it in depth. At university, she preferred speaking classes to others: she was more active in them, and she found it easier to listen and speak than to read and write. She described English as her 'passion' (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017).

After university, Apple worked full-time as an English teacher in a private language institute for over a year, mainly teaching adults everyday conversation, but also helping younger learners with General English. Because she did not pursue a degree in education or have much experience in teaching, she had to keep trying different teaching methods and classroom activities from scratch as she was teaching, and she had learned a lot during the process of trying. What she did not enjoy was the work schedule: she had to prepare for the class during the day and teach in the evening, even on weekends, which is why she wanted to pursue a master's degree, with the hope of getting a better job in the future.

Apple came to the UK before her master's program for her three-month pre-sessional course. In the latter, she was in a class with other 14 students, only one of whom was not Chinese (Thai). The teachers in the course encouraged the students to speak English in class. Apple said that she was not very active in doing so, although she was active in her spoken classes during her undergraduate, because she was familiar with the 'foreign' teacher at that time (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017).

She had used some of the activities that were taught in the master's programme when she was teaching in China, but she did not understand the reasons for doing so (e.g., what to teach first and what to teach afterwards). From the programme, she was able to match her experience to the theories she had learned in the modules, which is the reason why she chose TESOL as her master's degree subject.

In the first class in the module, which I audio-recorded, Apple made acquaintance with Emily (British) after Apple arrived late to the class, and Emily invited her to sit next to her. Since that first day, they sat together in this module and in some other modules as well. Apple and Emily became friends and also interacted outside the classroom, having meals, playing sports and going to parties. They also had frequent social interaction with some other non-Chinese students in the programme, such as gathering together for dinner and going out with the group to which Lily also belonged. Apart from these non-Chinese students, Apple also had Chinese classmates and friends with whom she also spent time.

After the programme, Apple went back to China and worked as an English teacher in a vocational college in the city where she had worked before.

4.3.1 Apple's vignette

Today's lecture started at 9 am, and I arrived at the classroom at around 8:45 am. This is the good thing about living on campus and thus having more time to sleep. This is the sixth week of this semester, and I have been sitting with Emily (British) in this module since the first class. I like sitting with her because she is local and experienced in teaching

English. George (European), who is also experienced in English teaching, has been sitting behind us for some time now.

When I arrived at the classroom, George was already there in his usual place, but Emily was not. The first sentence I said to him was, ‘Emily is going to be late’, and he said, ‘Yeah, like YOU last time’, and the light-hearted conversation continued as I argued that I was on time last week, but he maintained that I was late. Lily joined our talk by expressing her struggle with an essay and asked whether George was willing to look through her essay, a request to which he agreed. Lily left for a while when Maria (European) joined us. Later, I spoke about having my ‘baby teeth’ removed and asked George how to say it in English (I meant wisdom teeth, but I did not know the term). George, Lily, and I discussed this for a while, but I did not get the answer. Finally, Emily came before the class began.

In the first half of the lecture, all of the discussion was done in pairs – that is, between Emily and me. I felt lucky to have Emily by my side because she could explain to me when I did not understand the lecturer and sometimes even provides examples from her own experiences. For instance, she explained that, when the lecturer said ‘to limit the use of the learner’s first language’, she meant ‘do not use’,[9] and also that one of the advantages of such a method is to immerse the students in an English-speaking environment. Unlike me, who sometimes struggles with the lecturers’ questions, she always had ideas for answering them in class. Apart from being active in the group discussions, I also made myself answer the lecturer’s question once in class; this was difficult for me, but I felt I had to do it to contribute to the class as my classmates were doing, and I didn’t want there to be silence in class, which I feel the lecturer doesn’t like. I always prepared answers in my mind in English for the lecturers’ questions, just in case I was nominated.

During the break, Kelly (Japanese), who was sitting in front of me, stood up to stretch her legs. We made eye contact, and it felt weird if I did not say anything, so I started to talk to her, asking her about her plan for the coming holiday and then we talked for a while.

[9] The original sentence Emily said is ‘to limit, do not use’. Although limiting is different from forbidding, this explanation is what Emily gave.

In the second half of the class, our seats were rearranged, and I was placed in a group with a mixture of UK and international students.

After the class, I was approached by two peers with whom I had been working on a group assignment for another module. We talked in Chinese to arrange the time and place to meet for our group assignment. And then I went to lunch with some classmates together on campus.

After lunch, I was planning to go to the library to study when I realised that I did not have my laptop with me, so I had to go back to my dorm. I took a nap in my bed because I was tired, and I then did some studying.

At around 5 pm, I took a bus to town to buy wine and some crisps. Emily was holding a party that night at her place for her friend, and I was invited as well. I learnt from the last time that it is their culture to bring alcohol and snacks when you are visiting others' homes. I had fun and realised that, when I was a little bit drunk, I could be more confident with my English, speaking fluently and not caring about grammar mistakes.

4.3.2 Apple's translanguaging outside the classroom

Outside the classroom, Apple's general pattern of using languages was simple: Chinese to Chinese speakers, and English to non-Chinese speakers. Compared with some other Chinese students, Apple had more opportunities to speak English outside the classroom as she had a group of non-Chinese friends.

Apple did not mind speaking English to a Chinese student outside the classroom, whichever English level s/he was at, a view that is also shared by Lily and Olivia (see Sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2, respectively). However, if the person started speaking in Chinese, Apple would reply in Chinese as well (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018), which is the same as Olivia: they took the interlocutors into consideration when deciding which language to use. Specifically, Apple mentioned that, when Lily initiated a conversation in English, she replied in English, as she understood that Lily wanted to speak English. Overall, however, the times when Apple spoke English with other Chinese students were limited, and only in short conversations (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018).

4.3.3 Apple's translanguaging in the classroom

There are only four recordings of Apple's classes because she did not attend the second class. While Lily drew a spatial line in terms of speaking English, depending on whether she was physically inside the classroom (see Section 4.1.2), the line for Apple was related to time, that is to say, whether it was class time or not. There is a difference between being in class (time-wise) and inside the classroom (location-wise): for example, the students may have entered the classroom, but the class does not start until the lecturer begins teaching. All of Apple's utterances recorded within the duration of the classes were in English. For the time outside of the class, both languages were used: there was only one example of mixed-language use, three circumstances where Apple spoke only Chinese (each with Chinese students), and, for the rest of the time, Apple used English (mostly with non-Chinese students). This finding is similar to Zhang's (2013) research, where, out of 15 settings, speaking 'with foreigners' was the only situation where the 53 Chinese Mainland students in Macao thought they would 'always' use English (other options in the questionnaire include 'often', 'sometimes', 'seldom' and 'never'). The reason why Chinese students spoke English with non-Chinese students is obvious; the only common language between them is English, and, in most cases, the non-Chinese students would not be able to understand Chinese, so they would not be able to communicate with each other in Chinese.

Similar to Olivia, Apple also believed that the use of Chinese should not be completely banned from the class but should be minimised (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). Although most of Apple's utterances were in English, this might have to do with her main interlocutor being British, as will be discussed in the following section.

4.3.3.1 English

In the audio recordings, all of Apple's utterances in class were made in English. Most of the conversations happened between Apple and non-Chinese interlocutors, including students and lecturers, in chit-chats and during classroom discussions and answering questions in class. The fact that most of Apple's utterances happened between her and non-Chinese interlocutors (mainly Emily) during the classroom recordings might contribute largely to Apple's 100% English use during class time. This is most likely because these interlocutors could not understand Chinese, and therefore Apple's interaction with them increased Apple's overall chance of speaking English.

There are two exceptions where Apple also spoke English with Chinese students. Both occasions were in the computer lab class and are shown in the following sections.

4.3.3.1.1 Chit-chats with Chinese students

Extract 4-14 is a chit-chat in class in the computer lab (i.e., Lecture 3). Apple and George (European) were sitting on the one side of the table, and Sophie (Chinese) and another Chinese student on the other side, each of whom had a computer in front of them.

Extract 4-14 Recording 2-3, 09 November 2017

		Original transcript
1	Sophie	you look like Apple
2	Apple	((laughing)) okay (4) your name suits you
3	Sophie	thank you

The conversation in this extract was short and simple. Sophie paid Apple a compliment, saying that Apple's English name suited her.[10] Apple acknowledged this and, after four seconds, made the same comment to Sophie, and, in turn, Sophie expressed her gratitude. There are several possible reasons that led to Apple's use of English here. First, it was Sophie, a Chinese speaker, who started the conversation in English, and Apple tended to reply in the same language (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Secondly, the conversation happened in class, the setting in which Apple considered English should be used (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Thirdly, there was a non-Chinese student, George, in the group. I asked the question of which language to use when there was only one non-Chinese in the group in class, and Apple's answer was 'English of course' (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). The reason is that, according to Apple's previous experience in the pre-sessional course where there was only one non-Chinese student, this non-Chinese student told Apple that sometimes he felt left out by his classmates because he could not understand when they were speaking Chinese among themselves, even though they were kind to him (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). Apple thought that, even if

[10] 'Apple' is this key participant's alias in the research, and Sophie was referring to her actual English name, which is not 'Apple', and therefore in here, Sophie did not mean that the participant looked like an apple.

the conversation content was not related to other non-Chinese (e.g., George in Extract 4-14), it would be better if the Chinese students could use English so that other students could understand what they were talking about, and thus, as a result, they could have the chance to join the conversation (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018) if they wanted to. As Apple put it, ‘if we are using Chinese all the time, there is no chance for him to join us’ (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). In addition, from my observations and the interviews, compared with other Chinese students in the programme, Chinese student A (from Interview 4-1 with Olivia, 19 October 2017) and Chinese Student B (from Interview 1-2 with Lily, 03 November 2017) were active English users, which might have increased Apple’s possibility for speaking English.

4.3.3.1.2 Thinking aloud

Extract 4-15 is a case where Apple spoke to herself in class in the computer lab (i.e., Lecture 3). The students were playing some online games, as was required by the lecturer, and the game Apple played was a make-up game.

Extract 4-15 Recording 2-3, 09 November 2017

		Original transcript
	(59:25)	
1	Apple	((working on the computer by herself)) oh like red eyes? no
	(01:00:51)	
2	Apple	((working on the computer by herself)) this one (4) um this one () um and (2) this one

Apple knew that she sometimes would talk to herself but seemed surprised to find out that she did it in English in that class, as she said ‘really?’ in a louder volume during the interview, followed by her saying that she ‘did not remember’ doing so (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). Apple might have done so unconsciously, as it was in the middle of a class, an environment in which she thought English should be used, and she was sitting next to George, a non-Chinese student, with whom she thought she should speak English (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). It seems that the classroom setting and the people around her had an influence on Apple’s translanguaging practices.

4.3.3.2 Chinese

From the audio recordings, it seems that Apple held a line in time between in class and not in class: English was used in the former but not necessarily in the latter (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). This is similar to Lily's practice, except that all Apple's recorded utterances during the time of the class were in English, while Lily said one sentence in Chinese (i.e., Extract 4-4).

Two of Apple's Chinese utterances were initiated by me in Chinese regarding data collection, and Apple replied in Chinese. This is consistent with her reported translanguaging practices outside the classroom and confirms again what she said in the interview: that she tended to use the language the interlocutor used (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). The third is presented in the below Extract 4-16, which took place after Lecture 5 had finished, when Chinese Students A and B came to Apple as they had scheduled a discussion which was supposed to be right after the class.

Extract 4-16 Recording 2-5, 23 November 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Chinese Student A or B[11]	Apple	
2	Apple	/ɑː/ 我忘了，我等一下有一点事，我们可以改一天吗*? 或者你们两个先讨论，然后明天跟我说	/ɑː/ I forgot, I got things to do now, can we do it another day? or you two can discuss first, and tell me tomorrow
3	Chinese Student A	明天吗?	tomorrow?
4	Chinese Student B	行吧	fine
5	Apple	明天我们没课	we don't have class tomorrow
6	Chinese Student B	行，可是明天不好定的	fine, but it's not easy to book tomorrow
7	Apple	/ɜː/ 我们可以在图书馆门口那里，不一定要在里面啦，就是门口不是有-	/ɜː/ we can be in the front of the library, not necessarily inside, just at the door isn't there are
8	Chinese Student A or B	因为我想说，我们那个话题有点大，感觉可以再变得小一点 因为我们找的资料好像也有点多，就就(xxxx) 要不就讨论两个，就是-	because I want to say, our topic is a bit general, feels like it can be narrowed down, because we seem to have found too much material, just just (xxxx) what if just discuss two, just-
	((their discussion continued in Chinese until the recording ends))		
*: 吗 here is a modal indicating a questioning tone with no actual meaning			

In this extract, the first Chinese student only uttered 'Apple' in English (in my observations, everyone called Apple by her English name, so it is not clear which language this Chinese student used). Seeing their faces, Apple remembered what they were coming for, telling them that she forgot about the group discussion they were supposed to be doing after the class and that she was busy, and asking whether they could rearrange the discussion. Apple's reply in Chinese suggests that her default language with Chinese students is Chinese. The remainder of the conversation continued in Chinese.

[11] I was not able to recognise whether this voice belongs to Chinese Student A or B, but it would be either one of them because all three of them are involved in the conversation. The same holds true for Turn 8.

The participants in Neokleous's (2017, p. 330) research with 116 students in two upper-intermediate EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classes in Cyprus mentioned that using L1 in class 'save[s] time' and they will 'not get confused'. The reasons why Apple used Chinese with Chinese students after class might be similar. After all, Chinese is the first language of these interlocutors, which would be easier for them to speak and understand, and thus time-saving, especially during classroom activities which tend to involve more academic language, which is of a different order and would require quite a high level of sophistication. In using Chinese, they could avoid spending too much time on finding the exact English words and phrases, so they could focus on the task itself instead of the language they were using.

4.3.3.3 Mixed languages

The only example of mixed languages, which implies unconscious choice in conveying meaning, from the audio recordings happened before the class when I was discussing the frequency of interviews with Apple (see below).

Extract 4-17 Recording 2-1, 19 October 2017

		Original transcript	Translation (underlined)
1	Ming	如果你要小组讨论的话，然后我 我是后面还- 还有一个 interview，就是有个采访，然后我本来打算， 每个星期采访一次，你会不会觉得太多？	if you need to join the group discussion, and later I ha- have an interview, that is interview, and I was planning, one interview per week, do you think that's too many?
2	Apple	/ɜm/ ((thinking))	
3	Ming	你觉得太多的话我们可以，不要那么频繁	if you think it's too many we can, less frequent
4	Apple	ok，你你决定	ok, you you decide

Apple said she did 'not mean to' speak English here, and 'OK' was just what 'came out of her mouth' (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). When she was in China where her main language was Chinese, she sometimes would use the English word 'OK', and she would use '好的' (which means 'OK' in Chinese) as well (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Nowadays, in China, the use of simple English words like 'hi', 'ok', 'thank you', and 'bye-bye' are common in many people's daily lives, especially among those who hold a bachelor's degree or above, and even those who have little knowledge of English can understand these words (e.g., there are 'OK' and 'LOL' emojis on WeChat (F. Lin, 2019)). Some of them even have Chinese counterparts which have similar pronunciation to the English, for example, '嗨' (Chinese pinyin: hāi) for 'hi' and '拜' (Chinese pinyin: bài) for 'bye'. Therefore, 'OK', as an English word, has already been part of Apple's linguistic repertoire even before she came to the UK; she used it interchangeably with the Chinese counterparts when she was talking to Chinese students at that time. This is the practice she continued in the UK when she was talking to other Chinese students.

'OK' appeared nine times in my interviews with her. There are some English words and phrases in Chinese sentences in the interview (e.g., '就是我觉得有时候 idea 很重要', which means 'just I feel sometimes ideas are important'), which is similar to Olivia's mixed-language use inside the classroom (see Section 4.2.3.3); however, the data from the interview will not be further discussed here, as the focus of the research is on the translanguaging inside the classroom.

4.3.4 Apple's capital

Apple began to become interested in English when her high school English teacher paid more attention to her in class when she performed well (linguistic-cultural capital), which, in turn, encouraged her to work harder (i.e., put in effort) on this subject. She chose English as her subject in her undergraduate studies (institutionalised cultural capital), and her family supported her decision. Compared with reading and writing, she enjoyed and was more active (linguistic-cultural capital) in speaking classes. After graduation, she taught adults conversation English in an English language institute (economic capital and cultural capital).

During her time in the UK, she made acquaintance with Emily, the British student, by chance, and they became close friends (social capital). They spent time together, which benefited Apple with cultural capital (such as the experience of different cultures and chances to speak English) and more social capital (friendship with other non-Chinese students), both of which Olivia would have loved to have had but did not experience. Meeting Emily by chance seems to be seminal for Apple, as her accumulation of forms of capital in the UK has a lot to do with the social capital gained in her friendship with

Emily, which offered her more cultural and social capital than Olivia had. This illustrates a way in which the convertibility among forms of capital makes the reproduction of these possible (Bourdieu, 1986). Apple's friendship with Emily made her UK experience seem completely different from Olivia's, and richer.

Like Lily and Olivia, Apple also graduated (cultural capital) and gained a job (economic capital) teaching English in China. (We met once in a gathering organised by a mutual friend in China in January 2019 and caught up with each other.)

4.3.5 Apple's agency

Similar to my approach in presenting the findings relating to Lily and Olivia, I will explore Apple's agency, based on van Lier's (2008) three characteristics (i.e., initiative, interdependence with the socio-cultural context, and the awareness of the responsibility).

Each time a question was raised in class, Apple reported thinking about it, organising what to say in her mind and trying to answer; sometimes she was 'forced' to do so, not by other people (e.g., other students' asking or the lecturer's nominating), but by herself (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Apple showed initiative, the first characteristic of agency in van Lier's (2008) theory, in answering questions in class; she was prepared for this and tried to do so as much as she could.

The second characteristic, proposed by van Lier (2008, p. 172), is that agency 'is interdependent, that is, it mediates and is mediated by the sociocultural context'. There are mainly two situations when the lecturer expected students to answer questions in class. The first one is when the lecturer asked some questions to the whole class and expected students to answer them voluntarily. The students would then be nominated if there were no volunteers. The second situation occurred when, after the group discussion, the lecturer would ask each group to share their answers with the class, and one student from the group would be expected to represent their group. Under both circumstances, when other students, especially Europeans, had lots of ideas and were able to express themselves clearly by answering questions actively in class, Apple felt pressured. This was because, regardless of whether they had previous teaching experience, they were all students in the same classroom and were expected to contribute (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Apple felt that, if there were students who were able to self-nominate and answer questions, so should she. She tried her best to speak up in class, sometimes even by forcing herself (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). This is how the classroom environment had an influence on Apple, and Apple reacted to it. But Apple was not always like this. When she was in the pre-sessional course, Apple was not active in expressing her opinions in class because she was ‘not used to’ doing so (when she was back in China), and the whole class would revert to silence if the teacher did not nominate students to answer questions (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Therefore, it is the modules in the TESOL programme where there were a few European students who were actively participating in class that supported Apple in achieving a greater level of agency with regard to speaking English. Out of the class, Apple did not initiate English conversations with Chinese students. Therefore, it is within the socio-cultural context of the in-class time that Apple spoke English.

The third characteristic is ‘an awareness of the responsibility for one’s own actions vis-à-vis the environment, including affected others’ (van Lier, 2008, p. 172). There are two kinds of affected others in the classroom: the lecturer and the other students. Apple put herself in the shoes of the lecturer and imagined that s/he would feel uncomfortable when the classroom was silent and no student volunteered to answer questions (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017), which is one of the reasons she answered questions in class. As for the other students, Apple held the opinion that everyone should have the opportunity to take part and answer questions in front of the whole class (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). There was a time in class that Apple, Helen (Japanese), another three students and I were in the same group, and Apple and the three other students had taken turns to represent the group. When the next question was raised by the lecturer, Apple said to Helen, ‘it is your turn to speak now’, but Helen said, ‘me? no no’, and then Apple answered (Fieldnotes, 10:00–12:00, 19 October 2017). This action demonstrated both these beliefs – that all students should have the chance to answer and that awkward silences should be broken.

Western students’ active participation and the lecturer facing a silent classroom can be seen as being problematic situations for Apple, both of which led to her feeling pressured and volunteering to answer questions. She felt pressured when seeing Western students answering questions frequently in class and thought that she should do the same. This is because, although they were all students in the classroom, the Western students were able to come up with an idea and express it within the limited time, which Apple found more difficult to achieve. Furthermore, it was her understanding that the lecturers would feel uncomfortable when no one was replying, so she felt obliged to respond. When sitting in class and the lecturer asked a question, Apple had two choices: she could either sit quietly and not respond, or raise her voice and answer the question in front of the class. Emirbayer and Mische (1998, p. 967) highlight in their discussion of agency that, when facing problematic situations, social actors can choose to increase the ‘field of choice while extending the temporal perspective of action’. Apple changed from doing nothing, which is what she had done in the pre-sessional course, to acting differently and volunteering to answer questions. The more she did the latter, the more she became used to it (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017) and the less frightening she found it. As she became more used to being active, she adjusted to it and felt more comfortable in doing so (cultural capital), unlike in the beginning, when she was afraid to do so.

4.3.6 Summary

It seems that Apple’s experience in the UK is largely influenced by her friendship with Emily. There was no need for her to be agentive in seeking chances to speak English in class as Lily did, or to create opportunities to speak English outside the classroom as Olivia did. She did not need to choose between speaking English and maintaining friendships as Olivia did, because, to Apple, these two elements were one and the same. Her social capital with Emily alone had brought her sufficient opportunities, not only to enhance her English proficiency inside and outside the classroom, improving her linguistic-cultural capital, but also to accumulate her cultural capital in her knowledge and in her experience of the British cultural and social capital with other non-Chinese friends with whom she made acquaintance through Emily. Had Apple not met Emily by chance, her classroom translanguaging practices, the types of agency she demonstrated, and the ways in which she accumulated her various forms of capital, might have been very different.

4.4 Conclusion

From the above analysis, it is evident that, on the whole, both Chinese and English were used, at least to some degree, by all the three key participants in and after class, which is the same as the nine students who knew multiple languages in master's TESOL programmes at a UK university in Hirsu and Zacharias's (2019) research. Compared with Lily and Apple, Olivia seemed to have a low level of English interaction, both in and out of the classroom, the experience of which was shared by most of the 17 Chinese participants in Ranta and Meckelborg's (2013) research at a Canadian university. As for classroom language(s) in particular, Lily, Olivia, and Apple had different translanguaging patterns. Lily drew a clear line between speaking English inside and outside the classroom, Olivia tended to be influenced by the location (e.g., in the shop), the time (e.g., in class), and the interlocutors (e.g., Lily and the flatmate), whereas Apple's line lay between in-class time and out-of-class time. Although all of them were capable of speaking English and Chinese in class, their translanguaging practices were different, at least partially, because of their different ways of interacting with the socio-cultural context, that is to say, their different forms of agency. Another possible reason is the different values they attached to different forms of capital, such as maintaining friendships (social capital) and improving spoken English (cultural capital). The relationship between their translanguaging practices, capital, and agency within the context is illustrated in Figure 4-1.

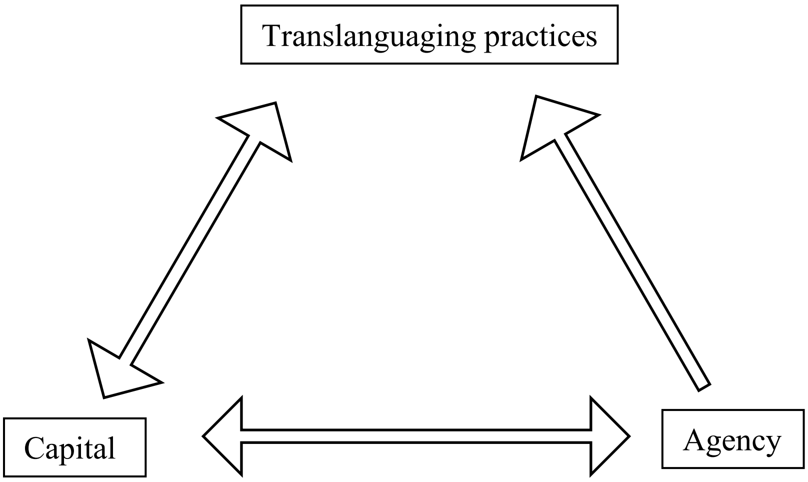


Figure 4-1 The relationship between translanguaging practices, capital, and agency within the context

The context is also an essential element because it is indicated in the concept of agency, ‘a contextually enacted way of being in the world’ (van Lier, 2008, p. 163), translanguaging practices are influenced by the context (as will be discussed in Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3), and so is capital. The context refers to both the broader context (e.g., the UK) and the specific one (e.g., the classroom where the conversation takes place).

Their translanguaging practices were influenced by the kinds of capital they had, and their agency. Lily was proud of her English proficiency (linguistic-cultural capital) in class, so she used almost 100% English. Olivia was in a group with some Chinese students (social capital), and she sometimes spoke Chinese and sometimes English. Apple always interacted with her close friend Emily (social capital), the British student, so she spoke only English in class. The difference between Lily and Olivia lies in that, even in groups with Chinese students, Lily still insisted on and was agentive in speaking English, while Olivia was sometimes agentive in speaking English and sometimes not.

The forms of capital these participants accumulated had to do with their translanguaging practices and their agency. Lily and Apple used more English in (and out of) class, so they had more chances to improve their spoken English (cultural capital). They also interacted with Chinese and non-Chinese friends (social capital). Olivia was agentive in improving her English and maintaining her friendships in class, so she was able to accumulate both linguistic-cultural capital and social capital.

The types of agency that the key participants showed seemed to relate to the kinds of capital they had and the importance they attached to these. The social capital Apple had with Emily enabled her to improve her English proficiency (cultural capital) in and out of class while maintaining her friendship with Emily (social capital) at the same time; she did not need to be agentive in finding opportunities to speak English because she had ample chances to do so with Emily. Olivia, who did not have a close non-Chinese friend, by contrast, needed to choose between her linguistic-cultural capital and her social capital with her Chinese peers, who, in her opinion, preferred to speak Chinese. As a result, sometimes she prioritised her English proficiency enhancement and was agentive in speaking English, and sometimes she prioritised maintaining friendships. Lily was experienced in interacting with non-Chinese people (cultural capital), so she felt comfortable in actively speaking English in class; she also was unconcerned about what her (Chinese) classmates thought about her choices.

The three key participants' translanguaging practices were influenced by their capital and agency, while, at the same time, the three influenced each other, which could be the reason that their translanguaging practice was complex. A more detailed discussion on the reasons for their language choices will be discussed in the next chapter, where the responses to the three research questions will be presented.

5 Discussion

In this chapter, the insights revealed in the findings presented in Chapter 4 will be explored further, while considering their significance in relation to how they respond to each of the three research questions and where they are situated within the existing knowledge. Each section relates to the three research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis, respectively.

5.1 Research Question 1: What are Chinese TESOL master's students' classroom translanguaging practices?

Data from the classroom audio recordings (and, as a matter of fact, the interviews as well) show that the three key participants used Chinese and English, but their practices varied in relation to both the degree to which they used each language as well as in relation to their purposes for doing so. When the key participants interacted with non-Chinese students and lecturers, they used only English; when they talked with their bilingual Chinese peers, their language choices were more flexible. My analysis shows that their translanguaging practices can be grouped into three categories: English-only, Chinese-only, and mixed English/Chinese.

Inside the classroom, although it was not specifically required by any of the lecturers, speaking English seemed to be the default option, as all the three key participants held the idea that English should be the main language used inside the classroom, although not all of them used only English in class. This separation of English for the classroom and Chinese outside the classroom is similar to that described in Selleck's (2016) study, where the student participants at a Welsh school were required to use Welsh by the Welsh-only policy, and English was only permitted when they were outside of their school. Thus, in that school, the rule was that only Welsh was allowed.

So, what are the 'rules' in the classroom in my research? I have placed 'rules' within quotation marks because these are neither written policy, as they were in Selleck's (2016) study, nor demanded by any of the lecturers and/or students explicitly. These rules were hidden, self-imposed, but, nonetheless, powerful. Students should speak English in class in order to progress in their studies and develop their English language skills (according to Copland et al. (2017) – a key reason why overseas students choose to study in the UK) – and to be positively evaluated by the teacher and non-Chinese classmates. However, in order to maintain relationships with other Chinese students (with whom talking in English might be strange, see Zhang (2013)) and to ensure they understand the class content (that is, accessing the curriculum, e.g., Creese (2004)), speaking Chinese is acceptable (and even desirable) by some Chinese-speaking students.

The data show that the three key participants, Lily, Olivia, and Apple, followed the ‘rules’ to different degrees. Lily used English almost exclusively in the audio recordings, in and out of the class, with non-Chinese and Chinese students. She was aware that it is acceptable to use Chinese in chit-chats, yet she mostly insisted on speaking English only. She followed the ‘rule’ of speaking English inside the classroom to the extreme; she did not follow the expectation of speaking Chinese with Chinese students at all, by not changing her language depending on the interlocutor(s). This could be because she wanted to experience the English-speaking environment as much as possible in order to obtain value for money during her stay in the UK, which is how Lily explained this behaviour.

Selleck (2016) suggests that some children in her study broke the rules and used both English and Welsh in class. She suggests that the rule-breakers are trying to ‘present themselves as ‘cool’ and trendy’ (Selleck, 2016, p. 556) and therefore are agentive in their English language use. In contrast, Lily’s agentive sticking to the rules also marks her out. She seemed to enjoy being in the spotlight, acting differently from other Chinese students by speaking only English in class and actively participating in classroom discussion, showing off her linguistic capital, which she had struggled to obtain. Although she was aware that insisting on speaking English may make other Chinese students feel uncomfortable, Lily did not care about this as much as other Chinese participants did. As she said in one interview (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017), many things that other people find important do not matter to her, and there are many other more important things. In this case, speaking more English in class outweighed the impression that other students may have had of her.

The degree to which Olivia followed the ‘rules’ was dependent on with whom she interacted. Although she said she wanted to speak English, the only time in the classroom audio recordings that Olivia had an English-only conversation with another Chinese student was when she was discussing with Lily, who showed a strong desire to speak English in class. In contrast, both languages were used in classroom discussion when Olivia was in a group with other Chinese students, which was allowed by the lectures and was a common classroom practice. Olivia sometimes attempted to change the discussion language to English when others were using Chinese in order to improve her skills. For off-topic chit-chats, she seemed comfortable using Chinese, perhaps because she did not consider chit-chats to be learning. Willis (1992, p. 163) distinguishes between ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ spoken discourse in the language classroom, with inner discourse comprising talks focused on the content, while outer discourse is used to ‘socialize, organize, explain and check, and generally to enable the pedagogic activities to take place’. Olivia might well be making a similar distinction, believing that the speaking English rule applies to inner discourse and not outer, although she struggled even to follow this rule.

From the audio recordings data, Apple also followed the speaking English in class ‘rule’ by using only English during classes, even with Chinese students, although her opportunities to speak Chinese were few, because she always sat with a non-Chinese student during my data collection, under the circumstance of which only English could be used. She followed the Chinese speaking ‘rule’ as she would use Chinese with other Chinese after class. Admittedly, had I been able to collect Apple’s audio recordings from different modules, the findings might be different (as there is evidence from the fieldnotes that, in other modules, Apple did use Chinese with Chinese students in class). However, I was not able to do that due to the time-limited nature of doctoral studies. This is one of the limitations of this research, which will be further discussed in Section 6.3.2.

With different translanguaging practices and different adherence to the rules, Lily, Olivia, and Apple found their own ways to access the curriculum, as they all graduated successfully and were awarded the degree. Their translanguaging practices are complex, which is influenced by the bilinguals themselves and the context. I will further discuss these matters on translanguaging practices in Section 5.2, where I will also suggest that agency and language ideology may also affect translanguaging practices.

5.2 Research Question 2: What are the reasons for these Chinese participants' language choices?

It can be concluded from my research that the extent to which each language is used depends on a number of reasons (see Section 4.4), some of which also appear to influence the participants' language choice in previous research (e.g., Callahan, 2005; Dubiner, 2018; Grosjean, 2020; Selleck, 2016; Zhang, 2019). These reasons can be categorised into three main kinds: reasons related to the bilingual speakers' themselves, from the specific interaction within the classroom, and from the UK as the broader context. Below is a figure illustrating the relationship between the three.

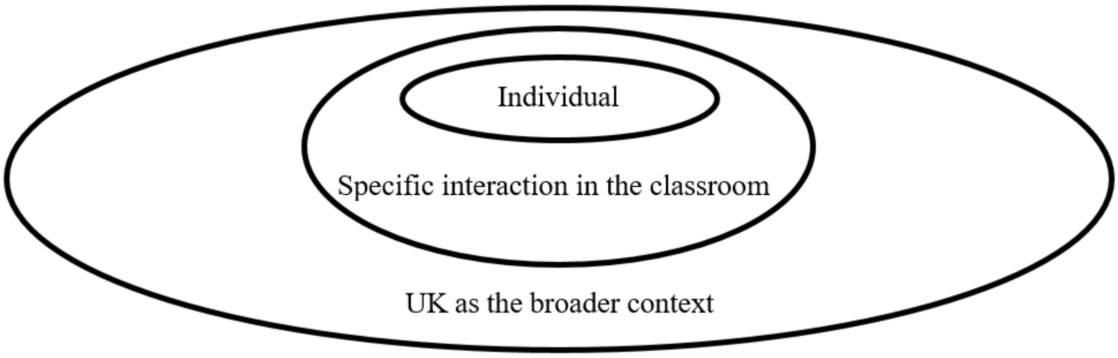


Figure 5-1 The relationship between the three reasons

The bilingual individuals' translanguaging practices happen within a specific interaction within the classroom in the UK, which is situated within the broader context.

5.2.1 Individual reasons

For my bilingual participants themselves, their reasons for using a particular language(s) include 1) their previous experience of interaction with non-Chinese (cultural capital), 2) their understanding of the interlocutors, 3) their agency, and 4) their attitudes towards using the English language, including making mistakes.

Among the three key participants, Lily had an English undergraduate degree and had the highest IELTS score. This cultural capital seemed to affect how Lily used her languages. She had such great confidence in her spoken English that she wanted to show it off. Lily had lots of English-speaking experience during her time at university and at the English language institute in which she worked in China. Speaking English with non-Chinese individuals is not a new or unknown experience for Lily. She has already become used to it, felt comfortable doing it, and knew what to expect. In contrast, Olivia also told me that she had shied away from engaging in interactions in English with native English-speaking teachers when she was teaching English in China (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Apple did not have much experience of speaking English before they came to the UK, and she described to me her reluctance to speak in the pre-sessional course. Therefore, it seems that cultural capital had an effect on all the participants' willingness to speak English and how comfortable they feel in doing so.

As for the understanding of the interlocutors, it is necessary to point out that there might be a mismatch between what bilinguals think their interlocutors' attitudes towards languages are and what the interlocutors actually think. For instance, in Olivia's opinion, Celina preferred to speak Chinese in class and was not very willing to speak English in class (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017), whereas Celina described to me that it would be better to speak English in class, although, after class, she did not want to speak English (Interview 6-3, 11 May 2018). This misunderstanding may have led to Olivia's choosing to speak Chinese with Celina in class, although both of them preferred English. When Lily was the interlocutor, Olivia used English, but she did not do so with other Chinese students. In this case, the perceptions of the interlocutors and the preferences of the speaker coincided. In addition, some of them were more relaxed with their language choices when they were talking to the people with whom they were familiar. Olivia adhered to using only English when she was talking with Lily and was more flexible when she was interacting with her Chinese friends (e.g., Celina). It is for this reason that it is the bilingual students' perceptions of the interlocutors' attitudes towards languages that is included as an influential reason, and not the interlocutors' actual attitudes.

As for agency, García (2017, p. 17) argues that 'translanguaging gives agency and legitimacy to the bilingual speaker', as bilingual speakers have control over all the linguistic features at hand and the ability to select whichever they find appropriate for the situation. Lily, Olivia, and Apple wanted some of the same things (to improve English, to understand the curriculum, to have a good UK experience) and also different things (to improve English at whatever the cost; to maintain friendships and to make others feel good about themselves; to behave appropriately in class according to UK norms, and to learn about British culture). Drawing upon their languages in different ways, the three key participants were free to do the things they wanted. Translanguaging provides them with the means to do so.

The way in which the participants view English seems to be an important factor as well. For Lily, English is not only a 'tool', but also something she can 'show off' (Interview 1-1, 03 November 2017); for Olivia, it is a 'tool' and an 'interest' (Interview 4-1, 02 November 2017); and, for Apple, it is her 'passion' (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). Lily's pride in her English skills was linked to her showing it off. Olivia tended to work with other Chinese students, which may have been because they were less invested in English and in improving language proficiency and more interested in maintaining friendships. Apple's passion for English may have been a factor in her continuing to join the social events organised by her non-Chinese classmates, in which she could speak English and learn about British culture.

In addition, the participants had different opinions towards being grammatically correct during speaking. As is mentioned in Section 4.1.2, Lily said she was not afraid of making mistakes because she considered herself to 'have a high English proficiency level', and that 'those whose fluency is not high enough will be afraid of making mistakes' (Interview 1-2, 02 April 2018). By contrast, Olivia was afraid that she would make grammar mistakes in spoken English, which prevented her from speaking English to some extent (Section 4.2.3). Apple was more worried about the authenticity of her English, saying that, although a sentence is grammatically correct, it may not be the same as the way in which her British friend would express it (Interview 2-2, 10 May 2018). Previous research has uncovered similar findings that international students tend to feel anxious in speaking the foreign languages because they are afraid of being grammatically incorrect (e.g., Abrar & Mukminin, 2016; Ha, 2014; Nerlicki, 2011; Sawir, 2005). Such misconception brings forth a vicious circle: Olivia was afraid of making mistakes, so she dared not speak, which leads to a lack of practice, and thus, she cannot improve her speaking and continues to be afraid of using incorrect grammar. This view of language(s) may be based on the ideology drawn from their educational background of seeing English as a subject, where their accuracy will be examined carefully, rather than as a tool they could use to communicate with others, which is more about conveying meanings and developing fluency. One of the suggestions for international students is to focus on fluency first, which will be discussed in Section 6.5.3.

Moreover, there appears to be an English-only hegemony in HE classrooms, as all three key participants considered English to be the default language in class. (This also relates to the next reason, the specific interaction, described in Section 5.2.2.) This conceptualisation can be explained by a number of factors, which draws back to their lived experiences before they even arrived in the UK. During their application for the master's programme, the only language entry requirement they had to fulfil was English, which seems to indicate that only their proficiency in English is valued, and it does not matter how many other languages they understand and how proficient they are in these other languages. Apple and Olivia had to take a pre-sessional course because they had not met the language requirement, and, during that time, they were asked by their language teachers to speak as much English as possible, in and out of the class, with both Chinese and non-Chinese interlocutors. This is by no means an isolated case: in 2017, before my main data collection started, a Scottish University was highlighted on the Scottish national news due to the posting of a sign requesting monolingual English translanguaging practices to be adopted on the site where an international study centre was located (Fairnie, 2017). In my research, although the lecturers in this study did not explicitly insist on an English-only classroom, they did not regularly suggest that students could use their other languages to access the curriculum or discuss issues with colleagues.

This hegemonic English monolingual discourse is so strong that, when they started their master's studies, the research participants seemed to hold the belief that they should speak English as much as possible in class. This is similar to the findings of research with bilingual students who studied in the US and perceived that schools are places in which English must be spoken, and their own language(s) are not welcomed (Daniel et al., 2019), and those of the research with pupils who were required to speak only Welsh at their Welsh school in the UK (Selleck, 2016). In addition, Bilingual students (and teachers) often feel guilty about using their first language(s) in class (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), despite the fact that using both languages can help students with their learning.

Phillipson (1992), and many others since (e.g., Copland & Ni, 2019; Hall & Cook, 2014), have challenged the English-only position, but it remains strong. Most ELT teacher participants in Hall and Cook's (2014) worldwide research study reported that an English-only classroom is expected by the schools, the students and their parents, although the teachers themselves are more open to the idea of using students' own languages; and more experienced teachers tend to be more positive towards the students using their own languages than pre-service teachers are. This means that, in order to tackle this English-only position, not only teachers, but also students and other parties, such as TESOL lecturers and practitioners, should be involved. This change cannot be achieved with a simple change in pedagogy, but, rather, a complete shift in mindset within the entire scope of the English language education system is necessary.

Evidence is increasingly strong that L1 should be utilised to support language learning (e.g., Neokleous, 2017) and content learning (e.g., A. M. Y. Lin, 2015); however, the ideology of an English-only classroom is still perpetuated worldwide (A. M. Y. Lin, 2015), not only by teachers but also the students. Nevertheless, that all the three participants considered English to be the main language in class and that the use of Chinese should be minimised, seems to indicate that they think English is the only valid classroom language, even when they were trying to do both language learning and content learning at the same time. From their perspectives, the use of Chinese, their first language, is not welcomed inside the classroom, even though they had never been explicitly required by their lecturers not to use their first language. This may be a conception that they can develop; as long as it helps with their study, their first language as well as other languages can be used within the classroom environment too, and they should not be ashamed of or be made to feel ashamed by others when using languages other than English.

5.2.2 The specific interaction within the classroom

The reasons for participants' language choices in relation to each specific interaction can be categorised into two kinds: the interlocutors with whom the participants are having conversations, and the nature of the conversation.

5.2.2.1 The interlocutors

The reasons that are influenced by the interlocutors include the language(s) that the interlocutors can understand, and the previous relationship between the participants and their interlocutors (social capital). The first factor is obvious: bilingual people are more likely to remain in monolingual mode with those who can only understand one of their languages (though there are exceptions), or otherwise the communication cannot continue. For instance, Apple always used English with her British friend, who did not understand Chinese. Speaking English with non-Chinese interlocutors is, therefore, 'entirely unsurprising' (Zhang, 2013, p. 56). Olivia had described how only Chinese would be used when she was talking to her parents, who do not understand English. For example, she translated English words into Chinese when she was talking with her mother; she would keep these words in English when she was talking in Chinese to her friends in the UK (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018). This is understandable, as her mother would not be able to understand the two English words, while her friends in the UK would. Bilingual individuals are more flexible with their language(s) when talking to other bilinguals who share the same two languages as them.

Nevertheless, bilingual students do not have to be monolingual when they are talking to those who do not understand the same two languages. One example can be found in the data drawn from my pilot research, where a Chinese participant said a Chinese word, '学霸', which literally means 'study master', or 'top student', to her Vietnamese peer, and followed this with an explanation in English. This is similar to how the Cantonese student in Batziakas's (2017, p. 48) research, based in London, was described to be 'expanding his communicative repertoire' when he used a Cantonese word '賣飛佛' (which has a similar pronunciation as and means 'my favourite') with an Arabic student, who did not understand Cantonese. Although they were not bilinguals of the same two languages shared by their peers, both the Chinese student in my pilot study, and the Cantonese student in Batzikas's (2017), were drawing on their one integrated repertoire to convey the specific meaning while introducing new linguistic features to their interlocutors' repertoires.

Developing a closer relationship with their interlocutors might have helped to create a more relaxed atmosphere for the bilingual students to speak English. Olivia mentioned that she felt more comfortable in sitting with and speaking English with Paula, a British student, because they had known each other for some time, and because she did not want to sit with other non-Chinese students because she did not know them as well (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). This was the same for Apple, who did not dare sit in the same group with other non-Chinese students at the beginning of the semester until after she got to know them (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). In Forbes et al.'s (2019, p. 867) research with practitioners in schools in England, one of the practitioners mentioned that s/he knew the members in the same team so well that they would not be threatened or felt criticised by others saying 'It's not working really well in there'. Forbes et al. (2019, p. 867) further argue that team members' previous relationships with each other encouraged them to be confident in 'speaking up and speaking out'. Olivia seemed to feel the same way with Paula, as their previously built-up relationship made Olivia relaxed in speaking English with her.

5.2.2.2 The nature of the conversation

The reasons that are influenced by the nature of the conversations include: 1) the space in which the conversation happens and the assumed default language for that place; 2) the type of conversation; 3) the person(s) who are present but not involved in the conversation (i.e., not the interlocutors); and 4) the content of the conversations.

Although there has not been a strict separation of English for studies and Chinese for socialisation, this research confirms the finding of previous research, where Chinese international students used more English in class and more Chinese outside the classroom (e.g., Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013; Zhang, 2013). This is true for all the three key participants; Olivia, who did not have many English-speaking interaction opportunities outside the classroom, and Lily and Apple, who basically used only English in class. The difference between Lily and Apple is that Lily drew a line between inside and outside of the classroom (space-wise), with English being the main language in the former, while Apple's line lay between in-class and after class, i.e., time-wise; both of them also used English outside the classroom to socialise. All three key participants stated that English should be the main classroom language. In terms of Chinese use, Lily thought it should be completely banned, while Olivia and Apple disagreed. The latter two believed that there are advantages of using their L1, such as ease of understanding, as well as it being time-saving, which is similar to the findings of research conducted at four language schools in Cyprus (Neokleous, 2017).

In class, there are two major conversation types: group discussion (Inner language), for which all the participants agreed that English should be used, and chit-chats (Outer language), with Lily being the only one who refused to use Chinese, while the other two participants felt comfortable with it. From the audio recordings collected, Lily and Apple spoke English regardless of the space and the type of interaction, while Olivia used as much English as possible, as she thought she should.

The next factor relates to the other people who are present in the context but who are not the interlocutors of the conversation (i.e., not the interlocutor). Apple took these people into consideration, as can be seen from Extract 4-14, where Apple was using English with another Chinese student, with two other non-Chinese students present in the group but not involved in the conversation. Olivia shared the same idea as Apple, using English during chit-chats to show respect (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018).

This links to the final factor, the content of the conversation. Olivia mentioned an example specifically: when she and Celina were chit-chatting about a private topic, they felt embarrassed (because of the gender difference) to include the male non-Chinese student sitting next to them in the conversation, and so they used Chinese so that he could not understand what they were saying (Interview 4-1, 19 October 2017). Had they been discussing a topic that was less private, they may have used English to include him in the conversation, as Olivia was aware that using English increases the chance of involving non-Chinese peers into the conversation, while using Chinese allows her to do the opposite (Interview 4-2, 10 March 2018).

These factors are all influential to some degree. However, determining which language to use is an immediate decision that bilingual students need to make on the spot while interacting with someone. Sometimes they are aware of doing this in making the decision, and sometimes they focus so much on conveying their meanings that they might fail to use the language that the interlocutors can understand. In Lily's case, I noticed three occasions on which she spoke Chinese to Japanese peers, all of which were documented in my fieldnotes (i.e., not in the classroom recordings). The first one is in a group discussion with three peers – two Chinese and one Japanese, David – in front of the library. When David joined the group, Lily continued to use Chinese, and David did not say anything (Fieldnotes, 05 October 2017). The second one occurred when Lily and I were walking towards the library and talking in Chinese; we saw some Japanese students, and Lily began to talk to them in Chinese (Fieldnotes, 03 November 2017). The third one was during a hotpot dinner at Lily's place with students from different nationalities to which David took his family (Fieldnotes, 23 February 2018). In the first example, Lily did not realise what language she was using and continued to speak Chinese until one of the Chinese students pointed it out to her. In the latter two instances, she managed to realise it herself, stopped speaking Chinese and apologised to the Japanese peers involved in the interactions. These examples suggest that a bilingual individual's language choice is not always the result of conscious decision, and sometimes they may not realise at first that they are using a language that their interlocutors cannot understand.

This discussion provides further evidence that bilinguals' translanguaging practices are complicated, with a number of influencing factors that vary from person to person, which means that, even in the same context with the same interlocutors, different bilingual individuals may make different language choices; and the factors can be influenced by other factors as well. It is such complicated causes that contribute to the various translanguaging practices that can be observed for these Chinese master's students. Through uncovering the importance of background and experience for individuals' translanguaging practices, this study further advances the knowledge by responding to May's (2018a) criticism of translanguaging research not considering structural constraints such as the individual's background.

5.2.3 The UK as the broader context

There seems to be a 'right' language for different contexts, or 'rules', for my bilingual participants: English for the UK classroom, Chinese or mixed languages for outside the classroom in interactions with other Chinese students, and English with non-Chinese individuals all the time. They all had the mindset that they should speak as much English as they could, as they were in the UK, an English-speaking country, and they were aiming to so improve their English-speaking skills. (As a matter of fact, '英国' (the UK in Chinese, which literally means 'English country'), is highly related to '英语' (English in Chinese, which literally means 'English language').)

The fact that the UK is an English-speaking country is one of the main reasons that many international students, including Chinese ones, choose to pursue their master's studies in this country (Copland & Garton, 2011). This is especially the case for TESOL master's students: being immersed in the culture, including the English language, is identified as the primary reason for choosing to study in the UK rather than in other countries, according to Copland et al.'s (2017) study. The same study also shows that improvement in their English language proficiency is the fourth main expectation for TESOL master's students (Copland et al., 2017).

Students' expectations of their immersion in an English-speaking environment may not always come to fruition. Copland et al. (2017) show, for example, that academic writing improvement is TESOL students' third main perceived gain after the taught component of their master's; however, English language proficiency is not perceived to have improved in the same way. In Bamber's (2014) focus groups with more than 20 female Chinese postgraduate accounting students in the UK, the participants were all disappointed with their pre-sessional courses, which failed to fulfil the goal of bridging with their master's modules. Similarly, in my research, Apple, who attended the three-month pre-sessional course, said that it was not effective: her spoken English had improved somewhat, but not as much as she expected (Interview 2-1, 03 November 2017). In addition, the in-sessional courses provided at the university where my research was conducted were not compulsory for the students to attend, and therefore none of my participants had taken part. There seemed to be a contradiction between students' wishes for improving their English language proficiency and their actual uptake of the formal opportunities provided by the university, which would potentially help the student participants to fulfil their language-related expectations. The reasons for this lack of engagement could be explored in future research.

Wright and Schartner (2013) investigated 20 international students pursuing their master's degrees in applied linguistics in the UK. They found that the students' difficulties in making friends with other nationalities were caused by a mix of external factors, such as same-country accommodation, courses demanding lots of time for self-learning, and the main classroom population of students being Chinese; and internal factors, such as lack of self-agency in making efforts to meet new friends (Wright & Schartner, 2013). Same-country accommodation can largely reduce students' opportunities to interact with other nationalities, and the assignments are time-consuming and tend to require individual work, which does not seem to encourage socialisation among students, either (compared with pair/group work). Wright and Schartner (2013, p. 121) argue that the University's failure in meeting these international students' desire to interact with students of different nationalities in both their accommodation and classrooms leave them with 'a sense of helplessness'. Similarly, in the questionnaire results reported by Copland et al. (2017), making British friends was ranked towards the bottom of the list of master's students' perceived gains after they had completed the taught component of their courses (i.e., the 15th position out of 17 potential expectations). In my research, Olivia had experienced a similar situation to the ones reported in the available literature: she also had limited opportunities to speak English outside the classroom because she did not have non-Chinese friends with whom she could frequently interact. All her roommates were Chinese, most of her classmates were Chinese, and she did not report taking the initiative in making non-Chinese friends. Although she was studying in an English-speaking country, she did not seem to be supported to further develop her communication skills in English. In addition, she could have been more agentive in fulfilling her wish of communicating more frequently in English with non-Chinese nationals (e.g., by joining student unions' clubs and actively approaching other students). In contrast, Apple's chance meeting with Emily resulted in her having the kind of experience that many overseas students dream of, making friends with and socialising in the local culture.

The lack of English-speaking opportunities in and out of the classroom is also related to the fact that there are more Chinese students in the UK than any other nationalities, including those from the EU (HESA, 2020b), and, in some TESOL master's programmes, there is a much larger proportion of Chinese students. For instance, at the time of data collection, the TESOL programme where the current study was conducted had altogether 49 students, 36 of whom were Chinese. In an imaginary scenario where there is only one Chinese student studying at a university, in every interaction this Chinese student has with others on campus, such as roommates, classmates, and lecturers, and off-campus with friends s/he makes in the UK, s/he would have to speak English all the time. The large Chinese population in the UK HE context thus increases the chances of Chinese students speaking Chinese, both in and out of the classroom (see also Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). However, it is important to emphasise that the students themselves cannot be held responsible for the problem caused by such a population composition, as it is beyond their control, and they should not be disadvantaged because of it.

5.3 Research Question 3: How does this linguistic ethnographic study of a specific UK HE context contribute to the understanding of translanguaging?

The definition of translanguaging adopted in the current research is set in the language education classroom context:

> a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include *all* the language practices of students in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality. (García & Kano, 2014, p. 261, emphasis in original)

This definition was adopted because it seemed to be the most appropriate one for my research. However, it is clear that it is not entirely consistent with the context I investigated, namely, the UK HE sector. As the empirical evidence of translanguaging practices in the UK context with this particular group of students revealed, there are two major differences. Firstly, my context was only indirectly about learning English: while learning the English language can (and probably is) an outcome of studying in an English-speaking country, the students' primary goal was to learn the curriculum (i.e., TESOL). Secondly, it is not likely that the lecturers were 'engag[ing] in complex discursive practises that include *all* the language practices of students' (García & Kano, 2014, p. 261, emphasis in original). This is because the lecturers did not share the same languages as the students. In most cases, English was the only language that was shared between the lecturers and the students.

I could not have completed my project without getting to know these students very well, observing them, participating in activities inside and outside the class, and recording them. Adopting a linguistic ethnography approach has allowed me to collect data that are detailed, useful and insightful with regard to this particular group of students. Based on my data, and García and Kano's (2014) definition, I would like to propose a slightly different translanguaging concept that better fits this specific context of international HE classrooms in the UK:

> (1) a process by which bi-/multilingual students draw on their one integrated repertoire (2) within contextual constraints (3) to engage in discursive practices in order to access the curriculum, maintain and develop friendships, develop new language practices and sustain old ones, (4) and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality.

The first part of this definition recognises that students have one linguistic repertoire that includes all the linguistic features available to them to make meanings. The second acknowledges that their linguistic choices are subject to the structures of the UK context in general and the MSc TESOL classroom in particular. The third part suggests that these students have different goals which will affect their translanguaging practices. The fourth maintains the original wording from García and Kano (2014), as linguistic inequality is still apparent in this context in my participants' hegemony of English-only classroom (see Section 5.2.1). The fact that they, as bilinguals, hold the opinion that English should be the main classroom language, and that their L1, i.e., Chinese, should be minimised, has already embodied inequality. Although they are capable of English-only conversations, it is unfair for them to adhere to using English when they can use their L1 to better communicate with other Chinese students and to access the curriculum. The constraints of the classroom context, as well as those of the UK in general (as Olivia thought she needed to speak more English in class as she did not have much chance to do so outside the classroom), have made them intentionally separate their two languages, instead of drawing on all their linguistic features freely.

In addition, while some of the students might have advanced English proficiency, this does not mean that everyone inside the classroom has the same competence. This is especially true when there are both English-as-first-language students and bi-multilingual students with an IELTS 6.5 (the programme's language entry requirement, which is equivalent to

B2, upper-intermediate level, in Common European Framework of Reference (British Council, 2020)) inside the same classroom. Compared with the former, the latter category of students may have to experience more of a struggle with the English language to access meaning. Expecting them to speak only English in class will put them at a greater disadvantage and may even force them into being less active and silent. This is the point that May (2018) argues, i.e., that structural constraints (e.g., comparably lower language competence) can have a huge influence on individuals' translanguaging practices.

Every student, regardless of his/her English proficiency, should feel confident and comfortable about using languages other than English inside the classroom. Therefore, I propose this new definition for this context, with the hope of boosting all stakeholders' (including these bilingual students themselves) understanding of bi-/multilingualism as the norm, breaking the boundaries of their mindset slightly, and, in so doing, making a stronger theoretical contribution to the field.

5.4 Conclusion

This section has responded to the three research questions, in turn, to further explore the participants' translanguaging practices, not only within the specific interaction in the classroom context, but also the broader context of the country, socially and ideologically, and in addressing a lack in the existing research that contributes to the theorisation of translanguaging. The next and final chapter is the Conclusion, where the significance of the insights revealed in my research, further developed in Chapter 5, will be explored.

6 Conclusion

This research has examined Chinese bilingual students' translanguaging practices by analysing and interpreting the data collected from three Chinese TESOL master's students in their UK HE classroom, adopting linguistic ethnography and using participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews. First of all, while most UK universities promote internationalisation, there is a tension between policies and practices. There seems to be a lack of support provided for multilingualism and multicultural campuses, and international students' diverse backgrounds do not seem to be valued. As for international students' translanguaging practices, on the surface, it might be assumed that their translanguaging is an everyday practice, especially at UK universities, where a large number of Chinese students are enrolled, but, when I investigated this issue in detail, it appears that it is much more complex, as each individual has his/her own practices and their various potential reasons that lead to their practices. The possible factors that influence their translanguaging practices can be categorised into three kinds. From the perspectives of the bilingual participants themselves, the reasons include their language proficiency, their previous experience of interaction with non-Chinese individuals, their understanding of the interlocutors, their agency, and their perspectives of the English language. Reasons regarding the specific interaction include ones related to the interlocutor, such as the language(s) they understand and their language proficiency, and those relating to the nature of conversations, such as the space in which the conversation happens, and the assumed default language for that place, the type of conversation, the content of the conversations, and the person(s) who are at present but not involved in the conversation (i.e., those other than the interlocutors). The third reason has to do with the UK as the broader context. These factors influence bilingual students jointly, and to various degrees. I also propose a revised definition of translanguaging for the context of international HE classrooms in the UK.

The section below presents a consideration of how this research has contributed to the knowledge, a proposal for developing new translanguaging models, my own reflections on conducting the research, suggestions for further research, recommendations for practice, and, finally, my experience of completing this research project amidst the COVID-19 pandemic.

6.1 Contributions of this research

On a practice level, the main contribution of this study is that it addresses the policy/practice tensions in relation to internationalisation and inclusion. While UK universities have focused on international student recruitment, they seem to have given little thought to how to integrate such students and, importantly, how they should teach them, especially when most of them are learning through a second language. The education can be more inclusive and encourage multilingualism and multiculturism on campuses, which benefits not only international students but also home ones.

Theoretically, this research is innovative in understanding bilingual students' translanguaging practices in the context of international HE through the lenses of capital and agency, which offer a new way of looking into the issue. It also provides evidence of a strong link between agency, capital, and translanguaging practice within the specific context of UK HE classroom. In addition, the study also proposes a slightly revised definition of translanguaging to accommodate the specific context of international HE, which is an under-researched setting. A model based on empirical evidence is also presented to visualise multilingual speakers' translanguaging practices. This is new to the field because most of the description of translanguaging practices are based on written words, whereas my model is presented as graphic pictures, which makes it easier for others to understand multilinguals' translanguaging practices.

Methodologically, the study investigates international students' translanguaging practices with the use of participant observation and audio recordings in the classroom. There is a considerable number of bilingual students studying abroad, especially in English-speaking countries such as the US, the UK, and Australia, but there is a lack of research on their classroom translanguaging practices. Within the limited research on international students' classroom translanguaging practices, only self-report methods were adopted, such as interviews and focus groups (e.g., Abrar & Mukminin, 2016; Ha, 2014; Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013; Zhang, 2013). One of the disadvantages of self-report methods, however, is that what the participants say may not be what they actually do (Paulhus & Vazire, 2007). My research presents not only what the bilingual students thought of their classroom language(s) via interviews, but also what their translanguaging practices were, through the use of audio recordings and participant observation methods. The data show that the three key participants had their own translanguaging practices, and the evidence presented in Chapters 4 and 5 serves to challenge the myth of the ‘typical’ Chinese student as shy, reticent, and unwilling to speak English.

Participant-wise, through linguistic ethnography, this research examines bilingual students’ classroom translanguaging practices from the students’ perspectives. While most of the previous research was conducted by teacher-researchers (e.g., García & Kano, 2014) or researchers from outside the institutions (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017), this research is able to tell the story from the inside. In my role as a participant-observer, I was able to analyse the data from the viewpoints of the participants and interpret them through the lens of a Chinese student who has studied in the UK for several years. My relationships with the student participants also helped in this process, especially in the interviews, as the power imbalance was minimal – I was not long out of being a master’s student myself and I joined in the classroom activities – and a relaxed atmosphere prevailed, partly because I was of a similar age, the same gender, and spoke the same languages. I also used my own experience during interviews as prompts to elicit their answers, which other researchers or teachers might not be able to do.

As a researcher and a Chinese-speaker myself, I was able to examine the data in the original languages, for both Chinese and English, and did not have to rely on translation. (I only translated the excerpts that are presented in this thesis.) Therefore, I was able to be one step closer to the data compared with other researchers, who do not understand one of the two languages of their bilingual participants. This is one of the advantages of my research, as the meanings that might otherwise have been lost in the process of translation could be retained.

6.2 Proposal for translanguaging models

Apart from the abovementioned contributions, I would here like to propose a set of translanguaging models from the insights generated by my analysis of the research data and my own experience as a trilingual person. First, I shall start with Grosjean’s (2020) language mode for bilingual individuals (see Figure 6-1 below), which was described earlier in Section 2.2.2.

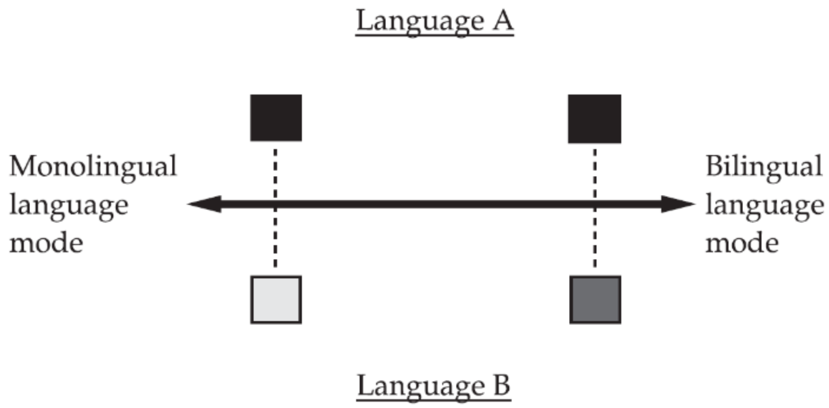


Figure 6-1 Grosjean's (2020, p. 166) language model

Grosjean's (2020) language mode seems to support code-switching by using separate squares to represent the two languages and claiming that one language's activation remains unchanged, regardless of the movement of the other, and arguing that, when in the bilingual mode, bilingual individuals 'bring in the other—guest—language in the form of code switches and borrowings' (p. 168).

Figure 6-2 below presents a model of all the possible translanguaging practices of bilingual individuals. Languages A and B represent both of those observed in my research; that is, Chinese and English, for example, or vice versa.

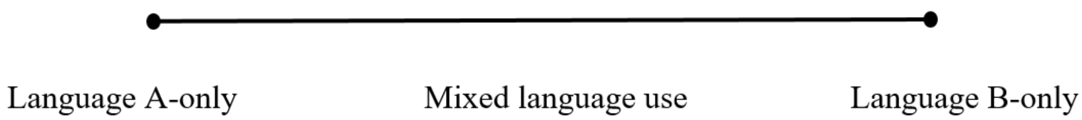


Figure 6-2 Bilinguals' translanguaging model

In this figure, the two extreme points (the two dots) of the line segment refer to times when they only speak one language (cf. the monolingual modes in Grosjean's (2020) model), and the space between the two extreme points corresponds to the use of both languages (cf. Grosjean's (2020) bilingual mode). A bilingual individual's translanguaging can be located at any point on this line segment, including the two extreme points.

There are two major differences between this translanguaging model and Grosjean's (2020) language mode. Firstly, Grosjean (2020) sees the two languages as being independent of each other, while I consider them as both being parts of one's linguistic repertoire instead of two separate languages. Instead of focusing on the 'main language' (p. 166), as Grosjean (2020) did, my proposed translanguaging mode considers bilinguals' practices as a whole, with their two languages positioned at different ends of the line. My model does not distinguish between the two languages, as both of them are part of the bilingual's linguistic repertoire, with all his/her linguistic features contained within it. This is one of the main differences between codeswitching and translanguaging (see the discussion in Section 2.2.2). The second difference is that this is a line segment with two extreme points instead of a line that can extend indefinitely in both directions. The difference between a line and a line segment is that a line extends unlimitedly towards both sides, while the length of a line segment is limited by its two end points. This means that, in my bilinguals' translanguaging model, there are limits to their practices, in that they can a use a maximum of 100% of one language and a minimum of 0% of the other.

Although the audio recordings in this research were collected in the classroom, this model of bilinguals' translanguaging mode describes their practices as a whole, and therefore can be applied to other out-of-the-classroom contexts as well, such as when they are talking to their monolingual parents in China, or their non-Chinese peers in the UK.

By the same token, my translanguaging model can be expanded to one that characterises trilinguals (e.g., Chinese students in the class who also know Cantonese, including me) as well as quadrilinguals (there was at least one Chinese student participant who could speak an additional two Chinese dialects). Figure 6-3 illustrates the model for trilinguals.

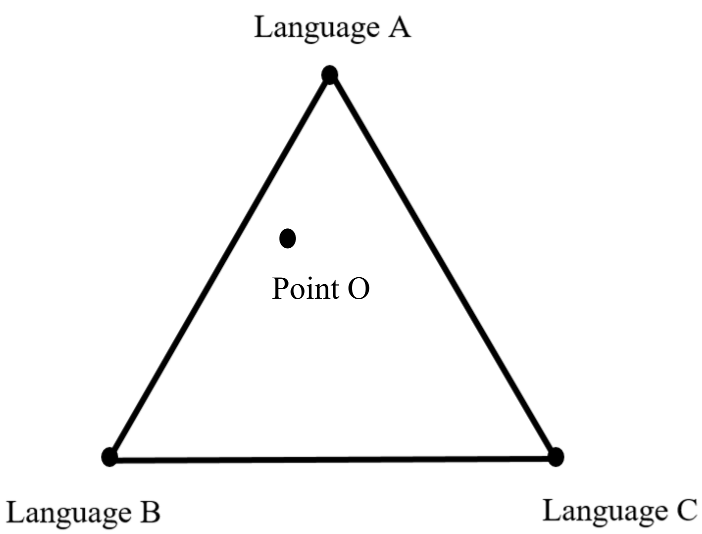


Figure 6-3 Trilinguals' translanguaging model

Figure 6-3 is a regular triangle with the three-line segments (edges) of equal length. The line segment between Language A and Language B is the same one as the one in Figure 6-2, and a new point (vertex), Language C, is introduced into the model. Each extreme point represents the monolingual mode of the corresponding language, and the sides, the bilingual mode. The two-dimensional area within the triangle, excluding the three points and three sides, represents the trilingual mode. Trilinguals can travel flexibly within this triangle, and any point within this area can indicate the extent to which each language is used by the trilingual. The closer it is to the extreme point for one particular language, the more this language is used. For instance, for Point O, illustrated in the figure, Language A is the closest and Language C is the farthest. This means that, at this point, more Language A is used by a trilingual, with less Language B and even less Language C. Figure 6-4 below illustrates the translanguaging model for quadrilinguals.

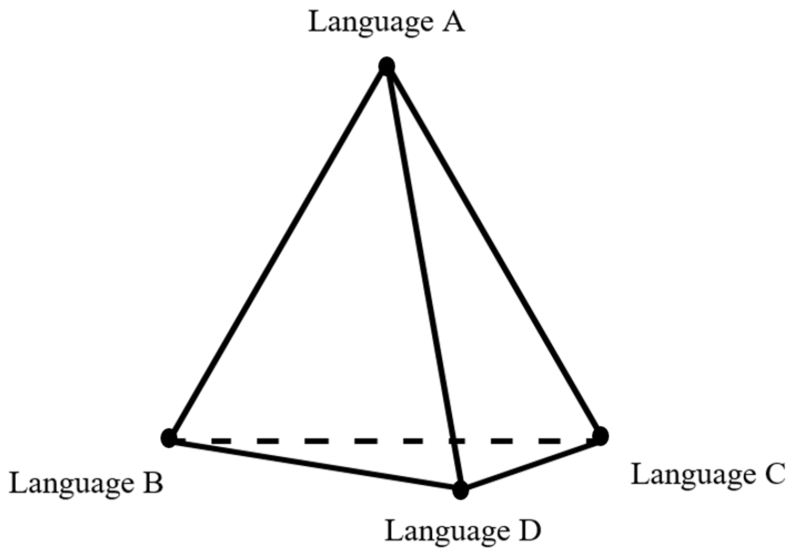


Figure 6-4 Quadrilinguals' translanguaging model

Based on the triangle illustrated in Figure 6-3, a fourth extreme point, Language D, is introduced to the model, making it change from a 2-dimensional shape to a 3-dimensional figure. For those who know four languages, their translanguaging model is a regular tetrahedron – that is, a geometric figure having four faces, all of which are regular triangles. The four points of Language A, Language B, Language C, and Language D are the monolingual modes of the corresponding language; the six lines, AB, AC, AD, BC, BD, and CD, are the bilingual modes, that is, the line segment between two points, excluding the two end points; the four two-dimension triangles, ABC, ABD, ACD, and BCD, are the trilingual modes, that is, the area in the triangle of these three languages, excluding the points and line segments. The three-dimension space within the regular tetrahedron, excluding the four points, six-line segments and four triangles, is the quadrilingual mode. Similarly, a quadrilingual can move within this regular tetrahedron freely, and the different extents to which each language is used can decide which point s/he is at in the regular tetrahedron.

Admittedly, although there are participants who know more than two languages included in my research, their use of the third language has not been demonstrated in the data. Therefore, the translanguaging models for trilinguals and quadrilinguals require further research. As the translanguaging model for monolinguals is a dot; for bilinguals, a line segment (one dimension); for trilinguals, a triangle (two dimensions); and for quadrilinguals, a tetrahedron (three dimensions), with each addition of one more language, the number of dimensions in translanguaging model increases by one accordingly. Therefore, it can be further speculated that the model for those who understand five languages can be four-dimensional, six languages five-dimensional, seven languages six-dimensional, and so on.

Each of my translanguaging models summarises all the translanguaging practices of an individual. It does not matter which is their first language(s) and how proficient their second language may be: as long as an individual can understand some of a language, this language can be included in the translanguaging model. The points refer to the circumstances when they use one of the languages, the line segments (excluding the two end points) two of their languages, the regular triangle, excluding the three-line segments, three languages, and the regular tetrahedron space, excluding the four triangles, four languages. By presenting these models, I aim to provide a vivid description of how bi-/multilinguals' translanguaging appears to illustrate why bi-/multilingualism is the norm for them. Freely drawing on their one integrated repertoire is completely natural for these speakers. In this way, bi-/multilinguals should feel comfortable and confident in using all of their linguistic features to involve whichever language(s) is/are needed, without being constrained by any one of the named languages. Furthermore, their translanguaging practices, of any kind, should be allowed, encouraged, and respected.

What is worth mentioning is that, although this model includes only languages, it does not mean that translanguaging practices are limited to languages per se. There are other semiotic resources, such as emoticons and photographs, that are also important in translanguaging. Nevertheless, as I had only gathered audio recordings from the classroom, I was not able to involve other semiotic resources in my analysis and introduce them into my translanguaging models. Future research investigating more semiotic resources may make further improvements to these models by including these in their analyses.

6.3 Reflection

It is vital for ethnographers to be aware of their own influence in the co-construction of the research and to critically evaluate their own positioning within the research process (Berger, 2015). This is especially true in my research, as I was not merely an observer, but also a participant. In the following sections, I shall reflect on my identity as a researcher and consider the limitations of the research.

6.3.1 My identity as a researcher

My relationship with the participants and my experience as a Chinese student in the UK did help facilitate the data collection. One of the participants in the pilot study and I had a mutual friend, and, when I started attending their classes, sitting at the back of the classroom and practising making notes, we began to spend time together; through my interactions with the two of them, I became friends with more students from their programme. At that time, I was not comfortable conducting research with my friends because I felt like I was using them for my own purpose and did not seem to be able to get over this idea. (We became friends first before I identified them as my participants.) Later in the same year, during a conference, I was told by Professor Monica Heller that, when I was introduced to my participants, they were aware of my identity as a researcher and still would like to be my participants and my friends, which means that they found it acceptable. I was relieved to know that and, since then, the problem no longer concerns me.

I was more comfortable with my position as a researcher during the main research, as I can see that my identity as a researcher did not conflict with my being a friend to them. It was clearer to me what I was going to do: data collection and rapport building. It was still the beginning of the academic year, when not all the students knew everyone in their class, and one of the advantages of being Chinese inside a Chinese-majority classroom is that I fitted in with the class quite well. My identity as a researcher was well disguised. Both Lily and Olivia said that they thought I was just another Chinese student in class at first (Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018, and Interview 4-3, 10 May 2018, respectively).

As we had more chances to interact, we became closer to each other, and my identity changed to being a friend and researcher. We studied together in class and hung out outside the classroom. (An unintended bonus is that I was still learning new knowledge about TESOL, even though this is the third time I had been in a TESOL classroom (including my first master's and the pilot study).) Our friendship had deepened to a degree beyond my expectation, and I did feel I was part of this group (i.e., an insider), except that I audio-recorded and wrote fieldnotes about them during class time. Conducting the interviews is another way that we got to know each other better; the deep conversations we had during the interviews were not about the usual topics that we would cover in our daily lives. Lily was so relaxed during one interview that she rested her leg on my chair (in the PhD office, Interview 1-3, 28 April 2018). I was not a stranger or mere researcher to them; I was also a classmate and a friend.

After the data collection was finished, our friendship endured, as we continued to have social interaction outside the classroom. After Olivia's graduation ceremony, we had dinner together, and Apple and I spent two days together in China during the Chinese New Year vacation after the data were collected. I am glad that they were more than just participants to me, because I enjoyed the time I spent with them.

6.3.2 Limitations

The main shortcoming of this research is that the data were collected from only six Chinese participants from one master's TESOL programme in the UK who were audio-recorded for only five weeks. The small-scale nature of this research provided in-depth data with each individual but was constrained to this specific classroom. I was not able to record the students in other modules because not all the students in other modules gave their consent. In other modules, there were different students and other lecturers with their own teaching styles and content, leading to a different classroom dynamic, which may also have had an influence on students' translanguaging practices (e.g., Olivia was always seated in a group with a non-Chinese male student in one of the two compulsory modules).

In addition, students of only one nationality were investigated, and Chinese students are special in that they make up the largest international student population attending UK universities (HESA, 2020a). They were also TESOL students, who might be different from students studying other degree subjects. The research context was restricted to one university in the UK, the situation of which might be different from other universities and in other countries, due to differences in aspects such as language requirements, which are related to the students' linguistic-cultural capital (Section 5.2.1), and local population composition, which is related to the interlocutors, one of the contextual factors that influenced my participants' translanguaging practices (Section 5.2.2.1).

The second biggest limitation is that only audio recording was used and not videos. I had given thought to the use of video recorders before data collection but decided that it would bring too much intrusion to the classroom. After careful consideration, I decided to use only audio recordings, with the recorders looking like USB sticks, to minimise the effect that this research would bring to the lecturer and students, and to protect the key participants' identities. However, the disadvantage of adopting such a method is that I was not able to note down all the details I saw in class. For instance, sometimes, I could not determine the speaker, as this was based on voice alone, and a video recording would have helped in this regard.

A third drawback is that my fieldnotes were not as developed as they could have been. Instead of writing notes on all the students in class, I should have paid more attention to my key participants and focused on their translanguaging practices. In this way, I might have been able to distinguish whether they act differently in different modules and the reasons that lead to these differences.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

The three suggestions below for further research correspond to the three limitations of this research.

First of all, in addition to calling for more research in the field of international bilingual HE students' translanguaging practices, taking structural constraints (e.g., forms of capital) into consideration, further research also is recommended with participants who know and use more than two languages in the classroom, as well as with other non-Chinese nationalities and within other degree subjects, and in different settings. There is little research on trilinguals' translanguaging practices, for instance, and most of these are conducted within schools (e.g., Choi, 2019; Leonet, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2017).

Students of other gender(s), from other countries, with various language backgrounds, each have different language proficiency and their own attitudes towards English and other languages as well, which may lead to further variations in their translanguaging practices. (For instance, there were four Japanese students in the TESOL programme, and sometimes they used Japanese with each other in class (e.g., Fieldnotes, 12:00–14:00, 30 October 2017 and Fieldnotes, 12:00–14:00, 20 November 2017). (I did not notice the Italian student using Italian in class, which could be due to his high English (and Japanese) proficiency and/or the lack of interlocutors of the same language.) Other degree programmes and other university settings in various countries may have particular English language requirements and proportions of nationalities inside the classroom and on campus, providing diverse contexts for international students and their translanguaging practices. There is thus multiple potential settings and combinations of characteristics within which further research may be conducted.

It would also be worthwhile to research the perspectives of the key participants' lecturers and classmates, as they are the ones with whom bilingual international students have the most interaction within the classroom. I had considered interviewing my participants' lecturers but, due to the limited time available, I decided to investigate their classmates first, with whom my participants had more interactions, not only inside but also outside the classroom. I did conduct a focus group with the non-Chinese students, but this is not presented in my thesis because it was not highly relevant to my research questions. However, this does not mean that their attitudes and perceptions are not worth researching. Obtaining an understanding of the perspectives of the classmates' and lecturers' (instead of the opinions bilingual students assumed them to have) and their rationales for their own translanguaging practices may also contribute to a more rounded understanding of the issue.

The combined use of audio and video recordings is also recommended: the former for participants' utterances specifically, and the latter for what the situations are inside the classroom. Fieldnotes promote the advantage of recording the researcher's thoughts on the spot, but a researcher is not able to write down everything s/he sees while still paying attention to their surroundings. Although it is unlikely that videos can record everything that happens, such as when a participant faces backwards or is blocked by others, they are still one more source of data that could be used to support analysis. In addition, videos can capture semiotic resources, such as facial expressions and body gestures, which could also be taken into consideration in the analysis of translanguaging practices.

It would also be beneficial to pursue longitudinal studies on international students' translanguaging practices for exploring any potential changes over time. As one's language(s) constantly influences and is influenced by the culture s/he is in, it would be interesting to see how students' translanguaging practices evolve over their time in the foreign countries, as well as their interpretations of such changes.

6.5 Recommendations

It is naïve to hold the belief that studying and living in English-speaking countries guarantees a high level of English improvement in the short term (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). But, because the chance to enhance English proficiency is one of the main reasons that international students choose to study in the UK (Copland et al., 2017), joint efforts from different parties need to be made to make some progress possible. There are two main ways to better the international students' (speaking) experience in the UK (as well as other English-speaking countries): providing more opportunities for students to have social interaction with others outside the classroom, not only for speaking English, but also for developing interpersonal relationships and offering a classroom environment where they can feel free to access their whole linguistic repertoire for their learning.

With the worldwide globalisation and high mobility of people, bi-/multilingual individuals have become increasingly part of the UK HE setting (particularly in large metropolises, such as London, Birmingham, Leicester, and Glasgow), and their translanguaging practices are commonplace throughout the country. However, there is no easy way to ask the government and the public to change their perspectives and behaviours, especially in less urban places, where the majority of the population consists of monolingual English speakers and where bilingualism is not the norm. What may be more feasible and practical is that universities in these cities (as well as in the urban ones) could play an important role in internationalisation by raising the local communities' awareness that translanguaging is a natural process for bilinguals and be more sympathetic to people learning using different languages to create a ‘translanguaging space’ (W. Li, 2011, p. 1222).

6.5.1 Universities

The way in which some programmes in UK HE are set up makes little concession to students’ other languages and does not treat these languages as resources. The lectures are delivered and assignments written in one language – English. UK universities may be able to learn from some current practices at a university in South Africa, where there is a concerted effort to draw on marginalised students’ own languages to support learning. Although the countries are different, as English is the main language in the UK (Study UK, 2020), and there are 11 official languages in South Africa, with English being one of them (South Africa Gateway, 2020), the classroom contexts are similar, as the main classroom language is English and there are students from a variety of different language backgrounds inside the classroom. This South African university implemented an English-plus policy, valuing different languages as resources and encouraging students to use these languages; for example, students benefit greatly from using English and their own languages in class in understanding complicated issues such as mathematics questions (Madiba, 2018). Madiba (2018) concludes that multilingual universities should be able to see beyond the languages, taking linguistic repertoires, instead of languages, as the starting point. Other international HE institutions should be inspired by and benefit from such a viewpoint as well, considering what is most beneficial for their international students and perhaps taking up translanguaging pedagogy in and out of the classroom.

Therefore, the main suggestion for UK universities is to encourage the use of more than one language on campus to show support for bilingualism on the policy level. As part of international HE, all the languages that students use should be welcomed, and not one of them should be seen as being more important than the other. By making such notions explicit to not only students, but lecturers, administrators and others, universities can clearly demonstrate this ethos: that it is not only acceptable for students to use their own languages in and out of the class, but also that such practices are beneficial and should be respected by others, and that students’ various backgrounds and languages are all valued in international HE. It is vital for HE staff to be agentive and take responsibility in meeting the students’ needs (McKean et al., 2017). Possible solutions can be using multilingual posters/signs on campus instead of English-only ones, holding national weeks/days (e.g., Chinese week) where students have the chance to display their own culture and language(s) to others, and hosting university-wide events where students can interact with students from other nationalities.

A second action that UK universities can implement is to offer their international students more chances to speak English outside the classroom. Most (e.g., Olivia) would love more interaction with people from other nationalities, but experienced difficulty in doing so (Wright & Schartner, 2013). One of the solutions to this problem is to offer choices of single or mixed nationality accommodation for students. While it might seem to be an easier decision to make for universities to assign students from the same country into the same flat to minimise conflicts among students from different nationalities, international students have not benefited from such arrangements in terms of their English proficiency, which is one of the reasons they chose the UK to further their studies. Apart from their classmates, their flatmates tend to be the social group with which international students have the most frequent interactions. Universities should allow them the freedom of choosing mixed nationality accommodation, whatever the international students' decision may be, instead of making the decisions for them.

A third way to encourage cross-national interactions is to provide more chances for students to get to know each other, and this can take place in multiple ways. Before their arrival, online communities can be set up for the students to introduce themselves and communicate with each other; for instance, in the programme where the research was conducted, there is a WeChat group where there are not only Chinese students, but also non-Chinese ones, and one of the lecturers. On their arrival, ice-breaking activities can be hosted to accelerate their process of becoming familiar with each other, which could be on a university level or a programme level. A buddy programme, connecting an international student with a local student or one from a different nationality, could also be beneficial, as they could learn from each other's cultures and languages; this buddy does not have to be in the same programme or even the same year, because not every programme has an even number of international students and local students. Group work, such as group essays and group presentations, is also an effective way for students to get to know each other better; this could work especially well at the beginning of the first semester, providing students with topics to discuss and a goal to work on together as a team. Hosting social events is favourable as well, and one example could be ‘food from all over the world’, where students and staff members bring a dish of their own to share with each other over dinner, an activity which is popular already in some UK universities.

In terms of improving international students’ experiences in the UK, apart from more social interaction opportunities, introducing a mentor programme that assigns each current student a mentor from the same programme during the past year, where the mentees could ask any questions they might have about their campus life, and the mentors could share their experiences with the mentees, would be beneficial. This could happen even before the students arrive in the UK and could continue throughout their whole time in the UK. The mentees should also agree to be mentors for the students who arrive in the subsequent years to ensure that there is a sufficient number of students willing to contribute each year. If face-to-face meetings are not possible, given that the mentors might have left the country before the mentees arrive, other communication methods, such as social media and emails, can be taken into consideration, depending on their preference. These mentors serve similar functions as the students’ personal tutors, the role of which is usually taken by a member of staff of the universities, and the students might find their mentors more accessible and empathetic, because, after all, the mentors are students who had gone through similar experiences as what the mentees are going through, including difficulties, in their studies as well as in their daily lives.

The final suggestion for universities is to include bilingual teaching assistants in the classroom and/or after class. In primary and secondary schools in the UK, there is often one teacher and at least one teaching assistant in class, with the former teaching and the latter’s main duty being to make the learning process smoother for students. Sometimes the assistant shares a language with some of the students that the classroom teacher does not know. This practice can be applied to international HE as well. This bilingual teaching assistant will not be able to speak all the languages the students speak, but at least s/he can serve as a bridge between the lecturer and the students, explaining some key concepts and answering some questions in the language that some of the students can understand, and helping them to understand. Teaching assistants can also be invited into the lesson planning process to offer their opinion on smoothing the learning processes for international students. In this way, all of the international students can benefit, because these assistant teachers understand and have experienced confusion as their students do, so they may be able to help by contributing their own knowledge as non-English-speaking students learning in the classrooms in the UK or in other English-speaking countries. This can also be seen as a gesture by the university to welcome various languages on campus.

6.5.2 Lecturers

Lecturers have more to do when it comes to issues regarding international students, as they are the staff with whom these students have the most frequent contact. Inside the classroom, lecturers 'need to reconceptualise classroom spaces as microcosms of societal multilingualism' (Makalela, 2017, p. 25), and should make it clear to the students, not only international ones, but also local ones, that the use of any languages is welcomed as long as it helps students with their study. They could repeat this to the students constantly throughout the semesters and demonstrate by speaking more than one language in class; they could also learn some words in their students' languages, which may help with their access to the curriculum. Inviting students to answer key questions in English in class and then explain in their own language again to other students (which is also a part of their translanguaging practices) may also be helpful, assuring students that languages other than English are valuable in their learning as well and should not be forbidden, as in the South African university mentioned in the last section. In this way, international students may be able to feel more comfortable with their translanguaging practices without adhering to the idea that English should be the default classroom language. Translanguaging can thus go beyond a linguistic practice and become part of the pedagogy.

In addition, lecturers could consider rearranging and mixing the seating inside the classroom, for instance, by assigning students into different groups in each class. In this way, students could have more opportunities to interact with students with whom they are not familiar, not only in the classroom discussion, but also in chit-chats outside of the class. Being familiar with other students may help students feel more comfortable in speaking up in class and expressing their own opinions, which, in turn, could benefit other students as well. In the programme where my research was conducted, the students were divided into two groups and had the same classes at different times (the lecturers delivered the same content twice) so that each student had more opportunities for classroom interaction. Organising pair/group assignments at the beginning of the first semester can also be helpful, as it provides a reason for the students to interact with each other (especially those with whom they are not familiar). They have the same purpose; to finish the assignment, and to socialise with others, so this would be more natural for them.

Another suggestion for lecturers is that the teaching material should be as multicultural and multilingual as possible. When designing classroom content, lecturers could choose examples from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. They could also draw on students' individual experience and ask them to share with the whole class. Both the lecturers and international and home students can learn from and understand their cultures and languages from their peers' actual lived experiences. This will encourage intercultural interactions that could benefit both home and international students.

As for the classroom management, it is recommended to break down into smaller class sizes and to design more pair work or group work activities instead of purely lecturing, so that students have more chances to express themselves in front of others and thus feel more comfortable in doing so. Students could also learn from each other's opinions and experiences, and, in these discussions, they could also get to know each other better.

6.5.3 Students

For international students, it is recommended that they need to take their own responsibility and be more agentive and proactive in creating English interactions for themselves if they would like to improve their English proficiency by joining various extracurricular activities and speaking up inside the classroom. Another way is to consider taking some work experience (ideally, at least one year full-time, preferably in a relevant field) before studying abroad. My research also suggests that students who had worked before tend to know more clearly what they want and need and end up being more agentive in achieving these goals. However, this may contradict one of the reasons why some students choose to study abroad: their hope is that the foreign degrees will enable them to be more competitive in the home job market. Therefore, this is a trade-off on which the students need to make a decision: they must determine which one is more important to them; getting a degree as early as possible, or making their studying abroad experience more meaningful and valuable.

Apart from working on their English proficiency and gaining more English-speaking experience before coming to the UK, bilingual students whose first language is not English can also benefit from changing their own attitudes towards English. This refers to seeing English as a language that they use for communication instead of a subject on which their accuracy would be tested and focusing on fluency and expressing themselves fully rather than paying too much attention to being grammatically correct. This is true for both CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency), the language needed for learning content and classroom activities, and BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills), the language needed for daily conversations. They need to realise that their interlocutors focus more on the meanings they are trying to convey, rather than their grammar, inside the classroom (e.g., Kinsella & García, 2016) and outside (e.g., Radinger, 2018).

As for the bilingual students themselves, they need to be aware that they can be proud of their bilingual backgrounds and their ability to understand more than one language, and that they are trying to obtain a degree in a foreign country and in a foreign language. They are the ones who are making an effort here when using English and should not feel guilty (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) about using their own languages inside and outside the classroom. Bilingualism should be regarded as ‘a linguistic talent rather than a worrisome deficit’ (MacSwan, 2017, p. 190), not only by the teachers/lecturers, but also by the students themselves, be they bilingual or not. With the classroom materials and talk-around-text in English, English speakers (lecturers and students), and British people in particular, are already situated in an advantageous position in terms of linguistics and classroom culture, and the inequality ought not to be further widened by bilingual students’ not feeling comfortable using their own language(s) in class. Instead of feeling guilty and restricted to the so-called ideal notion of an English-only classroom, they should be encouraged and proud to draw on their full linguistic repertoire to access the curriculum. A similar point supporting the argument that English does not have to be the only language in the classroom is made by Caruso (2018, p. 87):

> the potential of using English as a single lingua franca would have been an easy, but also too simplistic decision. Indeed, it would not have favoured the use and development of each individual linguistic repertoire, nor would it have stimulated a series of metalinguistic reflections about contents and related linguistic issues. In this way, the use of translanguaging allowed a greater equity in the classroom, allowing a deeper inclusion of all participants, either local or Erasmus, because any monolingualism (in English or Portuguese) would have favoured part of the classroom, leaving others at a disadvantage.

Some may argue that the current research context (i.e., international HE in the UK, an English-speaking country) is different from the previous ones (i.e., international HE in Portugal, a non-English-speaking country), as not all the students and lecturers in the class are bilingual in the same two languages. Admittedly, when communicating with a non-Chinese person, a bilingual person should use English (at least to some extent) for the exchange of ideas to take place. Nevertheless, under the circumstances where there are only Chinese students, the use of both languages, or only Chinese, would not cause any problems. Besides, my participants believed that English should be the main language when they speak to non-Chinese, as they did not want to be disrespectful to other students and lecturers. Thus, on the one hand, they should feel confident about their English as English users – not learners; on the other, they should feel comfortable in using their own language(s), or whichever language they choose, as long as it is beneficial to their study in class.

As for the locals and students whose first language is English, they should be encouraged to interact more with international students (Hartwell & Ounoughi, 2019), in and out of the classroom, as part of the international HE experiences universities wish to offer. They could do so by inviting international students or joining them for social activities. They could also learn about other cultures and languages if they are interested. In addition, they also need to realise their advantage in being English speakers in the UK, an English-speaking country, which might lead to a power imbalance between them and non-English-speaking students, and be more considerate when communicating to non-native students in English (Hartwell & Ounoughi, 2019), bearing in mind the fact that that English is not their first language.

To summarise, there are numerous actions that the UK universities and their staff and students can take to improve international bilingual students' experiences, and the abovementioned ones are just a few of them. When students, especially international students, are paying high tuition and accommodation fees, they should enjoy substantial benefits that not only provide them with an excellent international experience, but which also support the development of an international perspective for both local and overseas students. As the competition to attract international students continues to grow, especially during/after the COVID-19 pandemic and the EU Exit (Brexit), the UK will need to consolidate its reputation as a primary destination if it wishes to maintain its international student numbers. Recognising and supporting students' translanguaging practices is one way to demonstrate to international students that UK universities are welcoming and are adapting to accommodate their student bodies.

6.6 About COVID-19

The last few months of the PhD have been difficult for me, due to the COVID-19 situation. This worldwide pandemic has had quite a fundamental effect on me, which I did not realise would eventually be so severe in the beginning when it started.

First, self-isolation affected my mental health. Most of my friends and colleagues in the UK had gone home before or at the beginning of the lockdown. I was away from my family and friends in a foreign country, and the only person I had physical interaction with during the lockdown was my flatmate, who is also a PhD student in her final year. Although I talked with my friends and family on my phone, it is not the same as meeting them face-to-face. For a few months, my flatmate and I were stuck in our flat, which is small and does not have a living room. We could not go anywhere because we did not own a car, and we were not comfortable taking public transportation at the time. The only time we left the flat during lockdown was for grocery shopping. Being indoors for long periods of time, and the lack of social interaction with other people, led to my boredom and restlessness. There were days when I sat in my room and was not productive at all, and there were times when I did not feel like doing anything. Things like this had happened to me before but did not persist this long. I entered a dangerous vicious circle. On the one hand, I was anxious about not working because I was nearing the end of my

PhD; and, on the other, I felt helpless because I was not able to force myself to write, despite trying several methods to make myself productive, such as taking days completely off the PhD, exercising, and practising meditation.

Secondly, other people's not following the rules caused me great stress, such as their lack of compliance with the mask-wearing requirement in supermarkets, and the need to social distance on the street. When we were allowed back in the library, this was not a stress-free place, either. It was fine in August, as there were not many students in the library. The situation changed in September when students returned to campus for the new semester. While students had to wear masks, some students still took their masks off, even after they were warned by the librarians. This is especially worrying, as there was a spike in the number of positive cases, especial among young people. I understood that they might be still getting used to it, but I did not feel comfortable working at the library anymore, even though I was productive there.

Thirdly, it affected my writing of the thesis because I did not have access to any physical books at the library as well as access to all the resources that I needed, including office facilities such, as a PC, or a proper desk and chair. I no longer had access to print books available from our library due to the lockdown, and only a very small number of them were available electronically, which has had an impact on my revision of the literature review chapter. I could only use my own laptop, the screen of which is small, and I did not have access to the software that I urgently needed for the thesis, such as EndNote, for referencing. It was not until three months later, in June, when I was able to borrow a PC and a monitor, together with a mouse, a keyboard and the cables, and to collect all of my belongings from my office at the university. This was difficult, as I had to pack them all in my suitcases, take the bus, and carry everything to my flat, which is on the second floor and does not have a lift, with the help of my flatmate. Because my room can only fit a small desk, my neck, shoulders, and back hurt from working at it for too long. Our library reopened in August, and I was able to work there for a change of environment and comfortable desks and chairs. In September, I was allowed to work in the office; even though I was moved from one building to another and had to set up the PCs all over again and needed to walk one hour each way every day because public transportation was not encouraged and I did not have a car, I was still truly grateful for the chance to work in the office.

As a friend put it, being alone with no family to pursue a PhD in a foreign country, we had predicted every possible difficulty that might occur, but we would never have thought of COVID-19. It is a difficult time for everyone, but I do not have control over the situation. I can do nothing else but follow the guidelines, wait, and hope for the best.

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Appendix 1 General participants' information sheet – students

Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITY of STIRLING

Dear student,

I am writing to ask for your consent to your participation in my research.

I am a second-year PhD student in Education at the University of Stirling, and I am looking at Chinese Master's students' language use in the classroom in the UK. I have been interested in this topic for some time, conducted a pilot last year and decided to investigate it as my PhD project. With this research, I do not aim to either criticize or try to change Chinese students' language use. Rather, I am interested in their rationales for their language use. Research questions of this study include:

1. What language(s) do the Chinese students in a Master's programme at a UK university use in the classroom?
2. Under what circumstances do they use Chinese?
3. Under what circumstances do they use English?
4. What factors influence their choice of language?
5. What are the features of translanguaging for these Chinese students?

In order to investigate this area, I plan to observe and participate in one or several module(s) in your Master's programme at [redacted] in the academic year of 2017/18. The context and the setting of each session will be noted down. If you agree to participate, what you do in class might be noted down and what you say might be audio recorded, transcribed (and translated if in Chinese) and analyzed by myself. These recordings and notes will be used as the major data source of this current research. The data collected will be stored in the online facility Box and I will be the only one who have access to it. It will be completely confidential, and you will be given alias to protect your identity. You can feel free to withdraw at any point if you are no longer interested in taking part, even after the research has started, and no further question will be asked. And your acceptance or refusal to participate, or withdrawal from participation will not influence any of your module assessments or grades.

Should you have any concern about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk). If you have any complaint, please contact Professor Alison Bowes (Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk).

If you agree to take part in this research, please take a few minutes to read through the Consent Form, tick as appropriate and sign in the end. You participation will be much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Ming Ni

Appendix 2 General participants' information sheet – lecturers

Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITY of STIRLING

Dear lecturer,

I am writing to ask for your consent to conduct my research in your lecture.

I am a second-year PhD student in Education at the University of Stirling, and I am looking at Chinese Master's students' language use in the classroom in the UK. I have been interested in this topic for some time, conducted a pilot last year and decided to investigate it as my PhD project. With this research, I do not aim to either criticize or try to change Chinese students' language use. Rather, I am interested in their rationales for their language use. Research questions of this study include:

1. What language(s) do the Chinese students in a Master's programme at a UK university use in the classroom?
2. Under what circumstances do they use Chinese?
3. Under what circumstances do they use English?
4. What factors influence their choice of language?
5. What are the features of translanguaging for these Chinese students?

In order to investigate this area, I plan to observe and participate in one or several module(s) in a Master's programme at [redacted] in the academic year of 2017/18. The context and the setting of each session will be noted down. If you agree to participate, what you do in class might be noted down and what you say might be audio recorded, transcribed (and translated if in Chinese) and analyzed by myself. These recordings and notes will be used as the major data source of this current research. The data collected will be stored in the online facility Box and I will be the only one who have access to it. It will be completely confidential, and you will be given alias to protect your identity. You can feel free to withdraw at any point if you are no longer interested in taking part, even after the research has started, and no further question will be asked.

Should you have any concern about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk). If you have any complaint, please contact Professor Alison Bowes (Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk).

If you agree to take part in this research, please take a few minutes to read through the Consent Form, tick as appropriate and sign in the end. You participation will be much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Ming Ni

Appendix 3 General participants' consent form

Faculty of Social Sciences UNIVERSITY of STIRLING

Consent Form

Project Title: Chinese Master's Students' Language Use in the Classroom: A Case Study at a UK University

Researcher: Ming Ni (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk)

Please tick as appropriate:

1. I confirm that I understand the aims and content for the above study. ☐
2. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions. ☐
3. I consent to be a participant of this research. ☐
4. I consent to what I do in class being noted down. ☐
5. I consent to what I say in class being audio recorded. ☐
6. I consent to what I do before/after class being noted down. ☐
7. I consent to what I say before/after class being audio recorded. ☐
8. I consent to the data collected being used as a main source of data in this research. ☐
9. I consent to the data the collected being used for publications and further studies. ☐

10a. If you are Chinese: I would like to volunteer to be a key participant in the research, whose discourse in class will be recorded. ☐

10b. If you are not Chinese: I would like to volunteer to be a participant of the focus group. ☐

11. I understand that, until the data has been published in articles/thesis, I am free to withdraw at any time and/or to withdraw any data previously supplied. ☐
12. I understand that I have the right to ask for feedback from the researcher at any point. ☐
13. I understand that I will be referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research. ☐
14. I understand my right to complain to the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Professor Alison Bowes, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk) if I have any concern about the research process. ☐

Do you speak Cantonese (Yue Chinese)? O Yes, I do. O No, I don't.

Participant:	Name		Signature	Date
Researcher:	Name	Ming Ni	Signature	Date 02/10/2017

Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITY of STIRLING

同意书

研究项目: 在英中国硕士生课堂语言使用情况：一所大学的个案研究

研究者: Ming Ni (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk)

请酌情勾选:

1. 我确认我了解这个研究项目的目标和内容。 ☐
2. 研究者提供了让我提问的机会。 ☐
3. 我同意参加这项研究。 ☐
4. 我同意研究者记录我在课上所做的事情。 ☐
5. 我同意研究者记录我在课上所说的话。 ☐
6. 我同意研究者记录我在课前/后所做的事情。 ☐
7. 我同意研究者记录我在课前/后所说的话。 ☐
8. 我同意从我处收集到的数据作为这项研究的主要数据。 ☐
9. 我同意从我处收集到的数据用于发表出版物及其他研究。 ☐

10a. 如果您是中国人：我愿意做这项研究的研究对象，并且同意我上课所说的话被录音。 ☐

10b. 如果您不是中国人：我愿意做这项研究的研究对象，并参与讨论组讨论。 ☐

11. 我了解在数据以文章或论文的形式发表之前，我都可以退出该研究，或者撤回之前所提供的数据。 ☐
12. 我了解我有权随时从研究者处取得反馈。 ☐
13. 我了解在任何有关此研究的出版物中，我的名字都将用化名代替。 ☐
14. 我了解如果我对此项研究有任何疑问，我有权向 Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Professor Alison Bowes, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk)申诉。 ☐

您说粤语吗？ O 是 O 否

研究参与者: 姓名 签名 日期

研究者: 姓名 Ming Ni 签名 日期 02/10/2017

Appendix 4 Information sheet – key participants

Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITY *of* STIRLING

Dear student,

I am writing to ask for your consent to your participation in my research.

I am a second-year PhD student in Education at the University of Stirling, and I am looking at Chinese Master's students' language use in the classroom in the UK. I have been interested in this topic for some time, conducted a pilot last year and decided to investigate it as my PhD. With this research, I do not aim to either criticize or try to change Chinese students' language use. Rather, I am interested in their rationales for their language use. The research questions of this study include:

1. What language(s) do the Chinese students in a Master's programme at a UK university use in the classroom?
2. Under what circumstances do they use Chinese?
3. Under what circumstances do they use English?
4. What factors influence their choice of language?
5. What are the features of translanguaging for these Chinese students?

In order to investigate this area, I plan to observe and participate in several modules in your Master's programme at [redacted] for two semesters in the academic year of 2017/18. The context and the setting of each session will be noted down. If you agree to participate, what you do in class might be noted down and what you say will be audio recorded. You will be given an audio recorder before each session to record your interactions in the classroom, and the recorder will be collected after each session. Every week, there will be a one-to-one interview after the collection and analysis of the classroom recording, which will also be audio recorded. These data will be transcribed (and translated if in Chinese) and analyzed by myself, and used as the major data source of this current research. The data collected will be stored online facility Box, and I will be the only one who has access to it. It will be completely confidential and you will be given alias of your choice to protect your identity. You can feel free to withdraw at any point as long as you are no longer interested in taking part, even after the research has started, and no further question will be asked. And your acceptance or refusal to participate, or withdrawal from participation will not influence any of your module assessments or grades.

Should you have any concern about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk). If you have any complaint, please contact Professor Alison Bowes (Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk).

If you agree to take part in this research, please take a few minutes to read through the Consent Form, tick as appropriate and sign in the end. You participation will be much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Ming Ni

Faculty of Social Sciences

尊敬的同学,

您好！

我是 University of Stirling 教育学二年级博士生，我的研究题目是在英中国硕士生的课堂语言使用情况。一开始我对这个题目很感兴趣，然后在去年进行了一个实验性的研究之后，我决定以此作为我的博士研究题目。我做这项研究只是出于我的兴趣，并不旨在批判或者尝试改变中国学生的语言使用情况。这项研究的研究问题是：

1. 在英国一所大学一个专业的中国学生上课使用哪种（些）语言？
2. 在什么情况下他们使用英文？
3. 在什么情况下他们使用中文？
4. 有什么因素影响他们对语言的选择？
5. 他们的 translanguaging（语言转换）有什么特征？

我计划在 2017/18 学年的前两个学期参与并观察[redacted]一个硕士专业的几个课程。如果您同意参加这项研究，我会在您上课时录音，并有可能记录您在课上所做的事情。每周上课前我会在把录音机给您，下课之后收回；之后会有一个一对一的录音访谈。以上这些数据将会作为这项研究的主要数据，由我誊写（及翻译），分析，并上传到只有我能进入的网上储存工具 Box。这项研究是完全匿名的，您的名字将由化名代替。如果您不想再继续参与该研究，即使研究已经开始了，您也可以随时退出，我不会提出任何疑问。您的接受、拒绝或者退出这项研究都不会对您任何一门课的成绩造成影响。

如果您对此项研究有任何疑问，欢迎您联系我（ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk）；如果您有任何申诉，您可以向 Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Professor Alison Bowes, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk)提出。

如果您愿意作为主要研究对象参与此研究，请花几分钟时间阅读随附的同意书，酌情勾选并在最后签名。我非常期待您的参与。

此致

敬礼

Ming Ni

2017 年 10 月 14 日

Appendix 5 Consent form – key participants

Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITY *of* STIRLING

Consent Form

Project Title: Chinese Master's Students' Language Use in the Classroom: A Case Study at a UK University

Researcher: Ming Ni (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk)

	Please tick as appropriate:
I confirm that I understand the aims and content for the above study.	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions.	☐
I consent to be a key participant of this research.	☐
I consent to what I do in class being noted down.	☐
I consent to what I say in class being audio recorded.	☐
I consent to what I do before/after class being noted down.	☐
I consent to what I say before/after class being audio recorded.	☐
I consent to be interviewed.	☐
I consent to the interviews being audio recorded.	☐
I consent to the data collected being used for publications and further studies.	☐
I understand that until the data has been published in articles/thesis I am free to withdraw at any time, and/or to withdraw any data previously supplied.	☐
I understand that I have the right to ask for feedback from the researcher at any point.	☐
I understand that I will be referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research.	☐
I understand my right to complain to the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Professor Alison Bowes, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk) if I have any concern about the research process.	☐

Name of the Participant	Signature	Date
Name of the Researcher	Signature	Date

Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITY of STIRLING

同意书

研究项目: 在英中国硕士生课堂语言使用情况：一所大学的个案研究

研究者: Ming Ni (ming.ni1@stir.ac.uk)

请酌情勾选:

我确认我了解这个研究项目的目标和内容。 ☐

研究者提供了让我提问的机会。 ☐

我同意作为主要研究对象参加这项研究。 ☐

我同意研究者记录我在课上所做的事情。 ☐

我同意研究者记录我在课上所说的话。 ☐

我同意研究者记录我在课前/后所做的事情。 ☐

我同意研究者记录我在课前/后所说的话。 ☐

我同意接受采访。 ☐

我同意采访被录音。 ☐

我同意从我处收集到的数据用于发表出版物及其他研究。 ☐

我了解在数据以文章或论文的形式发表之前，我都可以退出该研究，以及/或者撤回之前所提供的数据。 ☐

我了解我有权随时从研究者处取得反馈。 ☐

我了解在任何有关此研究的出版物中，我的名字都将用化名代替。 ☐

我了解如果我对此项研究有任何疑问，我有权向 Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Professor Alison Bowes, a.m.bowes@stir.ac.uk)申诉。 ☐

研究对象姓名	签名	日期
研究者姓名	签名	日期