JYU DISSERTATIONS 625

Paiwei Qin

Identity and Language Ideology of EMI Medical Teachers and Students in China

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Editors
Tarja Nikula-Jäntti
Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä
Ville Korkiakangas
Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

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In the trend towards globalisation in higher education, English medium instruction (EMI) has grown rapidly in China since the 2000s. However, the outcomes of EMI have not necessarily met the stakeholders' expectations, especially those in universities not in the top tier and in developing areas. Focusing on Chinese EMI medical teachers and students from an ordinary university, this doctoral study probes this misalignment through analysing identity construction and interaction with different ideologies. Drawing on social constructivism theories to investigate the relationship between identity and ideology, this study sees identity and language ideology as socially constructed in discourses. The dataset consists of two parts: semi-structured interviews with five Chinese medical teachers and eighteen students in 2020, and supplementary research materials (e.g., lecturers' PowerPoint slides and institutional documents). This study has analysed the qualitative dataset at both content and discourse levels and identified five key findings. 1) Participants' emphasis on medical expertise and positioning themselves apart from their EFL counterparts. 2) Their admiration of scholarship of "the West" and perception of English as the dominant medium in modern medicine. 3) The discursive creation and circulation of their "elite" identity as challenge-ridden in *de facto* EMI teaching/learning. 4) Different ideological stances towards bilingualism compete and reconcile in and beyond the EMI classroom. 5) Diverse ideologies of English (in relation to Chinese) simultaneously push them onward and outward to negotiate and re-construct their EMI identities. These findings bring up important implications for the integration of content and language, about perceptions of English for pedagogy, and for bilingual skills and practices for intra- and international/cultural communication. This study not only contributes to the research on the forms of EMI provision – focusing of the category of ordinary universities in China - but also responds to the call for interdisciplinary research – examining sociocultural aspects in order to (re-)define EMI education.

Keywords: China, English-medium instruction (EMI), identity, ideology, medical education, teachers, students

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Qin, Paiwei
Lääketieteen opettajien ja opiskelijoiden identiteetti ja kieli-ideologia englanninkielisessä opetuksessa Kiinassa
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Korkeakoulutuksen globalisaatiokehityksen myötä englanninkielinen opetus (English-medium instruction eli EMI) on lisääntynyt nopeasti Kiinassa 2000-luvun alusta lähtien. EMI:n tulokset eivät ole aina olleet sidosryhmien odotusten mukaisia varsinkaan huippuyliopistoihin kuulumattomissa yliopistoissa kehittyvillä alueilla. Tässä väitöstutkimuksessa tutkitaan tätä epäsuhtaa keskittymällä EMI-ympäristössä toimiviin kiinalaisiin lääketieteen opettajiin ja opiskelijoihin tavallisessa yliopistossa ja analysoimalla identiteetin rakentumista ja vuorovaikutusta erilaisten ideologioiden kanssa. Identiteetin ja ideologian suhdetta tarkastellaan sosiaalisen konstruktivismin teorioiden pohjalta ja kielellinen identiteetti sekä ideologia nähdään diskursseissa sosiaalisesti rakentuneina. Aineisto koostuu kahdesta osasta: viiden kiinalaisen lääketieteen opettajan ja kahdeksantoista opiskelijan vuonna 2020 tehdystä teemahaastattelusta ja niiden transkriptiosta sekä täydentävästä aineistosta (esim. PowerPoint-dioista ja asiakirjoista). Laadullista aineistoa analysoitiin sekä sisällön että diskurssin tasolla ja siitä tehtiin viisi keskeistä havaintoa. 1) Osallistujien lääketieteen asiantuntemus korostuu ja he asettavat itsensä erilleen englantia ensikielenään puhuvista kollegoistaan. 2) ”Länsimaista” oppineisuutta ihaillaan ja englanti mielletään modernin lääketieteen hallitsevaksi kieleksi. 3) ”Eliitti-identiteetin” diskursiivisesta luomisesta ja välittymisestä tulee haasteellista EMI-opetuksessa ja -oppimisessa. 4) Erilaiset ideologiset asenteet kaksikielisyyttä kohtaan sekä haastavat toisiansa että mukautuvat toisiinsa EMI-luokkahuoneessa ja sen ulkopuolella. 5) Englannin kieleen liittyvät ideologiat (suhteessa kiinaan) ajavat osallistujia sekä eteenpäin että ulospäin neuvottelemaan ja rakentamaan uudelleen EMI-identiteettinsä. Havainnot nostavat esiin tärkeitä implikaatioita, jotka liittyvät sisällön ja kielen integrointiin, pedagogisiin käsityksiin englannin kielen käytöstä sekä kaksikielisiin taitoihin ja käytäntöihin maiden ja kulttuurien sisäisessä sekä kansainvälisessä ja kulttuurienvälisessä viestinnässä. Tutkimus on osa Kiinan yliopistojen EMI-opetuksen muotoja koskevaa tutkimusta, mutta se vastaa myös monitieteisen tutkimuksen tarpeeseen tarkastelemalla sosiokulttuurisia näkökohtia EMI:n (uudelleen)määrittelemiseksi.

Asiasanat: Kiina, englanninkielinen opetus (EMI), identiteetti, ideologia, lääketieteellinen koulutus, opettajat, opiskelijat

Author

Paiwei Qin
Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland
Email: qinpaiwei@hotmail.com
ORCID 0000-0003-2253-5308

Supervisors

Tarja Nikula-Jäntti
Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Johanna Ennser-Kananen
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Reviewers

Anna Kristina Hultgren
School of Languages & Applied Linguistics
The Open University, the United Kingdom

Ying Wang
School of Humanities
University of Southampton, the United Kingdom

Opponent

Anna Kristina Hultgren
School of Languages & Applied Linguistics
The Open University, the United Kingdom

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Lastly, this dissertation attaches an English - Chinese bilingual research summary to echo the call for promoting the multilingual scholarship.

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FIGURE

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1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades there has been a rapid growth of *English-medium instruction* (*EMI*) as a global phenomenon worldwide. With the internationalisation of higher education (HE), the EMI approach has become increasingly popular in non-English speaking countries and regions. According to the most cited definition, EMI refers to

> [t]he use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English (Dearden, 2014, p. 2).

The core idea is to use English as a language of instruction to teach non-English subjects in non-English-speaking territories. Nevertheless, given the diverse landscapes of HE worldwide, EMI has been developed in a variety of ways depending on local educational practices. In China, the Ministry of Education (MOE) introduced EMI (literal translation: bilingual education "双语教育") as an alternative form of English language education in 2001, and then MOE and EMI stakeholders have actively promoted it for over two decades (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2005, 2007; Rose et al., 2019).

In my undergraduate years in China (though I majored in Business English), I took several Economics and Business courses in the form of EMI. It was the first time I had studied the content instead of merely the English language itself in the traditional form of English courses. It was while I was pursuing my master's education in the United Kingdom that I first encountered the term EMI, which not only provided a name for my prior learning experience in China but also led me to develop a research interest into this topic. Therefore during my MA studies I conducted a small-scale qualitative study at one of the largest EMI universities in China and investigated seven Chinese students' experiences in EMI programmes at that university (Qin, 2016). Those EMI (private) universities, however, compose only a small proportion of the HE provision in China. The majority of Chinese participants in EMI programmes and courses are from public universities, in which Chinese is the principal language of instruction and the

common language on campus. In other words, EMI to Chinese local students does not mean English-only at most Chinese public universities (Zhao & Dixon, 2017). For that reason, many Chinese universities and institutions regard EMI (to local students) rather as "bilingual" programmes or courses. To obtain a better understanding of EMI development in China, we need to focus not only on the university EMI cases that fully fit the definition of EMI as English-only but also on the public sector universities where the language policies of EMI are more complex than in (private) universities. Thanks to my work experience at the International Education department of a public medical university in China – the research site of this study - I was able to develop this research interest into a doctoral project by selecting the Clinical Medicine EMI courses for Chinese students as research examples in order to better understand EMI in public educational sectors. When reviewing the literature, I found very few existing studies on Clinical Medicine disciplines and programmes where requirement for accurate content knowledge and sound theoretical understanding combines with intensive clinical practicum in local hospitals. Such research, which diversifies the disciplinary contexts and makes disciplinary-specific adjustments rather than adopts ''*one-size-fits-all*'' language policies, has been called for (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). More importantly, due to the complex developmental landscape of HE in China (Feng et al., 2017; Rose et al., 2019; R. Yang, 2014), insufficient research attention on EMI has been paid to the non-top tier or ordinary universities, especially in developing regions. To some extent, the Chinese teachers and students from those universities are following the trend of EMI promotion without receiving as much support and attention as their prestigious counterparts. Therefore, by focusing on those "invisible" participants in the EMI programmes and courses, the present study hopes to develop understanding of diverse forms of EMI provision in China.

When conceiving this study, I had many informal discussions with the Chinese medical students and teachers from the EMI programme that informed me about their bilingual learning experiences and concerns. As much previous research has suggested, it is not uncommon for Chinese EMI students and teachers to think highly of this means of teaching; at the same time, they also have been found to be concerned about the possibility of their EMI programme being poorly implemented with consequent negative implications for their own performance (G. Hu et al., 2014; Tong et al., 2020; Tong & Tang, 2017). In other words, although the EMI approach has been promoted rapidly in China, the outcomes may not necessarily meet the expectations at different levels from policymakers to grassroots. Consequently, the micro-level stakeholders in EMI practices - teachers and students - tend to display an ambivalent attitude towards the EMI programme and courses, which has an impact on their identity-making – what it means to be EMI teachers or learners. Moreover, a frequent finding in prior studies indicates that Chinese EMI participants have been facing an ongoing ideological debate between the traditional default

monolingualism and (dynamic) bi/multilingualism approaches to EMI (G. Hu et al., 2014; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

Theoretically speaking, *language ideology* broadly refers to a set of "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use", which can be multiple, context-bound and constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speakers (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192; Woolard, 1998). This concept reminds us of the complex and competing nature of ideologies in language and EMI education. In addition, as The Douglas Fir Group (2016) suggests, researchers in the field of language education should not only concentrate on the linguistic aspect but also on sociocultural (*identity*) and ideological (belief system and values) aspects. This suggestion encourages a critical discussion on the multi-layered interactions associated with EMI education – both as a policy-formed phenomenon and educational practice. There is little published research, however, that has explicitly investigated the link between EMI participants' (both students and teachers) perceptions and identity construction, especially in the Chinese context. Bucholtz and Hall (2010, pp. 18–27) define *identity* as "the social positioning of self and other", so through my own familiarity with the linguistic, educational and sociocultural context I am well-positioned to conduct this type of research. In other words, my work affiliation with the university in question positions me a semi-insider in this study. While my previous work responsibilities did not directly connect to the EMI programme/courses, I am familiar with the programme structure, the university linguistic landscape and the university strategies and policies associated with the internationalisation of HE. For the content teachers I am neither their medical colleague nor an English language teacher from the department of foreign language studies; for the student participants, I am not involved in any of their major courses and examinations. Taking this semi-insider position as an advantage, I have further developed this research interest through a lens of social constructivism (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Kroskrity, 2010). Seeing EMI education as a sociocultural phenomenon, this research focuses on identity and ideology in order to explore why the misalignment between stakeholders' expectations and practices has occurred throughout China.

In order to enrich the current understanding and knowledge of EMI, and to support those involved in it, this study aims to explore the identities and language ideologies of Chinese teachers and students regarding their bilingual practices in EMI medical education. There are two initial research questions, which will be elaborated in Chapter 3:

- How do the Chinese teachers and students construct their identities in this EMI medical programme and its courses?
- How do language ideologies intertwine with the participants' identity construction?

Based on the review of theoretical and empirical studies related to *identity* and *ideology* in language and EMI education (e.g., Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Kroskrity, 2010), in this study these two concepts are seen as socially constructed in discourses rather than essentialised and fixed in prior categories (Block, 2009; Preece, 2016). In particular, inspired by Bourdieu's (1986, 1991) capital theories in sociolinguistics, Darvin and Norton (2015) propose the Model of Investment to understand the intertwined and dynamic relationships between identities, ideologies, and capitals. This model highlights learner agency to invest in or from particular linguistic practices in language learning by describing learner agency sociolinguistically as "investment" rather than as psycholinguistic "motivation" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2021). With this special attention to learner agency in a social world, this study applies the model to synthesise the findings - not only EMI learners' but also teachers' identities and ideologies – to examine how the EMI has been socially formed in their discourses and how it has shaped their educational practices.

With the approval of the JYU research ethics committee, I recruited five Chinese medical teachers and eighteen Chinese medical students as research participants. The teacher participants varied in terms of their experience with EMI teaching. The student participants were from the 2nd to the 6th year of EMI in Clinical Medicine programmes without previous EMI experience in primary and secondary education. Given the socially constructed nature of *identity* and *ideology*, this study finds qualitative modes of enquiry suitable for obtaining thick and in-depth descriptions of those EMI participants' experiences, feelings, and ideas about bilingualism (Dörnyei, 2007). The semi-structured (one-on-one and group) interview was adopted as the principal data collection tool. Having carried out two pilot interviews with one novice teacher and one 4th year student to test the questions used, I conducted three rounds of online interviews with the participants, either one-on-one or in groups, during the 2020 Spring term. The main interview topics include: the interviewees' demographic backgrounds and recent EMI experiences in the first interview round; the language practices they desired in the second round; and their reflection on the bilingual exams and their overview of the term in the final round. All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim for qualitative data analysis. Interviews were supplemented by two types of written materials. First, institutional documents on EMI programme/courses were collected from the staff in the Academic Affairs Office before the formal interviews. Second, the teaching and learning materials were voluntarily provided by the participants during the interviews. Since identity and ideology in social interaction are discursive in nature, this study adopted thematic and discourse approaches to analyse the qualitative dataset (e.g., Barkhuizen et al., 2014; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Gee, 2014). In other words, these two approaches worked hand-in-hand at both the content (what they say) and discourse (how they say) levels to reveal the nuanced and multi-layered relationship between dynamic identity construction associated with competing ideologies in the talk of those EMI participants.

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Having given the overview of the present study in the first chapter, Chapter 2 contextualises the research topic - EMI - in China and states the research rationale in detail. Chapter 3 offers a theoretical and comprehensive literature review of EMI research with respect to identity and ideology. Chapter 4 is concerned with the research methodology by introducing the research design, methods, and data. It also includes a discussion of research ethics in this study. In the following two chapters, I present and discuss the findings. Specifically, Chapter 5 takes (language) identity as an entry point, and Chapter 6 orients the analysis with a focus on language ideology to synthesise the findings. In Chapter 7, I conclude the research by further discussing the findings with the earlier research in the area to answer the research questions. This thesis ends with implications for EMI educational policies, practices, and further research in and beyond Chinese contexts.

2 RESEARCH ON EMI EDUCATION

This chapter contextualises EMI in China to provide historical and empirical information on the research focus. In particular, a review of EMI and bilingual education offers an understanding of the development and research trends in China and globally. Through reviewing relevant literature, I identify key concepts associated with EMI and point out research gaps and omissions to date.

2.1 Defining EMI and its development worldwide

Over the past two decades, EMI has become a growing phenomenon in English language education worldwide. Since the end of the Cold War, Europe has gradually taken a leading role in the internationalisation of HE in non-English speaking areas (de Wit & Altbach, 2021). Alongside this general trend towards internationalisation in Europe, EMI or English medium programmes have emerged through the Bologna Process that has aimed to form the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) since 1999 (Kirkpatrick, 2011). More recently, Dearden (2014) specifies that EMI focuses its attention on teaching academic subject content in English rather than English language learning, differing in this respect from other programmes such as CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), or EAP (English for Academic Purposes)/ESP (English for Specific Purposes).

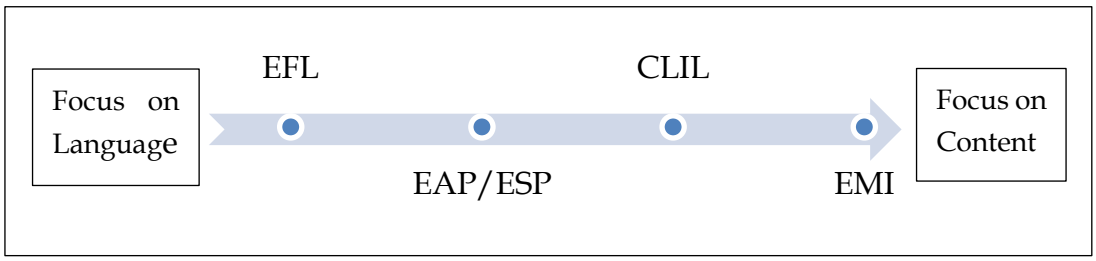


FIGURE 1 Continuum of approaches to integrating content and language education (adapted from Rose et al., 2019)

Figure 1 illustrates a continuum of approaches to integrating content and language education. On the left, EFL and EAP/ESP are English language learning for general use and particular functions/occupational needs (e.g., business English, tourism English and aviation English) (Dearden, 2014). Moving to the right, the learning focus turns from language to content as EMI is on the far right. In the middle, CLIL highlights dual tasks: merging subject and (foreign) language development; the term usually refers to primary and secondary education (Coyle et al., 2010; Nikula & Moore, 2016). Yet many scholars have argued that the idea of CLIL might better represent the intentions of EMI programmes and practices in various countries and higher institutions because those institutions and stakeholders consider learning (disciplinary) English as an inseparable goal alongside content learning (Rose et al., 2019). For this, the term CLIL-ised EMI was recently proposed by Moncada-Comas and Block (2021). Another term widely used for CLIL/EMI education is "bi/multilingual education", which addresses the bi/multilingual language practices in the CLIL/EMI curriculum (Sahan, Curle, et al., 2020; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). However, this term can be defined differently in different countries or regions. Taking the People's Republic of China as an example, Hong Kong and Macau have bi/multilingual official language policies due to their histories as colonies. The bilingual education generally means a lengthy programme to cultivate the young bi/multilinguals who can function in the official languages in these regions and maintain their heritage languages (Zhao & Dixon, 2017). On the other hand, Mandarin Chinese[1] is the main official spoken language in China's mainland (Ministry of Education, 2021). That is, the mainland Chinese students in the Chinese-English bilingual programme are, in essence, language learners who may not in practice have opportunities to use their English for everyday communication and may not find it necessary to become additive bilinguals (G. Hu, 2008; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). In this way, Chinese-English bilingual education in China's mainland does not aim to maintain the students' heritage language (Mandarin Chinese), even though the literal translation of "双语教育 (shuāng yǔ jiāo yù)" is bilingual education.

1 Mandarin Chinese serves as a common official spoken language across majority regions of the P. R. China, while there are many additional official languages or dialects used in many (minority ethnic autonomous) regions by their residents.

Although these overlapping terms concerning the integration of content and language learning are interchangeably used in various research contexts, the present study employs EMI, which is the most common way of referring to the use of English as the medium for teaching and learning at tertiary level. However, since the focal university has named the EMI programme for Chinese local students as "双语班 (shuāng yǔ bān, literal translation: bilingual class)", the participants did not explicitly mention "EMI" but referred to it as "bilingual". Therefore, the term "bilingual" is primarily used when reporting about the interviews. Nevertheless, "EMI" is used as the key term throughout this dissertation, while "bilingual" is sometimes used interchangeably in the presentation of excerpts, to illustrate interviewees' way of talking about this particular programme and the courses.

A series of large-scale research projects on EMI has provided both a regional and a worldwide view of its development. Researchers supported by the British Council have conducted surveys worldwide and report that EMI is expanding rapidly (particularly in HE sectors) and that challenges are faced by EMI stakeholders (Dearden, 2014; Macaro et al., 2019; Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020). Meanwhile, they have called for contextual investigations in order to better address the issues in different institutions. The growth of EMI in Europe is well documented (Airey et al., 2017; Dimova & Kling, 2020; Hultgren et al., 2015). According to Wächter and Maiworm's (2014) report on Europe, the number of B.A. and M.A. programmes fully taught in English increased from 2,389 in 2007 to 8,089 in 2014. In Asia, institutions started to implement EMI later than their European counterparts, but it has grown remarkably, and an increasing number of studies have been documented recently (Galloway et al., 2017; Galloway & Sahan, 2021; Macaro et al., 2018, 2019). Other emerging research contexts also include the Middle East (Carroll & van den Hoven, 2016; Hillman et al., 2019), Africa (van der Walt & Kidd, 2013), and Latin America (Corrales et al., 2016).

The research on EMI describes generally positive yet diverse motivations and mixed attitudes towards EMI across different levels of stakeholders (Kirkpatrick, 2014; R. Wei et al., 2017; Wilkinson, 2013). It covers mixed linguistic practices in classroom discourses, primarily content-focused pedagogy, and the increasing need for teacher professional development (Ball & Lindsay, 2013; del Campo, 2020; He et al., 2016; Macaro & Han, 2019; Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021; O'Dowd, 2018). It focuses on various learning experiences concerning efficacy and satisfaction, and the (multilingual and multimodal) strategies to cope with language difficulties (H. Guo et al., 2018; Hellekjær, 2017; G. Hu & Duan, 2018; Lasagabaster, 2017; C. Li, 2014), policy management and evaluation across different levels (Airey et al., 2017; Bradford, 2020; Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Saarinen & Nikula, 2013; Shohamy, 2013) and so forth. At the same time, some critical issues in EMI, such as its impact on the perpetuation of social division, the (re-) construction of students' and teachers' identities, assessment, and teacher collaboration, are under-researched (Sah,

2022). In this study, I complement research on EMI by focusing on the identity (re-)construction of the Chinese medical teachers and students.

2.2 EMI in China's higher education

Having reviewed the general research trends on EMI development worldwide, I now turn to the Chinese context to review recent literature and discuss the key issues raised. To start with, a brief review of the historical development of English language education in China reveals the fluctuating ideologies of English since the late Qing period (1840-1912). The subsequent section moves attention to EMI as an alternative approach to English language education for local students in China from 2001 to date.

As a global language, English is the most popular foreign language in China, and the number of English learners in China had surged to 400 million by 2012 (R. Wei & Su, 2012). The policies of English language education have been fluctuating, however, with changing economic, political, and global situations in China (Gao, 2015). The start of English education, importing western science and technology as a reaction against the western coercive influences, dates to the late Qing Dynasty (1840-1912). During the Republican Era (1912-1945), English served as a vehicle to re-establish diplomatic, military, and intellectual relations with the western world (Bolton & Graddol, 2012; Gao, 2015; Pan, 2015). Because of the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949) and the Cold War, English language education had a low official status, even being repudiated, until China's Reform and Opening Up (1978)[2] (B. Adamson, 2002). To accelerate China's modernisation progress, the following three decades saw a considerable amount of time and effort invested by Chinese government to promote English language education (B. Adamson, 2002). During the "Opening up" phase (1979 - 1990s), the English language was highly or "crazily" valued by governmental and institutional organisations and by individuals, embodying China's eagerness to connect itself with the rest of the world for national progress and personal success (Gao, 2015, p. 1). From the mid-1990s to the 2000s, English language education in China was described as "Too much time, too little effect" (Gao, 2015, p. 5). This means that the outcome was disappointing and failed to meet the developmental demands, in spite of the considerable investment in English language education. More recently, China has been experiencing a "Slowing down" phase because it has encountered a dilemma between promoting English language education and maintaining its national identity and language (Gao, 2015, p. 1). She (2015, p. 13) gives a possible reason for these fluctuating attitudes to and policies on

[2] Launched in 1978, China's Reform and Opening is a key economic policy, referring to economic reforms termed "socialism with Chinese characteristics" and "socialist market economy" in the People's Republic of China.

English language education: "China with its modern history of semi-colonialism and failed Self-Strengthening/Westernization Movement has formed a habitus of extreme ambivalences, especially incapable of taking a calm and relaxed stance on English education". In other words, Chinese people have never been entirely controlled by colonial powers, a fact which makes them retain their national and cultural essence. Yet, originating from the Westernisation Movement, the idea of English for instrumental use seems to remain the prevailing ideology of English – linking to modernisation - in Chinese society. Responding to the call for the rejuvenation of China in the last ten years, ambivalence towards English language education has grown intensely. Gao (2015, p. 14) and other Chinese scholars like F. Fang (2018a) suggest that Chinese stakeholders in English education take the initiative to critically self-reflect on how they perceive the English language based on their needs and desires in current and future stages, rather than taking the existing English practices governed by predominant ideologies for granted. Overall, these studies summarise the ideological development and changes in terms of English in China: English language education is always tied up with China's progress towards modernisation and globalisation.

When it comes to the development of EMI, China's MOE introduced it as an alternative approach to promoting English language education in the 2000s. Globalisation generates a common belief that a good command of the English language is an "expensive commodity" in China (G. Hu, 2009, p. 50). According to Bourdieu's (1986, p. 243) capital theory, "linguistic capital" is an essential type of "cultural capital". Bourdieu (1991, p. 66) highlights the transferability of different sorts of capitals whereby English, as linguistic capital, can generate economic, social, and symbolic capital. The international status of China has risen rapidly, as China has actively participated in global communication and cooperation since the new millennium, such as joining in World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games (Bolton & Graddol, 2012; Pan, 2015). Although prior findings suggest that unreflective ways to promote English language education have raised concerns in China relating to the ambivalent attitude to English, China could not have realised those achievements that brought China enormous economic profits and a worldwide reputation without a good command of English (Pan, 2015). In turn, the Chinese government and individuals have invested a significant amount of money and time in promoting English language education. Furthermore, G. Hu (2009) adds that English has turned into a powerful symbolic capital, with Chinese-English bilingual education seen as a means of securing "a profit of distinction" (Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 55; 230). As Bourdieu (1991, p. 12) explains, when a language ideology turns to what he calls "habitus" – a set of dispositions that regulate peoples' behaviours without being conscious – it can reflect the rationale of language policy and be formed by the linguistic market. Accordingly, based on the assertion of the benefits of English mentioned above (Pan, 2015), English

language or EMI education has received close attention from the Chinese government, society, and individuals. Meanwhile, Bourdieu (1991) in his critique reveals how the (predominant) language ideology can (implicitly and/or explicitly) circulate and perpetuate asymmetric power relations in societies, an aspect which raises our awareness of the need for critical examination of existing "profit" beliefs about English and embedded values (e.g., westernisation, native speakerism, Englishisation) in the global spread of English.

EMI in China is a top-down language policy. Some writers (Kirkpatrick, 2014; Zhao & Dixon, 2017) have summarised the reasons why the Chinese government has issued directives on EMI. In 2001, responding to Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji's hope for increasing information exchange with the rest of the world by implementing bilingual education (Kirkpatrick, 2014), China's MOE issued the *Guideline for strengthening college undergraduate programmes and enhancing the quality of instruction*, which introduces the idea of EMI to Chinese HE. This document states that 5-10% of undergraduate courses should be instructed in English within three years, to meet the economic and technological needs for modernisation, globalisation, and the future (Ministry of Education, 2001). In 2005 the MOE stressed the importance of enlarging the scale and improving the quality of bilingual education for developing college student's English proficiency, and particularly their communicative skills, preventing "哑巴英语 deaf-mute English" (Ministry of Education, 2005; Pan, 2015). In 2006, MOE initiated a survey at 135 Chinese universities about EMI programmes and courses, and the report (Wu et al., 2010) released in 2010 notes that 132 of them reported that they had offered EMI programmes or courses by 2006; 67.4% of the participants felt "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with the quality of EMI, and 74.2% of the participants believed EMI could "improve English proficiency". The result indicates that the EMI teachers and students held generally positive attitudes and were satisfied with EMI (Wu et al., 2010). In 2007, MOE not only encouraged domestic institutions to recruit foreign scholars and experts to enhance the quality of EMI but also to support domestic academia with overseas experience to employ the bilingual approach in their courses to improve college students' English proficiency in their professional fields (Ministry of Education, 2007). As I mentioned above, through reviewing the government official documents, few words employed "EMI" in programmes for local Chinese students, but the idea of the EMI approach was embodied in specific statements. So the EMI policy is not explicitly stated by the Chinese government. Yet, some EMI private institutions in China (e.g., Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University and University of Nottingham Ningbo China) have been founded and opened for Chinese students since 2006. Those Sino-foreign (EMI) institutions are usually co-founded with or imported from foreign collaborative partner universities. Their management and curriculum design are therefore different from those in the public sector in China. On the other hand, international EMI programmes (esp. for international students) "全英教学 (quán yīng jiào xué, literal translation: complete English teaching)" play

a key role in the outward-oriented internationalisation of China's HE. In particular, the China's government has recently launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) [3] educational plans that aim to strengthen international collaboration and communication between Chinese and foreign universities/institutions (State Council, 2017). Moreover, given the national stratification of Chinese HE, the more prestigious universities (e.g., in Project 985, Project 211, and Double First Class[4]) are better resourced (Rose et al., 2019). In other words, the EMI implementation at non-985 or 211 (ordinary) universities is under-researched and less documented compared to those prestigious counterparts. In short, the developmental landscape of EMI in China's HE is rather complex owing to the variety of types of EMI providers (public and private) and the uneven distribution of educational resources according to universities stratifications. Alongside the recent growth of EMI in Official Development Assistance (ODA) recipient countries (Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020), EMI is no longer a privilege only for participants from top-tier universities in developed areas, but it has been promoted widely across different tiers and regions. This study explores how those "invisible" Chinese EMI participants understand and experience EMI at ordinary universities.

Given the complex developmental landscape of EMI in China, the driving forces for promoting EMI in Chinese HE resemble to some extent the situations in other contexts yet have their own characteristics (see Table 1). With globalisation, English has become one of the dominant global languages for cross-border communication worldwide (Crystal, 2003). In other words, globalisation boosts the desire to master the English language. The roof of EMI is thus political, being a key educational strategy of internationalisation in order to access advanced technology and scientific knowledge, and to promote national competitiveness (Dearden, 2014; Hu, 2019; Sahan, Curle, et al., 2020). Although China geographically is not a neighbour of major English-speaking countries, the English language is not absent in the modernisation progress in China (Gao, 2015; Pan, 2015). Since the 2000s the China's government has therefore launched several policies to promote EMI to increase national competitiveness by acquiring advanced knowledge and technology (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2005, 2007). A general belief among many institutions is that EMI serves

[3] Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): Advocating the Silk Road Spirit ("peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit"), China government proposes BRI as a national policy to promote connectivity and collaboration with countries along the Road. Since 2015, BRI has attracted more than 171 countries and international organisations to become involved in infrastructure development and investment (China Economic Daily, 2021; Xihua News Agency, 2017).

[4] During 1995- late 2010s in China, the Central Government launched Project 985 (comprising 39 universities) and Project 211 (112 universities, including the universities in Project 985), aiming to build world class universities, develop key disciplines, and increase quality of HE in the 21st century (Xihua News Agency, 2015). Later, the Double First Class Programme and Disciplines (designated 140 universities and 465 disciplines, including the universities in Project 985 and 211) replaced these two projects to further enhance the quality and internationalisation of HE in China (Ministry of Education et al., 2017).

as an effective means of cultivating high-calibre students, developing English language education, enhancing academic mobility, and increasing the employability of EMI graduates in global and domestic markets (Dearden, 2014; Rose et al., 2019; Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). As G. Hu et al. (2014) showed in their study at a Chinese university, EMI is expected to provide access to cutting-edge knowledge and better educational opportunities in the West, and to increase the employability of Chinese graduates in global and domestic markets. At the level of the individual, there has been a corresponding readiness to further studies or to work in the West or in Westernised contexts, echoing what have been identified as the major drivers of EMI in ODA recipient countries (Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020). EMI has also played a role in rising the international reputation of domestic HEIs by enhancing academic mobility (Dearden, 2014; Kirkpatrick, 2014; Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020). In China, given its rapid economic growth in recent years, EMI is increasingly reflecting the national need to promote the outward-oriented internationalisation of HE, even though this trend might be less than the inward-oriented purpose (State Council, 2017, 2019; R. Yang, 2014). Economically, HEIs can increase extra revenue from international and transnational programmes, especially in developed countries and in the case of prestigious HEIs (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014; Wilkinson, 2013). In China however this economic driver is not obvious in the public sector (the major EMI provider) but seems more evident in private provisions due to the higher cost of elite education (Rose et al., 2019; Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020). That brings to mind another distinct driving force in China: parental pressure that also contributes to the promotion of EMI because most Chinese parents hold a very positive attitude towards EMI and view it as an elite education (Dearden, 2014).

TABLE 1 A summary of driving forces of EMI promotion in China

EMI stakeholders	Specific goals and purposes
The governmental intentions	To access advanced technology and scientific knowledge, and to promote national competitiveness (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2005, 2007)
	A growing need to promote outward-oriented internationalisation of HE (esp. international EMI programmes) (State Council, 2017, 2019; R. Yang, 2014)
Institutional and individual intentions	To cultivate high-calibre students effectively, develop English language education, enhance academic mobility, and increase the employability of EMI graduates in global (the "West") and domestic markets (G. Hu et al., 2014; Rose et al., 2019; Zhao & Dixon, 2017)
Provisions esp. in developed areas and private sectors	To increase extra revenue from international and transnational programmes (Rose et al., 2019; Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020)
Parental pressures	A general perception of EMI as elite education (Dearden, 2014)

Having discussed political, educational, and economic-sociocultural factors that have driven the development of EMI in China, I will now summarise recent empirical research trends on EMI in the Chinese context. The past two decades have seen a growth of research on EMI and Chinese-English bilingual education with diverse focuses in the Chinese context. A recent systematic review of nineteen years of bilingual education in Chinese HE has examined over 1,600 publications in Chinese and English. It summarises several major research strands (e.g., students' and teachers' perceptions, English proficiencies, and teaching modes) and suggests some emerging areas (e.g., impacts on self-identity, comparative research between bilingual and non-bilingual programmes, and observational classroom studies) (Tong et al., 2020). These general trends of EMI research in China more or less resemble those observed in other contexts worldwide and call for studies with empirical evidence to advance our understanding of and approach to EMI at both local and global levels (Sah, 2022; Veitch, 2021).

In particular, existing research on the perception of EMI in China has indicated that the stakeholders (e.g., instructors, students, and programme managers) hold a generally positive attitude towards it. Specifically, borrowing Spolsky's (2004) framework of language policy analysis (language ideology, language practices, and language management), one of the most cited studies examines the language policy documents and interviews with EMI and Chinese Medium Instruction (CMI) teachers and students at a southwest Chinese university (G. Hu et al., 2014). Hu and his colleagues have suggested that both EMI and CMI participants think highly of EMI and regard the English language as beneficial to national and individual development, though the EMI participants identify a disappointing mismatch between language planning and practical implementation (G. Hu et al., 2014). Drawing from the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009), Iwaniec and Wang (2022) have conducted a large-scale survey on students' motivation for becoming enrolled in EMI across different Chinese universities. The results suggest that the students are highly motivated by instrumental aspects of EMI, learning subject-specific language, and international orientation, whereas what the students are expected to be by others and the actual pedagogy motivated them the least (Iwaniec & Wang, 2022). Another interesting result is that "prestige" is the only negative factor amongst students' responses. The students did not seem to regard the EMI mode as more prestigious than the CMI mode, a view which might be caused by the large provision and dissatisfaction with the quality of EMI courses in China (Iwaniec & Wang, 2022). Nevertheless, the generally positive view of EMI is supported by many other researchers who have carried out surveys and semi-structured interviews at other Chinese universities (Beckett & Li, 2012; C. Li & Ruan, 2015; Tong & Shi, 2012; R. Wei et al., 2017; X. Yang, 2017). Additional findings show that the students with high motivation are more likely to express their preference for using original textbooks in English and for raising the proportion of English use in classroom instruction (Beckett & Li, 2012; H. Xu, 2017), the need

for which is probably a result of the limited use of English in a small number of domains, despite the growth of English in schools and everyday life in China (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Bolton & Graddol, 2012). Ironically, there is no evidence that the use of English in developing countries "has in any material way contributed to actual development" (Gray, 2012, p. 98 see in G. Hu & Lei, 2014). That is, the EMI stakeholders may overestimate the value of English in practice, though the motivational impact of these positive attitudes and expectations on EMI students and teachers cannot be denied. Nevertheless researchers should investigate not only what the stakeholders' perceptions of EMI generally are but also how they are shaped.

Another popular research strand lies in language practices, in which researchers usually conduct classroom observations and primarily concentrate their analysis on linguistic elements and language skills from an English Language Teaching (ELT) stance. More recently there has been a growing interest in including social and cultural aspects to explore EMI language practices. A prominent finding is that EMI teachers and students have expressed concerns about their language practices in English to cope with EMI teaching and learning (G. Hu et al., 2014; Tong et al., 2020; Tong & Tang, 2017). Like in other EMI contexts worldwide, the required proficiency levels of EMI teachers and students are rather vague, and the actual language uses in EMI classrooms are contested from university to university in China (Galloway et al., 2017; Sahan, Curle, et al., 2020; Tong et al., 2020). In particular, although many universities set a language and academic threshold for selecting eligible students in EMI or bilingual programmes (G. Hu, 2019; G. Hu et al., 2014; Jiang et al., 2016), these requirements have not always guaranteed that the students' language levels meet EMI learning demands. For instance, X. Yang (2017) criticises the selection of EMI students according to *Gaokao (*a high-stake National University Entrance Exam) because the scores in English subject exams reflect only a partial picture of the students' English proficiency (listening, reading, and writing; not speaking). Also, it is a common issue that many EMI provision universities failed to provide satisfying follow-up support to improve the students' English proficiency (F. Fang & Xie, 2019; G. Hu, 2019; Rose et al., 2019). Hence, empirical findings have shown that some EMI content teachers have adopted various strategies to compensate for their limited English proficiency, such as simplifying subject-content, staying close to textbooks, translation, frequent code-switching, and multimodal resources in different languages to check and enhance the students' understanding (Cheng, 2017; G. Hu et al., 2014; Jiang et al., 2016; Rose et al., 2019; Tong & Shi, 2012; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). In addition, there is the cultural orientation that means that a shared EMI learning experience among Chinese students is in fact teacher-led because of the influence of traditional Confucian ethics (C. Li, 2012; Qiu & Fang, 2019; Tong & Tang, 2017). On the other hand, these studies have suggested that an interactive pedagogical approach should be promoted because EMI is supposed to transfer the "monologue" of teacher talk into encouraging the students' active use of their

English language skills (Dearden, 2014; G. Hu & Duan, 2018). Further, the strong exam-oriented culture in English language teaching may have a negative effect on Chinese students' long-term and practical learning in the EMI programmes (F. Fang, 2018b; L. Li, 2020). On the one hand, these findings thus reveal general concerns related to both linguistic and pedagogical aspects of EMI practices across different disciplines. On the other, the stakeholders' concerns reported seem to be moulded by and to mirror the competing ideologies associated with English-medium and bilingual teaching/learning in Chinese culture and society. Many scholars have stressed the disciplinary-specific examination of EMI (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014), and I shall now turn from linguistic issues to the discipline of medicine and its education.

In the following two empirical studies are presented for a general picture of EMI medical education in China, in which linguistic practices are mixed and complex due to pedagogical and practical needs. Firstly, Jiang and his colleagues (2016) have conducted mixed-method research on the practices, perceptions, and motivations of Chinese EMI medical subject teachers and students at an ordinary university in China. Through classroom observations, post-observation structured interviews with teachers, and questionnaire surveys with students, they have found that the teachers' discourse concerning inadequate English proficiency resulted in a teaching emphasis on pragmatic strategies which might lead to frequent code-switching to L1 (Jiang et al., 2016). They therefore suggest the need for collaborative teaching with ESP teachers to improve students' communicative skills in their disciplines (Jiang et al., 2016). Similar findings from prior studies suggest that it is difficult to achieve effective bilingual teaching and learning by merely acquiring the subject-specific vocabulary and terms without engagement with the instruction of the communicative language skills needed in the corresponding disciplines (Z. Fang, 2012; Nikula, 2016). Secondly, a recent case study in the medical context compares the *Gaokao* and graduation (Chinese Medical Practitioner Examination - CMPE) test scores between EMI and non-EMI cohorts, which shows no significant difference (M. Yang et al., 2019). Further, the dataset of survey and interviews identifies four challenges: lack of teaching materials, insufficient class interactions, unsatisfactory teaching practices, failure to teach medical humanities, and adaptive strategies: self-learning skills and the pedagogical use of Chinese in the EMI medical programmes (M. Yang et al., 2019, p. 5). Obviously, these studies show that a pragmatic approach to teaching/learning in English and the local needs of L1 use play an important role in medical professional training (e.g., instruction of professional knowledge and medical humanities, and CMPE qualification exam). At the same time, like the EMI teachers and students in other disciplines, the medical stakeholders' views on their *de facto* language use vary on individual cases basis due to the complex developmental landscape of EMI in China's HEs. For example, a general observation across different disciplines is that some teachers and students are concerned about the mixed language practices that may cause dissatisfaction with EMI, whereas

others consider these practices positively even though (G. Hu et al., 2014; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). That observation leads me to probe into how such diverse views on the linguistic practices have come up and (re-)shaped the discourses related to EMI. In addition, as more transdisciplinary research in a multilingual world is advocated (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 25), studies on language acquisition and education should not only consider the "micro-level of social activities" (semiotic resources) but also include "the meso-level of sociocultural institutions and communities (identities) as well as the macro-level of ideological structures" (belief system and values). This encourages us to ponder not only the linguistic aspect but also sociocultural and ideological aspects for promoting a critical discussion on the multi-layered interactions associated with EMI. Hence, seeing EMI as a sociocultural phenomenon, this study focuses on Chinese medical participants and investigates how they make sense of themselves in EMI programme/courses and how EMI shapes and is shaped by their teaching/learning experiences and (language) beliefs as well.

2.3 Research rationale

Recent sociolinguistic emphases in EMI research have meant a focus beyond language skills to complex social practices of EMI within a multilingual paradigm. For instance, some studies evaluate EMI regarding social and educational equality and suggest that EMI is more likely to contribute to existing inequalities by creating elites based on English proficiency (Dearden, 2014; Macaro et al., 2019; Shohamy, 2013). This resonates with Hu's concern about socio-educational inequalities caused by what seems almost like a craze for EMI and bilingual education in China (G. Hu, 2009). In addition, some researchers are concerned about the linguistic impacts of EMI on scholarship in local languages and on cultural identities (Kirkpatrick, 2011, 2014; Shohamy, 2013; Wilkinson, 2013). In China, some authors argue that EMI is less likely to pose a threat to L1 and the cultural identity of Chinese students at college age, since the students have not frequently used English outside learning contexts (Tong & Shi, 2012; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). In this study, I take into account those critical issues that have emerged in prior studies in EMI medical education in order to identify the medical professionals' and learners' perceptions of the challenges to equality in and beyond Chinese contexts.

Recently, there have been an increasing number of published studies on identity in different English/language-medium educational contexts, such as EMI teacher identity in Austrian higher education (Jin et al., 2021), Bangladeshi EMI students' construction of elite identity (Jahan & Hamid, 2019), EMI student identity in China (F. Fang, 2018a; F. Fang & Hu, 2022; Gu & Lee, 2019; Ou & Gu, 2018), EMI teacher educators in Finland (Pappa & Moate, 2021), French-speaking EMI lecturers in France (Reynolds, 2019), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

perspective on Japanese EMI education (Nogami, 2018), EMI professors in South Korea higher education (Jon et al., 2020; Kim & Tatar, 2017), Arabic-speaking EMI teachers and students in Oman (Denman & Al-Mahrooqi, 2019), secondary school bilingual students in Thailand (Liu, 2022), and EMI/CLIL teachers and students from secondary to tertiary education in Spain (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Lasagabaster, 2017; Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021; Morton, 2016). This emerging trend indicates awareness among researchers of diverse and contextualised understandings of the social world which contribute to shaping the participants' sense of themselves and their interaction with others. Therefore, as presented in Section 2.1 above, there is a growing need to contextualise the research concerning sociocultural and ideological impacts of EMI on teachers and students, such as identity and ideology (Sah, 2022; Tong et al., 2020). This study attempts to respond to this research call through focusing on EMI medical education. Noticeably, as mentioned in Section 2.2, the developmental landscape of EMI is rather complex in China's HE, and the viewpoints of EMI stakeholders at non-top tier universities are usually under-researched. For example, in the four published studies mentioned above, the major data collection sites were among the prestigious universities (the Double First Class) and/or are located in developed regions in China. The ordinary universities, especially in developing regions, have followed the top-down EMI policy of the internationalisation of HE. Meanwhile, compared to their prestigious counterparts, their relatively limited EMI resources have left them questioning what internationalisation and EMI mean for them in order for them to become part of the internationalised elite. So research attention on those "invisible" EMI participants at ordinary universities is required – to explore both how they are shaped by EMI and how they shape EMI under the macro-level educational structure of Chinese society.

Furthermore, having discussed the introduction of EMI in four Nordic countries and summarised the research related to language policies and day-to-day faculty work, Airey, Kuteeva, and their colleagues criticise ''one-size-fits-all'' language policies and suggest that disciplinary-specific adjustments are needed in EMI course design and implementation (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). That is in agreement with previous research on disciplinary literacies in different subjects, encouraging the content teachers to engage with disciplinary language teaching (Z. Fang, 2012). Unlike pure Sciences and pure Humanities, Clinical Medicine is both a theoretical and practical discipline closely associated with life matters, which requires the accuracy of content knowledge and combines theoretical learning with an intensive clinical practicum in local hospitals (Estai & Bunt, 2016; M. Yang et al., 2019). Given these disciplinary features, it is worth exploring what Chinese medical teachers and students understand about EMI and how their understandings construct and affect their EMI teaching/learning experiences at ordinary universities.

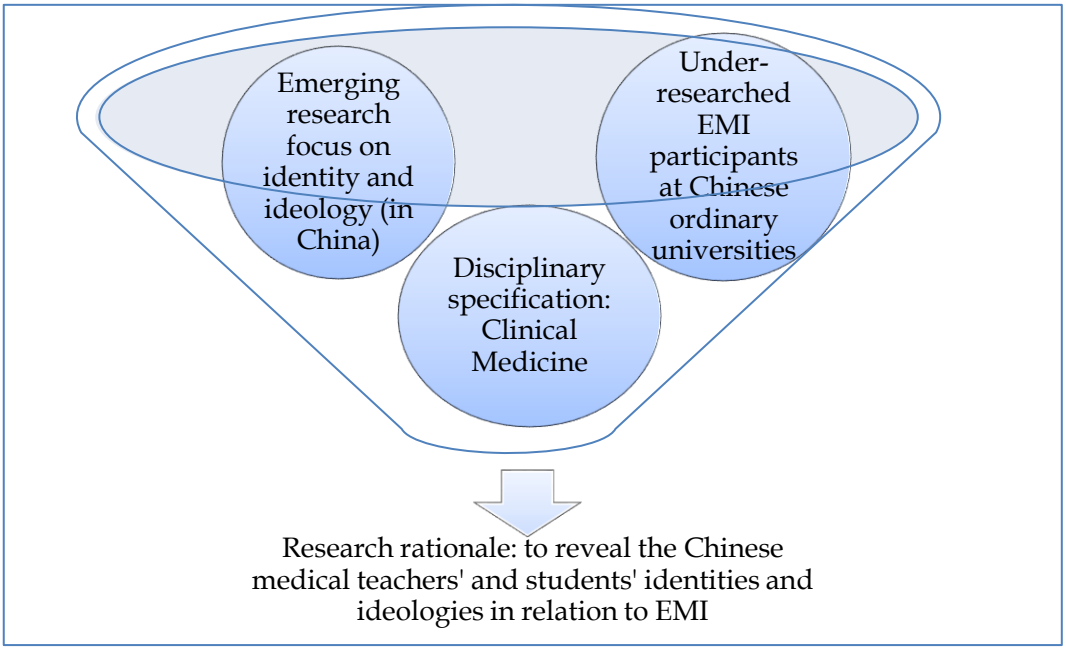


FIGURE 2 Research rationale of this study

As illustrated in Figure 2, this study contextualises the socially critical issues of identity and ideology related to EMI at an ordinary medical university. It aims to diversify the research scope on forms of EMI provision in developing areas and brings a sociocultural perspective to reveal and explain EMI participants' experiences, concerns, and challenges in and beyond Chinese contexts. In particular, by analysing the identity construction of Chinese teachers and students and their language ideologies regarding their bilingual practices, it attempts to make a practical contribution and support the participants in EMI medical education.

In short, this chapter has contextualised the EMI research in Chinese HEs and identified the problems, adding to the current knowledge of EMI. It has begun by defining EMI in theory and practice on a global scale, followed by a justification of the interchangeable use of "EMI" and "bilingual" in this study. Focusing on Chinese HE, the chapter has reviewed the complex historical development of EMI in China. The shared beliefs about English and the English language education are generally linked with the desire for modernisation and globalisation at the national and individual level, while the actual outcomes and learning practices are concerned and contested amongst the stakeholders. This provides the rationale for exploring teachers' and students' identities and ideologies in relation to the EMI clinical medical programme at a non-top tier university. The next chapter will produce theoretical underpinnings for this project.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides a comprehensive literature review of EMI research with respect to identity and ideology. More specifically, research on ideology and identity in language education, especially in EMI, is reviewed to describe the theoretical underpinnings of this study in order to understand what the ideologies and identities are, how they interact with each other, and how these interactions might affect EMI from the teachers' and students' perspectives. The chapter identifies key theoretical concepts and discusses the contested areas about identity and ideology in EMI education.

3.1 Identity research related to EMI

Identity has been studied for decades in applied linguistics from essentialist to non-essentialist perspectives. Social constructivism understanding of identity provides the present project with a lens through which to examine multifaceted, fluid, and interactional identity negotiation and construction among teachers and students in their discourses concerning EMI. As Delanty (2003, p. 135) points out, "[t]he contemporary understanding of the self is that of a social self formed in relations of difference rather than of unity and coherence", which addresses the socially constructed nature of identity. Traditionally, identity has been understood as fixed through worldviews derived from biological essentialism and structural determinism, fitting in prior categories or discrete entities determined by (biological) structures (e.g., gender, race, culture and ethnicity, social class, and religion) that can stabilise those identity tags (Block, 2009; Preece, 2016).

Recent decades have seen a rise in post-structuralist research interest in identity in relation to language. Taking a non-essentialism stance (i.e., social constructivism), an increasing number of sociolinguists have been

investigating the relationship between identity, language, and society (Block, 2009; Blommaert, 2006b; Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Norton, 2013; Preece, 2016). For example Norton (2013, p. 4) accentuates the importance of identity in Second Language Acquisition (SLA), defining it as "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future". In her view, identity is social and interactional subjectivity across different time and space scales. Similarly, Blommaert (2006b) proposes the interaction between "inhabited" identity (chosen by the persons themselves) and "ascribed" identity (given by others) to illustrate the complexity of power manipulation in identity construction and negotiation, especially in the investigation of marginalised communities. Tracing the development of identity research in social sciences, Block (2009) concludes that social scientists tend to see identity as fluid, multidimensional, and socially constructed, a view which is shared by many applied linguists. More importantly, his discussion finds key constructs related to poststructuralism-impacted approaches to identity. That is, identity is discursively constructed, engaged with performativity and positioning, and associated with particular cultures and practices as well as with power relations (Block, 2009). One intriguing point he brings out is "ambivalence", which means that identity can be contested and produces an uncertain sense of being a part or feeling apart, particularly when one encounters "hybridity", "third places", or sociocultural constraints causing struggles between affirmation and negation of selves (Block, 2009, p. 24). To resolve or assuage this undesirable tension, the speaker may exercise his/her agency to "negotiate the differences" (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 170) and seek "ontological security" (Giddens, 1992, p. 4) in their discourses (Block, 2009, pp. 20–24). In the present study, one of the core issues in the problem statement is the misalignment between EMI participants' expectations and practices that has emerged in previous studies (G. Hu, 2019; Rose et al., 2019; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). The Chinese teachers and students have been shown to think highly of the EMI approach while expressing a great number of concerns about their actual EMI practices. That is to say, in comparison with their CMI counterparts, they have generated themselves an ambivalent feeling – teaching/learning medicine via a non-native language yet in a native social environment - and navigated their way of dealing with such a hybrid approach in medical studies. In the same vein Block (2009), referring to identity as "the social positioning of self and other", Bucholtz and Hall (2010, pp. 18–27) came up with five principles to locate identity in language: emerging (identity as an emergent product and a sociocultural phenomenon), positioning (multifaceted of identity construction in interaction), indexicality (types of linguistic resources used by interactants to discursively produce identities), relationality (identity as "an intersubjective accomplishment"), and partialness (identity as contextual and dynamic due to individual's intentionality and agency). These principles constitute a framework that assembles research traditions and provides direction for the present study on the teachers' and

students' identities associated with EMI from a perspective of sociocultural linguistics. Accordingly, this study sees the Chinese EMI participants' identities as contextually emergent and dynamic – a social phenomenon, instead of individually produced and fixed in determined structures. EMI teachers and students (re-)construct or (re-)create their identities in conversational interactions with the interviewer or their group members through certain discourse expressions and/or performances.

In this way, I focus on how identity is associated with discourse. Aligning with the Foucauldian-inspired perspective, Gee (1996, p. 172) writes:

> Discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. A Discourse is a sort of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costumes and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize.

This statement not only explains the connotation of Discourse, but also locates identity in discourses. According to his clarification of Discourse and discourse in identity, Discourse (with capital "D") refers to language as well as other matters such as actions, ways of thinking, symbols that integrate with language to enact "socially recognisable identities", while discourse (with lower case "d") means any instances or any unit of spoken or written languages in use (Gee, 2014, pp. 182–183). D/discourses are seen as resources and ways of making identity in a social world, which spotlights the discursive nature of identity that seems like a process of negotiation and construction. In accordance with post-structuralist views on identity, the present study will approach Chinese EMI participants' identities as constructed and negotiated.

In the process of identities emerging in discourses, positioning comes into play. As Bucholtz and Hall (2010) suggest, positioning brings identity its multi-faceted nature. According to Davies & Harré (1990, p. 48), positioning refers to "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines". This discursive process involves two-way positioning: one positions oneself (reflexive), and one positions another (interactive) (Davies & Harré, 1990). Accordingly, this study will recognise that EMI teachers and students can simultaneously position themselves via self-reflection and be positioned by others via interaction to make sense of selves in EMI teaching and learning, providing a multi-faceted entry to probe into their EMI experiences.

Furthermore, Block (2009) raises the point that positioning can cross broad time scales from past to present to future, and from that arises another important concept – "imagination" about the future or ideal self – on the stage of identity-making. In this study, the EMI teachers and students were encouraged not only to talk about their previous experiences and ongoing situations but also to imagine how they would like to be in the future. That is to say, the "imagined" subject position (i.e., what speakers want to become) extends speakers' identities, and it has drawn many scholars to investigate learner

identity in language education (Block, 2009). Based on the theories related to imagination, such as nations as "imagined communities" (Anderson, 2006) and "imagination" as one of the key sources to form Communities of Practice for learning (Wenger, 1998), Norton (2013, p. 8) conceptualises the "imagined communities" (and "imagined identities") in language learning. She defines imagined communities as "groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" and suggests that studying "imagined communities" offer an angle to "explore how learners' affiliation with such communities might affect their learning trajectories" (Norton, 2013, p. 8). In particular, thanks to the influence of other selves in the past and present, language learners' imaginations of affiliation with particular communities serve as desires that might strongly influence learners' investment and current actions in language learning (Norton, 2013). Therefore, apart from the general discussion on their EMI teaching and learning, I have assigned the topic of "ideal EMI programme and course" in the second round of interviewing to elicit the participants' discussion about their "imagined identities" associated with EMI teaching and learning (see Chapter 4). Through the analysis of this data source, I am able to probe how they perceive their current bilingual practices from a different angle – "imagination".

Another crucial concept in Norton's identity theory is "Investment", which means the learners' commitment to and engagement in language learning. Grounding in a sociological framework, "investment" differs from the psychological concept of "motivation" in language education research (Darvin & Norton, 2021; Dörnyei, 2009; Norton, 2013; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). As Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 37) explain, it is not necessary for language learners who are motivated to engage with language learning to fulfil their imagined identities because (predominant) sociocultural practices and interaction (e.g., in classrooms) may go against their identities. As a result, despite having high motivation, the learners are more likely to adjust their investment to fit in the socially accepted or agreed practices that are governed by predominant ideologies. In other words, the concept of investment captures the social constructivist nature of identity, that is, "investment regards the learner as a social being with a complex identity that changes across time and space and is reproduced in social interaction" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). As prior studies on motivation in EMI have suggested, although the teacher and students have frequently expressed high motivation in EMI programmes, they have expressed concern about the limited language practices in teaching and learning depending on their understandings of what they are expected to be by the powerful others. Such misalignment is likely to intensify ambivalence in their EMI identities and to discourage them from investing in certain linguistic practices in EMI teaching and learning. Later, Darvin and Norton (2015) proposed the Model of Investment to explore power relations among three significant components (ideology, identity, and capitals) in identity construction from a sociolinguistic perspective. I will introduce this Model and discuss how it can bring

together the prior theoretical underpinnings and empirical findings of this project in the Section 3.3.

Before examining another key concept - ideology (the macro-level construct in identity research) - recent empirical studies on teachers' and students' identity in EMI and bilingual education are reviewed to contextualise the research scopes of this project. To start with the EMI teacher identity, a prominent observation found in prior literature is that EMI content teachers consider EMI teaching as a positive experience for their professional development despite their concerns about English competencies. Based on the ROAD-MAPPING framework that Dafouz and Smit (2016, p. 403) have developed to analyse the six intersecting dimensions (Roles of English, Academic Disciplines, (language) Management, Agents, Practices and Processes, and Internationalization and Glocalization) in EMI, Dafouz (2018) draws on Investment theory (Darvin & Norton, 2021) to investigate the in-service EMI content teacher identities from a social perspective. This research conducted a qualitative content analysis with online written comments from seventy-five teacher participants in Teacher Education Programmes (TEPs) at a Spanish public university. The findings suggest an agreement among young lecturers, that EMI teaching experience increases their linguistic capital and social capital for building international and professional identities (Dafouz, 2018). The comments from the lecturers indicate a shared concern about the necessary co-existence of disciplinary literacy in both Spanish and English, which is vital for student development at national and international levels (Dafouz, 2018). That further supports the call for developing multilingual scholarship and negotiating their professional identities in and beyond local societies (Kirkpatrick, 2011, 2014; Shohamy, 2013). Dafouz (2018) also suggests that TEPs as a continuous space enable the lecturers to improve language proficiency and raise awareness of pedagogical strategies to teach academic disciplinary literacies. As a result, the lecturers can reflect on what has been working and how these working elements will contribute to building up their identities as EMI practitioners.

Another intriguing observation drawn from earlier literature is that although EMI lecturers are usually reluctant to take on the responsibility for language teaching, they have demonstrated their competence in disciplinary literacies /ESP knowledge and pedagogical skills to teach those literacies and knowledge, particularly technical vocabulary and phrases in English (Ball & Lindsay, 2013; Hellekjær, 2017; Lasagabaster, 2017; Liang & W. Smith, 2012; Morton, 2016; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). Concerning this phenomenon, some scholars have suggested that this is due to lecturers' strong affiliation with disciplinary identities rather than those of deficient English users. In other words, the lecturers' demonstrations of teaching technical terms and phrases in English can be viewed as an act to build up their disciplinary identities. For example, (Reynolds, 2019) argues in his research on the language identity of fifteen French-speaking EMI lecturers that their language identities appeared to shift

from non-bilingual speakers of French - English to capable bilingual users when talking about their specialised areas.

Block & Moncada-Comas (2019) further reveal an issue of incompatible ideologies concerning the investigation and evaluation of EMI content teachers' English language practices: the researchers and/or institutions may (un-) intentionally take the ETL perspective towards the EMI content teachers' language practices. In their research (2019) on EMI teacher identity in Spain, they reveal how six STEM lecturers see their professional identities against English Language Teachers (ELTs). This study has expanded the positioning theory proposed by Davies & Harré (1990) and taken the interviews as a discursive process for constructing identity. They refer to Foucault's (1973) conception of "gaze", which is not only "about taking in and documenting what is happening before the observer's eyes; it is also about categorizing and shaping others according to dominant discourses of normativity" (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019, p. 7). In other words, "gaze" has the power to keep actors under surveillance subject to what is considered as normativity by dominant discourses. So, the authors (2019) explain that the content lecturers' reluctance to position themselves as English language teachers mirrors their resistance to being examined under the normative ETL gaze. This gaze might lead the lecturers to worry that their language-focused teaching (e.g., correcting grammar mistakes) could discourage the students or be neglected by them (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019). It is also notable that the lecturers' professional paths focus on the development of disciplinary knowledge and practices do not necessarily include language teaching pedagogy training (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019). This can enhance their self-attachment to disciplinary identities while detaching themselves from taking ELTs as a part of their identities (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019). Furthermore, closely analysing the qualitative data from classroom observation and interviews with an agronomic engineering lecturer, their follow-up study suggests that although re-framing EMI to CLIL-ised EMI hopes to bridge this disjunction between policy and practices. In other words, this reformation has recognised the inherent nature of language learning in EMI. However, the potential of this re-framed concept has not been fully achieved in the Spanish context (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021). As they (2023) have suggested, it requires efforts from multiple parties to negotiate, train, and agree on approaches that could facilitate EMI teachers and students to realise the significant moments for teaching language-related points.

Furthermore, a number of studies on EMI teacher identity are related to teacher professional development (PD) (Dafouz, 2018; Pappa & Moate, 2021; Reynolds, 2019). Previous literature concerning China mainly discusses the necessity of methods of PD (e.g., English language programmes and EMI pedagogical training) for improving the content instructors' ability to overcome their own language difficulties (Cheng, 2017; Macaro & Han, 2019; Yuan, 2020). Meanwhile, the recent explicit focus on identity seems to consider PD as a potential space for the instructors to think reflectively about their EMI experiences,

thereby contributing to building their professional identity. In this study, although PD is not in explicit focus, it will be interesting to see how the EMI teachers describe and perceive PD in their teaching careers if they narrate relevant incidents.

Turning to the research on EMI student identity, there are slightly more published studies than that on teacher identity in the Chinese context, so I will mainly review the studies involving Chinese students. Similarly to studies on teachers, prior studies suggest that EMI students tend to show resistance to their positioning as English language learners. The study by J. Hu & Wu (2020) summarises the primary roles (i.e., content learner, English user, passive English learner, and learner of subject-specific Chinese) that EMI students played in relation to English learning, in spite of their study having no explicit research focus on identity. They adopted an expanded activity system (Engeström, 2015) to analyse the semi-structured interviews and stimulated recalls with seven EMI Chinese students, majoring in Business and Economics, from two universities in southern and eastern China. One of the key findings suggests that Chinese EMI students considered themselves as content learners and English users rather than EFL learners, whereas being exposed to an EMI environment made those students perceive themselves as passive English learners (J. Hu & Wu, 2020). The possible reason for this finding is that the students regarded English learning as a secondary benefit, so they seemed not to strive to learn English. As a result, they tended to identify themselves more as learners of subject-specific Chinese rather than as English learners (J. Hu & Wu, 2020). In addition, the authors also point out that the student participants' declining motivation to improve their English skills is attributed to the low probability of actually using English in their future careers – making overcoming the language difficulties they encountered in EMI courses seem less important (J. Hu & Wu, 2020). Their study is therefore particularly useful because it provides a valuable resource for my analysis of Chinese EMI student identity.

With an explicit focus on student identity, the following two studies have examined how EMI programmes were associated with the internationalisation of HE in China. In the first study, having conducted two sessional interviews with nine EMI Chinese students at a comprehensive university in China, the authors find that the EMI students' exchange experiences diversified and deepened their understanding of internationalisation related to westernisation or Americanisation, and contributed to creating heterogeneous contexts of cultures and values (Gu & Lee, 2019). A similar discussion can be found in other studies (Galloway et al., 2020; Y. Guo et al., 2021; Ou & Gu, 2018). On the other hand, the EMI student interviewees expressed their vulnerability in comparison to their CMI counterparts because of their less-prominent improvement of English as perceived by themselves and their limited career options in the domestic job market due to their curriculum based on the westernised system (Gu & Lee, 2019). Furthermore, focusing on the diverse CLIL experiences among secondary level teachers and students in Finland, Nikula and her colleagues

(2022) suggest that insufficient attention has been paid to personalised support within CLIL student groups. In other words, equality and equity issues may exist not only between EMI/CLIL and non-EMI/CLIL classes but also within EMI/CLIL classes, which are often tagged as elitist by others. These studies present a multi-layered picture of student identity and expose disadvantages of being insiders in EMI programmes from the students' perspective. Drawing on these insights, a close investigation of individual EMI experiences in this study may help to reveal ambivalences in their identity construction.

Another study focused on the intercultural perspective to investigate Chinese EMI students' identity construction at a transnational (Sino-US) university in eastern China. Adopting the approaches of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2010), language socialisation (Duff, 2007), and post-structuralism (Norton, 2013), the authors discover an asymmetrical power relationship between Chinese students and their peer native speakers (NS) of English that makes the Chinese students place themselves in a secondary position as ESL speakers (Ou & Gu, 2018). The authors argue that this positioning may be attributed to a mindset of "Chinese Occidentalism" among the Chinese students, who feel low self-confidence concerning the English language; therefore, the students could perceive themselves as less powerful in intercultural communication (Ou & Gu, 2018, p. 424). At the same time, intercultural communication in the transnational university can promote reciprocal language socialisation because translingual practices are commonly found in the students' lives (Ou & Gu, 2018). That is to say, intercultural communication has the potential to mutually empower Chinese students and international students to exercise their linguistic repertoires and develop multilingual skills and intercultural understanding.

It is noticeable that this study also points out the "Chinization" of international peers through interaction with Chinese students who help them engage with the Chinese language and culture (Ou & Gu, 2018, p. 427). In turn, the student participants demonstrated a multilingual (Chinese) identity, which further supports the findings on interculturality in transnational educational contexts (Song, 2019, 2020; Song & Lin, 2020). In addition, "Chinization" is not only associated with the internationalisation of higher education, but also mirrors the diversification of English varieties into China English (CE) that I will discuss in the next section because of its direct link with the ideology of English.

To sum up, the studies on identity reviewed in the Chinese context illustrate a tendency to focus on participants engaged in Sino-foreign cooperative programmes and/or universities, particularly with NSs of English. However, we should notice that a large number of Chinese EMI students still do not have many opportunities to socialise with international peers or teachers (especially NSs of English). By focusing on the EMI participants with limited contacts with international peers and staff, this study will therefore contribute to filling this gap by exploring such EMI students' understanding and experience of the internationalisation of higher education. Thus far, this section has summarised

crucial concepts related to identity research and contextualised the research scope in EMI and bilingual education through a review of influential theoretical and empirical studies worldwide and in the Chinese context. The following section will draw attention to another key concept in this project – language ideology.

3.2 Language ideologies associated with EMI

The process of social identity construction is mediated by intertwining language ideologies (Blommaert, 2006a; Wortham, 2001). Wortham (2001, p. 255) states that research on the ideology in the educational field is crucial: "language ideologies mediate social identity", a statement which indicates the process of the positioning of particular speakers themselves and others. That echoes identity research in language learning, as Norton and her colleague address the power of ideologies that may influence how learners construct identities and process the negotiation with those ideologies (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013). In this section, I first review how theoretical underpinnings related to language ideologies have been developed in prior literature, and then review the main findings found in research in EMI and bilingual educational contexts.

Language ideologies can broadly be defined as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states" (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192). Either being explicitly articulated or embodied in communication, these ideologies can be multiple, context-bound and constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speakers (Kroskrity, 2010; Woolard, 1998). From a social constructivism perspective, Silverstein (1979, p. 193) points out the relationship between language ideology and linguistic structure, asserting that "ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". In the same vein, J. B. Thompson (1987) takes a critical stance that language serves as one of the principal mediums for articulating particular ideologies for sustaining relations of domination in the social world and connects socio-historical analysis with formal or discursive analysis for the depth-hermeneutic interpretation of ideology. In other words, as mentioned above in Section 3.1, these views also locate language ideology in discourse study.

Furthermore, drawing special attention to the relation between linguistic phenomena and political economy, Irvine (1989, p. 263) argues that linguistic forms work multifunctionally - "not only as part of a world of ideas, but also as part of a world of objects, economic transactions, and political interests". To some extent, linguistic signs are never value-free, but embed and release particular (economic and political) interests during exchanges in the material

world. This view helps us to critically examine what EMI has shaped and how it has been shaped by the Chinese medical teachers' and students' perceptions and experiences. Later, Woolard (1998, p. 9) strengthens the linkage between language ideology and language practices by stating that language ideology can be either explicit talk about language (metalinguistic or metapragmatic discourse) or be implicitly shown in "the regimentation of language use" (implicit metapragmatics). That further supports the prior social understanding of language ideology and suggests the need for discursive approaches in analysing language ideologies. In addition, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 71) remind us that seemingly neutral cultural concepts may be partial, contestable, and interest-laden, encouraging seeing language ideology as "a process involving struggles among multiple conceptualizations and demanding the recognition of variation and contestation within a community as well as contradictions within individuals". In this sense, this study expects to encounter a diverse and complex set of language ideologies within the community of the particular EMI medical programme and courses and its participants at the focal university. As Kroskrity (2010, p. 195–200) recapitulates, the following excerpt lists four significant aspects of language ideologies (even though they are partially overlapping) which capture well the dynamics of research on language ideologies in recent decades.

1. language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group.

2. language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership.

3. members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.

4. members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55).

In particular, language ideologies are interest-laid with specific sociocultural groups, indicating the maintenance and circulation of power tied to political-economic interests. For instance, the power of standard English ideology and native speakerism may marginalise the speakers of different English varieties in EFL and EMI contexts (Rose et al., 2022; Tian et al., 2020). The multiplicity of language ideologies reminds us of divergent perspectives on language and discourse held by the members within their sociocultural groups. For example, due to the difference in social identity, the programme managers/administrators, teachers, and students in one EMI programme may have divergent perspectives on the language practices. Since language ideology can either be explicitly talked about or embodied in discourse, it is not necessary for members to be fully aware of their language ideologies, suggesting researchers should see beyond the surface of the members' words (Silverstein, 1979). The

qualitative data analysis of this study therefore includes not only what the participants say about language practices in EMI but also how they talk about them (see Chapter 4). Finally, as a mediator, language ideology(-ies) can reflect the members' social experience through their linguistic and discourse practices. That brings back the concept of identity that is socially discursively constructed. In the same vein, language ideology is defined as a space in which diverse (prevailing and marginalised) language ideologies compete and influence the positioning of identities and access to capital(s) (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013).

Turning now to the review of empirical studies, I contextualise and discuss the teachers' and students' language ideologies associated with EMI and bilingual education. One of the most prominent arguments emerging from previous literature relates to competing ideologies of bi/multilingualism in EMI. Given various language practices in EMI classrooms, it is not a surprise that the perceptions of these language practices are contestable among teachers and students. To some extent their contested perceptions mirror an ongoing ideological debate, swaying between a (traditional) default monolingualism and emerging bi/multilingualism. Traditionally, monolingual ideology is prevalent in bilingual and foreign language education worldwide. For example, one may believe that languages ought to be taught as a decontextualised, nationally named languages with formal grammar and in written form (Dufva et al., 2011). In many EMI contexts, English-only instruction is traditionally taken for granted. However it is not uncommon that multilingual practices are found in language teaching and learning. Alongside an increase in the poststructuralist approach to bi/multilingualism, recent educational studies have criticised the default monolingualism ideology and appealed for the adoption of a multilingual paradigm (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; F. Fang, 2018b; García & Li, 2014; Macaro et al., 2019). Correspondingly, researchers have introduced diverse terms, such as codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008), and translanguaging (García & Li, 2014), to capture the dynamic and flexible language practices in bilingual education. Translanguaging, the ground-breaking concept against the separation of language codes, has been applied and researched in various educational contexts. W. Li, (2018, p. 16) writes that translanguaging shows "practical concerns of understanding the creative and dynamic practices human beings engaged in with multiple named languages and multiple semiotic and cognitive resources". This stance captures well the dynamic language practices that occur in English-medium educational settings and provides a bottom-up lens to observe and study how the EMI participants make sense of their bi/multilingual practices.

Drawing attention to translanguaging in EMI (and CLIL) education, a number of researchers suggest certain pedagogical implications. For example, in Hong Kong, He and his colleagues (2017) carried out a case study with a mathematics instructor at a university, who strategically deployed his

multilingual resources for multimodal communication and instruction in the class. By doing that, the instructor facilitated the academic language development and intercultural communication of emergent bilingual learners in the EMI programme (He et al., 2017). Likewise, Lo (2015) and Lin (2015) discuss and conceptualise the role of L1 in CLIL secondary classrooms in Hong Kong. One significant implication of their studies is to give a consideration to the specific educational context and linguistic profiles of the students rather than simply measuring the distribution of languages via percentages and the allocation of time when making judicious use of L1. Similar findings were found in many other contexts, such as CLIL/EMI classroom discourses across Europe (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2016; Nikula & Moore, 2016), East, South-east and South Asian HE (Galloway et al., 2017; Galloway & Sahan, 2021; Rahman & Singh, 2021), South American universities (Carroll & Sambolín Morales, 2016; Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2015).

Moving to a typical EFL context - China's mainland, W. Li (2016) introduces translanguaging as a theoretical perspective to investigate the creation of new Chinglish by Chinese people via new media. He points out that translanguaging offers a space for Chinese people to negotiate their identity and the integrity of individual languages, expressing their cultural and sociopolitical viewpoint in the 21st century (W. Li, 2016). Later the study focus of translanguaging extends to the educational field. A recent ethnography study investigates the translanguaging practices of a Business Management bilingual programme at a national key university in Central China (Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Through analysing the classroom discourses and field notes, the authors categorise four types of translanguaging practices (bilingual label quest, simultaneous code-mixing, cross-language recapping, and dual-language substantiation) (Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). The document analysis and interviews suggest a generally positive evaluation of translanguaging from macro- to micro-level stakeholders, even if translanguaging is not originally desired by student participants (Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). This study reveals the seldom reported voice speaking for bilingual practices and the concept of standard languages that brings a new lens to examine the perception of bilingualism in Chinese higher education.

While recent years have witnessed the rise of the emerging ideological stance toward dynamic bilingualism, it is still popular for many educational contexts to adopt and be influenced by the traditional default monolingualism ideology (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Poza, 2018). To what extent institutions welcome dynamic bilingualism and how they manage the languages in an academic context plays an important role in stakeholders' understanding and implementation of translanguaging (García & Li, 2014; Poza, 2018). For example, Carroll and van den Hoven (2016) report that HE in the United Arab Emirates does not prefer or accept translanguaging because it is viewed as a stigmatised practice violating the principles of EMI. Also, those higher education institutions are eager to increase their international

reputation, and their recruitment of employees heavily relies on foreign talent market. This leads them to an unfavourable attitude toward translanguaging in EMI programmes. In Japan, university EMI students and academic writing lecturers may feel "guilt" if they do not maximise their use of the target language in the class (J. Adamson & Coulson, 2015, p. 11). Moreover, it is not uncommon for the content teachers and learners in the Chinese context to assume they are deficient in the English language, particularly in developing areas and non-top tier universities (Feng et al., 2017). Consequently, they express concern about their laissez-faire language practices due to this assumption that they are deficient, bringing potential uncertainty in their mixed language teaching/learning approaches (Feng et al., 2017). Thus far, these studies have displayed a tension between different ideological stances towards bi/multilingual practices among EMI agents for various (political, economic, sociocultural) reasons. It is therefore worth contextualising this argument in EMI medical education, the focal context in this study, to see how the Chinese teachers and students perceive their language practices in making their identities.

Another intriguing argument is associated with the ideology of English itself in EMI. According to the ROAD-MAPPING model (Dafouz & Smit, 2016) for investigating EMI, it is essential to examine the *Roles of English,* also in relation to other languages. Recent years have seen emerging recognition and legitimisation of diverse English varieties that have challenged the traditional concept of English by decentralising the native speaker norm in *de facto* communication scenarios. This critical inquiry of English started in English Language Teaching (ELT). The Centre for Global Englishes at the University of Southampton synthesises four main perspectives to Global Englishes, i.e., World Englishes, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), English as an International Language (EIL), and Translanguaging (see Galloway, 2017, p. 4). As shown in Figure 3, World English pays special attention to the variation of English in geographical contexts; ELF concentrates on the use of English in communication between L2 speakers of English; EIL emphasises multilingualism and multicultural awareness for building the global ownership of English; Translanguaging focuses on hybridity and dynamics in plurilingual communication (Galloway, 2017). Although the scholars in these four strands may address their distinct theoretical underpinnings differently, these four overlapping perspectives share an essential idea of Global Englishes - to challenge the taken-for-granted norm of native speakers that has been traditionally dominated by Western-centric power in the ELT field.

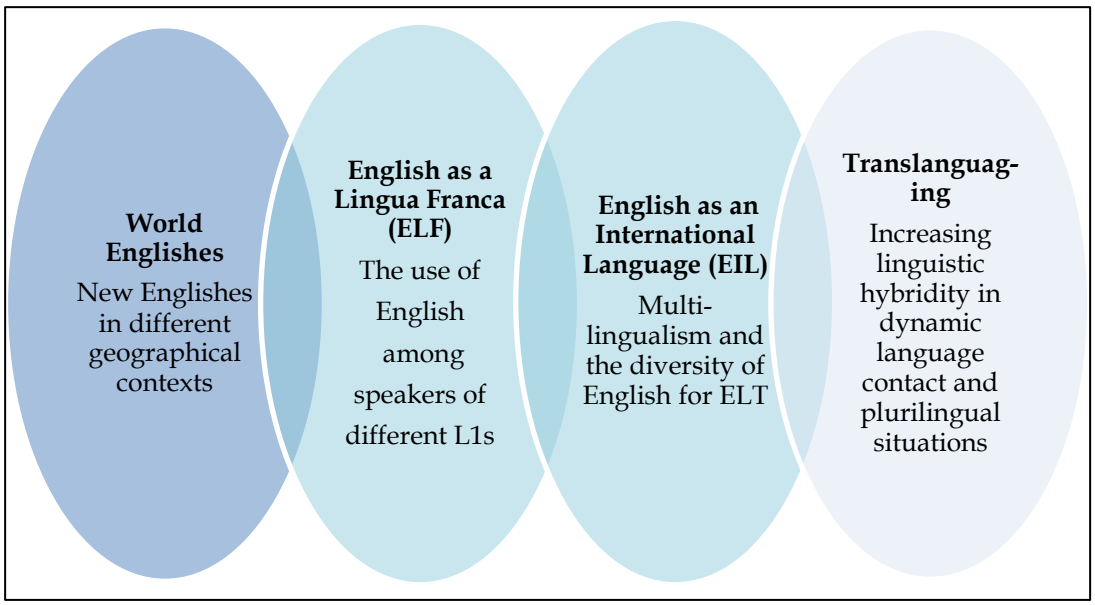


FIGURE 3 The Global Englishes paradigm for ELT (adapted from Galloway, 2017)

Moving to the research on EMI, many scholars have also promoted discussion on the relevant concepts under Global Englishes paradigm, such as English as a lingua franca (ELF) and World English (F. Fang & Xie, 2019; Hultgren et al., 2015; Jenkins, 2019; Rose et al., 2022; Veitch, 2021). For instance, Rose et al. (2022) argue that Global English challenges the centre-periphery conceptualisation of English and attempts to empower the periphery EMI stakeholders (usually non-Anglophones). Despite the different learning focuses between English Language Teaching and EMI, the Global Englishes paradigm can provide a starting point to re-consider how to conceptualise "English" in EMI. Having discussed translanguaging in the above session, I direct the following parts into two major discussions: ELF & EIL and World English(es) in EMI scenarios, because these create a resource for probing into the beliefs of English held by the target EMI medical teachers and students in China in this study.

Alongside the critical inquiries which highlight the imbalance of power imposed by the prevailing ideologies of Standard English/Language and Native Speakerism, the ELF & EIL perspectives underline the roles of English in international and multi-lingual/cultural communication. Notably, aligning with the "multilingual turn", Jenkins (2015) re-defines ELF as "multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen" (p. 75). This re-definition, to some extent, merges the prior concept of ELF – used between speakers whose L1s are different – and that of EIL – emphasis on the multilingualism and diversity of English (Jenkins, 2019). In the research on EMI, Jenkins (2009; 2019) stresses the usefulness of ELF perspective by referring to the multilingual nature of EMI in European and Asian provisions. In particular, Jenkins (2019) proposes that ELF perspective enables us to see the core of "good" English, that is, it lies in communicative

effectiveness and good accommodation skills rather than in native-likeness. She also argues that "no one user's way of using English is intrinsically better than another user's" (Jenkins, 2019, p. 15). Given the bi/multilingual nature of internationalisation of HE in many Asian countries, I consider this re-defined ELF, covering the features of EIL, as an intriguing stance to investigate and discuss the ideology of English in EMI.

Drawing attention to empirical research concerning ELF and the relevant perspectives, Kuteeva's study (2020) sheds light on the complexity of conceptualising English in EMI. She comprehensively examined the international and local students' perceptions of standard English, ELF, and translingual practices in EMI at a Swedish university. Her analysis of interview data indicates that native varieties of English still enjoy popularity amongst the student participants, especially British English and American English are regarded as more prestigious and academically acceptable (Kuteeva, 2020). That implies a linguistic hierarchy and resonates with the findings in Chinese learners' perceptions of English (Pan, 2015). Further, this linguistic hierarchy is evidently connected with the accent issue. In their research on the language ideology in accent reduction/modification courses offered in U.S. HE, Ennser-Kananen and her colleagues (2021) argue that due to their accents, international students have been positioned as "others" as opposed to "native" speakers in the course descriptions. That makes the "comprehensibility problem" of their English socio-politically and ideologically constructed rather than a value-free notion. In terms of ELF and translingual practices as foundations in Kuteeva's research (2020), both local and international students at the Swedish university stressed the importance of clarity and mutual understanding in ELF and translingual communication. Otherwise, it might position the students with lower English proficiency and who do not share other languages (Swedish) disadvantageously (esp., group writing tasks and Swedish-English translingual communication) (Kuteeva, 2020). Kuteeva (2020, p. 297) argues that these different conceptualisations of English have both "centripetal force" and "centrifugal force" in the process of EMI students' positioning, calling for clarity and agreed standards of English amongst different stakeholders. Her argument re-stresses the counterforce that might arise from an unreflective celebration of ELF and translanguaging and encourages the different EMI stakeholders to negotiate and agree on the practices for ensuring clarity, flexibility, and inclusiveness (Kuteeva, 2020).

Turning back to HE in China, English is widely used as English as a Lingua Franca because Chinese teachers and students are the main deliverers and receivers of EMI courses, and international students in China are mainly from outer (ESL) and expanding (EFL) circles (Kachru, 1985, 2005; Ministry of Education, 2019). For instance, in the Medicine disciplines, the majority of MBBS (Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery) international students are from South Asian countries (Botha, 2016). Also, given the geographical location of the focal university (on the Southwestern border of China) and MOE

development strategies, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is another major source of international students (MOE, 2016). In other words, English as a Lingua Franca is widely used in the communication between Chinese and international EMI stakeholders, which provides motivation for the adoption of a Global English perspective to examine ideologies of English in Chinese HE (F. Fang, 2018a; Rose et al., 2022; Song, 2019; Y. Wang, 2020).

As shown above, native speakerism is an influential yet contestable ideology of English in many East Asian EMI and/or ELF contexts (F. Fang, 2018b, 2018c; Galloway et al., 2017; Qiu & Fang, 2019; Tian et al., 2020). Rose and his colleagues (2022) point out that native speakerism has had a deleterious impact on ELT and EMI teacher recruitment since it leads to idealising "native speakers" of English as competent English users while positioning "non-native speakers" as "others". In China, Qiu & Fang's study (2019) on local EMI students' perceptions of (non-) native English-speaking content teachers indicates that their attention is not strongly attached to English language competence (or nativeness) but to pedagogical approaches. Specifically, native English-speaking teachers could offer various interactive and multimodal communication, while non-native English-speaking content teachers were more likely to render language (L1) and inter- and intra-cultural support to make complex contents intelligible (Qiu & Fang, 2019). In other words, this finding further supports a decentralised ideology of English ownership that was traditionally supposed to be possessed by native speakers in EMI. Further, since all teacher participants are Chinese in this study, they have been traditionally positioned as "others" versus NS of English (Qiu & Fang, 2019). In another study on ideologies of EMI across different levels (policy, provisions, and grassroots media narratives), Y. Wang (2020) calls for promoting an ELF perspective to EMI to address the existing tensions among different levels of EMI stakeholders. Her analysis revealed that web-forum comments on EMI displayed grassroots anxieties about EMI practices, whereas national and institutional policies formulated an optimistic discourse towards EMI (Y. Wang, 2020). Also, although English was initially designed as a medium for acquiring professional expertise, her dataset suggests that the attention to the English language overshadowed the focus on disciplinary content (Y. Wang, 2020). More importantly, she (2020) points out a concern that EMI was perceived as elite education with limited accessibility by the grassroots. This concern is derived from the English as a Native Language (ENL) perspective, which heavily influences the EFL exams (and education) that serve as gatekeepers for access to EMI (Y. Wang, 2020). In other words, ELF – as a communicative strategy and a powerful echo of multilingual turn - has not been acknowledged or widely adopted in China's EMI. These insights from earlier research provide a stimulus for this study to explore what ideologies of English are reflected in the medical participants' construction of their identities related to EMI, especially what the perception of ownership of English is.

Another key perspective under the Global English paradigm (see Figure 3) is World English, which showcases the different variations of English in geographical contexts. Because the focal EMI participants are Chinese, I will approach China English (CE) as a distinct English variety in the Chinese context. Since the 1980s, various terms related to CE have been developed by many scholars to describe "a developing Chinese variety of English" (e.g., China English and Chinglish) (Z. Xu, 2010, 2020, p. 265). A more recent definition of CE is given by Z. Xu (2010, p. 1):

> a developing variety of English, which is subject to ongoing codification and normalization processes. It is based largely on the two major varieties of English, namely British and American English. It is characterized by the transfer of Chinese linguistic and cultural norms at varying levels of language, and it is used primarily by Chinese for intra- and international communication.

This definition acknowledges the dynamic nature of CE and captures its users' "exonormative (norm-dependent) mindset of conformity" and "endonormative (norm-independent) prosperity for self-identification" (Z. Xu, 2020, p. 267). Based on that, Z. Xu (2020) proposes that CE has the potential to rise as a powerful variety of World English due to the large quantity of Chinese English learners and China's rapid economic growth as well as being a consequence of international communication. That draws attention to another emerging ideology of China English and how it has been researched in EMI education. Further, given the fact that all the participants are Chinese, the present study will explore how they perceive this type of English variety in EMI medical education.

In educational research, a growing number of studies have explored the perception and practices of China English (Chinglish and Chinese English) as well as its potential for pedagogical uses (F. Fang, 2018a; Pan, 2015; W. Wang, 2015; M. Wei, 2016). The previous findings have often suggested an ambivalent attitude towards CE amongst Chinese college teachers and students. In particular, the Chinese college teachers and students do not consider CE a pedagogical model in ELT. Pan (2015) elaborates that this dismissive attitude possibly derives from ELT policymakers' wilful ignorance of CE, although the student participants tended to show a more liberal mindset (related to the non-pragmatic/sociocultural sphere) than teacher participants. She argues that their preference manifests a pervasive ideology affected by the centre-periphery world system (Pan, 2015). Researching the attitude towards CE among the Chinese university teachers and students, W. Wang's (2015) analysis unveils the reasons behind the negative (concerning correctness, Chinglish stigma, and communicativeness), positive (regarding capability and identity-making) and ambivalent (frequent exposure and the legitimacy issue) evaluation of CE. W. Wang (2015) suggests it is possible to include certain features of CE into ELT for empowering learners' self-expression and identity construction. In M. Wei's survey (2016) of Chinese students' attitudes towards English at eight Beijing universities, one of the main results shows that some students demonstrate a desire to be treated equally as native speakers in verbal interaction, though CE

has not yet been accepted as a legitimised variety by most of the Chinese students. Statistically speaking, M. Wei (2016) argues that CE does not seem to have as much positive influence on Chinese students' identity-building in relation to English as previous research has suggested. Linking the debate of ideology and identity associated with CE to EMI, F. Fang (2018a) argues that CE, as a complex variety with fluid and flexible features, should be seen from a broader perspective rather than simply adding to World English paradigm. He draws attention instead back to the function of ELF and calls for viewing ELF from a multilingual lens (F. Fang, 2018a). In this study of Chinese EMI students' perceptions of English, F. Fang (2018a, p. 23) encourages bringing social-political and sociocultural perspectives to "pinpoint, critique and negotiate linguistic and pedagogical ideologies" throughout English learning/teaching. In other words, ELT is not merely related to language skills training but also involves reflection on the relationship between the English language (and its cultures) and locals. It is notable, however, that the recruited participants were from a course *Introduction to English as a World Language*, which means that they might be aware of the Applied Linguistics discussion concerning World English (F. Fang, 2018a). Overall, there is little research exploring how general EMI stakeholders (without formal exposure to linguistic and/or applied linguistic knowledge) perceive CE. Therefore, drawing on the above discussion on various ideologies of English(-es), this study attempts to reveal how the Chinese EMI teachers and students react to those ideologies in relation to identity construction and negotiation.

3.3 Model of investment

Having reviewed theoretical and empirical research on identity and ideology in relation to EMI (and bi/multilingual) education, this section presents a specific framework – Model of Investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015) - that will be adopted as a means to synthetise earlier research finding and to discuss their implications for the findings of this study (see Figure 4). This model is particularly useful because it portrays the fluid power flows amongst contiguous spaces: ideology, identity, and capital and evinces how individuals (learners/agents) in a social world perform their multiple identities through negotiating and reframing in power flows for investments in or from particular language and literary practices (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

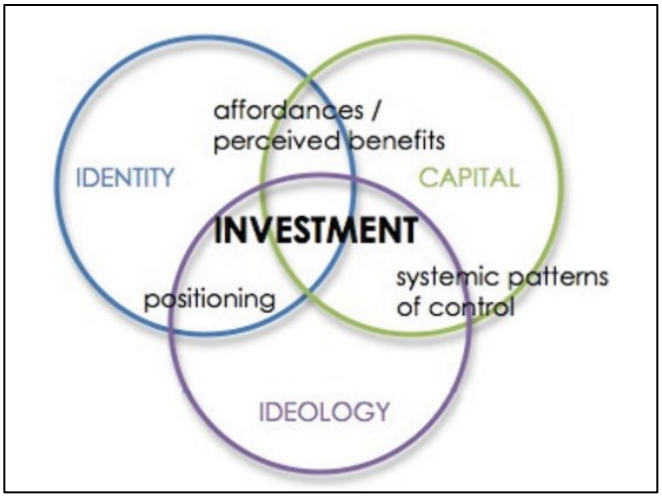


FIGURE 4 Model of Investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 42)

Combining many sociolinguists' contributions to the relation of language and power in ideology and identity research (e.g., Blommaert, 2006a; Bourdieu, 1986; Norton, 2013), this model assembles a sociolinguistic framework to illustrate the increasingly diverse and dynamic interaction amongst language learners and society nowadays. Although EMI does not initially focus on language teaching and learning, improvement of English proficiency is often perceived as a benefit/expected learning outcome by Chinese EMI students and teachers (e.g., G. Hu et al., 2014; Gu & Lee, 2019; Rose et al., 2019; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). Given the findings related to the language aspect shown in earlier studies on EMI, matters of language learning and teaching are likely to emerge in this study as well, with relevance for the participants' identity formation. In other words, the fact that language learning and teaching perspectives are embedded in EMI makes the Model of Investment suitable to be applied in this study. More importantly, this Model is useful for this study because it pays particular attention to the three overlapping circles of ideology, identity, and capital, suggesting the interrelated nature of these social spaces, leading to respect the learners' agency to participate in or retreat from specific contexts. In that way, rather than viewing ideology, identity and capital as detached from each other, this model provides a comprehensive framework for synthesising and discussing the complex and mutually affected relationships between these in the Chinese EMI participants' discursive realities and how they, in turn, invest in or retreat from particular practices in their EMI teaching and learning.

Building on the prior work of developing the concept of ideology, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 44) define ideology as "a site of struggle, of competing dominant, residual, and marginal ideas" which endows the dynamic of identity construction and negotiation through behaving in accordance with a certain disposition while exercising agency to re-construct the contexts. In other words, ideologies form a sense of normativity, and legitimate what is seen as the "natural" social order by means of including, excluding, privileging and

marginalising ideas, people, and social relations (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 44). As reviewed above, the prominent arguments concerning bi/multilingualism and the English language manifest the power of (prevailing) ideologies and the competing nature of different ideologies in EMI. At the same time, we can observe how what has been taken for granted by powerful stakeholders has shaped and perpetuated a certain habitus that creates systematic patterns of control to access and evaluate capital(s), for example, a linguistic hierarchy of English. Inspired by Bourdieu's insights (1986) into capitals in sociolinguistics, capitals in this model serve as affordances/perceived benefits to construct and negotiate identities – positioning agents in social space according to the configuration of their capital (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Noticeably, with the growing mobility across different levels and regions, Darvin and Norton (2015) suggest that capitals (esp., symbolic capital) are crucial to understand agents' investments across time and space. In the present study, the Chinese EMI teachers and learners are equipped with certain capitals (e.g., medical expertise/academic competencies and English skills) when entering EMI teaching and learning. To occupy new spaces – transfer from the EFL learning context to EMI (e.g., bilingual professionality in clinics and medical research) and to make sense of selves, learners can not only acquire new materials and symbolic resources but also utilise and/or transfer possessed capitals into something perceived as valuable in their new context. Nevertheless, the values and fluidity of capitals are dependent on but not entirely determined by prevailing ideologies of particular groups or fields (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45), such as the institutional management and policies in this study. Aligning with the contribution of Norton (2013) to identity research, this model defines identity as "a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities", and given the governance by different ideologies and the configuration of various capitals, the positioning can be proceeded mutually – by learners themselves and others (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). That is to say, although predominant ideologies governed by more powerful EMI stakeholders can affect the positioning of the EMI teachers and students, this model recognises the EMI participants' (esp. students) potential agency to re-configure and re-position themselves as a part of their imagined communities. In this positioning process, they exercise agency to invest in/from certain linguistic practices (e.g., their choices and uses of languages in educational events) for developing *sens pratique* (practical sense) (Bourdieu, 1986) – to perform as EMI medical teachers and students in their own context. This model thus recognises the changing and competing nature of ideologies and identities, and the capacity of capitals to reproduce and transform power flows in or out of agents' investments.

More recently, further discussion by Darvin & Norton (2021, p. 9) on "investment" suggests that the focus of this model is not on transactional ideas (e.g., "cost-benefit assessment" and "to gain profits") but also addresses how asymmetrical power relations can contribute to unequal access to capitals in relation to positioning learners in diverse identities. In this way critical

reflection is encouraged, to probe into inequalities and constraints that are shaped and perpetuated by latent or taken-for-granted ideologies, and in turn to ponder how to empower the learners to negotiate and claim their legitimacy of interaction and communication in dynamic contexts (Darvin & Norton, 2021). As stated in the research problem (see Chapter 1), it is not uncommon for Chinese EMI teachers and students to think highly of this means of teaching yet to be concerned about its poor implementation in EMI programmes. Based on the insights of this model, I will bring the findings in this study together and critically penetrate how this dilemma has been formed in order to better support those EMI participants.

Darvin and Norton (2015) were the first to apply this model in empirical studies to analyse two cases related to the digital environment: a Ugandan female learner in a rural area and a Filipino male learner in a Canadian urban area. The analysis unfolds how the learners manage the tensions between (present and imagined) identities driven by dominant ideologies and possessed capitals (Darvin & Norton, 2015). These two comparative cases not only note the asymmetric power relations caused by pre-determined social ideologies but also acknowledge identity negotiation and re-construction through their intentional investment in English practices, leading them to divergent trajectories in this digital world (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Moving to EMI contexts, a few studies have applied this model to analyse and discuss identity issues of teachers and students. As discussed above in Section 3.1, Dafouz's case study (2018) combines the Model of Investment with ROAD-MAPPING to represent TEPs as a continuous space, allowing EMI teachers not only to increase linguistic and social capital but also to raise their awareness of pedagogical strategies. In that way, the content teachers were able to negotiate the taken-for-granted notions in their sociocultural environment to make sense of their international and professional identities in EMI. With respect to EMI students, Sung (2020) interviewed twenty-two cross-border Chinese mainland undergraduates at a Hong Kong university and thematically analysed their investment in English (L2)-mediated practices. Guided by the Model of Investment, his study examines how the students' capitals, identities, and ideologies intertwined and contributed to their investments for academic and social purposes. Sung (2020) found that the students could utilise their cultural capital to develop their ways of participating in the L2 classroom to achieve their desired academic identities. In contrast, the students seemed to be constrained by their capital configuration for social purposes, and they failed to access the L2 interaction outside classrooms (Sung, 2020). Their different levels of investment in English practices were mediated and shaped by multiple ideologies, such as English as a world language, native speakerism and cultural differences (Sung, 2020). In particular, this study not only resonates with previous observations concerning Chinese mainland students' English practices in and outside classrooms, but it also systematically explains the dynamic nexus of individuals in a social world in which they understood, acquired, and negotiated their investment in particular

English practices for different purposes. Since the present project aims to contextualise the socially critical issues of identity and ideology associated with EMI medical education, it will be fruitful to employ the Model of Investment to synthesise and discuss the nuanced and fluid nexus of language ideologies and identities in relation to the Chinese medical agents' (teachers and students) (de-)investment in EMI teaching and learning.

To conclude, this chapter has outlined a theoretical framework that guides this study. Through reviews of the key concepts of identity and language ideology in general and in EMI-specific contexts, the chapter has also shown that identity is socially constructed in discourses, and diverse prevailing and marginalised language ideologies compete and influence the positioning of identities and access to capital(s). In accordance with the Model of Investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015), Figure 5 summarises the major findings of earlier empirical studies on identity and ideology as well as investment of content teachers and students in EMI education, especially in Chinese contexts. The identity space highlights the prominent earlier observations relating to the EMI teachers' and students' identities, which are associated with their professional and disciplinary expertise, internationalisation and local practices and culture, vulnerable counterparts in comparison with CMI learners, and powerful and marginalised English users in intercultural communication. The Ideology space displays various tensions that have been identified between the different ideologies towards bi/multilingualism and English, such as monolingualism and dynamic bi/multilingualism, native speakerism, ELF and Englishes. Typical investments carried out by the teachers and students are related to disciplinary knowledge in English and L1, translingual practices, and the greater prominence of academic purposes than social ones.

These theoretical underpinnings and key empirical findings discussed above from prior literature make it possible to direct attention to potentially relevant aspects of identity and ideology in EMI settings. In other words, this figure serves as a guide for designing research questions and methods as well as a resource to analyse and discuss the findings in this study. More specifically, with the knowledge of these prior findings, I was sensitive to the potentially relevant issues during interviewing and was able to probe for more details. In the data analysis, the existing categories of identity and ideology helped me to identify initial themes and use particular "lenses" through which to approach the interview dataset, such as professional identity as medical experts/teachers and future doctors and cultural identity as native speakers of Chinese and users/learners of English. At the same time, it was a crucial aim for me to closely investigate how these initial themes of identity were constructed and how they were intertwined with various language ideologies in this particular context and what other (sub-) themes/categories would emerge in the dataset. Through this process, I was able to synthesise and discuss the relevant findings of this study with prior literature and then generate the potential contribution and implications.

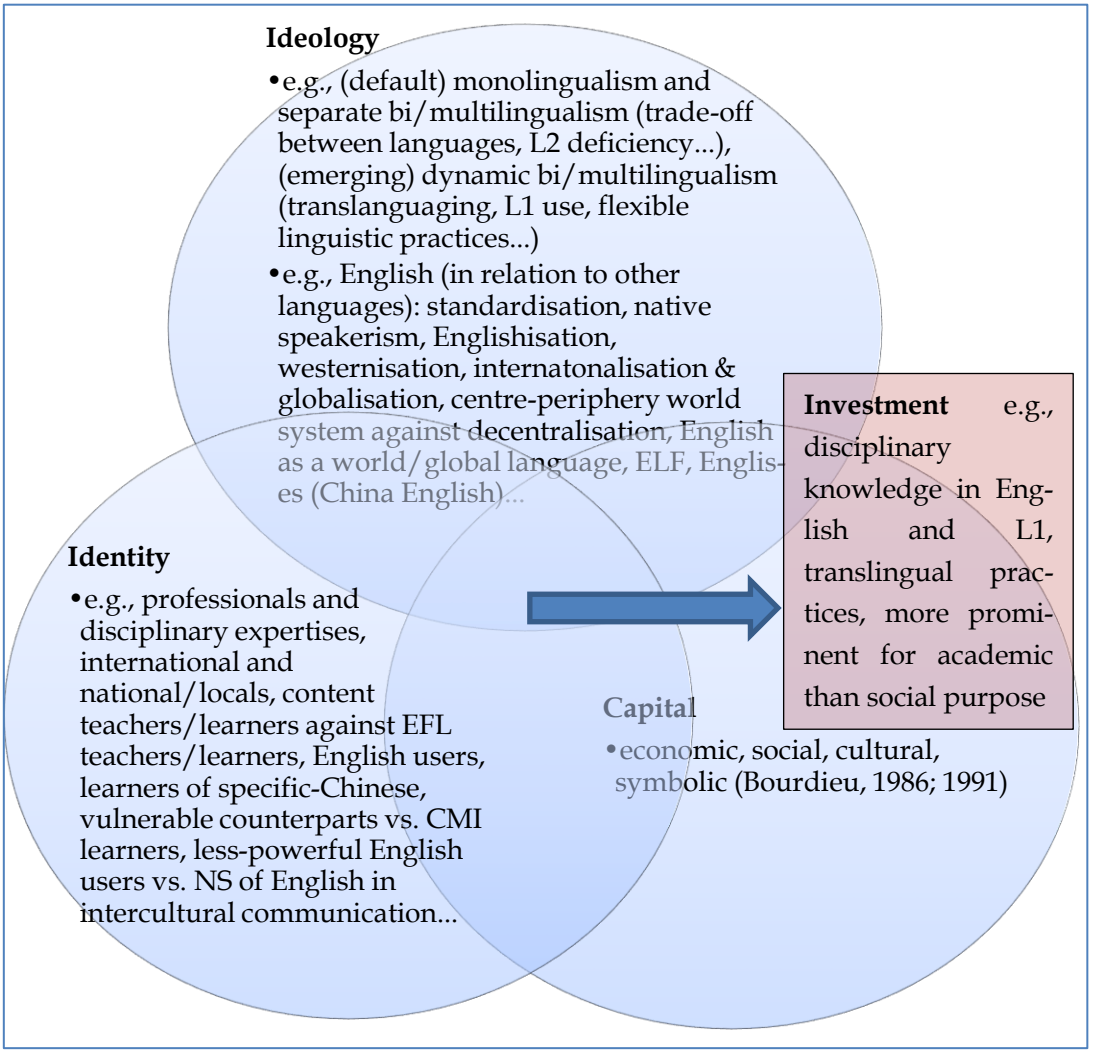


FIGURE 5 A summary of studies on identity and ideology in EMI contexts (adapted from Model of Investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015))

With the comprehensive understanding and research gap of EMI in China (Chapter 2) and the theoretical and empirical knowledge of identity and language ideology (Chapter 3), this study proposes the following research questions:

- How do the Chinese teachers and students construct their identities in this EMI medical programme and its courses?
  - How do they position themselves when talking about their present and imagined EMI practices?
  - What do they perceive as affordances and challenges in (re-) constructing their identities?

- How do language ideologies intertwine with the participants' identity construction?

- What kinds of ideological orientations towards bilingualism are embedded in participants' identity construction?
- What kinds of ideologies of English in relation to other languages (mainly Chinese) are embedded in participants' identity construction?

As scholars such as Block (2009), Bucholtz & Hall (2010), and Norton (2013) state, identity is socially constructed in discourses across time and space. The first main research question therefore explores dynamic and multiple identity construction for investment in EMI teaching and learning practices. More specifically, interviews concerning the perceptions and reflections on bilingual practices can produce an interactive space to explore how the teachers and students (re-)construct their present and imagined identities associated with their EMI practices and what they perceive as affordances and challenges in their identity-making. In the same vein, mutual relationships such as between interaction and even competition among (language) ideologies across levels and groups can influence the access to resources for identity construction (Darvin & Norton, 2015). The purpose of the second main research question is therefore to reveal the ideologies towards bi/multilingualism and beliefs about English in relation to other languages (mainly Chinese) held by the teachers and students in their identity-making. The next chapter will concentrate on the methodology used to answer these research questions.

4 RESEARCH DATA AND METHODS

The purpose of this study is to investigate the identities and language ideologies of Chinese teachers and students regarding their bilingual practices in EMI medical education so that the teachers and students may be better understood and supported. Given the socially constructed nature of ideology and identity (e.g., Block, 2009; Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Kroskrity, 2010), qualitative research methods were chosen to analyse how the medical teachers and students perceive bilingual practices and construct themselves under EMI educational settings. Language ideologies and identities never exist independently and statically but are constructed interdependently in a fluid manner, mirroring the complexity of research focus itself. Adopting a qualitive approach is in line with the argument of Lincoln and Guba (2000) that qualitative research traditions, grounded in the constructivism paradigm, aiming to understand the world through a subjectivist gaze. Further, Dörnyei (2007) summarises the objective of qualitative research methods in Applied Linguistics as exploring and describing social phenomena and insiders' meanings in natural settings through researchers' interpretation of data. A large number of earlier studies have adopted qualitative methodology to research identity and ideology in EMI education. Interviews (semi-structured) are one of the most prominent approaches to collect data, and thematic analysis and discourse analysis are widely applied to process and generate qualitative findings (Dafouz, 2018; F. Fang, 2018a; Gu & Lee, 2019; Kuteeva, 2020; Sung, 2020), while mixed research methods are also popular research designs (Jiang et al., 2016; W. Wang, 2015). With an EMI medical programme provided at an ordinary university as the focal research site, this qualitative study attempts to obtain thick and in-depth descriptions of the participants' experiences, feelings and ideas about EMI/bilingual education through a nuanced analysis of the interviews and supplementary written materials as well as institutional policy documents.

4.1 Research site

Located in southwestern China[5], the focal university is a key provincial medical institution (non-Double First Class Universities). Since 2020, it has been shortlisted as one of the universities that is co-developed by the Ministry of Education, the National Health and Family Planning Commission and the Provincial Government. The university specialises in modern medicine, offering undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral programmes as well as vocational training. It has approximately 26,000 full-time students, about 45% of whom being (domestic) undergraduate students and nearly 3% international students. There are nearly 2,000 faculty members, with over 65% having senior and vice-senior professional titles.

For almost twenty years, the university has been offering two new EMI (literal translation: bilingual) classes to domestic students each year, one in the Clinical Medicine undergraduate (5 years) programme and another one in undergraduate + postgraduate (5+3 years) programme[6]. As a response to MOE's promotion of EMI in the 2000s, this programme aims to cultivate inter-disciplinary talents who are *equipped with professional expertise and master foreign language(s), to increase students' adaptability in society, to improve teaching quality, to cultivate innovative talents, and promote bilingual teaching* (translated) (The focal university, 2007). In the same strategy document (2007), the focal university states that according to MOE regulation, the purpose of the bilingual course is *to adopt textbooks and references in foreign languages in the teaching process; in educational activities (e.g., lectures and exams), to use foreign languages or both foreign languages and Chinese, with the teaching hours of English being at least 50% (including 50%)* (translated). The focal university also specifies several requirements. For instance, one of the requirements concerning language practices is that *teachers can adopt instruction entirely in the foreign language or through bilingual instruction, namely "textbooks in the foreign language, lectures in Chinese and (blackboard) presentations in the foreign language", i.e., 50% instruction; or "textbooks, lectures, and (blackboard) presentations in the foreign language", i.e., 100% instruction* (translated). Each bilingual class has enrolled around 50 Chinese students every year, and in total, around 100 newcomers have studied their medical subject courses, such as anatomy, physiology, pharmacology Chinese - English bilingually. There are two other types of classes in the same programmes, namely Chinese Medium Instruction (CMI) and Teaching Reform (TR). The CMI track

[5] City A, the capital city of the province. In 2020, City A's GDP per capita was slightly below the average level in mainland China (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2020; The World Bank, 2020).

[6] The 5+3 Clinical Medicine programme consists of 5 years of undergraduate studies and 3 years of postgraduate studies (standardised clinical training in the hospitals), so it is usually called "5+3". The 5+3 students are exempt from the Unified National Graduate Entrance Examination and are automatically enrolled in the 3-year postgraduate programme at the same university.

offers all courses in Chinese, while the Teaching Reform track uses Chinese as the language of instruction but follows a different learning structure and pattern such as Project Based Learning (PBL). Thus, there are three cohorts each year: bilingual, the CMI and the TR of Clinical Medicine programme. Noticeably, according to recent selection criteria[7], the Academic Affairs Office of the university has first selected the students in the bilingual class based on their scores in *Gaokao* – the nationwide university entrance examination. That is to say, the university has initially carried out one-way selection: to choose the applicants for the Clinical Medicine programme without pre-asking their preferences for the types of classes. However, the chosen students can voluntarily transfer to other parallel classes if they cannot manage the bilingual study load later on. In general, the *de facto* language practices have varied across courses, though the students in bilingual classes are required to learn medical subjects bilingually. For example, some courses have adopted Chinese textbooks and been lectured in Chinese with PowerPoint slides in foreign languages such as English and Latin, while other courses have added English textbooks and/or handouts as references and lectured in Chinese with bilingual PowerPoint slides. Yet, as the focal university has required, all exams of bilingual medical courses should contain two languages or only foreign languages (mostly English).

4.2 Research participants

In order to achieve an in-depth understanding, this project used a purposeful sampling procedure to select research participants (Patton, 2015). Through a snowball or chain sampling strategy (Dörnyei, 2007), I sought to first contact colleagues in the Academic Affairs Office of the focal university to recruit potential Chinese teacher participants who taught bilingual and EMI courses in that academic term. After the research recruitment of teachers, the teacher participants were asked to refer 1-2 Chinese students in their bilingual courses for further recruitment contacts. Finally, the referred students contacted their classmates who were willing to participate in group interviews. Additionally, to obtain an informative dataset, I asked referred students to recruit potential classmates without prioritising academically excellent ones in the class. In terms of gender, half of each group (participating in three interviews) consisted of male students and half were female.

[7] "1. Ranking of overall scores in *Gaokao* + ranking of scores in the foreign language subject (in *Gaokao*) = [sorting students into bilingual class] …2. under the first term, the students, who have high competence of (spoken) foreign languages, yet the overall scores shall be not less than 40% of enrolled students', can be taken into account." (Personal message from the staff in Academic Affairs Office of the University, 2019)

The teacher participants were EMI teachers from three medical courses, namely Medical Microbiology, Regional Anatomy, and Pathophysiology. All teacher participants had received their medical degrees at Chinese universities, and most of them had overseas exchange or training experiences. As the purposeful sampling also allows variation across certain distinguishing features (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019; Patton, 2015), there was variation among the teacher participants in terms of professional titles, years of teaching bilingual & EMI courses, and overseas experience (Table 2).

TABLE 2 Demographic information of teacher participants

Name	Gender	Professional title	Years of teaching EMI (to both local students and international students)	EMI (bilingual) course	Overseas experience (including outside mainland China)
MB teacher	Female	Lecturer	5	Medical microbiology	Visiting scholar, Germany
RA teacher	Male	Professor	11	Regional Anatomy	MSc in Education, Republic of the Philippines Visiting scholar, Canada
PP teacher 1	Female	Lecturer	3	Pathophysiology	Visiting scholar, the United States
PP teacher 2	Male	Professor	20	Pathophysiology	Visiting scholar, the United States and the United Kingdom
PP teacher 3[8]	Female	Associate Professor	12	Pathophysiology	Short-term training in Hong Kong SAR

Subsequently, 12 Chinese students in bilingual Clinical Medicine programmes were recruited from the corresponding courses given by the teacher participants, and they were divided into three interviewing groups based on class units (see Table 3). It means that the student participants within each group were classmates, and I used only the acronyms of the courses - Medical Microbiology (MB), Regional Anatomy (RA) or Pathophysiology (PP) – which they were recruited from in order to make the student participants anonymous. To better capture the lived experience of bilingual learning, I have targeted students in the 2nd to 3rd year because bilingual courses are mainly

[8] PP teacher 3 did not teach EMI class during the time of data collection and only attended the first two sessions of interviewing.

offered within the first three years of Clinical Medicine studies. In addition, introduced by RA teacher, another 6 senior students in the bilingual programme from the 4th year to the 6th year were invited to form a one-time group interview (Mixed graders, anonymised as M students) for sharing their opinions regarding their previous EMI learning experience and its impact on their current studies. All student participants (between 20 to 24 years old) received education in China and had no EMI or bilingual study experience before attending the current programmes. Table 3 shows the demographic information of student participants. As other non-English major college students, all student participants had taken compulsory College English courses for the first two years, and many of them had passed College English Test Band 4 or Band 6 (CET4 or CET6) [9].

TABLE 3 Demographic information of student participants

Name	Gender	Current year of study in Clinical Medicine programmes	Recruited from bilingual course
MB student 1	Male	2nd year (5 years programme)	Medical microbiology
MB student 2	Female	2nd year (5 years programme)	Medical microbiology
MB student 3	Male	2nd year (5 years programme)	Medical microbiology
MB student 4	Female	2nd year (5 years programme)	Medical microbiology
RA student 1	Female	3rd year (5+3 years programme)	Regional Anatomy
RA student 2	Male	3rd year (5+3 years programme)	Regional Anatomy
RA student 3	Female	3rd year (5+3 years programme)	Regional Anatomy
RA student 4	Male	3rd year (5+3 years programme)	Regional Anatomy
PP student 1	Female	3rd year (5+3 years programme)	Pathophysiology
PP student 2	Male	2nd year (5+3 years programme)	Pathophysiology
PP student 3	Female	2nd year (5+3 years programme)	Pathophysiology
PP student 4	Male	2nd year (5+3 years programme)	Pathophysiology
M student 1	Female	5th year	N/A
M student 2	Male	5th year	N/A
M	Female	5th year	N/A

[9] College English Test bands 4 and 6 are nationwide English language tests for non-English major college students and as one of the key benchmarks of the students' English proficiency in China.

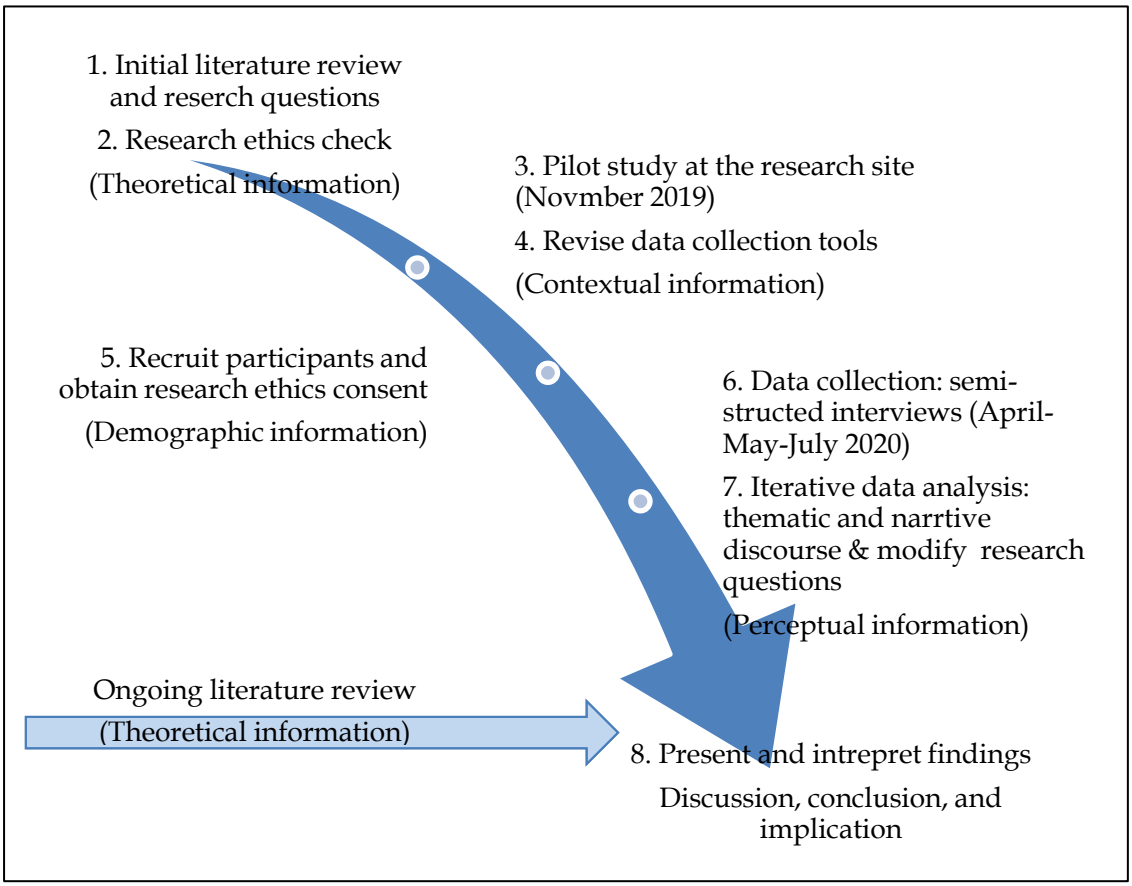
student 3			
M student 4	Male	4th year	N/A
M student 5	Female	5th year	N/A
M student 6	Female	6th year, equivalent to 1st year postgraduate	N/A

4.3 Research process

The flowchart below summarises the main steps and the information needed in this study, namely the contextual (culture or environment of settings), demographic (participants' profiles), perceptual (participants' perception regarding the research topic or inquiry) and theoretical information (relevant prior research), on the information checklist for conducting qualitative research (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, pp. 311–312). First, having reviewed the research trends and contributions in the broad field of EMI and bilingual education, language ideology and identity across diverse contexts, I drafted a research proposal with initial research questions and methodology. In the second phase, after a research ethics check by the JYU Human Sciences Ethics Committee, two online pilot interviews were conducted with a novice stomatology teacher and a 4th year Chinese student from the bilingual course/programme at the focal university in November 2019 to gather background information and revise guiding questions for semi-structured interviews. At the same time, through personal contact with the Academic Affairs Office at the research site, I gained access to a collection of institutional documents about tentative EMI programmes (to domestic students) issued between 2007 and 2008. These archives provided the contextual information – general goals and specific requirements - of bilingual courses and the programme at an institutional level, though no updated archive was available. After that, I finalised an outline of the topics and questions used in interviews, but I remained open to any significant points that emerged during the interviews and organically developed those topics and guiding question lists. Later, following the research ethics guidelines, I contacted potential participants via personal field visits or emails and collected their demographic information, such as bilingual teaching and learning study years, degrees, and overseas experience. In total, this study recruited 5 teachers and 18 students as research participants. Due to the COVID19 outbreak in China, the whole data collection process was conducted online in April, May, and July 2020. Additionally, invited by the teacher participants, I audited two sessions (Regional Anatomy and Pathophysiology) remotely in April. It helped me to become familiarised with the new classroom online contexts that all the

courses had changed to due to COVID-19. All semi-structured interviews were carried out online (via WeChat and QQ – widely used telecommunication Apps in China) to collect participants' perceptions and reflections on bilingual teaching and learning experiences. Section 4.4 will further elaborate on the rationale for adopting interviewing as a primary data collection method and reveal the detailed procedure including the topics discussed in each session of interviews. After transcribing the audio recording[10] verbatim, I conducted iterative thematic and discourse analysis with the qualitative dataset and modified the research questions. Section 4.5 will present the analytical process and some examples. Finally, with an ongoing selective review of the literature in Chapters 2 and 3, this study analyses and discusses the main findings and potential implications in the focal contexts.

FLOWCHART 1 Research process



[10] Audio recordings were initially automatically-transcribed by iFLYTEK Voice Input, and then the researcher proofread the transcripts manually.

4.4 Data collection methods

Data was mainly collected using semi-structured interviews with teacher participants and student participants either one-on-one or in groups. Supplementary dataset consists of written materials, such as PowerPoint slides used in the courses, exam papers, and institutional documents about tentative EMI programmes, provided by participants and faculty members at the focal university.

Having generated a broad research direction, this study employed the semi-structured interviews as a primary instrument to collect the participants' perceptions and reflections of bilingual teaching and learning experiences. Since interviewing is an established method of collecting peoples' views of their lived experiences, it has the potential to elicit thick descriptions of their beliefs, identities, and orientations (Cohen et al., 2011; Dörnyei, 2007; Talmy, 2010). Among different types of interviews, semi-structured interviews are particularly useful when researchers have broad research interests and questions in advance; semi-structured interviews therefore not only guide the conversation and interaction focus on the researched topics but also provide the flexibility for probing into and developing interesting points that emerge from the interviews (Dörnyei, 2007). Moreover, although it is typical to conduct one-off interviews, multiple session interviews are more fruitful for obtaining in-depth information (Polkinghorne, 2005; Seidman, 2006). Thus the whole data collection consists of three sessions throughout the spring term in 2020. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 outbreak disrupted the school calendar in China, and all face-to-face educational activities were banned in the first quarter of 2020. As a consequence, the Chinese Ministry of Education launched an initiative - *Disrupted classes, Undisrupted learning* – to offer flexible online learning and teaching across the nation (Huang et al., 2020). Following the regulation, the focal university had to carry out distant teaching till the situation improved in the mid-term. This unexpected situation inevitably postponed the data collection schedule. Moreover, since the students were not familiar with studying Clinical Medicine remotely, this unaccustomed situation could affect how the participants experienced and perceived their teaching and learning during the COVID-19 outbreak (Birch & de Wolf, 2020; Chick et al., 2020). On the other hand, it allowed the collection of participants' unique experiences under this exceptional blended learning mode. Later, student's reflections on their blended learning were summarised in a published letter to medical educators [11] (Qin et al., 2022).

After re-contacting potential participants, the first session of interviews was eventually conducted in April 2020 when all educational activities were

[11] Following the research ethical guideline strictly, the research completes the qualitative data analysis and writing, and does not disclose any information, original audio recording, and transcribed data with any co-authors of that publication.

online; the main topics concentrated on participants' demographic backgrounds, experiences, and thoughts of EMI teaching and learning at the focal university, such as positive and negative aspects in their bilingual practices in the courses. One month later, when the focal university resumed contact teaching, the second interview session invited participants to project their view to the future by discussing their "ideal bilingual courses", including desirable language practices, management and planning, and possible obstacles to implementation. Building on preliminary findings of the previous session, the major topic in this session aims to elicit how participants portray themselves and others under an imagined situation. In July 2020, the last interview session was conducted after the final assessments so that the participants talked about their experiences of bilingual exams and looked back over the whole term for self-reflection on what bilingual courses had brought and would bring to them and how they could improve performance in the next academic year. Table 4 lists the topics for each session (detailed Chinese-English guiding questions in Appendix 1). Given the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews, the lists of prepared questions served as a guide for the continuing interviews. I also probed into any interesting points that emerged during the interviews to obtain rich information. The design of multiple sessions makes it possible to cover EMI educational events and activities in a comprehensive manner.

TABLE 4 The topics for each session of interviewing

Session	Topic(s)
1st (April 2020)	Demographic information, (general) experiences, and thoughts on EMI teaching and learning (e.g., bilingual practices and difficulties in the courses.)
2nd (May 2020)	"Ideal bilingual courses" (e.g., desirable language practices, management and planning, possible obstacles to implementation)
3rd (July 2020)	Experiences of bilingual exams and self-reflection on the whole term (e.g., pros and cons, performance, and possible improvement)

This study employed two forms of interviewing: one-on-one interviews and group interviews. Given the number of participants, the teachers were interviewed individually, except for Pathophysiology teachers, who preferred group interviews. The students, who participated in all three interview sessions, were grouped based on their classes. In other words, the members within each group knew each other well since they had been studying together for at least two years. One exceptional case was the one-off senior students' group, whose members were from different grades, so they had not necessarily known or even met each other before the group interview. Like focus groups, group interviews are useful in allowing to probe, uncover, and understand different feelings and ideas about specific topics of EMI that emerge during the discussions (Dörnyei, 2007; Galloway, 2019). Thus to capture the richness of focal

research context, this study recruited four student groups in total, and the groups were different either in grades or classes from each other. Nevertheless, I was able to be flexible in managing and adjusting the formats of interviews: one-on-one or in groups, depending on participants' schedules, to ensure equal access for each teacher and student. Despite different forms of interviewing, all interview rounds followed the same guiding questions and focused on the same sub-topics in this study. I actively probed into any intriguing points that emerged from each individual interviewing session in order to collect rich information and a thick description of participants' experiences and reflections, even though the basis of the interview procedure was focused sub-topics. I endeavoured to create an open space where participants could freely share their experiences and thoughts about bilingual medical teaching and learning (Dörnyei, 2007).

Furthermore, I collected two types of supplementary written materials: institutional documents from the staff in the Academic Affairs Office and teaching and learning materials from participants. Firstly, to gather the contextual information of the EMI programme/courses, I collected the relevant institutional documents (e.g., the tentative implementation guidance of bilingual teaching, tentative regulation of teachers and students in the "bilingual teaching class", Clinical Medicine undergraduate programme & curriculum). There was noticeably no access to or not particular programme & curriculum for EMI Clinical Medicine (for domestic students) at the time of data collection. I searched in the course descriptions related to "foreign", "English", and "international" in those documents to obtain a background understanding of the main institutional purposes of Clinical Medicine teaching. Some examples of relevant descriptions are "international vision", "skill in reading medical literature in foreign languages (for the 5-year programme)", plus "good communicative skills in foreign languages (for the 3+5-year programme)", and employability and further education opportunities at the "domestic" level. Secondly, I also collected teaching and learning materials, such as their PPT slides and course notebook pages, from the participants, if they were willing to share these materials for elaborating their opinions in the interviews. Together with the interview dataset, those teaching and learning materials created by the participants diversify the modes of qualitative data to explore their EMI experience. In short, these supplementary written materials not only help me design the interview questions but also enrich the modes of the dataset to reveal the participants' values and beliefs (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019; Bowen, 2009).

As mentioned above, the COVID-19 outbreak in China made it impossible to conduct face-to-face interviews, so all interviews were carried out online via telecommunication apps (WeChat and QQ). Before the interviews, the participants were asked which mode they preferred, and they all chose audio interviewing rather than video mode. Despite the loss of facial interaction, online audio interviews could help participants feel comfortable, and then they were willing to talk openly. Also, video mode could have more easily been affected

by an unstable signal or even a broken internet connection, and in fact audio mode did succeed in keeping the online interview process running smoothly. Furthermore, since all participants were Chinese, the language used during the data collection was Chinese, but participants were told they could use any other language(s) in which they felt comfortable. Finally, a total of over 1,100 minutes of recordings were transcribed to around 250,000 Chinese characters with a few English words and discourse symbols (see Appendix 2 Transcription conventions).

4.5 Data analysis and synthesis

The overall data analysis process of this study is cyclical, in which I iteratively read the whole qualitative datasets (interview transcripts and supplementary written materials) to gather and interpret relevant findings carefully, since the qualitative data analysis is "language-based" and "iterative" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 243). Applied linguists are particularly interested in discourse analytical approaches and in moving back and forth between data collection, analysis, and interpretation till their observations become "saturated" with relevant evidence concerning the investigated topics (Dörnyei, 2007). In this study, I employed both the "inductive" and the "deductive" coding process since the theoretical framework (Chapter 3) and literature review (Chapter 2) provided guidance for starting the initial analysis, and emergent results then modified the existing framework and literature review. Moving to the research tradition in the fields of identity and ideology, many scholars have emphasised the importance of analysing not only what is said (content-level) but also how it is said (discourse-level) in qualitative datasets (Barkhuizen et al., 2014; Block, 2009; Gee, 2014). Further, rather than treating interviews merely as an instrument for data collection, interviews can be seen as social practices, which are symptomatic, presentational, social, interactive and co-constructed by interviewees and interviewers (Block, 2000; Talmy, 2010). This orientation towards interview data may serve as a reminder to consider the words as narrative "truth" and part of the discursive process rather than as facts.

Given the large body of interview transcripts, I started to approach the dataset by thematic analysis that enabled me to generate and present the EMI participants' perceptions and reflections on their language practices - what they said - as themes (patterns) and sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). More precisely, this process began from a semantic approach – the surface content then moving to the "latent" themes. Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 84–85) further suggest that the process of searching for "latent" themes is to "identify or examine the *underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations", which derives from constructionist traditions and is akin to discourse analysis or so-called "thematic DA (discourse analysis)". This analytical method is a practical way

to examine flexibly, to summarise prominent features and to generate "thick descriptions" of a large data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 95). Drawing on existing research findings, I read and inductively coded the interview data into various thematic categories. For example, the category *Roles/belief of English* included initially four codes: Focus (medical vocabulary, phrase), Forms (written, spoken, multimedia), Motivation (non-/instrumental), Barrier (proficiency, exam). In this early stage, other coding categories included Roles/belief of Chinese, English-only, mixed-use of languages, content teachers/learners, and language users/learners. Then, guided by the theoretical underpinnings summarised in Figure 4, I re-read the coded dataset and generated relevant (sub-) themes with a "deductive" or theory-driven approach via Atlas.ti software. Having coded interview transcripts and summaries of each interview session, I was able to identify key themes and sub-themes (e.g., the relationship between different languages, and identity tensions amongst different stakeholders) throughout the complete interview dataset. To illustrate the analytic process further, Figure 6 shows an example of a "(sub-) thematic map"(i.e., the collection of key initial themes) for the initial category of "EMI medical teachers & learners" used during the data analysis phase (noted in October 2021). Later, this (sub-) thematic map merged into a broader theme described in Chapter 5 as ambivalent identities and investments.

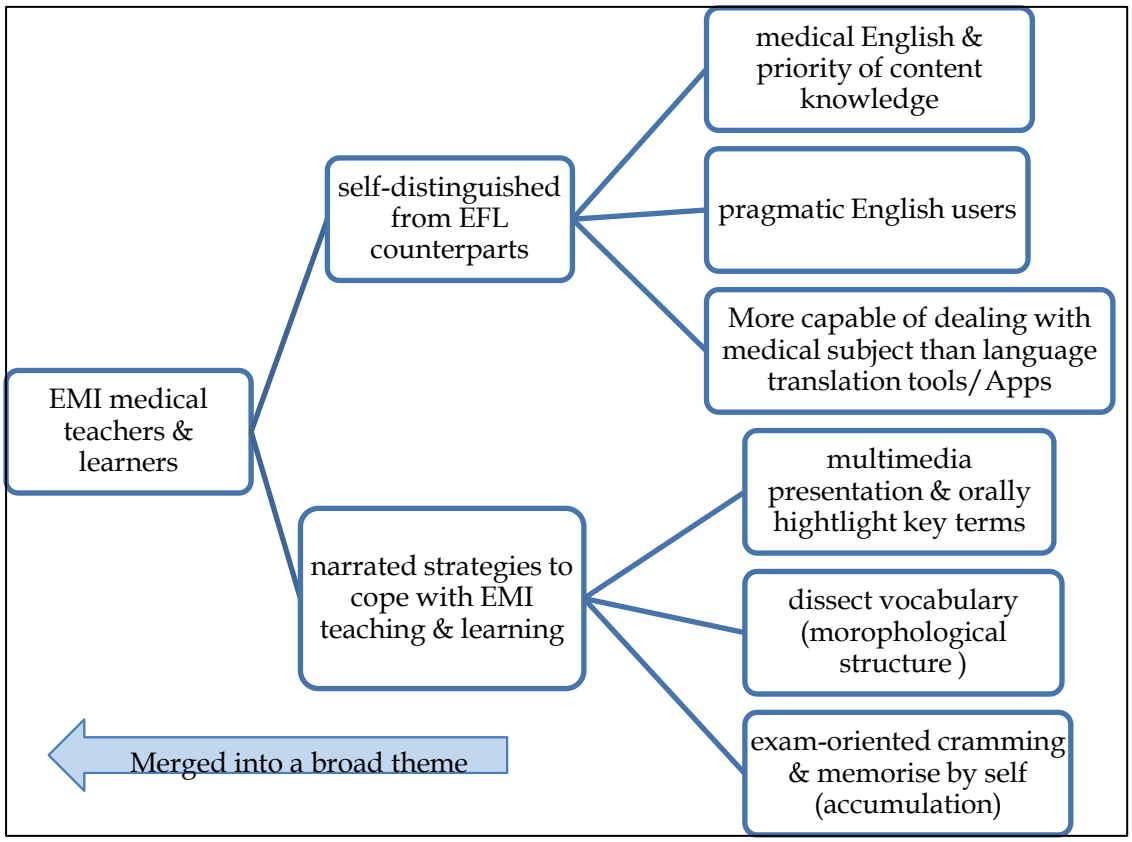


FIGURE 6 An example of developing a sub-thematic map "EMI medical teachers & learners" (noted in October 2021)

Turning to discourse-level analysis, attention was drawn to analyse what participants' way of talking about their EMI experience suggests about the construction of their identities in relation to language ideologies in this EMI context. Alongside the attention to themes emerging in the data, I simultaneously focused on the discursive interaction and construction in the interviews since discourse is a key to understanding identity and ideology in a social world (Barkhuizen et al., 2014; Block, 2009; Gee, 1996; Kroskrity, 2010; Silverstein, 1979). As Gee (2014: 3) explains, discourse analysts are interested in "the details of speech", which requires me to pay attention to the potential significance of elements such as vocabulary, grammar, and metaphors in the interviews. With particular research interests in identity and language ideology, I not only transcribed the contents but also included the relevant discursive elements and moves (e.g., laughs, pause, repetition and turn-taking) in the interview transcripts. In analysing the dataset, I first explored the relevant transcribed interviews with special attention to the discursive elements, secondly interpreted what and how the identity-making and ideologies were displayed and embedded in these interview transcripts, and finally discussed possible explanations in relation to the given social context and ideological aspects related to existing literature.

In addition, I also drew on "positioning analysis" that has been widely applied to identify and interpret "interactional features through which speakers identify self and others in terms of mutual relationships in interaction and relationships to wider contexts of discourse" (Barkhuizen et al., 2014, p. 83; Davies & Harré, 1990). In the interview dataset, the teachers and students shared their bilingual teaching/learning experiences and thoughts in the form of "small story" rather than autobiography or "big story". As Bamberg (2006) highlights, the "small story" approach can enrich the traditional narrative inquiry, in which "positioning" serves to capture dialogue/discursive interactions for making identity (in narrative interviewing). In order to analyse narratives systematically, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008, p. 385) have developed a three-level "positioning analysis": how the characters in the story are positioned in relation to each other; how the speakers position themselves in relation to each other; and how speakers construct themselves and others in terms of roles as narrators and "dominant discourses or master narratives". Guided by these insights, I was able to pay attention to the multi-layered and nuanced relationships in how the participants talked about themselves in relation to others (e.g., their CMI counterparts and managerial staff in the institution) within the story, and how they oriented to the researcher and/or their group members as listeners in the story-telling, and finally the notion pf small story could also be expanded to the deeper meaning of "who am I?" beyond their current narrative situations (de Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2011, p. 164). Taken together, this study integrated those multiple analytical techniques at the discourse level, which provided guidance for how to enter and portray the qualitative dataset with specific focus on the EMI participants' identity

construction. For instance, the participants discussed issues related to the EMI programme and courses by displaying different selves and assigning identities to others (e.g., their CMI counterparts, EFL teachers/students, foreigners) in various times and places. As an example, in Figure 7, I highlighted (in November 2020) a series of grammatical structures: self-reference sentences ("I don't" and "I won't") appearing in the transcription (translated) of a teacher's interview. This excerpt shows her positioning herself as a content teacher against EFL teachers as others when she talked about her orientation towards teaching language. Such positioning supports the evidence in Figure 6 of the (sub-) theme map "self-distinguished from EFL counterparts" and echoes earlier research findings on EMI teacher identity: a professional identity attached to disciplinary literacy (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Reynolds, 2019). Later, this excerpt of analysis of teacher identity was used in Chapter 5 to explore ambivalent identities and investments. In that way, I was able to explore the identity constructions and competing ideological tensions in their discursive expressions and interactions.

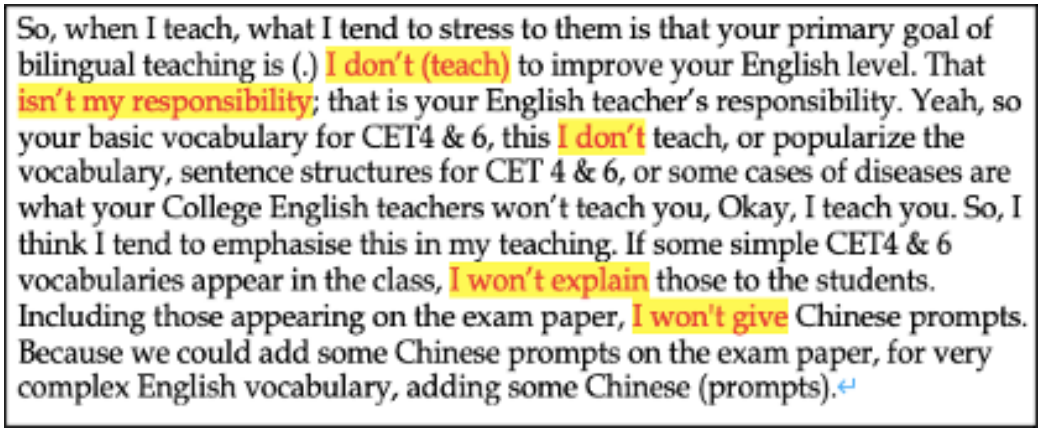

So, when I teach, what I tend to stress to them is that your primary goal of bilingual teaching is (.) I don't (teach) to improve your English level. That isn't my responsibility; that is your English teacher's responsibility. Yeah, so your basic vocabulary for CET4 & 6, this I don't teach, or popularize the vocabulary, sentence structures for CET 4 & 6, or some cases of diseases are what your College English teachers won't teach you, Okay, I teach you. So, I think I tend to emphasise this in my teaching. If some simple CET4 & 6 vocabularies appear in the class, I won't explain those to the students. Including those appearing on the exam paper, I won't give Chinese prompts. Because we could add some Chinese prompts on the exam paper, for very complex English vocabulary, adding some Chinese (prompts).

FIGURE 7 An example of discourse analysis: an EMI teacher's identity positioning by self-negation sentences (noted in November 2020)

The data analysis (at both content and discourse levels) was iterative till the findings relevant to identity and language ideology became "thick descriptions" (i.e., similar observations start reoccurring). According to the insights discussed in Chapter 3, the three components of identity, ideology, and capital are intertwined for investments. In other words, it is difficult to present and interpret identity and ideology separately since the boundaries of these concepts are blurred. However, identity and (language) ideology are used as entry points in Chapter 5 and 6 respectively in order to group the findings thematically. Then, these two chapters synthesise the findings associated with relevant components (ideology/identity, investment, and capital) that were attributed to promoting the understanding of the medical agents' perceptions and identity constructions in the EMI programme/courses. More specifically, Chapter 5 starts with a frequent positioning made by interviewees to distinguish themselves

from others – EFL teachers/learners. Then, it discusses that this positioning may mirror a common belief in EMI, that there is a separation between content and disciplinary-specific language teaching/learning, and what this may bring into interviewees' investment in their bilingual practices. In Chapter 6, I present and discuss participants' ideological stances towards bi/multilingualism in lights of how their responses to their ambivalent identity construction related to current EMI teaching/learning demands and professional career development. Further, their diverse beliefs on languages reflect their evaluations of various linguistic capitals and perceptions of language ownerships, which echo the prior identity construction and point to their negotiation for bilingual (and language) identity in and beyond the EMI classroom. In short, the strategy of finding synthesis allows me to capture the dynamic power flows amongst these key concepts outlined in the overarching theoretical framework.

4.6 Researcher positionality and ethical considerations

Explicit reflexivity of researchers' identity in social and political contexts helps researchers to be aware of their own latent assumptions and biases that may influence the research (Jacobson & Mustafa, 2019; Pollock, 2021). In other words, such reflexivity increases research trustworthiness and transparency. My own previous study experience (i.e., learning business and sociolinguistic subjects in English during undergraduate and postgraduate years in China and the UK) built up my research interest in bilingualism and multilingualism in education. Further, through those learning and research experiences, I developed an interest in ideological arguments related to bilingualism and multilingualism from different theoretical and practical perspectives. While working as a language teacher and coordinator at the School of International Education of the focal university, I often heard about the Chinese EMI students expressing disappointment in this programme, which was supposed to be a privilege as the entry requirements were the highest than for other programmes. Based on this work experience and research interest, I have developed this research project to obtain an in-depth understanding of their experiences and views on this EMI medical programme and in particular how the Chinese students and content teachers perceive and construct themselves encountering the EMI policies and bilingual practices. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the semi-insider's position affords me a connection with the participants, creating a comfortable and open space for them to discuss bilingual teaching and learning experiences. Furthermore, sharing the native language and national identity enables the interviewer and interviewees to communicate effectively. However, as a researcher in applied linguistics, I inevitably entered this project with certain ideological

stances and research interests[12] (e.g., debate on monolingualism and (dynamic) bi/multilingualism, ELF, World Englishes, and sociocultural theories). Being aware of these points, I intentionally avoided imposing or implying my ideology on the design and conduct of the research, by for example avoiding bias and by encouraging participants to talk freely during the interviews. Also, I provided a brief explanation of the linguistic terminology used in the research information package and did not include linguistic terminology in the interview questions, in order to reduce unnecessary confusion and misunderstanding between the interviewer and non-linguist interviewees.

Ethical conduct is vital in any research, which includes protection of participant's rights and interests, a responsible process, and secure storage of the dataset (Cohen et al., 2011; Dörnyei, 2007). The following part elaborates on the methods I have taken to ensure ethical conduct during the whole process of this study. According to JYU Human Sciences Ethics Committee regulations, information packages (including the research notification, privacy notice and consent form) were sent to all participants before data collection. The research notification explained the participant recruitment criteria, the voluntary nature of participation, the research purpose, the process, and other relevant information. The privacy notice provided information about the participants' rights protecting them in relation to privacy issues. For example, the participants' information is anonymous and confidential, and they have the right to refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time. After reading the information package, all participants were requested to return signed consent forms via email if they had agreed to participate in the research. Although the information package was in English, the participants' English proficiency was sufficient to comprehend it since they had studied and taught in the EMI programme/courses. At the start of each interview, I re-stated the research purpose and explained in Chinese that participants' privacy would be protected, and then notified interviewees when the audio recording started and ended. The dataset is securely stored and encrypted in my computer. If any interviewees wanted to check the transcriptions or clarify any point they made in the interviews, I sent them access to their own recordings and transcriptions. In data analysis, I used the acronym of the course name following "teacher" or "student" (plus a number if needed) to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Moreover, due to the difference between the source language (Chinese) in interviews and target language (English) in this dissertation, I cautiously forward- and back-translated English - Chinese interview questions and excerpts,

[12] In the research information package (research notification, privacy notice, and consent form) to participants, the originally proposed project title was *Analysing translanguaging ideology: Narrative research of EMI (English Medium Instruction) courses in mainland China*, which indicates my initial research interest and orientation in dynamic bi/multilingualism. However, when I conducted the research later, plural ideological stances emerged. In addition, the question of identity emerged through investigating ideology from the sociocultural perspective. Therefore I developed this research project to exploring the two key themes of identity and ideology to render a thorough understanding of the teaching and learning experiences of EMI participants.

attaching the original texts to strengthen equivalency and fidelity (G. Thompson & Dooley, 2019).

4.7 Issues of trustworthiness

The fundamental paradigm of qualitative research requires researchers to address trustworthiness - creditability, dependability, confirmability, and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Paltridge (2019) discusses how researchers must consider multi-perspectives, that is, triangulation in various aspects (methodological, theoretical, investigative, temporal, and spatial) throughout the research process. This study adopts some triangulation strategies to strengthen trustworthiness. First, I reflected on and stated my positionality in order to identify and control potential assumptions and biases (see 4.6 Researcher positionality and ethical considerations). Second, for an information-rich understanding of the participants' perspectives, the sampling includes current and previous EMI teachers and students in different years of studies (see 4.2 Research participants). I also collected available research sources, like supplementary written materials alongside the research conduct (see 4.4 Data collection methods). Given the discursive nature of identity and ideology research (Barkhuizen et al., 2014; Block, 2009; Gee, 1996; Kroskrity, 2010; Silverstein, 1979), this study regards the qualitative dataset as "discourse" instead of "fact". I attempted to contextualise the participants' voices that mirror the multi-layered nature of the study. Finally, the research procedures and the development process (e.g., discussion with supervisors and colleagues in seminars and meetings) could be traced in documented field notes, research memos of data collection and analysis, and other forms of texts such as updating preliminary findings in the form of a work-in-progress research summary (Qin, 2022).

4.8 Limitations and delimitations

No research method is flawless, and careful reflections about limitations could help researchers to minimise their impact. As Cohen et al. (2011) notes, interviewing concentrates on a small number of participant samples so that its focus is not on generalisability, but in-depth richness of information. Further, scholars, such as Dörnyei (2007) and Lincoln & Guba (2000), claim that the ontological and epistemological paradigm of qualitative research aims to describe constructive and complex phenomena through descriptive language and interaction between researchers and participants rather than numerical data or statistics. So as interview quality greatly depends on the communication and

interaction between interviewers and interviewees, there is a risk of the researcher's unintentional biases and overly intentional self-displays among interviewees, in an attempt to present a better version of self in interviews than in real life (Dörnyei, 2007). Additionally, ideologies may also be embedded in participants' actual language usage (Kroskrity, 2010; Woolard, 1998). Given the limited time scale of this doctoral study and geographical restriction during COVID-19, I was unable to access and include the data of actual linguistic practices via classroom observation. So I mainly relied on interviewing, which is a well-established approach for gathering rich qualitative data for research in identity and ideology. Furthermore, although all interviews were completed as planned, the quality of online interviewing may not be as good as face-to-face because an unstable internet connection could cause information to be missing and disrupt the meaning being checked (Nyumba et al., 2018). In order to maintain a stable connection during online interviews, I chose the audio mode to carry out interviews. Yet, the audio mode may not be able to capture some important aspects (e.g., facial expressions and gestures) during the interviews. As Barkhuizen et al. (2014) suggested, I informed all participants that they could check and add clarification to the transcripts if they wanted. Most of the participants however did not read their transcripts or offer any clarifications unless I asked for additional clarification of some unclear points. On the other hand, since identity is contextually emergent in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010), post-interview additional clarification, even by changing the use of words, might reduce narrative authenticity. As noted above, I took several strategies to minimise these risks and address trustworthiness, such as positionality statement, sampling approach, recognition of discursive "truth", documentation of the research process and peer comments/developmental materials. Last but not least, one obvious delimitation in this study is the exclusion of English language (EFL) teachers' voices. As many EMI researchers and educators recommend, the role of EFL teachers, such as cooperating with content teachers, providing disciplinary-specific English language support for students is becoming increasingly important (G. Hu, 2019; Macaro et al., 2019). EFL teachers, however, generally worked independently from EMI programme/courses at the focal university. Consequently, they may not necessarily be familiar with or experienced in the EMI teaching and learning context where the focal participants were situated. On the other hand, further research could involve the EFL teachers' perspective to explore how they perceive their potential roles concerning other stakeholders in EMI.

This chapter has provided a detailed description of the methodology adopted in this study. To explore identity and ideology from a social constructivism perspective, I have justified the adoption of qualitative research with a thorough description of the research dataset, including the focal degree programme and its participants. Having reviewed the overall research process, I have carefully elaborated on interviewing as the primary data collection method with supplementary written materials. Thematic and discourse

analysis were employed to obtain an in-depth understanding and a "thick" description of participants' identities and ideologies related to EMI, as illustrated via two examples above. The following sections have clarified the researcher's positionality and ethical considerations, the measures adopted to enhance trustworthiness, and limitations and delimitations of this study.

In the next two chapters, I will present and interpret the findings and observations concerning the teachers' and students' identity constructions and ideologies and their evaluation of capital(s) and investment in EMI teaching and learning.

5 AMBIVALENT IDENTITIES AND INVESTMENTS

The purpose of this study is to explore the participants'' identity construction and their perception of bilingual practices in EMI medical education in order to better understand and support the teachers and students. According to the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3, identity and (language) ideology are interdependent in access to capital and investment. Chapter 5 therefore takes identity as its entry point, and Chapter 6 orients the analysis with a focus on language ideology to synthesise the findings that emerged from the datasets of the three-round interviews and the supplementary written materials. In each chapter I will present and interpret the key and sub-findings with illustrative quotations from interview transcriptions and then discuss those findings in relation to the existing literature.

Taking identity construction as a starting point, the key observations in Chapter 5 relate to the centrality that the EMI interviewees attached to medical expertise, and advantages associated with EMI in comparison to its EFL and CMI counterparts. At the same time, it shows the challenges and tensions between imagined and present identities in their vocabulary-focused pedagogical approach, in exam-oriented learning, institutional management and in online learning during the COVID-19 outbreak. With this entry point, this chapter interprets and discusses different types of investment, various ideologies and capital access and transfer in relation to identity construction.

5.1 The centrality of medical English and medical subject knowledge

A frequently occurring observation in the interview dataset suggests that EMI teachers and students consider EMI to be fundamentally different from EFL

education. That leads them to emphasise their roles of teaching and learning content knowledge by positioning EFL counterparts as others who are on the language-centred side.

The first excerpt (1) reveals how the EMI teachers' positioning works to justify the priority of their medical subject knowledge over language teaching. In the MB teacher's comment on her bilingual teaching practices, she talks about the goal of bilingual teaching and sees a clear difference in the type of English EMI teachers and College English teachers are teaching. It is noteworthy that the MB teacher stresses this point by using a lot of self-negative sentences (e.g., "I don't teach or popularize the vocabulary, sentence structures for CET 4 & 6"). These discursive formations reveal her view of her position as being an EMI teacher who is responsible for medical English, while others, like College English teachers, take care of CET4 & 6 teaching. She further provides an example of language practices in the exam, like adding Chinese prompts to help students to understand the questions, only when the (medical) English words get complex. It seems that she not only distributes the responsibility of which types of English EMI teachers and EFL teachers should assume, but also describes CET 4 & 6 as "basic" and "simple" while medical English is "complex". The MB teacher asserts in the interview that medical English is more demanding and sophisticated than College English. Hence, she justifies her distinct expertise in medical English by stating "I choose a way I think is good for them, that is, focusing more on professional vocabulary", even though this codemixing practice is, as she put it, "confused".

Excerpt (1)

So, when I teach, what I tend to stress to them is that your primary goal of bilingual teaching is (.) I don't (teach) to improve your English level. That isn't my responsibility; that is your English teacher's responsibility. Yeah, so your basic vocabulary for CET4 & 6, this I don't teach, or popularize the vocabulary, sentence structures for CET 4 & 6, or some cases of diseases are what your College English teachers won't teach you, Okay, I teach you. So, I think I tend to emphasise this in my teaching. If some simple CET4 & 6 vocabularies appear in the class, I won't explain those to the students. Including those appearing on the exam paper, I won't give Chinese prompts. Because we could add some Chinese prompts on the exam paper, for very complex English vocabulary, adding some Chinese (prompts). Perhaps that is the word he/she really doesn't know, (so) we usually add some Chinese prompts. But for some CET 4 & 6 vocabulary, we definitely don't give prompts, because, I think, this is your other, your other subject in college, this is the taught content in your English lessons. This is my personal view. First, I think the proportion (of using English) should be higher. Second, I feel, meanwhile, I feel very confused[13]. You see the way I talk, Chinese for a moment, then English for another moment. I (should) speak in all English or Chinese? That doesn't make it seem all right. So, I choose a way I think is good for them, that is, focusing more on professional vocabulary. (MB teacher)

所以我在上课的时候，会更加和他们强调的是，你的双语教学最主要的目的，是(.)我（教）不是为了要提高你的英语水平，这个不是我的责任，这是你英语老师的责任。对，所以你的四六级那些基本的词汇，这个我没有在上课继续给你普及四六级词汇、句式或者是一些病例，是你大学英语老师不会交给你的，Okay，那我教给你。

[13] Underlined Word is verbatim transcribed without any translation.

所以我觉得，我在上课的时候，我会偏重这个。一些很简单的一些四六级的词汇出现的话，我是不会跟他们解释的；包括出现在试卷上，我也不会标中文（注释）。因为我们会在试卷上会标一些中文，就是一些很难很难的单词，会标一些中文。可能就是他真的不认识，我们就会标一些中文。但是像一些四六级词汇，我们肯定不标。因为我觉得这个是你其他，你大学其他专业，就是你英语课在给你教的内容。这是我个人的看法。第一就是我觉得应该（用英文的）比例增大；第二我觉得这样的同时，我又非常的 confused。你看我说话，一会儿中，一会儿英，我是全部英文还是全部中文？好像都说不过去。所以我选择了一种我认为对他们好的方式，就是更多关注于这个专业词汇。 (MB teacher)

This extract shows the MB teacher's personal feeling and justification of current bilingual practices (i.e., focusing more on professional English vocabulary), which leads her to adopt bilingual practices that she deems reasonable even if not ideal. In terms of the types of English they are supposed to teach, she identifies the different teaching responsibilities between College English teachers and EMI subject teachers which contribute to forming her current language practices in the bilingual class. This supports earlier findings that EMI/CLIL subject teachers distinguish themselves from language teachers - being reluctant to take language teaching responsibility and presenting a strong affiliation to disciplinary literacies (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Reynolds, 2019). The MB teacher's discursive construction highlights the different teaching responsibilities between College English teachers (general and elementary English) and EMI content instructors (complex and professional English), conveying how she has perceived her professional role as an EMI teacher.

In the same vein, when describing their English teaching practices in classrooms, many EMI teachers frequently reflect on various strategies that they have adopted to realise the main tasks of teaching in English – the medical vocabulary and terms – such as analysing the morphological features, highlighting on the PPT slides, giving a pivotal vocabulary list, and reading pronunciation aloud. These teaching approaches (e.g., translation, frequent code-switching, and bilingual and multimodal resources) not only match those observed in earlier studies but highlight their professional identity as content teachers whose language teaching focuses on discipline-related features (Cheng, 2017; G. Hu et al., 2014; Jiang et al., 2016; Rose et al., 2019; Tong & Shi, 2012; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). In the second excerpt (2) the PP teacher 2 stressed that a higher cognitive strategy is required for EMI vocabulary learning in comparison with EFL learning, highlighting his own expertise in skilfully dealing with medical English. A PowerPoint slide (Figure 8) used in his lecture illustrates how he taught the lexical root "noct" to students.

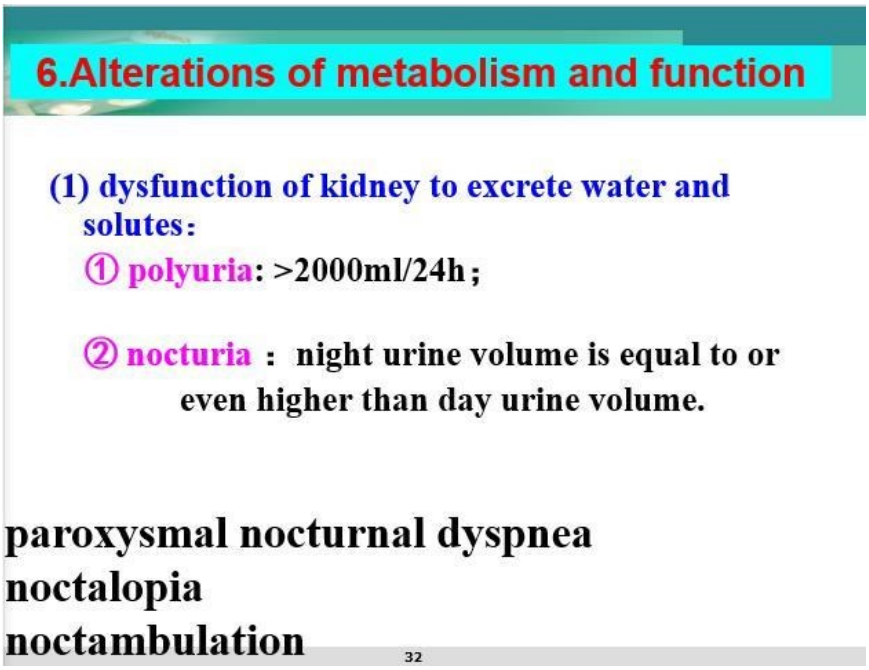


FIGURE 8 "noct" Slide in the Pathophysiology (by PP teacher 2)

Excerpt (2)

Many students still keep our way of hard-memorising English vocabulary word by word like in their high schools. Then, I instil an idea into them (.) reaching a certain (.) the students and teachers with a certain capability, should not memorise vocabulary, right? In the past ten years, I've never memorised any vocabulary, but I definitely need to understand it once I encounter it, right? Why? I've mastered lots of lexical rules, right? So, I need to tell students this lexical method. Then, when encountering some (.) like these relevant words, I summarise these to them. For example, this 'yeniang' nocturia, previously, when (mentioning) heart failure, we've mentioned a so-called(.) called something about (.) expiratory dyspnea, right? 'yefaxingzheng de huxi kunnan' paroxysmal nocturnal dyspnea, right? In this way, I would lead him (the student) forward, right? 'ye (night)' is the root related to noct-, one more is 'noctalopia', the next is sleepwalking - noctambulation; all contain like noct-. Through this way (.) a way of improving their English learning, the ability, probably be helpful for them. (PP teacher 2)

很多同学还停留在我们高中的时候拼命去背一个个单词。然后我就跟他们传输的一个观点就是说(.)到一定能(.)有一定的能力的学生老师的话，就不应该去背单词，是吧？包括这十几年来，我从来不去背单词了，而是一看到那个单词是什么我肯定要理解，是吧？为什么呢？我掌握了很多那个组词法，是吧？所以我要把这种组词法跟学生说。然后碰到一些(.)就是相应的单词会给他总结。比如说这个夜尿 nocturia，前面我们有些地方那像心衰的时候，我们已经提到了一个所谓的(.)叫做什么一个就说(.)呼吸困难，是吧，夜发性症的呼吸困难 paroxysmal nocturnal dyspnea，是吧？这样的话，我可能会给他进一步的拓展，是吧？"夜"就说那个词根是 noct 有关的话，还有一个所谓的夜盲症啊，下面呢还有一个那种夜间走动，夜游走症之类的，都涉及到 noct, noct 之类的。那通过这些方式能给他们(.)也提高了他们的一种学习英语吧，那种(.)那个能力啊.那可能(.)他们还是有一定的好处。(PP teacher 2)

His critique in Excerpt 2 is firstly directed at the strategy of cramming ("hard-memorising") English vocabulary in high school, which he no longer considers a favourable strategy at university level, especially for EMI learning. Then, he takes himself as an example to demonstrate how "capable" EMI teachers and

students learn English – "I've mastered lots of lexical rules". In comparison with the typical EFL learning strategy ("hard-memorising") mentioned in the interview, his discursive performance - drawing the attention to re-occurring lexical structure: "noct" on the slide - indicates that EMI requires the students to learn English vocabulary. Alongside presenting the PPT slide, he describes how he has instilled this idea in the lecture, correlating "nocturia" with other medical terms and displaying them at the bottom of the slide, such as "paroxysmal nocturnal dyspnea, noctalopia, and noctambulation". He finally concludes that his strategy could help students to cope with English medical terms effectively. The excerpt (2) and the PPT slide illustrate a multimodal teaching practice that unfolds PP teacher 2's methodological awareness and competence in teaching medical knowledge and English learning strategy in the classroom, even though many EMI teachers have been reluctant to claim that their responsibility includes teaching English.

At the same time, English learning here refers to medical terminology rather than English as a subject. Given the common notion that the EFL content is basic while EMI content is regarded as advanced by the teachers, PP teacher 2 suggests that cramming (that requires less cognitive process) is not suitable for coping with demanding bilingual study loads. On the contrary, he thinks that the lexical method is a highly skilful technique to understand advanced English content – disciplinary knowledge in EMI. That implies his sense of being more capable in comparison to EFL teachers at the high school level as he can strategically handle medical teaching in English. This echoes previous findings that it is not only essential for EMI teachers to obtain adequate discipline-specific English proficiency, but methodological awareness is as crucial as language matters (Ball & Lindsay, 2013; Qiu & Fang, 2019). More interestingly, the first two excerpts show that EMI experience has shaped the identity of content teachers, whose principal attention to teaching in English is on how to manage or cope with language difficulties. It suggests that teaching in English is interpreted as a process of problem-solving by EMI teachers rather than as laying the language foundation as EFL teachers do.

Like EMI teachers, the student interviewees on the whole emphasise the importance of understanding professional English terminology and terms in lectures, reflecting the perceived centrality of their EMI identity attached to medical expertise. In order to understand and master medical knowledge, the students are motivated to grasp medical English "vocabulary/words 单词", and that becomes crucial in establishing their medical expertise rather than studying like EFL learners who are not specialised in any professional knowledge in English. For example, a fifth-year student (M student 5) recalls the changes in her learning experience throughout these years of studies (Excerpt 3).

Excerpt (3)

When (I) heard about the bilingual class, it sounded so awesome. Then, (I) doubted whether (I) could understand, and when I was in the class, (I) found the PPT slides were in English. In the beginning it was hard to understand because of the accumulation of professional vocabulary, with my little knowledge of lexical roots. (.) it feels (if) a gradual increase (in vocabulary), (I) could better understand those PPT slides. Then, gradually it felt it good because (we) can learn a bit more professional vocabulary, compared with other usual classes. (M student 5)

当时（我）一听就觉得双语班很牛逼哄哄的样子。然后（我）就觉得会不会（我）上课会听不懂。但是去上课就发现都是英文课件。（我）英文课件其实一开始不是很看得懂。因为那时候基础的那些专业单词，词根什么的都不是很了解。(.)觉得（如果）慢慢上多一点之后（我）就能够看得懂那些课件了。然后，慢慢地也觉得挺好的，因为（我们）可以学多一点的专业单词，相对于其他普通班来说。(M student 5)

When commenting on her general impression of the bilingual programme, M student 5 describes her initial conflict between the excitement about being admitted to the bilingual programme and the difficulty in understanding English PPT slides. With "professional vocabulary and increasing knowledge of "lexical roots", she gradually coped better with the language problem and found it beneficial to be in bilingual class because she learnt "more professional vocabulary" in comparison with her non-bilingual counterparts (see Section 5.2). As can be seen, she frequently referred to "vocabulary" as a source of her learning difficulty, which had been gradually addressed through her increasing acquisition of vocabulary in later studies. That supports prior findings that a good command of professional vocabulary is crucial to comprehending EMI lectures (Hellekjær, 2017). At the same time, in spite of her problem-solving orientation to learning in English, M student 5 values acquiring medical vocabulary, confirming her identity as a learner of subject-specific English. Further, this identity-making process implies that she positions herself differently from her CMI counterparts, who learn subject-specific Chinese.

Similarly, MB student 1's comment on her previous bilingual examinations supports the pivotal role of medical terms in their EMI learning (Excerpt 4). In the first interview, she describes the exam questions in English as relatively easy with regard to grammatical comprehensibility. However, in her opinion, if students fail to understand the English terminology in the exam questions, then their knowledge of English grammar would become useless. In other words, MB student 1 considers English grammar as fundamental knowledge that the students, regardless of the discipline they major in, have already acquired. What makes them different from other groups of students is the medical terms in English. In MB student 1's view, they cannot perform the identity of an EMI medical learner well without investing in acquiring English medical knowledge.

Excerpt (4)

I personally feel it (.) the English question is kind of easy, and (I) can understand the question. The professional English vocabulary was only one to two, in terms of grammar, it was not difficult to comprehend and translate the sentence. But, if you sometimes forget an English word, then you (cannot understand) the whole sentence

at all (.) even if you get that grammar, you cannot translate it, which means you cannot understand the question and cannot answer it. (MB student 1)

我个人觉得它(.)英文的试题还是有点简单的，那题目（我）还是可以看得懂。它的专业英文也就那么一两个，语法上来理解这个意思，翻译这个句子是不太难的。但是如果你有偶尔一个英文单词不记得的话，那你整句话压根（不理解）(.)如果（即使）你懂了语法，那你也翻译不了啊，就相当于题目看不懂就不会作答。(MB student 1)

Another example further illustrates that EMI students consider themselves as medical learners rather than merely EFL learners. In PP student 3's narrative (Excerpt 5), a group of EMI students translated the quiz questions from Chinese into English in order to help junior students better prepare for exams.

Excerpt (5)

[practice medical English] For example, our class monitor(s), they're working on the translation of the question bank. That is, because in foreign language(.) like the question bank in English is relatively short, and then class monitors are translating the Chinese question items in the bank into English, then for next term, the kids (junior students) could use it and practice a bit. Then if translating the question bank, many things that you need to apply it (medical English) directly because many professional words couldn't be translated by machine, either there are some applications, its (translation) has slight differences, that were not accurate. Then, these things, if without (.) the practice, without translating these (by ourselves), it would be very demanding… (PP student 3)

[练习医学英语]就比如说现在那个我们班班长他们在做那个翻译题库，就是把那一个，因为外文的(.)就是那个英文的题库相对资源要少，然后班长他们在把那个中文的题库翻译成英文，然后就是给下个学期，然后就是下个学期小朋友（低年级学生）就可以用一下，用着那个题库，然后练一下。然后如果是翻译题库的话，很多东西就是你需要直接去用它（医学英语），因为很多机翻它要么是专业词翻不出来，要么就是有一些应用，它(翻译)上面一些细微的差别就是会不准确。然后这个东西就如果说（我们）翻一遍这个的话，没有(.)就是没有练过会很吃力…… (PP student 3)

This quote is from an interview where students mentioned an app (Quiz bank for medical subjects) that they had usually used for exam revision. PP student 3's explanation shows that, as a way of practising their medical English, they volunteered to translate the Chinese question items into English to replenish the Quiz banks as revision materials. Her EMI identity positioning spotlights the problem of direct machine translation concerning medical contents ("many professional words couldn't be translated by machine", and translation applications sometimes were "not accurate"). So PP student 3 and her classmates have exercised and applied their medical knowledge and bilingual skills to improve the quantity and quality of the medical question bank. In short, PP student 3 demonstrates her language ability for dealing with medical subjects for Chinese-English translation purposes. More importantly, she and her classmates have taken this initiative in investing their agency to exercise and put their medical English into practice, developing their professional identity as medical students in the bilingual programme. J. Hu and Wu (2020) have listed various roles that students play during EMI learning (e.g., English users, passive English learners, learners of Chinese subject-specific), and students' active

engagement with meaningful practices can encourage them to integrate the identity as English users/learners with their medical professional identity, instead of thinking of themselves as "passive English learners".

This section has illustrated how the interviewees distinguish themselves from EFL teachers and learners by discursively highlighting their medical expertise - the high complexity of medical English and the primary learning goal in EMI courses. In other words, they have positioned others as EFL professionals, like the (College) English language teachers and learners/users. By constantly positioning themselves and others, they have depicted several distinct features that EMI medical teachers and learners have or ought to have. First, a strong belief among the EMI participants that emerged from the interviews indicates that medical English (esp. technical vocabulary) is more sophisticated and demanding than general/College English. As a result, they have concentrated on teaching those medical terms and phrases and given top priority to medical knowledge learning. A possible explanation for this identity construction may be that it is usual for the language of natural science to emphasise technical terms and noun phrases in texts, compared with the language of other disciplines like Humanities (Fang, 2012). In this way, they have distinguished themselves from other English teachers/learners in non-medical disciplines by highlighting their priority of teaching/learning technical terms and noun phrases in English. At the same time, we should be aware that the reported academic language and linguistic challenges in interviews may not be necessary as given realities but serve to discursively construct their central identity in EMI contexts. Second, their constructions of imagined identities indicate a desire to instruct and to discuss medical subjects smoothly in bilingual courses. As a result, they have demonstrated competence in dealing with Medical English, such as teaching strategies to memorise technical words and translating Chinese-English medical terms. They also have emphasised their efforts to improve students' ability to cope with Medical English.

5.2 Advantages associated with EMI

Another noticeable trend emerging from the dataset is that the EMI teachers and students portray imagined identities as medical professionals or candidates who keep in line with "western" or international advancements in English. Their discourse especially in relation to EMI is highly attached to the concept of modern medicine, scientific research, and individual development. The teacher interviewees' positive belief in the EMI approach indicates their admiration of the well-established medical disciplinary discourse in English. For example, PP teacher 2, the most senior EMI teacher amongst all participants, describes how he thought positively of his EMI teaching experiences (Excerpt 6).

Excerpt (6)

> [rewards from complete English and bilingual teaching] …This can also give us a long-term, regarding the language, English is activated because we, after all, study western medicine, right? Western medicine definitely treats English as a medium, right? That is unshakable within decades, I think. So, if you didn't participate in bilingual teaching, you won't read this kind of English. It seems facile that looking at English, is merely a way of teaching, but its sources of background knowledge are more abundant than in Chinese, and more challenging. If you only teach CMI class, you prepare based on that (Chinese) textbook, right? If you don't understand (the Chinese content), you can search on Baidu etc., but like we teach bilingual, and teach complete EMI, we mainly (need to prepare) lessons via VPN[14], searching on YouTube, Google etc. (We knew) these mainly requires (us) to be in line with internationally, like these (technical) nouns, isn't it? After all, we say, our Chinese textbooks, most of those are translated from outside, and re-edited a bit. However, some points written in Chinese textbooks are full of mistakes and loopholes. But we teach bilingually (to local students) and completely in English (to the international programme), and we cannot allow these mistakes and loopholes, right? Should be very precise. For correcting this (.) improving, we can only read the original version. So, this's a challenge and a reward, also has many benefits within it. That's my view. (PP teacher 2)

> [全英和双语教学的收获]……也可以给我们长期的这种，就说那个语言嘛，英语嘛是处在一种激活的状态。因为我们毕竟是学习西医嘛，是吧？西医肯定是以英语-英语作为一个媒介，是吧？这个我觉得在那么几十年之内没法撼动的。所以如果你不参加双语教学的话，你就不会去看这种英语。看英语实际上看上去很简单，仅仅是一个教学，但是它的背景知识来源要比中文丰富得多，也要有挑战的多。如果你是仅仅是上一个中文的班的话，你就备那个课本，是吧？不懂得这些可以查百度等等啊，但是我们做双语，做全英教学的话，我们基本都上课要翻墙（VPN）的，要上 YouTube、Google 等等啊，这些都基本上是跟国际要接轨才知道这些，就说这个（专业）名词，对不对啊？毕竟呢我们就说我们中文的那个课本嘛，很多也是从外面翻译过来，然后改编一下嘛。但是呢有很多观点写到中文的课本里面的话就错漏百出了。但是我们要教这种双语、全英的话，那不可能这样错漏百出嘛，是吧。都要非常严谨的。那为了改正这种(.)改善的话，那只能去看原版。所以这种也是挑战也是一种收获，也有很多好处在里面。这个我的一个看法。 (PP teacher 2)

In the beginning, he acknowledges the long-term benefits of EMI to activate and improve English proficiency. Then, his description connects English with advancements in medicine and stresses English as a medium for western medicine by using the words: "definitely" and "unshakable within decades". It is noticeable that he verbalised modern medicine into "Western medicine 西医", which implies the dominant place of western medical development in teachers' medical discourse. That is, the English language plays as a predominant role for Chinese professionals engaged in advanced medical research. Compared to CMI teaching, the EMI mode seems to enable the teachers to widen their horizons to western advancement because they consider the foundation of medical knowledge in English to be more "abundant" than that in Chinese. His comparison of knowledge sources between CMI and EMI teaching illustrates his admiration for "western" discourse in medicine, "to be in line internationally". Here, teaching EMI is interpreted as a prestigious channel associated with resourceful western medicine by PP teacher 2, whereas CMI teaching is not deemed to share this privilege. Intriguingly, PP teacher 2 links learning from

[14] Virtual private network: to browse public-blocked websites (like Google) in China's mainland.

"western" medicine with becoming international, echoing what Y. Guo et al. (2021) have referred to as a simplified perception of internationalisation as westernisation. Besides, PP teacher 2's (strong) critique of Chinese textbooks ("full of mistakes and loopholes") implies how he believed EMI teachers should prepare and carry out EMI courses by studying English references which are described as "precise" and "the original version". Although for non-medical professionals, it is not possible to pass comment on the issue of preciseness or accuracy in Chinese medical textbooks, this short statement on the benefits of EMI teaching shows PP teacher 2's belief in the dominance of English discourse in modern medicine, which leads him to see EMI as a rewarding experience for professional development. In other words, through involvement in EMI teaching and research duties, the EMI teachers regard English as a leading representative of "western" language, which may easily reinforce an implicit notion of Englishisation in the internationalisation of HE (Y. Guo et al., 2021; Hultgren et al., 2015). This notion also seems to increase their appreciation of any associations with English (like English references), manifesting their desire to be involved in "western" medical discourse and in so doing to elevate their professional status.

In the same vein, PP teacher 1, a novice EMI teacher, agrees with PP teacher 2's view (Excerpt 7). She describes the bilingual teaching experience as to "kill two birds with one stone" – improving teaching competence in the EMI course and facilitating her scientific research.

Excerpt (7)

[Rewarding experience of master of English medical vocabulary from bilingual teaching] … And preparing the lessons, I definitely need to search some materials, right? Just like PP teacher 2 said, searching via VPN a lot. When searching for the materials, this process is useful for our scientific research, like knowing the progress in our discipline, in the aspect of new progress. In turn, when I apply for some projects, and write the project proposal, I have already had this base. Kill two birds with one stone, and I feel glad for the present. (PP teacher 1)

[双语教学有助于掌握英语英语词汇]……还有就是在备课的时候，肯定也要找一些资料，是吧? 像刚才 PP teacher 2 说的，那很多肯定是得翻墙出去找了。那么找这个资料的过程里面呢他有一些其实对科研也有帮助，就是了解一些我们这个学科的一些进展，这个方面一些比较新的进展。那反过来呢自己在申报一些课题的时候，写这个申报书的时候呢，哎，正好又有了这个储备。一举两得，互相促进啊，我觉得现在挺好的。 (PP teacher 1)

Specifically, her description of the benefits of bilingual teaching suggests that EMI course preparation requires them to search for materials mainly in English to keep up with "progress in our discipline". In her view, because of its dominant place in medical research publications, the English language is perceived as a linguistic asset that enables EMI teachers to access advanced research to inspire their own research projects. Since, regardless of EMI or CMI programmes, everyone is supposed to master medical content in Chinese, English scholarship seems to add value to secure their eliteness. These findings further support a common observation in previous studies, such as by Hu (2019) and

Rose et al. (2019), that EMI participants tend to stress the instrumental role of English in individual professional development.

At the same time, although Chinese professionals have widely recognised English-medium medical knowledge and its products (like textbooks), there is a question about their perception of English scholarship: whether it is sufficient to merely bring it in without critical and creative reflection and adapting it to local practices. For example, the RA teacher's participation in editing textbooks illustrates his favourable attitude towards EMI because it helps him "walk towards the outside" and "know how foreign-foreign do" (Excerpt 8). By doing this, he has received domestic peer recognition in his field. His appreciation of "foreign" medical knowledge and his pleasure in bringing it into the domestic field through textbook editing are clearly evident, and here again "foreign" means "western", and the interchangeable use of these two words suggests that the teachers naturally assume foreign means "western" and then "English". This string of ideological equations moulds EMI teachers' positive beliefs in the EMI approach. Intriguingly, the RA teacher ends this narrative by adding a mention of his limited contribution to "innovations'' with what he produced being ''merely copy". To some extent, his comment mirrors the prevailing ideology unreflective attitude toward medical scholarships in English among the EMI teachers. In turn, this attitude might reinforce their fervent commitment to EMI.

Excerpt (8)

RA teacher: … Another thing is walking towards the outside, like teacher communication, I can say (.) I can talk about the teaching with them, and {unclear} this thing I can carry. So I, in the domestic, we this (.) area, many people many (recognise) me. So I've edited some textbooks. You may read those.

Researcher: Yeah, yeah, I saw it.

RA teacher: Some textbooks, so they recognised (my expertise). Because after all, I know how foreign-foreign work. We certainly want to tell these. In fact, we aren't, that's to say, we brought in foreign stuff, that's it, right? That's a way (.) not make innovations, merely copy, that's it, actually.

RA teacher: ……那另外就是出外面去，就说作为老师交流来说，我可以说(.)我可以跟他们聊天谈教学的东西，还有就是{unclear}这种东西我都能扛得起。所以我在在国内就是我们这个(.)我们这个圈里面，还是很多人很(认可)我的。所以我还编了几本教材。你可能看过了。

Researcher：对对，我看到了。

RA teacher：几本教材，所以他们都认可的(我的专业技能)。因为毕竟我懂得国外的(.)国外是怎么走的。我们-我们当然就是想讲出来。其实我们也不是那个就说呢，我们就是把国外的东西引进来就行了，是吧。那也是种(.)也没谈到创新，也就单单拷贝过来，那就行了，其实。

All in all, by connecting modern medicine to "western" medicine in interviews, the EMI teachers generalise that the English language dominates their medical disciplinary discourse. Therefore on the whole they believe that this EMI

approach can be beneficial, and that catalyses their commitment to investment in current bilingual education, even though the *de facto* bilingual practices seem to fail to match what they planned and expected (see Section 5.3).

Like the teacher interviewees, the student interviewees share a similar belief in the EMI approach. Their discourses imply a self-perceived elitism because they have participated in EMI learning. In particular, their frequent comparisons with their CMI counterparts illustrate their perceived advantages in pursuing a medical career. Regarding the medical studies, MB student 4's statement of the advantage in exams indicates that EMI enables them to see medical English as a part of their learning task. In his description (Excerpt 9), thanks to bilingual learning, EMI students did not consider that answering exam questions in English was beyond their capacity compared with CMI students, whose reactions were to immediately give up on those questions Then, he reflects on this observation in the exam, that the current bilingual learning can possibly help the learners to reduce their latent resistance to medical English in their future careers. Again, this narrative also implies that English is widely regarded as an asset among medical students.

Excerpt (9)

For example, in the Pathology exam, students in other non-bilingual classes also had one to two English question items. Some students' immediate reaction was to give up on those questions, while for us, in fact, something was still understandable. That reflects, from this thing for example if coming into contact with the medical things related to English, it probably would be easy (for us) to get a start than them who haven't got any prior contact. (MB student 4)

就比如说这次的病理考试，其他的非双语班的同学他们也会有一两道英文题，就是有一些同学他们反应是(.)就是直接不要那几分了；但是对于我们来说其实有一些还是看得懂的，就是说从这件事情反映出，比如说以后接触到这些医学相关的英文，可能（我们）会比他们没有接触过的就是比较容易上手一些吧。 (MB student 4)

More significantly, these perceived comparative advantages enable them to further imagine themselves beyond classroom settings – as competitive candidates or professionals in the medical field. In other words, self-reflection on the influence of EMI has extended their discursive scope from classroom practices to scientific research and other academic opportunities. The EMI student interviewees see participation in these activities as helping them to become successful medical professionals and not merely medical students with good grades in subject exams. For instance, M student 3 comments on their achievements in "scientific research and English language competition" (Excerpt 10).

Excerpt (10)

Although we, the class [of a year], among the whole grade, (exam) results of our class weren't better than others; in terms of English and scientific research, the number of our classmates who participated in scientific research groups was more than in other classes; and the prizes we won in the English competition were bigger than theirs. I think that is a positive outcome. (M student 3)

虽然我们这个[年]级，从这个年级来看，我们班成绩虽然没有比别的班好，但是在英语和科研方面会比别的班多，加入老师课题组的是比别的班的同学要多的。然后每次英语竞赛得到的奖也是比别的班的同学要多的。我觉得这可能是一个效果。 (M student 3)

Despite their underperformance in course assessments, M student 3 stresses that their advantages lie in more opportunities to participate in scientific research and in better achievement in terms of English language skills. Her interpretation of EMI outcomes thus implies that the benefits of EMI do not focus on exam results but on other attributions to becoming a better medical professional. Likewise, M student 4 points out his active role in charge of the activities which involve English while carrying out scientific research with his counterparts from CMI classes (Excerpt 11). As MB student 4 mentioned above, it seems natural for M student 4 to manage English sources in medical subjects because of their EMI experience. In order to confirm this perceived elite identity, they discursively spotlight their willingness to handle medical sources in English. Hence, compared with the CMI students, the EMI students consider themselves as more competitive candidates for a medical career. That is consistent with EMI teachers' view of English as an added value, which became a frequently mentioned element when they reported benefits in EMI medical education.

Excerpt (11)

(.) that's usually, like for example when we carry out scientific research in the research group with the students from other classes, sometimes it is me who more frequently searches through the English papers. That's it - I'm the more active one doing this job. (M student 4)

(.)就是在平时，就比如说在课题组里面跟其他班的同学一起做课题的时候，有时候更多的是我去查那个英文文献这样。就会自己比较主动的去做这个事情。(M student 4)

Another discursive comparison (Excerpt 12) between EMI and CMI students shows M students' perceptions of the merits of bilingual learning which indicate that medical scholarship from English sources is considered to be more valuable than that from Chinese sources (Kirkpatrick, 2011, 2014).

Excerpt (12)

M student 6: …the junior students may feel, for example, when you were postgraduates, your supervisors let you write an English article; then at that time, you wouldn't be so afraid of that, since you are more concentrated on your profession instead of on language. Second, do- doing things, you may perform better than others when doing a thing. For example, to write (.) to write a literature review at this moment. Most of the postgraduates, if their language foundation isn't good, may read the Chinese reviews first, and then read the literature that's in English. But for us, we learned bilingually for many years, regardless of the way of thinking or fluently reading (.) foreign language, you would prefer to choose literature in foreign languages as your references. For example, I read-read some postgraduates' literature reviews, and then the students who had studied in the bilingual class, their references might be all from English literature, whereas the students who were in CMI

class, theirs might be mixed (quality). Then the overall outcome, the students from the bilingual class had a bit advantage.

Researcher：Hmm, okay. How about other students?

M student 1: yeah yeah, I agree with what M student 6 (senior student) said. Like (.) the impacts that bilingual teaching bring-bring to the students could be positive influences and improvement, which could be prominent in the postgraduate phase. Not that obvious in the undergraduate stage; however, when it comes to postgraduate studies, reading scientific articles and writing actually lays a good foundation.

M student 6: ……比如说你的(.)可能以后学弟学妹会感受到，就是比如说等你研究生的时候你的导师让你写一篇英文文章。然后这个时候，你的畏难情绪不会这么大，就是会把更多的精力集中在你的专业上面，而不是说语言方面。第二个是做-做事情，做一件事情的时候，你可能会比别人做得更好一些。比如说现在要写(.)要研究生写一篇综述的话，可能大多数研究生，就是如果说以前的语言的基础不会太好的时候，他们可能会先去看中文的综述，然后再进一步看英文的文献。但是我们的话，我们双语这么多年过来的话可能就不管是思维上还是看(.)外文的那种流畅度方面，你会更倾向于去选择外文的文献去作为参考文献。比如说我看过-看过几个研究生的综述，然后是从双语班出来的话，他们可能参考文献全都是英文文献，然后 er 中文班同学可能会（质量）参差不齐啊，然后整个效果看起来可能还是双语班同学更占优势一些。

Researcher：嗯，okay。那其他同学呢？

M student 1: 对对，我也同意 M student 6(学姐)所说的。就是(.)双语教学带给-带给学生的影响可能是那种积极的影响和提高，可能会在研究生阶段更加能够体现出来。在本科阶段的话可能还不是很明显；但是一旦到了研究生阶段，各种文献的阅读，写作方面，其实都是一个很好的基础。

When talking about her rewarding experience, M student 6 (the only postgraduate student in the group interviews) comments that her previous bilingual learning experience has helped her cope better with the English language issues in research article writing. She can pay therefore more attention to refining professional aspects rather than being distracted by the language. Moreover, as her observation on reading postgraduates' literature reviews illustrates, she considers that participation in the EMI programme has extended the scope of the students' research into the reviewing literature and improved the quality by referencing English publications. According to her description of different practices in selecting literature, students from the bilingual route are familiarised with the "way of thinking" in English articles or can read the foreign language fluently, whereas the students from the CMI track do not have sufficient language competence to cope with a heavy reading load in English. So the references cited by the EMI students were mainly from English sources, whereas those by their CMI counterparts' were a mixture of Chinese and English references. Her opinion is supported by the junior students (e.g., M student 1). Although M student 1 is in the final year of undergraduate studies, her statement further affirms M student 6's perception that EMI learning could develop their English literacy in medical research, which is seen as a prominent competitive advantage in later postgraduate studies compared with their CMI counterparts. More interestingly, M student 6's admiration of the English reference sources implies that the entire references from English sources represent an

"advantage"– good quality in comparison to "mixed (quality)" Chinese with English reference sources. Their comments on the bibliography show that scholarship in English is highly valued while references in Chinese are seen as less favourable by the EMI students. Such admiration of English references may raise a concern about the development of scholarship in multiple languages. For instance, scholars such as Kirkpatrick (2011, 2014) and Shohamy (2013) have suggested that the uncritical attitude towards English sources can cause a latent risk: a loss of scholarship in local languages.

Similarly, another interviewee in this mixed-grades group, M student 2, shares a similar admiration of medical scholarship in English (Excerpt 13).

Excerpt (13)

For myself, I'm actively reading English journals. That's to get to know the cutting edge of science and technology, not being satisfied with the domestic translations. And I initially want to read - read English original texts. Because after all, the meanings delivered in English original texts are more authentic, and more fluent, while the translation in Chinese may look a bit hard to read, and it feels different. (M student 2)

自己的话可能主动看一些那种就是全英的文章吧。就是说想了解一下现在的一个科技前沿。所以说不仅仅是满足于在国内翻译过来的那些消息。然后就是说会想主动地去阅读-阅读那个英文原文。因为毕竟英文原文的话，它的意思表达会更地道，更加通畅，然后之后翻译成中文可能就会觉得有点拗口，就读起来感觉很不一样。 (M student 2)

Her statement indicates that "English journals" represent a way of knowing "the cutting edge of science and technology". EMI learning made M student 2 "actively" extend her sources of medical knowledge through appreciating articles in English instead of reading the translated versions in Chinese. In her view, the original texts deliver the medical scholarship in "more authentic, more fluent" ways. This statement hints at her orientation towards regarding English as an authentic source and an effective carrier of medical scholarship in comparison with Chinese. Based on that orientation, she seems to consider the reading comprehension in English that they have developed through EMI learning as an advantage to make them stand out over those who acquire medical knowledge only from Chinese sources. That agrees with the previous finding that EMI medical students show less resistance to Medical English than their non-EMI counterparts, which is an asset for further development (Jiang et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the future-oriented discussion reveals the EMI students' imagined selves (Excerpt 14). MB student 2 quotes the focal university's credo to illustrate his understanding of the goals of the bilingual class – training the "finer troop" of clinical doctors for local services. In his view, what makes them "finer" is being able to conduct scientific research in English because they majored in "western medicine" where English is widely seen as a pivotal language.

Excerpt (14)

> Our university's credo is to educate local talent for serving locals. And I feel it should be the aim of the bilingual class, that's er based on educating clinical doctors, to train a cohort more (.) relatively (.) how to say? Like finer troops, to educate better doctors. Because now (.) we're learning Western medicine, English still is used widely. It is helpful for us to have early contact with English for scientific research journals in the future. And currently, some papers have been published in English. If using English could help us to deepen the impression in advance. (MB student 2)

> 学校有一个口号是：造本省人才，为本省所用。然后我觉得它应该是双语班的目的就是 er 在培养临床医生的基础上，再培养出一批更加(.)比较(.)怎么说？更加尖锐的那种部队的感觉，培养出更好的医生。因为现在(.)我们学的是西医嘛，还有很多都是用英文来的。早一点接触英文，对我们以后接触科研阅读那些文献是很有帮助的，而且现在一些文献发表都是以英文发表的，用英文的话，能够提早地加深我们那种印象帮助我们。 (MB student 2)

Like PP teacher 2, MB student 2 articulates that their medical knowledge originates from "western" scholarship and appreciates the "western" advancement in English publications. Hence, it would be beneficial to read those English publications as early as possible if pursuing a medical career. Again, English is seen as closely tied with scientific research skills, such as journal reading and writing. Returning to his interpretation of the university's credo, MB student 2 imagines himself as a promising future member of local talents who excel in local clinical skills and advanced scientific research in modern medicine. Meanwhile, the university's credo seems to suggest that the perceived expectation of this EMI is to apply or tailor medical knowledge and research in English to fit in with local practices, breaking the exclusive conflation of English with inward internationalisation. In other words, learning in English is supposed to assist the local students to internationalise themselves by absorbing advanced medical knowledge to serve locals, which should motivate the students to carry on their learning journeys bilingually rather than only in English.

To sum up, with admiration for "western" advancement in modern medicine, the EMI students appear to attach a high evaluation of English due to many published academic research outcomes in the English language. Through their descriptions of the importance that English would contribute to their medical career, we can see their belief in English as a valuable capital to afford their privileged identity construction, particularly in comparison to their CMI counterparts. Meanwhile, some scholars have criticised the unquestioned belief in the instrumental role of English and suggested that no clear evidence shows a direct link between the use of English and national or individual development (Gray, 2012, p. 98; G. Hu & Lei, 2014). With the trend towards globalisation, it is common for EMI teachers and students to ascribe the value of English to its dominant place of scholarship in modern medicine. Yet the actual link between the use of English and development can vary from case to case. Also, the previous studies remind us that the EMI stakeholders may easily become trapped in this elite identity if they ignore the misalignment between prevailing ideology and language practices in EMI (G. Hu, 2019; G. Hu et al., 2014). The following section brings attention to the classroom level, where different opinions

amongst interviewees deconstruct the perceived elitism displayed above. That is, their ambivalent identity starts to become apparent.

5.3 Challenges and perceived losses in EMI education

A noticeable observation that emerges from the dataset is that the teachers and students fail to develop their imagined identities due to the teachers' major investment in medical vocabulary instruction, students' exam-oriented learning strategy, institutional management, and online learning during the COVID-19 outbreak.

5.3.1 Medical vocabulary-focused instruction

A prominent trend described above is that the concept of English in EMI courses relies heavily on medicine-specific vocabulary and terms. It is noteworthy however that many interviewees feel constrained by this language practice. For example, when depicting "ideal" bilingual medical courses, PP teacher 1 implies that it is insufficient to merely implement medical vocabulary-focused teaching (Excerpt 15).

> Excerpt (15)
>
> … we can make bilingual teaching worthy of its name. In fact, I feel, in my-my view, hoping the ideal bilingual course should (.) should reach around 70 % in English. I think that would be better. But the precondition, that is, both teacher and students (.) we shall reach that level, right? Then it might work, could work. Otherwise, either student (s/he) feel very challenged because s/he has already felt difficult to comprehend Pathophysiology in Chinese, right? Or like us, a novice, if you communicate with students entirely in English, I may not perform as well and smoothly as I lecture simply in Chinese, right? (PP teacher 1)
>
> ……然后我们就可以把这个双语教学做得更加名副其实一点。其实我觉得我-我心里面我理想中希望达到的双语班应该是(.)应该英文要占到 70%左右，我觉得这样子可能会比较好，但是前提就是老师和同学(.)大家都要能达到这样的水准，是吧，可能才行，才能做得到。要不然的话，要么就是学生他觉得很吃力，因为他中文他都觉得理解有困难对病生，是吧？要么就是像我们，这种新手的，可能你真的完全让我英文去跟他们交流的话，可能就没有我单纯的用中文来讲那么(.)这么发挥得这么好，这么顺畅，是吧？ (PP teacher 1)

To make the bilingual course "worthy of its name", PP teacher 1 expresses her "ideal" language proportion for the bilingual course – "(to) reach around 70% in English". In other words, she finds the current bilingual practices limited, as she later explains the difficulties of lectures being given entirely in English and students' comprehension of pathophysiological knowledge regardless of the language issue. Interestingly, this indicates that "bilingual" does not mean a fifty-fifty distribution of languages, but that English should play a leading role and Chinese a supplementary one. In her view, it seems to be preferable to

maximise the use of English in EMI courses, even though the course is named "bilingual" (see also Section 6.1.1). This finding resonates with an ideological stance that the bilingual approach to EMI may be seen as a deficit or alternative in comparison to English-only approaches (Galloway et al., 2017). Another possible explanation is that the use of English is restricted in a small number of domains even though English has become increasingly common in schools and everyday life in China (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Bolton & Graddol, 2012). As a result, that motivates the EMI teachers and students to maximise the use of English. Further, a major difficulty she perceives is that the current Chinese EMI teachers and students have not had adequate English communicative competence as a "precondition" for handling these challenges. Hence, EMI has curbed her possibility for teaching well if both teachers and students do not obtain sufficient communicative English skills. This suggests that the required English language skills in EMI relate not only to skills in disciplinary-specific language but also to communicative strategies. That also can be a possible reason why the EMI teacher interviewees tend to rely on text-presented English materials that requires less improvisational conversation in English.

Similarly, PP teacher 3, who taught the EMI course previously, elaborates on the reason why she has limited her use of English to key vocabulary (Excerpt 16).

Excerpt (16)

…The approaches are quite similar (to other teachers'). English (.) complete English PPT, then give the PPT to students, this way. And, in our lectures, some technical terms, we at least read aloud to the students, some-some relatively important words. We need to instil these words, in case, they couldn't master them well. Like pneumonia, these, these medical words. The rest were mainly in Eng (.) in Chinese, lecturing in Chinese most of the time. And they (the students) also easily adapt. If all use-use (English), for some people whose English wasn't fluent, it would be weird to keep speaking in English. Mainly feel a bit (.) overcautious, like not good enough; felt that (I) could not let them (students) receive better (instruction), so I had no choice but (.) I used English, English to stress, when I felt, and though that the vocabulary was important. (PP teacher 3)

.....方式也是差不多，英文就是(.)全英的 PPT 这种，然后也把 PPT 给学生吧，这种方式。然后呢，我们讲课的时候就是那些术语用英文 er 就是起码念给他们听吧，某些-某些比较重要的那个词。这些词汇就要灌输一下，怕他们到时候不好掌握，比如说肺炎这些东西，这些词，这一类医学的词。其他的都是用英(.)用中文的多，讲的时候是用中文的多。这样他们也比较好接受些。如果全部用-用，对于一般英文流利的不行的那些人的话，一直讲英文的话也有点怪，主要是感觉是有点(.)放不开，就-就是不够好，不够让他们能够接受到更好的感觉，所以只好是需要(.)我感觉认为这个词蛮重要的时候才强调用英文，用英文强调。(PP teacher 3)

In her reflection on previous EMI teaching, she adopted a similar visual aids approach with English-only PPT slides and set her own minimum requirement for lecturing in English: to read aloud technical terms. Having stressed her teaching emphasis on English medical vocabulary with Chinese as the primary instructional language, she says she would feel constrained ("weird"," overcautious", "not good enough") if she lectured entirely in English. Here it can be seen that she gives herself the label of inadequate English oracy, which

prevents her from conveying her medical expertise well. It seems to explain why she chose to limit her use of English to highlighting the essential medical vocabulary, confirming previous findings that language proficiency issue concerning communicative English prevents EMI teachers from delivering lectures in English fluently (G. Hu, 2019; G. Hu et al., 2014). Also, multimedia strategies, like PPT slides, are adopted to offset EMI teachers' insufficient English proficiency (Cheng, 2017). Interestingly, PP teacher 3 does not mention any specific strategy to improve students' awareness of methods to learn medical words. The possible explanation could be her teaching outside of EMI for the past two years or that her sense of being incompetent when using English constrained her awareness and confidence in passing bilingual learning strategies in medicine on to her students. To some extent, that erodes her professional identity as an EMI teacher.

In short, some teachers consider that their heavy investment in vocabulary teaching insufficiently contributes to realising their "*ideal*" EMI classroom practices. Due to their self-perception of having insufficient communicative skills in English, they have adopted a medical vocabulary-focused strategy as an easy choice for ensuring the quality of medical knowledge instruction, that is, to minimise the negative impact on their professional identity as medical teachers. Possible reasons for this self-perceived deficiency in oral English skills may be linked to their perceptions of legitimate speakers of different languages – positioning English as foreign/others and Chinese as native/self, which affect their sense of language ownership (see Section 6.2).

On the other hand, an alternative viewpoint to their insufficient English proficiency that emerged from the interviews indicates that teacher interviewees self-portray as pragmatic English users who focus on meaning-making to improve their teaching, even though their English expressions are not flawless according to English language specialists' standards. The following two excerpts show how teacher interviews convey such pragmatic orientation towards English. The first excerpt presents the RA teacher's reflection on his current use of English in lectures (Excerpt 17).

Excerpt (17)

(Our) vocabulary and grammar are less strict. I now feel that the English we used in the medical aspect is less normative than your English. I notice the English abroad is also less normative @ the (medical) terminology in English is less normative than (EFL) English., So, sentences must, some sentences are not like the way (we) thought, I feel…If based on your (standard) grammar checking, (we) make lots of mistakes@. (RA teacher)

其实我们讲我们医学我觉得(.)我现在想想我们在那个医学方面讲到词汇语法方面好像没有你们英语那么规范的。我看国外的英语也没有那么规范@那个专业术语没有英语的那么规范。所以一定啊句子，什么句子啊我觉得好像也不想这样的。……如果按照你们的话，扣语法就错得多了@。 (RA teacher)

This excerpt implies that RA makes a clear distinction between the nature of EMI and EFL according to strictness on norms of English. As shown in his

description, he thinks their "vocabulary and grammar are less strict" and "less normative" than EFL teachers' English ("your English"). His further statement constructs an identity of medical professionals abroad whose English seemed "less normative" than that of EFL professionals who should comply with the standard or norms of English use ("grammar checking"). Through that, he confirms that he is not specialising in the English language as a teaching subject but for medical content. Hence, he has chosen to focus on meanings instead of forms in his bilingual teaching. The RA teacher emphasises this justification of meaning-focused teaching by defining ELT standards for English as form-focused. He therefore concludes that his EMI performance would be seen as making "lots of mistakes" if examined from the ELT perspective. This finding resonates with the argument that the ELT focus creates the EMI content lecturers' resistance to being regarded as English language teachers and their reluctance to take on the responsibility of language teaching (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019).

In the same vein, the MB teacher replied to the researcher's follow-up question concerning the complex grammatical use of English sentences in lectures (Excerpt 18).

Excerpt (18)

It happened, so we now all use simple sentences… So I don't have the problem you mentioned, like using complex sentences that may confuse students. It could be that my (English) level is limited, so I usually use simple sentences. And sometimes, when the simple sentences heaped up, it is easy to make grammatical mistakes. Once the mistakes occur, students sometimes would have some little feedback, like this, you would feel(.) {sighing} ver-y-y ashamed, like feeling sorry… (MB teacher)

有过，所以我们现在上课全部都是简单句…所以我反倒没有你说的这种什么复杂句的使用让学生理解不了的问题。因为可能我本身我水平有限，所以我一般都是用简单句，然后这个简单句有的时候呢，堆起来呢，那语法是很容易出现错误的。一旦出现错误，有的时候学生会在底下有一些小的反馈啊，什么的，你就会觉得心里比较，唉{sighing}(.) 很-很-很愧意，就是比较过意不去吧。(MB teacher)

This excerpt illustrates that MB teacher primarily uses "simple sentences" in English lectures to avoid confusion among students, as complex English grammar had previously hindered students' understanding of medical content. She attributes this to her "limited" English proficiency and describes her feeling of being "ashamed" and "sorry" when her "grammatical mistakes" were noticed by the students. Her embarrassment implies that the EMI teachers may generate a sense of incompetence under a standard that holds to EFL correctness. Meanwhile, in the last interview, she stresses the practical use of English in her field to confirm herself as a pragmatic English user (Excerpt 19), suggesting a tension between EMI teacher interviewees perceiving their use of English as pragmatic and the normative ideal of English.

Excerpt (19)

> [reflection on previous learning experiences in lab classroom] S/he spoke all the terminologies in English. "Then, students please place this T pipe on the table. Then, we use the T pipe to hit how many times, like this", kind of odd, but I feel it is good@. …Because at least I got the vocabulary, these terminologies. It's an experimental operation, the lab tools I used or the materials I used, and their English names. That's enough for me. As for the others, "you place this on the table." That's CET4 vocabulary, you say, everyone knows that, doesn't s/he? I feel it is unnecessary to deal with that, talking a lot, using a kind of Old English to instruct how to place it on the table. I feel it's time-wasting. (MB teacher)

> [反思以前实验课学习经历] 他/她专有名词全部是用英文说的。"然后就请同学把这个 T pipe 放在这个桌子上。然后我们用 T pipe 去打多少多少多少下，什么什么"，就是会这种不伦不类吧。但是我觉得其实挺好的@。.....因为至少这个单词，这些专业名词我明白啊。它这个实验操作，我用到的仪器设备，或者是我用到的这个材料，它的英文名字就叫这个啊。这个对于我来说就够了，至于其他的，"你把这个东西放到桌子上"，这个是四级词汇，你说谁不会呢？我觉得没有必要你跟我去扯这些没有用，说半天，用那种古英语说半天怎么放到桌子上。我觉得这个就是浪费精力。(MB teacher)

The MB teacher's practical use of English reflects a lesson she learned from her previous EMI learning experience in the laboratory where teachers highlighted the English terminologies and mixed them with Chinese and simple English for instruction. Here, she imitates a typical instruction that she heard "请同学把这个 T pipe 放在这个桌子上" (translation: Students please place this T pipe on the table) and comments that such mixing of Chinese and English was "kind of odd" but "good". The oddness might be assessed from an ELT perspective, whereas the teacher finds this teaching practice practical and time-saving in the medical classroom. Echoing her previous statement (Excerpt 1) in the first interview, she further confirms that her expertise lies in medicine instead of giving much consideration to the idea of refining her English as language professionals do. It is particularly evident that she refers to everyday forms of expression as "Old English". Her reference to "Old English" used in lab instruction implies that she regards this type of English as less functional in EMI, which supports her pragmatic manner toward English in EMI teaching.

To sum up, teacher interviewees have agreed that grammatical correctness or strictness of English is not their priority in medical subject teaching. The teachers have highlighted their incompetence in English compared with the English language specialists. Yet they have justified it by their pragmatic approach to English in bilingual medical courses. As scholars such as Beckett & Li (2012), Dearden (2014), and G. Hu et al. (2014) have found, the inadequate English proficiency of EMI teachers is a common issue that can cause a sense of disappointment among EMI stakeholders. Yet, echoing previous studies on EMI lecturer identity, the current study shows that by taking a position as medical experts EMI teachers have negotiated an identity as pragmatic English users and justified their investment in meaning-focused English instruction (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Reynolds, 2019).

5.3.2 Exam-oriented learning strategy

In group interviews with the students, a salient trend of students' identity construction is that most of the student participants depict themselves as exam-oriented English learners with constrained use of English for other practical purposes. That is to say, exam-oriented learning in English leads the students to consider themselves as limited English learners. For instance (Excerpt 20), a second-year student (PP student 2) reviews his performance in the term and states straightforwardly that his principal purpose in reciting English words is "for exams".

Excerpt (20)

I think I study in this bilingual class, study English, reciting these English words mainly for exams, mostly for exams. Then, regarding the side of really (applied) in speaking, applying this English was very rare very rare very rare. And then after reciting these words, just (.) understand them, but don't memorise them, just know what they means, not use them. You merely comprehend the word, but you apply it in learning your English, but you don't use it. (PP student 2)

因为我觉得我进入双语班学习学习英语，也背这个英语单词也主要是为了考试吧，绝大部分就是为了考试。然后真正的（应用）在说的方面，运用这些英语的方面就很少很少很少，然后就背了这些单词之后，也就是(.)就看懂了他，但是并没有记住它，就知道它是什么意思，就还是不会用。你只是说就看懂了它，但是你不会运用到你的英语当中，英语学习当中。(PP student 2)

This orientation gives him the impression that learning in English means to know, to understand, and to recite medical terms and phrases for exams without applying or using them elsewhere, especially in oral communication. He emphasises this problem by repeatedly elaborating with negation words, such as "very rare very rare very rare" opportunity to apply English skills and "not use them". This accords with research on Chinese EMI students (J. Hu & Wu, 2020), in which the authors have pointed out that their language difficulties and the low probability of using English in EMI students' future careers might contribute to their roles as passive English learners who are reluctant to invest in English learning. Similarly, RA student 3 in the third year suggests that newcomers regularly accumulate English medical words (Excerpt 21).

Excerpt (21)

My suggestion to them was to hope they could accumulate his/her English vocabulary from the beginning, as it arises. It would be good if you read through once – or once or twice. Then you have read it in the classes and memorised it. Don't pile all the vocabulary up at the last moment. Because if you study it just before the exams, one, you won't have had enough time, and then you - you became nervous and can't memorise them. (RA student 3)

我的建议就是希望他们一开始，就是从平时的时候就开始去积累他/她的英文单词，就是你看过一遍，一遍也好，或者是一遍两遍这样子的。就是平时的时候就已经去看它了，就已经去记它了。不要把单词全部都堆到最后。因为如果你是考前再看的话，你可能一个是时间不够，然后一个是你-你紧张然后你就记不住它。(RA student 3)

Positioning herself as a senior student, RA student 3's suggestion to newcomers represents a lesson she has learned from previous experience, that is, "to accumulate his/her English vocabulary from the beginning". Otherwise, it would be too demanding to memorise piles of vocabulary right before the exams. Besides, the verbs that RA student 3 used to describe English learning are "read" and "memorised", which hint at a receptive learning style. More interestingly, the vocabulary orientation seems to be equivalent to learning in English by memorising. These findings support the observation in previous studies that have pointed to Chinese EMI students' learning as exam-oriented and teacher-centred (Dearden, 2014; J. Hu & Wu, 2020; Tong & Tang, 2017). On the one hand, the emphasis on exam-orientated study could motivate students to study bilingually – memorising English vocabulary – so that can be seen as a pragmatic approach to enhance students' agency in learning- in English. However, as L. Li (2020) argues, it can create a wash-back effect on long-term learning and the transfer of learned knowledge from the classroom to practice. In the present case, the students may have been reluctant to consider the application of what they had learned beyond exams, which is crucial for their further development.

As shown in Section 5.1, it is evident in the interviews that the students emphasised that a principal purpose of EMI courses is medical English (mainly English terminology), not general/College English. Nevertheless, the students found that some grammatical structures of College English had hindered their understanding while answering English items in exams. This observation turned out to be prominent in the last round of interviews. For example (Excerpt 20), MB student 1's reflection on final exams challenged her prior statement of the key role of medical English terms (Excerpt 4) in building up their professional identity as medical learners in the EMI programme. Here English grammar or general English, which were regarded as no threat to her professional identity in the first interview, are described as obstacles in the Pathophysiology exam. She ponders: "Does it actually assess my knowledge points or test my CET 4 & 6 levels?", a question which indicates her surprise that general/College English negatively affected her performance in bilingual medical exams. Also, her question implies that the assessment focus in bilingual medical courses was supposed to be focused on medical terminology, which is viewed as an essential element in their identity-making process.

Excerpt (22)

For Pathology, I found, while taking the exam, I had a question: Does it actually assess my knowledge points or test my CET 4 & 6 levels? Because the questions (.) that I could not understand, most of them used some general English, like vocabulary in CET 4 & 6, rather than professional English, relating to Pathology. (MB student 1)

对于那个病理来说，我发现，就是考着考着，我会有一种疑问：这究竟考的是我的知识点还是考试我的四六级的英语水平？因为看不懂的那些题目(.)大多数都是一些普通的英文，就是四六级的英语词汇，而不是专业的英语，跟那个病理学相关的。(MB student 1)

In the same vein, PP student 2 asked his peers for the meaning of "(be) followed by" that appeared in the Regional Anatomy exam (Excerpt 23). His words show that he had no trouble understanding technical vocabulary ("adrenalin" and "phentolamine") but the phrase "followed by" confused him with the application sequence of these drugs in the exam. More profoundly, the excerpt indicates that PP student 2 may not regard general/College English learning as a part of his identity under the technical vocabulary-focused approach, as he says: "perhaps I didn't learn that English phrase well".

Excerpt (23)

PP student 2: One MCQ item in Regional Anatomy, it's – it's a question I didn't get well. Its Chinese meaning is (.) using adrenalin (and) phentolamine together; I didn't know which one was used first or later or used together. (The question) used followed by…

{Unstable Internet connection}

Researcher: so you mean there are two things, and you didn't know if they should be in a sequence or used together, right? Adrenalin and another (phentolamine), I don't what another one is@

PP student 2: @

Researcher: So, do you feel the English used in the question item wasn't clear, so-so you didn't get it?

PP student 2: It also, perhaps I didn't learn that English phrase well.

PP student 2: 就-就是一个局解的选择题，它的-它的那个题干我有点没有看懂。它说的是中文的意思是那个(.)用那个肾上腺素酚妥-酚妥拉明那个一起用啊，我不知道是哪个先用或者后用，或者是一起用，用了个什么 followed by 啊……

{unstable connection}

Researcher: 就是你说是有两样东西，你不知道是先用还是同时一起用的，是吗？肾上腺素和一个那个（酚妥拉明），我不知道那个是什么@。

PP student 2: @

Researcher：是吗？就是你觉得是因为它那个题干的那个英文写的不是很清楚，所以-所以导致你不太清楚它在讲什么？

PP student 2: 也可能是我英语的那个词组没有学好吧。

These two incidents in EMI exams lead the students to reflect on the common assumption of EMI medical students, who usually do not stress themselves as general/College English language learners but are more concerned about their English teaching and learning in relation to their medical expertise. In other words, it is interesting that the positioning that highlights expertise seems to push EMI students towards vocabulary-focused learning and pull their attention away from laying a solid foundation of general English for EMI learning.

These two comments on the grammatical issue hint, however, that their heavy investment in the professional lexicon can make them overlook the importance of general/College English skills (e.g., grammatical knowledge, reading comprehension) in understanding content knowledge in EMI contexts. This leads to consideration of the recently proposed concept of CLIL-ised EMI (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021) that hopes to re-direct EMI stakeholder attention to the significant moments for teaching language-related points.

Another finding from interviews with RA students concerns a mismatch between current bilingual learning practices and their expected learning goals. In this excerpt (24), RA student 4 firstly questions the institutional purpose of the bilingual class establishment, which he sees as connected with the improvement of communitive English in international contexts rather than with his journal reading skills. I probe his confusion by asking about his personal understanding of the learning aims. He adds that this programme should train students to be capable of international communication in the medical field. Yet, the university directed this programme to improve their English literacy skills for "journal reading and writing". In his view, learning vocabulary cannot work on its own.

Excerpt (24)

RA student 4: … I don't know why it established a bilingual class(.) for (.) it aims to enable us to read journals better or enable us to better conduct language communication at the international level? I'm not clear about that, so, yeah(.) a bit confused.

Researcher: For yourself, how do you understand that?

RA student 4: I-I feel I may need more than just vocabulary, and (need) communication. Hmm. Because I think the school shouldn't have let us, directly aim to read and write journals; (should be) more communication-wise. But I feel her-her approaches focused more on writing papers, and reading papers.

RA student 4: 我有一个，我一直不知道它双语班开出来是为了(.)它的目的是为了让我们更好的阅读文献，还是让我们以后更好的在国际上进行语言交流呢？我是不清楚这一个，所以说，对(.)有点疑惑。

Researcher:那对于你来说，你是如何理解的呢？

RA student 4: 我-我觉得我需要的可能是更多是不仅是词汇方面的，而且是交流方面的，嗯，因为我觉得学校不应该直接让我们，就是看读文献和写文献为目的，更多的可能是交流方面的。但是我感觉她的-她的做法更多的可能像是以写文献，阅读文献这样子。

According to China's MOE (2005, 2007), EMI serves as a crucial strategy to develop Chinese college students' discipline-specific English proficiency, especially speaking and listening skills for international communication and collaboration. However, due to various economic-educational conditions and circumstances across China, it is difficult for many universities and colleges with a shortage of financial support and teaching resources to realise this goal successfully (G. Hu, 2019; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). Alternatively, RA student 4's

comment demonstrates that the focal university narrowed its *de facto* goal down to "journal reading and writing", which fails to match his expectation. In other words, it is crucial to improve students' communicative skills and encourage them to practise discipline-literacies (e.g., discourse grammar, language patterns, and genre) in bilingual education that cannot be realised by merely acquiring the subject-specific vocabulary and terms (Z. Fang, 2012; Nikula, 2016). Also, previous studies suggest a perennial perception that many Chinese EFL learner oracy skills were lower relative to their literacy skills – often tagged as "哑巴英语 deaf-mute English" (e.g., RA teacher says "Chinese people love a kind of (.) deaf-mute English {unclear}" see in Excerpt 34) (Pan, 2015). That is to say, affected by this prevailing perception, people usually see this non-communicative English as inferior, a view which erodes the perceived elitism of EMI, in RA student 4's view. As a result, he questions the teaching approaches at the focal university and expresses his expectation to enrich the contextual use of communicative English in bilingual courses. Additionally, RA student 4's confusion implies that clarity of the intended goals of EMI is needed within the institution.

Another student in the RA group expresses a similar expectation: to improve in communicative English by giving some specific examples (Excerpt 25). In her description of an imagined bilingual classroom, RA student 1 says that it is significant to create an English environment, and a casual talk or simple English lead-in could be helpful to engage the students with a communicative English atmosphere. More importantly, her expectation indicates that the Chinese students are willing to exercise not only professional vocabulary and phrases but also communicative English skills. Her elaboration on specific strategies suggests that it is medical teachers' role to take the initiative to create and facilitate such a communicative environment. This is in accordance with the findings in previous literature that a shared EMI learning experience among Chinese students is primarily teacher-led due to the impact of traditional Confucian ethics (C. Li, 2012; Qiu & Fang, 2019; Tong & Tang, 2017). This suggests that the Chinese content teachers play a crucial role in initiating and guiding the students to become involved in practising communicative English skills.

Excerpt (25)

The English environment is important, like you before the lesson (.) you could give an English lead-in, or talk about some simple points, or daily chat with students, and then guide them into an English communication environment then start bilingual teaching. I feel that could help us to engage with, feeling a communicative atmosphere in English. (RA student 1)

我觉得在课堂上有一个英文的环境是-是比较重要的，就是说你上课之前你可以先用英文做一个引导，或者是讲一些简单的知识点，或者是跟同学们聊聊日常啊什么的之类的，然后把他们引入一个英语交流的环境里面再开始双语教学。我觉得这样的话会有一点代入感吧，就是会感觉有一种英语的交流环境。(RA student 1)

The above excerpts related to the EMI learning experience have indicated that exam-oriented learning and the muted-English approach (non-communicative

skills) constrain the EMI students to actively exercise and apply medical English in practice. As a result, their current English practices seem not to help them to reach their imagined selves associated with the EMI programme, leading to their sense of losing out.

5.3.3 Institutional management

A series of challenges concerning institutional management brought up in the interviews seems to drive EMI teachers and students away from approaching their imagined selves. Specifically, many interviewees express a sense of a loss of eliteness in EMI owing to insufficient institutional recognition of the need for language support (to both teachers and students) and professional development (PD) training (to teachers), the university-led one-way selection of students, the problematic ranking system of final exams, and so on.

Concerning language support and PD training, no report about long-term or continuous language courses in the interviews refers to there being any difficulty for EMI students and teachers to constantly upgrade their English language skills and teaching/learning strategies to cope with increasingly demanding bilingual teaching and learning tasks. For the teacher participants, little continuous or long-term PD training is available for the medical teachers to upgrade their pedagogical methodology and language skills for EMI teaching, even though half of them mentioned that the university initially offered short-term English language training as a part of the teaching qualification for EMI courses. For instance, one MB teacher mentions how she began bilingual teaching six years ago (Excerpt 26). In her description, the institution and department offered a series of training classes to make the novice teachers well-prepared for EMI teaching in both language and pedagogical respects, giving her a sense of being qualified as an EMI teacher at the institutional level. More interestingly, we can see that English oracy is addressed in her statement about the EMI training. That is in accordance with the above findings that communicative English is highly valued across different levels of Chinese stakeholders in EMI teaching.

Excerpt (26)

…At the beginning, (they) don't allow you to teach bilingual or complete English courses. Then, our university offered training in foreign languages speaking. After this training, (you) got a certificate then, which shows your evaluated grade. If you passed the grade, you need to pass another pedagogy plan. If you passed, both these two, in our department… (MB teacher)

……就是刚开始（他们）是不会让你去接双语或者是全英的这个教学，然后我们学校会有这个外语的口语的培训。经过这个培训之后，（你）会拿到一个证书。然后这个证书它会有一个分数去衡量你的等级。然后你过了这个等级之后呢，还要过一个青年教师的授课的过关计划。然后你过了这个过关计划之后，这两项你都过了之后，我们科室呢…… (MB teacher)

At the same time, continuing her comment on teacher PD training, MB teacher expressed her disappointment by repeated references to the few available chances for training (Excerpt 27). In other words, having been qualified as a bilingual teacher by the university, she has not been given any more opportunities to upgrade her bilingual teaching skills, except for a self-organised research visit to Germany. She ends this narrative by showing in an affirmative tone that she thinks there is a definite need for follow-up training: "it should offer more opportunities, or give us more training". In prior literature, many European scholars, such as Dafouz (2018), Pappa & Moate (2021) and Reynolds (2019), have pointed out that PD serves as a sustainable space for EMI teachers to reflect on their teaching practices so that they can consistently build up professional identity by improving language skills and pedagogical methodology. In China, PD for EMI teaching is an emerging topic, as shown in previous literature and this excerpt (Cheng, 2017; Macaro & Han, 2019; Yuan, 2020). That is to say, Chinese EMI teachers may lack sufficient opportunities to maintain or even upgrade their existing pedagogical knowledge and skills to cope with the challenges related to EMI teaching. As a result, that may easily let them to retreat from the identity of "qualified" EMI teachers.

Excerpt (27)

…Additionally, there were not many chances to train. You can see, I only attended this language training once in that time. Till now, there's been no other chance. Except during my PhD studies, going abroad for PhD, that's my conduct. But when it comes to the training related to teaching, from the perspective of young teachers, the chance wasn't a lot. Yeah, I feel it should offer more opportunities, or give us more training (.) that will be better… (MB teacher)

……另外就是培训的次数也不多。你看我现在就只是这个时候受过一次这种的口语培训，一直到现在的话也没有更多其他的机会吧。就是除了自己读博，出国读博，那是你自己的行为，但是就是这些教学相关的，这些培训的话，就青年教师的角度来讲，机会也不是特别多。对，我还是觉得应该增加一些这些机会吧，或者是更多地跟我们进行一些培训(.)就会更好一些…… (MB teacher)

In terms of EMI students, previous research has often pointed out that EAP and other forms of English training support EMI students to cope with language difficulties and improve learning efficiency (Gao & Bartlett, 2014; Jiang et al., 2016; C. Li & Ruan, 2015). However, the student interviews note that there is no medicine-specific language support or training available to them. Instead, they mainly recall working hard by themselves. In the group of RA students, when the researcher asked about extra language training run by the university (apart from the 2-year College English curriculum and some tips from content teachers), the students reply with "no", repeatedly with "we survive by ourselves", and later add, "free-range" with a laugh (Excerpt 28). Their self-mockery implies frustration with having been left no choice by the focal university but to rely on their own efforts to cope with their language difficulties.

Excerpt (28)

Researcher: Okay, so except that (content teachers sometimes taught strategies to memorise terminology) (.), did the university arrange any special language training for you, bilingual class? Or just let you survive by yourselves?

RA student 2: no, no, survive by ourselves.

RA student 3: no.

Researcher: survive by yourselves.

RA student 2: Free-range. @

Researcher：okay，那你们除了那个(.)你们双语班学校会不会给你们安排一些特别的语言培训啊，还是就是你们自生自灭？

RA student 2: 没有没有，自生自灭。

RA student 3: 没有。

Researcher:自生自灭。

RA student 2: 放养@。

According to the institutional documents, the EMI students are outperformers in *Gaokao*. In other words, high scores in *Gaokao* (overall and English subject) give them a ticket to enter bilingual class; however, the university has failed to provide satisfying follow-up support to maintain and upgrade those students' English proficiency, and that is a common issue in other similar contexts (F. Fang & Xie, 2019; G. Hu, 2019; Rose et al., 2019). Consequently, as discussed above, cramming medical English vocabulary becomes a popular strategy among the students since they have not been directed to other possible learning strategies in EMI.

When talking about *Gaokao*, both students and teachers questioning the current selection of EMI students emphasise their sense of being passive learners and argue against the imagined elite identity. For instance, MB Student 3, who had high expectations and was motivated at the start of the bilingual learning journey (Excerpt 53 in Section 6.2.2), escapes from the tag of "straight-A student" by re-positioning himself as an ordinary, even struggling learner who tolerates bilingual learning (Excerpt 29).

Excerpt (29)

Whether you (the researcher) know that, the past bilingual classes and current classes are different. But having taken many courses, I found that it seems that most of the teachers didn't get the point. The former EMI classes were true - true classes for the elite. They were selected from exams after enrolment; they were straight-A students and capable of learning more, truly straight-A students, who liked to be self-challenging…Now it's different, we didn't have that (extra) exam. Now, it just simply puts the kids whose English scores were higher in the *Gaokao* into this class. But the high scores in English did not mean (.) not mean his/her learning ability was higher than others. So, although the English score was higher, it did not mean this class, we the students have better learning abilities. So currently, like a class of students who are not different from others in (regular) classes, with no difference in IQ

> and learning ability, bear bilingual learning. So, that's the reason why the recent (.) bilingual classes underperformed than previous counterparts, because the current bilingual classes are not truly elite. (MB student 3)

> 您知不知道，就是以前的双语班跟现在的双语班是有不同的。但是我见上-上了那么多-多课之后，我发现好像大部分的老师并不知道这一点。以前的双语班是真-是真正意义上的尖子班，是通过入学之后的一定的考试筛选进来的，都是一些学有余力的学霸在-在这个班里面，真正的学霸，想挑战自己的人来到了这个班级，所以以前的双语班是真正的尖子班。而现在不同了，现在已经没有那个入学考试了。现在就是简单粗暴地就把一些高考英语比较高分的孩子就-就分进了这个班。但是高考英语高分就不代表(.)并不是代表他的学习能力就比其他人就更强一点。所以虽然是高考英语稍微高一点，但并不代表这个班的，我们这些同学的资质就比其他班的同学要好一点。所以现在就是一群跟其他班同学一模一样，没什么差别的智商，学习能力上没什么差别的，一群孩子在承受着双语的学习。所以这也是这两年(.)这两届双语班成绩大不如前的原因，因为现在的双语班已经不是尖子班了。(MB student 3)

He doubts whether the teachers and the focal university are aware of the current EMI students' struggles in bilingual learning, showing his disappointment in the current selection criteria that fail to choose students who are able to cope with EMI classes. Then, he states that the former EMI students are "truly elite" students, while the current ones are ordinary, "no different from" CMI counterparts. Despite not being heard by upper stakeholders, he voices his critique on the selection merely according to the higher scores in *Gaokao*, which do not necessarily bring or transfer any advantage in later bilingual learning. More importantly, it implies that exam scores and English proficiency are employed to represent "learning ability" and "IQ" by institutions, from the EMI student perspective. Yet this contested institutional assumption conflicts with actual situations, resulting in a perceived loss of imagined privilege by the students. In previous literature, universities usually set a language and academic threshold for selecting eligible students into EMI or bilingual programmes (G. Hu, 2019; G. Hu et al., 2014; Jiang et al., 2016). This eligibility gives the students an initial advantage that recognises their academic and language capitals. However, Hu and his colleagues (2019; 2014) have pointed out that good grades in the English subject in *Gaokao* do not secure the EMI student learning efficiency and outcome according to a suggested minimum level of English proficiency for EMI programmes (Graddol, 2006). Further, the English-speaking test is an additional and optional part of *Gaokao*, meaning that their scores in English subject exams reflect only a partial picture of their overall English proficiency (X. Yang, 2017). As Y. Wang (2020) points out, the traditional English language exams in China are designed by EFL educational sectors - which primarily align with English as a Native Language (ENL) standards - rather than taking an English as a Lingual Franca (ELF) perspective. This ideological tension between ENL and ELF could constrain EMI participants' practices (see Section 6.2). Given the fact that *Gaokao* scores work almost as the sole factor in university admission decisions nationwide, it may seem reasonable to conduct an initial selection based on its score. This finding is a reminder, however, that EMI providers do not allow the score in English in *Gaokao* to outweigh other crucial learning abilities and skills needed to ensure that the students can manage bilingual content learning. If they did, there would be the latent risk of a learning

obstacle during their later bilingual studies. For instance, the EMI students might not necessarily affirm or may even refuse to take on the elite identity suggested by others (e.g., teachers and the focal university). In the case of MB student 3, the institutional assumption of elitism creates his high expectations and makes him self-distinguish from CMI students, who were not seen as talented as EMI students at the institutional level. However, this expectation seems to collapse in his narrative, as he denies that being in the EMI programme was in fact an advantage with there being no "(extra) exam" after enrolment and his later struggle in bilingual learning. In other words, it suggests that EMI students suffer a loss of ought-to be "straight-A student" identity perceived by others, especially the teachers and the university.

In the same vein, the teachers in the Pathophysiology group point out the need for the university to reconsider the selection criteria to ensure the quality of EMI students (Excerpt 30).

Excerpt (30)

PP teacher 2: For me, in the future, at least first of all, firstly to ensure the so-called complete EMI teaching (.) the (adequate) English scores of the students in complete EMI teaching. To be honest, randomly choose and let them in, no threshold at all, even if they were not interested in this, (they) have to be here; it seems that somebody said this. So, the teaching became a struggle, we struggled, (and) they also struggled.

Research: Hmm, yeah.

PP teacher 3: I feel the same; it should be consensual by both students and teachers. It should select a bit according to his/her foundation; only can selection achieve the real goal. You want the knowledge in Chinese acquired well, that's the medical knowledge acquired well, plus to master English; thus, only he/she who first is good at English can be enrolled in this class.

PP teacher 2：未来我，至少第一个，首先要保证这些所谓全英教学(.)全英教学参加这个班的人那个英语成绩先（够）。真的是随意的选一下就进去，都没有什么门槛了。甚至他们没有这个兴趣了，不得不进来，好像是有这种说法。那就是教起来很吃力，我们吃力，他们也吃力。

Researcher：嗯，yeah。

PP teacher 3: 我也同样感受，要你情我愿。要就是遴选一下嘛。从他/她的底子方面选，选了才能达到真正的目的。你又要中文这边的知识不落，就是那个医学的知识不落，又要掌握英文的话，那他/她首先必须英文要好才能够谈得上来这个班吧。

This discussion implies that the teachers disagreed with the selection regulations currently run by the focal university, which makes them disappointed with the "no threshold" selection system and miss the high quality of former students. PP teacher 2's comment on the current struggling situation hints at a deconstruction of imagined elitism as EMI stakeholders. More importantly, this struggle occurs in both parties: students and teachers, but the institutional level fails to address this issue. As PP teacher 3 adds, the selection system should be mutually agreed upon by both parties to ensure the student quality in terms of

English competence and student motivation in bilingual learning. Otherwise, it would be difficult to realise their expected goals – the dual tasks of medical content acquisition (in Chinese) and a good command of English. Interestingly, the expected goals imply a common perception of EMI among the participants: the separation of content and language learning. As a result, they might not necessarily take the initiative to engage with discipline-specific language teaching. For this reason, some scholars have suggested that awareness and corresponding implementation of integration between content and language can potentially help the EMI policymakers to recognise the intertwined nature of subject content and language in EMI practices (e.g., Rose et al., 2019; Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021). In turn, a clarification of the CLIL-ised EMI goals and provision of CLIL pedagogical training from the macro-level stakeholders may facilitate EMI participants' engagement with subject content and discipline-specific language practices. Noticeably, these excerpts imply that both students and teachers have felt their opinions are not taken seriously by the focal university concerning the one-way, even unclear, selection system of EMI students. That is to say, being similar to typical top-down EMI implementation in many contexts, the Chinese participants' voices are less likely to be heard by the upper level of stakeholders. Consequently, the students and teachers have striven to fit themselves into the EMI approach but without receiving adequate support from each other and the institution, and that exacerbates the ambivalence of their identity affirmation (Macaro et al., 2019). Additionally, these two excerpts illustrate a simplified ideological chain existing at the focal university, which shapes the teachers' and students' perceptions of why they have been selected. We can see that interviewees discursively create the image of elite doctors associated with EMI as a goal which could be achieved by setting up selective classes based on *Gaokao* and then implementing bilingual instruction for those selected students. However the (institutional and individual) discursive creation of the elite seems to break down in actual teaching/learning situations, which increases the teachers' and learners' identity ambivalence.

A surprising finding is that all student interviewees agree that the current academic ranking system is "unfair" because the ranking includes all Chinese students in CMI and EMI Clinical Medicine programmes, even though the content is the same, yet the language mediums are different: bilingual for EMI and in Chinese for CMI. For example, RA student 2 comments on the ranking system as "problematic" and stresses that the focal university has failed to recognise the different complexities in the exams between bilingual and CMI classes (Excerpt 31).

Excerpt (31)

I think it-it-it a bit problematic because regardless of the overall results of the final graduation exam, er, the final undergraduate graduation, three classes, one hundred and fifty students together (for ranking). But first, the complexity of our studies is higher than theirs (regular classes), then there's the complexity of exams too, our studies are more complicated, but you (the university) put us together, I couldn't get it, for what? Does it mean we should achieve better results than them in exams

under more-more difficult circumstances, then with the same support? I-I don't (think) our performance is better than CMI classes during our regular learning. (RA student 2)

我觉得这-这-这是有点问题的，因为好像到时候不管是那个毕业期末考试的总成绩还是说就是 er 那个本科毕业的成绩都是三个班，一百五十个人放一起。但是首先我们上课的难度比他们（普通班）高，然后考试的难度比他们高，学习的难度比他们高，但是你（大学）却放在一起排，我不能看得懂这是为什么。就-就他的意思是说我们就应该比他们在更难更难的情况下，然后同等资源的情况下，考的更好吗？我-我也(.)我也没有（觉得）和我们上课的时候，它的效果会比平时的那些中文班的效果要好呀。(RA student 2)

RA student 2 raises questions concerning the design of the ranking system, which reveals his confusion about why the institution makes their situation harder. In his view, it is "problematic" for the focal university to impose such a high expectation on EMI students. In the end, he displays resistance against the perceived expectations of EMI students since their actual academic performance was not as good as their CMI counterparts according to those rankings. The previous Section 5.2 suggests that EMI students tend to highlight their elite identity compared with their CMI counterparts. This unexpected finding implies that the current ranking system demolishes their imagined elitism. It seems to raise a question for EMI policymakers: how to manage the issue of equity between EMI and non-EMI programmes.

In the same vein, MB student 1 points out another issue concerning institutional recognition compared to CMI programmes, which intensifies the EMI students' frustration (Excerpt 32).

Excerpt (32)

After we were passively selected into this class, there were not enough supportive policies, just cutting the total required credits for optional courses in half. That could benefit us, then nothing else. Frankly, according to what our teachers said, the graduation certificate will not be different from other classes, the same as the regular CMI class. (MB student 1)

然后被动选择进来之后，又没有足够的相应政策，也就-也就那个选修学分减了一半，这方面能惠及到我们，然后也就没了。按老师简单粗暴的说法就是毕业证跟其他班没有什么(.)任何区别，跟他们普通中文班有什么区别。(MB student 1)

She complains that the university seems to manage Chinese EMI students in a conflicting manner. In her statement, the university placed the students into bilingual classes without considering their preferences or providing them with sufficient support. Although she does refer to one support term for EMI students, it seems inadequate for dealing with the demands of bilingual learning. To further illustrate her point, MB student 1 recalls what their teachers said about the graduation certificate, which made her feel the efforts they made for bilingual learning were in the end not officially recognised by the focal university. Many scholars have expressed concern that EMI increases educational and socioeconomic inequality (G. Hu, 2019; Lei & Hu, 2014; Shohamy, 2013), so it is somewhat surprising that, on the contrary, the student interviewees deprecate

this assumed elitism by others and position themselves as a disadvantaged group within all types of Clinical Medicine programmes. A similar finding can be found in the study (Gu & Lee, 2019) that EMI students express their vulnerability compared to their CMI counterparts, and the suggested reasons were their less-obvious improvement in English proficiency perceived by themselves and their limited career options based on the westernised educational system. In this way, the reported poor or non-customised management at the institutional level discourages the students from investing in bilingual learning and fulfilling their imagined identity as promising medical professionals in the future.

5.3.4 Impacts of COVID-19 outbreak: Blended learning

In Spring 2020, the sudden outbreak of COVID-19 forced the medical teachers and students to adapt to a distant learning mode, which exerted another challenge for them in fulfilling their imagined identities in EMI education. As mentioned above, most of the interviewees have expressed a sense of being constrained concerning their current English practices in the classroom. Although online education has played a vital role in maintaining the teaching and learning activities during the outbreak, it seems to increase their perception of being incompetent owing to their reduced use of English in medical courses (Huang et al., 2020; Qin et al., 2022). For instance, MB student 1's overview of her performance in that term shows that the lack of textbooks or printed learning materials in online courses cut down her efficiency in learning in English (Excerpt 33). Specifically, she compares the differences in learning strategies between the COVID-19 period and Covid-free times, and then she stresses the efforts that she should have made – such as writing medical English vocabulary down in notebooks for exam revision. This lack of fulfilment from learning in English makes her feel less efficient and less satisfied with herself in that term. This further supports prior findings that the absence of English learning materials to hand, either teacher-made or student-self-made, could weaken students' commitment to EMI learning (Beckett & Li, 2012; H. Xu, 2017).

Excerpt (33)

> If (we) had paper textbooks, it would be definitely better for me. Because I usually write the English down, write once; otherwise, I couldn't really know which ones (.) because I'm too lazy to search back in the books, searching in such thick books to find which words I should memorise. Usually, in those notebooks, for example, the quiz questions for each unit in Beike App[15], I write the English down there, the English should be memorised in each unit. Then, complete the quiz tests, that's like completing the revision of the units, (I) will back to memorise those words, again. That makes the impression deeper (.) firmly. Regarding the next term, if we are not having online courses, (I) will prepare the notebooks in advance. Then, write down the vocabulary that I should memorise, that's it. (MB student 1)

[15] Beike App is a Quiz bank for medical subjects. Many student participants often mentioned it as a tool for their exam preparation in the final round of interview.

（我们）有纸质版课本的话，对于我来说肯定是更好的。因为我一般是把英文写出来，写一遍；要不然我真的不懂哪些(.)因为我懒得翻书，翻书去把那么厚的书去记哪些单词是我该记了。一般都是用那些本子啊，比如说贝壳题目每个单元的后面那些题我都会在那里写下我的英文，每个单元应该要记的英文。然后写完测试，就是复习完本单元之后，（我）又去记下那些单词，这样印象就比较深(.)牢固一点。下学期的话，如果不上网课，（我）那就提前备好本子咧。然后就记好那些该记的单词，就这样。(MB student 1)

Similarly, the teacher interviewees on the whole agree that their use of English dropped throughout that term. For example, although the RA teacher claims there was regular bilingual teaching, he points out that the teaching in English component is less prominent in the live-stream lectures (Excerpt 34). Like MB student 1, RA teacher points out that the reduced proportion of speaking English keeps him further away from what he wished to perform – presenting his medical English expertise – in lectures.

Excerpt (34)

The bilingual teaching in this term, I think I still can (.) still can carry out the teaching regularly. Erm because, after all, by rights, if bilingual, I should use English and Chinese in offline lectures. But for me, because it gave me a little chance to speak in English. How do I feel about that? That's really (.) er giving them (the students), that's using speaking in English when live-stream lectures, right? Live-stream. Then, the English that all students heard from me was very little very little, right? So, for highly professional (content), I think, it was possible for them, of course, what did it seem to them? Chinese people love a kind of (.) deaf-mute English {unclear}, (it) seemed not to affect them greatly. But I think this term didn't give me that-that chance to present. As for students, certainly, if (they) could hear, it might be better for them. (RA teacher)

这个学期的双语教学工作，我觉得我还是能(.) 就说还能正常的开展教学的。Erm 因为毕竟按照道理来说，双语的话我就应该在线下的话，我应该是用英语跟中文讲的。但是我就说呢，因为给我用英语讲的机会太少了。我觉得什么呢？真的是在一个 er 就说呢，给他们一个是就是说那直播的时候才用英语讲，是吧？直播，然后所有学生得到(.)从我这里就说听，听到的英语是很少很少的，是吧？所以特别专业的（内容），我觉得可能对他们，当然他们也就什么呢？中国人就是爱一种(.)哑巴英语{unclear}，好像影响不大。但是我觉得还是这次还没有给我这种-这种机会，就是展现机会。那学生当然这样也就说呢，那如果能听，可能对他们可能稍好点。(RA teacher)

In his view, the bilingual offline courses are supposed to be delivered in both Chinese and English as usual. However, the live-stream mode made it more demanding for the teachers to lecture bilingually, and he feels sorry about insufficient input of English elements for the Chinese students. Nevertheless, he maintains a fairly neutral tone when speaking about that unsatisfying language practice and in the last few sentences he does not refer to it as having any negative impact. He elaborates on the reason for his comment on the limited use of English in live-stream lectures by positioning Chinese students as "deaf-mute English" lovers. The "deaf-mute English" learners in the RA teacher's view, they excel in receptive English skills but not in the productive skills required for expressing themselves in English. Considering what he perceives as that fact seems to ease the RA teacher 's guilt about his inadequate use of English, esp. oral English, in online lectures during the COVID-19 outbreak.

Thus far this section has indicated an ambivalence in student identity construction in the EMI programme. Despite an admiration of "western" advancement in modern medicine (see Section 5.2), the teacher and student interviewees have opened up about their challenges and struggles, indicating the failures of achieving their imagined identity, and showing their ambivalent identity construction and constrained investment in EMI.

5.4 Chapter summary

To conclude, this chapter has shown that EMI teachers and students construct ambivalent and at times even contrasting identities. On the one hand, they have positioned themselves as elites compared to their EFL and CMI counterparts; on the other hand, they have experienced challenges to realise perceived elitism under the prevailing ideologies of English, medicine discourse, and bilingual education.

Turning now to the investment mode for drawing the above findings together, Darvin & Norton (2015, p.42) portray the power flows amongst contiguous spaces: *identity*, *ideology*, and *capital* in relation to *investment* – learners' desire. Given the plural and fluid nature of identity, learners (and teachers) are not only positioned by the prevailing ideology in specific contexts, but can also negotiate, resist, or challenge the position through their investment with available capital. The first key observation in this chapter is that the EMI teachers and students portray their imagined or idealised identities as medical experts and learners who are competent to instruct and discuss medical subjects smoothly in English, compared with their EFL counterparts whose English is regarded as general and elementary. Hence, their discursive construction suggests that they obtain adequate disciplinary-specific English proficiency that has become a valuable capital in these EMI courses. As a result, an evident tendency among teachers and students is that they highlight the complexity of medical content in English and prioritise content teaching and learning. At the same time, this tendency may drive them away from disciplinary-specific language teaching and learning opportunities that are inseparable components of EMI because they may not be sufficiently self-aware as language teachers and learners.

The second key observation primarily emerges from the interviewees' discourse of their belief in EMI that considers the "West" to be dominant in modern medicine, with English is an essential medium of medical scholarship. With this prevailing ideology of "western medicine" and English, the EMI medical teachers and students portray imagined identities as medical professionals or candidates who need to keep in line with "western" or international advancements in English. In other words, English, medical research outputs in English, and the (in-)tangible outcomes (like peer recognition) that might result,

have become linguistic and symbolic capitals on which to build their imagined identities. Meanwhile, it may be noted that such a level of admiration might turn into a craze for English or "western" scholarship without critical reflection and consideration of the need for it being adapted to local practices. Also, this discourse favouring "western" medicine might marginalise EMI agents' attention to appreciating and building scholarship in Chinese.

The third key observation is that EMI teachers and students deconstruct their imagined identity when talking about their challenge-ridden bilingual circumstances. For example, reported issues in English communication led the EMI teachers to rely heavily on a medical vocabulary-focused strategy that minimises the threat to their professional identity as medical teachers. By taking this position as medical professionals, the EMI teachers justify their prime identity as pragmatic English users and demonstrate investment in meaning-focused English instruction rather than linguistic correctness and refinement. At the same time, they consider these bilingual teaching practices so limited as to deviate from the "ideal" kind of bilingual course desired by themselves and other stakeholders. That conveys a clear message that English communication skills, especially oracy, are needed to afford EMI teacher identity construction. The English vocabulary-focused teaching practices plus exam-oriented learning make the EMI students feel incompetent at comprehending the medical context in English so that for practical purposes, and in particular communication, their English is constrained. That further supports the finding among teacher interviewees that current limited investment in bilingual teaching and learning has demotivated them to approach their imagined selves. Additionally, several reported challenges in relation to institutional management (e.g., language support and PD training, one-way selection led by the University, the ranking system and graduation certificate) result in a sense of loss of eliteness in EMI among interviewees. For example, a shortage of English language support and PD training makes it difficult for EMI teachers and students to access or upgrade English skills to cope with increasingly complex content teaching and learning. At the same time, it is noteworthy that the institutional discursive creations of eliteness become contested in the participants' reality, resulting in a self-devaluation of their existing skills and resources. For instance, the most criticised one-way selection of students indicates a simplified chain of training medical talents at the institutional level, that is, an ideological equation between high *Gaokao* scores, talented students, and promising doctors. Consequently, it is easy for the EMI participants to circulate this simplified ideology chain and complain about the institutional management when encountering bilingual teaching/learning challenges. Another surprising issue raised by students is that the institutional management seems to disregard the complexity of EMI compared to CMI learning, which they experience as damaging their route to the prestige in the medical field that they had associated with EMI. Thereby, it may call for validation of their existing skills and resources to provide affordances for their identity construction. Finally, the outbreak of

COVID-19 dramatically changed the traditional face-to-face learning mode to the online mode. That amplifies the EMI participants' perception of self-incompetence in English since previously they had deliberately reduced their use of English in online lectures and learning. Online learning may limit the usual transition of those capitals like printed/paper learning-in-English materials for building up medical expertise, and that perceived limitation led them to a sense of being unfulfilled in their identity-making. Such reduction in their use of English further confirms the common perception that content and language are separated among the Chinese EMI teachers and students. Since they have stressed the centrality of their medical expertise, they effectively just about gave up on the English language element in order to cope with the educational challenge caused by the COVID-19 outbreak.

6 DIVERSE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND CAPITAL EVALUATIONS

Taking the interaction of ideologies as a starting point, this chapter presents two key observations: competing orientations towards bilingualism in and beyond EMI classrooms, and the diverse beliefs on the languages (and the language speakers) emerged from the interviews. In turn, these ideological tensions and arguments potentially provide an alternative lens that stimulates their agency to negotiate identities as bilingual medical professionals/learners. With this entry point, this chapter interprets and discusses the impact of various (language) ideologies on the participants' evaluation of capital in relation to identity construction and negotiation.

6.1 Competing ideologies of bilingualism in and beyond the EMI classroom

The interview dataset reveals that interviewees' descriptions of their current and imagined bilingual teaching/learning practices mirror an interaction between competing orientations towards bilingualism in EMI. Nevertheless, a shared view among the teachers and students is that the learning process should be bilingual, and the expected outcome is to acquire medical literacy in Chinese and English.

6.1.1 Complete English: is it meaningful?

First of all, when talking about their *ideal* EMI or bilingual classroom practices, a small number of teachers and students explicitly express their preferences for

piloting English-only instruction in the focal medical courses. The common trend is that people favour English-only or complete immersion instruction due to the prevailing ideology of monolingualism in the EFL context (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Poza, 2018). The prior literature has shown an ongoing debate between advocates of monolingualism (or separate bi/multilingualism) and those in favour of dynamic bi/multilingualism (García & Li, 2014). For example, immersion and maximal use of the target language are prominent approaches related to the former stance, whereas the flexible use of full linguistic repertoire (e.g., translanguaging, translingual pedagogy) stresses the dynamic nature of linguistic diversity in educational settings.

Turning back to the interviews, Excerpt (35) shows PP teacher 2's explicit preference for the monolingual instruction mode, demonstrating a discursive link between the monolingual mindset and prestigious ("meaningful") EMI programmes.

Excerpt (35)

I think the ideal situation was to cancel the current bilingual course. Either transfer to completely Chinese or completely English, like English (the MBBS programme for international students). In that way, he/she (the Chinese EMI students) would feel pressure and have certain steps to take. Otherwise, there is no fixed requirement at all, just like the freestyle of now. I think our team is relatively strict; … [compared with other departments' bilingual teaching] ... Ah, that's their whole school arrangement, not like a game of chess, not unified. Although there might be unified criteria, others didn't implement them. Because how did I know this? I'm a supervisor, and I've audited the bilingual classroom delivered by almost every department. That's the current situation, and that is totally different (.) from my concept of bilingual teaching. So, I think (.) the relatively good examples domestically, previously called bilingual teaching, such as [prestigious universities in medicine] they've been teaching completely in English, maybe since the 1980s, they've had so-called bilingual, not like this; even ward round is in English. That may be meaningful. The current bilingual mode becomes a mere formality. (PP teacher 2)

我觉得最理想的状态的话，取消双语班。要么就是它转化为全中文，要么就全部讲英文，像英文那样子。这样的话，他才有压力，也才有一定的台阶。否则到现在根本没有固定的一个要求，就是好像都是自由发挥的。我觉得我们科室算是比较严格的；……[对比其他和教研室的双语教学]……啊，那他们是整个学校的这种布局，不是一盘棋一样的，没有一个统一的。虽然可能是有统一的标准的，但是人家不实行。因为我这么知道这个呢？我是督导，我是顺便去听几乎每个科室都听了。就这么一个状况，那完全跟我概念上的双语教学(.)是不一样的。所以我觉得(.)做得比较好的，像国内的，以前可能也叫做双语教学，像[知名医科院校]他完全是全英去教学的，可能就说在八十年代就开始是这样子了，他没有说所谓的双语呀，没有这样的啊；甚至查房的时候他全部是英文的，那这样可能才有意义。现在这些双语好像只是流于形式那么一个样子。(PP teacher 2)

In this excerpt, PP teacher 2 firstly expresses his preference for monolingual instruction by suggesting "either-or" choices ("complete Chinese or complete English"), which indicates his disappointment in the current instruction, that sways between Chinese and English. So he suggests that the university either cancels the bilingual programme (changing to CMI) or converts it to full-fledged EMI. He gives the reason why English-only is a "meaningful" mode by criticising what he perceives as the laissez-faire ("freestyle") bilingual teaching practices across departments. By referring to the organisation of EMI

programme with the metaphor - "a game of chess", PP teacher 2 expresses his dissatisfaction with the lack of overall management since other departments seem not to enforce the requirement of bilingual instruction rigidly. Then, taking a position as a supervisor of overall EMI programmes, PP teacher 2 elaborates on his perception of bilingual teaching by referring to some "good" bilingual practices at prestigious medical universities in China. In his description, those universities have been implementing the English-only mode for three decades. The last two sentences conclude that the current bilingual approach at this focal university is superficial ("a formality"), while English-only is thorough and meaningful, in his view. Performing his identity assigned by the university as a quality controller of the EMI programme, PP teacher 2 sees himself as a representative institutional voice. His ideological preference for monolingual instruction seems to build up his identity as a teaching authority, in which he attached English-only with "prestigious" or as role models like those prestigious universities in medicine, whereas their bilingual instruction is in a second-place or like what Carroll and van den Hoven (2016) have called "stigmatised" EMI practices.

Interestingly, to stress his preference for English-only, PP teacher 2 further mentions monolingual practices performed by those top tier universities in hospital routines by pointing out that "the even ward-round is in English" though the Chinese language is the primary language in educational and professional contexts in China, such as the medical university and its affiliated hospitals, and in the national professional qualification test - the Chinese Medical Practitioner Examination (CMPE) (M. Yang et al., 2019). So the researcher asked a follow-up question - if PP teacher 2 might be concerned about the students' employability and the result of CMPE under monolingual English instruction (Excerpt 36). He replied as follows.

Excerpt (36)

PP teacher 2: = I know, this bilingual (courses) was for the students dual (learning) (.) acquiring content knowledge. (We) definitely ensured content knowledge acquisition. It just adds a procedure of language. That would affect it - no conflict, I mean.

Researcher: So, you think if s/he (the student) receives complete English teaching, it won't (.) it will not conflict with the student's command of medical knowledge in Chinese?

PP teacher 2: Yes, yes. S/he learns medicine primarily. The only difference is that s/he studies in the class or usually studies with an English way of thinking, just changing a language. Language is a mere means.

PP teacher 2: =我知道啊，就是这个双语（课程）主要是为了他双重（学习）(.)就是说学知识，学知识肯定是(我们)保证的。它只不过是从语言上面多了一套程序而已。这个不影响的，这种互不冲突，我意思就。

Researcher：所以你会觉得如果是他(学生)接受全英这个教学，它可能(.)它也不会冲突学生对这个中文专业知识的掌握?

PP teacher 2：是的，是的。他主要还是学医学的。只不过是他上课的时候或是是平时学习的思维的时候是用英文，就换了一个语言而已。语言仅仅是一个手段了。

In this follow-up turn, PP teacher 2's reply indicates his belief that "Complete English" instruction would not "conflict" with the acquisition of medical knowledge in Chinese. He uses "definitely" and "primarily" to stress that medicine is the main learning content, while "language" – the English language is "procedure", a "way of thinking", and "a mere means". This indicates that he ideologically separates content and language in EMI course, taking it for granted that Chinese students would learn medical knowledge in Chinese by themselves (also see Section 5.3). That is to say, with this monolingual mindset, PP teacher 2 fails to recognise that the Chinese students also need to be engaged in learning subject-specific Chinese in EMI courses (J. Hu & Wu, 2020). At the same time, prior literature suggests that content lecturers are not necessarily aware of the explicit teaching of discipline-specific language under the "gaze" of English language teaching (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019). Taken together, there is an implication in PP teacher 2's description of "Complete English" instruction that content learning in Chinese is the hidden agenda in the goal of EMI instead of English as the only medium of instruction. Meanwhile, his discursive preference for "Complete English" not only contributes to constructing his authorised identity, but also implies his concern about the current "freestyle" language practices as a threat to his professionality. As prior research on bilingual classroom practices has reminded us, frequent code-switching to L1 in lectures contributes little to developing the medical learners' oral and listening skills (Jiang et al., 2016). Also, some writers have argued that laissez-faire language practices could cause uncertainty in the bilingual teaching approaches among teachers, even leaning to the English-only mode (Feng et al., 2017). To some extent, these concerns derived from the preference for monolingualism or separate bilingualism make the EMI participants inclined to seeing monolingual instruction as "prestigious" and effective in EMI. Consequently, the teachers have tended to display an ideological bias towards bilingual mode in EMI education while bridging institutional policies and students' demands in their teaching (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Poza, 2018).

In the same vein, group interviews show that a few students wish to maximise the use of English and even use only English because they have had only limited exposure to English outside the classroom. This suggests that the EMI classroom is perceived as a legitimate space for using English by the students, while outside of the classroom seems to be mostly dedicated for monolingual use of Chinese. For instance, the following excerpt (37) indicates that PP student 3 is aware of the challenge to implement "Complete English" for the majority of students. Yet, her expression demonstrates a wish to pilot monolingual English instruction due to her limited exposure to English outside the classroom.

Excerpt (37)

> Perhaps that is because learning in English directly would be challenging, but I still would like to try that complete-English class, since (we) usually have very a few chances to express ourselves (in English) … [self-study the content before class] …but the study-load would be too heavy, so it wouldn't work well. (PP student 3)
>
> 可能就是因为就直接用英语上课会比较吃力，但是我还是就是想尝试那种全英的课堂，因为（我们）平时（用英文）表达特别少。…[课前自学内容]…但是这样负担就会特别重，所以就可能操作性上就不太高。(PP student 3)

This finding is in line with previous studies that the use of English is restricted to a small number of domains even though English has increasingly appeared in schools and everyday life in China (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Bolton & Graddol, 2012). More importantly, her wish for English-only instruction implies that the EMI classroom assigned by the focal university has become a more legitimate space for using English compared to everyday communication. Otherwise, as J. Adamson and Coulson (2015) have suggested in the Japanese HE context, the teachers and students were more likely to have a sense of "guilt" if they did not maximise their use of English. Furthermore, this ideological stance in favour of monolingualism/separate bilingualism also mirrors a trade-off mindset concerning the pedagogical use of multiple languages, in which an increase in using one language may cause a decline in other languages in the places and times allotted (like classroom settings). Nevertheless, as critiques of monolingualism or separate bilingualism, a number of studies in various contexts do suggest that dynamic and flexible language use can provide students with linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural support in bi/multilingual learning (García & Li, 2014; He et al., 2017; Lin, 2015; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

Similarly, the most senior student interviewee (M Student 6), taking the teacher's position, describes her imagined EMI programme design: a gradual immersion programme that would encourage the students to increase the use of English, from even distribution of both languages in the first two years to 80% of English in the mid-years, eventually reaching immersion-in-English mode (Excerpt 38).

> Excerpt (38)
>
> It would also depend on the audience. If the students were in the years 1-2, the basic stage, I would (employ) er. a 50-50 Chinese to English ratio. But in year 4, I think they might not be far from deciding their direction, I feel I would probably adjust the proportion to 80% in English, then as much (.) also if students would have certain foundations, I might choose to use the Complete English mode for teaching, as much as (I could), letting the students in bilingual classes have an immersive bilingual teaching environment. (M student 6)
>
> 还要看受众。就是比如说如果说学生还是大一大二这个基础阶段的话，我可能还是er 50%（50%）这样子(.)中英文的比例，但是到大四的时候，我觉得他们可能离决定自己的方向也不远了，我觉得就可能把他们的英文比例为 80%这样子，然后尽量(.)而且大家有一定基础的话，我可能还是会选择用一个全英的方式去说，就是尽量让双语班的同学有一个沉浸式的双语教学的一个环境。(M student 6)

Her description of course design shares a similar ideological stance with PP student 3's, that is, maximal use of the classroom space. This further confirms that the EMI classroom is seen as a legitimated space for speaking English based on institutional policies. Apart from that, although her ultimate goal of bilingual instruction would be immersion mode, her desired language distribution hints that the Chinese language is not excluded from the entire teaching process. Furthermore, her explanation of design logic displays a linear development of students' English, demonstrating her awareness of the need for adjustment according to developments in the students' language competence. However, like the descriptions of language distribution in institutional policies (see Section 4.1) and in responses of some teacher interviewees (Excerpt 39), it is noticeable that M student 6 follows the most common way to illustrate her imagined bilingual practice – using relative proportions of language distribution.

Excerpt (39)

Because there is no clear requirement, and (the school) says 50-50. Then, it says PPT slides also can take 50% into account. That's not a clear statement, so we decide our own way to teach, which is also welcomed by the students. (PP teacher 3)

因为现在（学校）还没有很明确的(.)说 50%50%，后来说 50%那个 PPT 也算数，那就没有明确的怎么讲法。所以这方式由自己订的话就是在这样了，也是学生乐意的。(PP teacher 3)

On the one hand, it seems that the percentage is commonly used to regulate and stabilise the description of bilingual practices across different levels. For instance, PP teacher 3 directly refers to the institutional regulation and definition of bilingual courses – 50% in English and 50% in Chinese – when talking about her language practices in EMI teaching. To some extent, using percentages to describe language distribution may mirror the ideological stance in favour of monolingualism in bilingual education, like a zero-sum game - one language replaces the other languages in a given place and time. As mentioned above, this zero-sum game mindset may result from the EMI participants' perception of legitimated places and times for using English. In their view, the classroom setting has already been set up as legitimated by the focal university, whereas the presence of English in other occasions (e.g., clinical and daily communication) has been left unknown about or with limited use. Accordingly, they tend to follow the institutionally defined distribution of languages – to talk about bilingual practices and feeling guilty if they did not maximise their use of English. On the other hand, we can see from her later statement that this clear-cut distribution of languages becomes unclear and problematic in the actual teaching process. Although the policy statements on language distribution indicate a preferred proportional share for both languages, there is no clear-cut division between the uses of different languages in the actual EMI teaching and learning. This finding echoes the argument about language use in the CLIL classroom. Lo (2015) has argued that content teachers consider specific

educational contexts and students' linguistic profiles instead of percentages and allocated time. In other words, Lo's (2015) argument reminds EMI stakeholders in that language practices are more complex and dynamic than expected in the students' ideas of linear development. This requires teachers to take specific subject literacy into account, negotiate with students, and adjust the language practices accordingly rather than sticking to fixed requirements and measurement such as a fixed percentage of allocated time (Lo, 2015).

6.1.2 Bilingual practices are needed in the EMI classroom

As evident above, the Chinese language plays a fundamental role in every aspect of these medical interviewees' lives, so it is difficult to implement English-only instruction without considering the cognitive challenges in studying medicine and the practical needs of the medical students. The interview dataset shows that the majority of interviewees explicitly agree on the importance of combining the two languages and keeping a balance, even though the forms of the combination vary. For example, MB teacher's description of her "ideal" EMI teaching implies her preference for flexible bilingual practices and a balance of the two languages as in her previous EMI learning experience in undergraduate years (Excerpt 40).

> Excerpt (40)
>
> MB teacher: The emphasis is on not to speak too much English, because our lessons were all in English, not even a single Chinese sentence.
>
> Researcher: Ah? So, do you think it would be better to offer students a balance?
>
> MB teacher: Yes, the teacher who taught us at that moment was a superior (expert) and was recruited from abroad. So he refused to speak any Chinese; he lectured only in English, so it was really difficult for us.
>
> MB teacher: 我的影响就是不要说那么多英语了，因为当时我们上课是全英文的，连一句中文都没有。
>
> Researcher: 啊？所以就-就是您-您觉得就是给学生就有个 balance 会好一点？
>
> MB teacher: 对。当时我们上课的时候那个老师是巨牛无比的，我们国外请回来的，然后就他就拒绝说任何的中文，他就只说英文，所以对我们来说当时非常痛苦。

This excerpt suggests that studying in an English-only classroom, in which the use of L1 was deprecated, leads MB teacher to reflect on what kinds of language practices would be welcomed by Chinese medical students when she became a teacher. Following on from her first description I asked her "Would it be better to offer students a balance?" She recalled her impression of the teacher being "superior (expert)" with overseas experience by showing his stubborn attitude ("he refused to speak any Chinese"). From her words, we can sense that in her mind lecturing in English represents superiority, while English combined with Chinese erodes this superiority. This finding resembles PP teacher 2's

discursive description of monolingual instruction in EMI: English-only seems to represent high quality. This further supports the finding in Section 5.2 that English has become a symbol of elitism. However, re-taking her position as an EMI student, MB teacher acknowledges that English-only instruction is very demanding for medical students. Therefore, when she has become an EMI medical teacher, her reflections on her experience of English monolingual instruction will help her to exercise her own agency by stepping into the students' shoes, and to bear in mind the cognitive and linguistic challenges those Chinese medical students have faced in EMI learning and their preference for keeping a balance between bilingual practices.

Following MB teacher's reflections on her previous EMI experience, the researcher asked about the impacts of English-only instruction on her code-switching practices in terms of medical expertise (Excerpt 41). Her reply presented further supports the view that ''one-size-fits-all'' language policies may not necessarily be compatible with every subject within the same discipline (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). What is needed therefore is EMI teachers with different specialised subject backgrounds who can tailor their linguistic practices according to the features of their subject instead of strictly adhering to fixed language management.

Excerpt (41)

Researcher: Hmm, I'm wondering if there is a great amount of English input, would it bring any impacts on (.) regardless spoken or written input would er for students er to switch back to Chinese content knowledge, would it affect? from your =

MB teacher: = Yes, I think so. But I think it depends on the subjects. Some are related to the mechanism, like Molecular biology, Immunology; if being taught in English, sometimes for students to understand the content related to mechanism, in my view. It may cause certain confusion because it was like that when I learned these subjects. We were confused about the whole process and lost some key points. But if that was something related to morphology, like if a germ is round and long, I think it doesn't matter much. That's fine. (MB teacher)

Researcher：嗯，那我很好奇那如果就是非常多的英文的输入，会不会就（.）无论是口头或者书面的这种输入会 er 对学生他 er 转换成中文的知识会带来一定的影响，会吗？就是以您=

MB teacher：= 会，我是觉得会。但是我还是觉得这个还是跟学科有关系吧。一些相关机制性的东西，比如像分子生物学啊，免疫学这样的学科；如果是用英文来去教学的话，有的时候一些对于学生的理解，比如一些机制性的东西，对于他们的理解来说，我认为是有一些难度的。会造成一些混淆，因为我当时学习的时候就是这样。我们会混淆整个过程，有些关键点是抓不住。但是如果一些形态学的东西比如说这个细菌是圆的长的，我觉得这些就无所谓，这个就没有关系了。

Taking some medical subjects as examples, MB teacher points out how the amounts and levels of code-switching depend on the features of those subjects. In her opinion, EMI students may need more linguistic support to study the subjects related to the mechanism, compared with those regarding morphology in medicine. Taken together with her above statements, she considers that the content teachers need to not only carry out bilingual practices in the medical

EMI classroom but also to flexibly adjust and modify those linguistic practices according to specific subject content.

Another teacher shares a similar point of view that flexibility of language use is needed in the EMI classroom. Excerpt (42) illustrates RA teacher's description of his current language practices – code-switching between Chinese and English - by referring to the way Hong Kong people speak English. He explains that the English language is used to highlight professional vocabulary and the Chinese language to structure and fill in the words. His uncompleted comment on code-switching in bilingual teaching indicates his uncertainty about how others would value this code-switching style, since it does not fit in with the taken-for-granted English-only approach under the traditional default ideologies of monolingual instruction in EMI. This finding echoes the previously mentioned question of the feasibility of dynamic bi/multilingualism instruction, namely to what extent EMI stakeholders (esp. policymakers and managers) welcome this mixed use of languages (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Poza, 2018). Nevertheless, what he went on to say highlights the need for flexible adjustment of language use. He repeats that students' reactions can signal the moment to switch back to Chinese. Like MB teacher, RA teacher also takes the students' opinions seriously enough to modify his language uses in practical EMI classrooms. Moreover, his support of the code-switching strategy gives further weight to the view that Chinese, as a language shared by content teachers and students, provides a linguistic scaffolding for increasing the intelligibility of EMI lectures, even though that may not be considered a desirable language practice by the EMI stakeholders (Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

Excerpt (42)

In my bilingual lesson, how do I (instruct) my professional (. content)? Using (.) that's (.) speaking in English for professional vocabulary, probably mixing some (.) speaking in Chinese, just like Hong Kong people speak-speak that kind of English. It is not very@@, let's say (.), professional-professional (vocabulary) in English. Then, (I) observe the students' reactions. If (they) can't get it, (I) switch back to Chinese. Gradually (teaching) in this way, because you must cultivate students. (RA teacher)

我双语课堂就是呢，我专业的(.内容)我是怎么（教）呢？用(.)就说呢(.)用英语讲专业的词汇，可能也穿插一些(.)就是说中文。就像香港人讲-就说讲那种英语一样的。它不是很@@，就说呢(.)专业-专业的（词汇）就用英文，然后看看学生反应。如果（他们）反应不过来的话，（我）又转回中文。逐渐逐渐这样，因为你必须培养学生的。(RA teacher)

Similarly, a shared view amongst student interviewees is that the bilingual mode – "combining/mixing Chinese with English 中英结/混合" - would be desirable. When describing their *ideal* and current bilingual practices, Chinese came first, followed by English, indicating the primary place of Chinese with English in a supplementary role. For instance PP student 1 made an interesting comparison between PP teachers 1 and 2 regarding their language practices on

their PPT slides (Excerpt 43), illustrating her desired language practices in EMI courses.

Excerpt (43)

In a recent lesson by PP teacher 1, I felt her lecture gave me a sense of clarity. That is to say, her Chinese-English (.) the English she used seems, in my impression, her PPT slides were (.) relatively well-marked. (For) some important English, she marked them out. But she didn't like (.) PP teacher 2, in my impression. His (PP teacher 2) PPT slides contained a lot of-a lot of English. Then, they were fully in English. And when (the slides) were presented(.), I usually read the textbook while listening to what he lectured. For the PPT slides, I didn't get them well. But if it is in PP teacher 1 ('s lessons), (.) she marked out the key points in English. For those complex ones, she included some Chinese, which made them more understandable. (PP student 1)

就近一次就是 PP teacher 1 的课。我觉得 PP teacher 1 她的那个给我的感觉还是比较清晰的。就是她中英(.)她那个英文好像，印象中她的 PPT 会(.)相对突出一些，就是一些重要的英文，她好像是会标出来的。但是她也不会像(.)就是那个我印象中 PP teacher 2 好像，他的那个 PPT 是英文含量特别特别多。然后就是整个篇幅都是英文。然后说就是看（幻灯片）的时候(.)一般我是在看课本听他讲什么，PPT 我就没怎么看得懂。但是 PP teacher 1 的话，(.)重点她会用英文弄出来。然后比较难的一些她会包含一些中文这样子，看起来会好理解一点。(PP student 1)

According to the teaching schedule, the Pathophysiology course was co-delivered by PP teacher 1 and 2, who took charge of different sessions. Given that situation, this comparison vividly demonstrates how the monolingual approach and bilingual approaches to EMI are perceived by PP student 1. This excerpt points to the fact that PP teacher 1's PPT slide layout is considered to be clearer by PP student 1 because it highlights key English terms well and offers Chinese to explain complex English terms. Regarding PP teacher 2's PPT slides, she recalls that the slides were entirely in English, making it difficult to follow the content displayed. So she resorted to reading the textbook in Chinese to follow PP teacher 2's lecture. In reference to the statement above by PP teacher 2 on English-only instruction (Excerpt 35 and 36), it suggests that English-only PPT slides in fact work less effectively in the course from the students' perspective. On the other hand, a positive comment on PP teacher 1's PPT slides indicates that formatting highlights and language scaffolding in Chinese contribute to a "more understandable" teaching approach.

Excerpt (44)

If I were a teacher in the bilingual class, because I have been persecuted by exam-oriented education for so many years, and I know myself as a student that passing exams is their biggest main need. This need must be fulfilled, so (I) would spend great efforts to explain those well (.) those key contents in each-each chapter, and difficult points that need to be explained carefully. To make sure they grasp key knowledge, then (.) ensure this, and add some English in the key parts appropriately for the students, who are more capable of acquiring more, to (.) to read (.) to read English more. (PP student 4)

如果我是一名双语老师的话，因为我自己也是被应试教育迫害了那么多年过来的嘛，我也知道作为学生。这个应试是他们最-最大最主要的需求。这个是一定要满足的，所以（我）就要重点讲解好那些(.)那个本章掌握每-每个章节要掌握的内容，还有难

点的地方要重点讲解。要确保他们先掌握这个知识点，然后再(.)在确保的情况下，适当的在那些关键的地方加一些英文让他们学有余力的同学可以找，就可以(.)就可以看(.)可以看那个英文。(PP student 4)

In Excerpt 44, PP student 4, who has frequently in the interviews referred to his struggles with EMI learning, stresses his preference for bilingual instruction, even for using more Chinese than English, to meet his basic need to pass the final exams. Further, he wishes to diversify the teaching approaches to take more into account the different levels of learning capacity among the EMI students. Unlike the student interviewees who show their capabilities and were less resistant to handling medical English (see Section 5.2), PP student 4 tends to position himself in the disadvantaged category within the EMI class. When encouraged to consider the teacher's position in designing bilingual courses, he first reflects that "passing exams is their biggest main need". Under such an exam-oriented learning atmosphere, PP student 4 retreats from the perceived "elite" identity of others and wishes to reduce the teaching content to the basic yet key learning goal of passing exams. In order to achieve that, he assigns the major role to the Chinese language for making sure the key content has been well understood by the students. More importantly, he points out the diversity of the learning capabilities among EMI students, which require the teachers to adjust their language use to instruct different categories of learners or audiences, for example, "add some English as appropriate in the key parts" for more capable learners. For him, who perceived himself as a less-capable EMI learner, it seems essential to maintain the prime role of the Chinese language in his imagined bilingual courses. This finding resonates with the equity issue raised in the CLIL research conducted by Nikula et al. (2022), which calls for diversifying teaching approaches in order to provide personalised support for different levels of achievers within CLIL groups.

Moving from teacher-led learning in the classroom to student-regulated learning after the lessons, PP student 3, who has often been complimented by other group members for her academic performance, demonstrates her way of notetaking that involves different languages and symbols. When talking about tips for bilingual exam preparation, PP student 3 shows her agency to maximise the use of English in any possible component of EMI learning, like drawing outlines for each unit in English (Excerpt 45). That echoes her prior wish for the trial English-only instruction (see Excerpt 37). Although she claims that her main motivation is to cope with the bilingual exams, this learning strategy offers her an opportunity to exercise productive English skills rather than to solely rely on the content input from the teachers.

Excerpt (45)

[revision strategies for bilingual exam] … for some subjects I have, have drawn outlines, and then reviewed the outline before exams. Then, because the exams are in English, and then as usual, I'm used to (.) taking notes by using, basically using English for notetaking, and then being familiar with (the English) in exams. (PP student 3)

[双语考试期末复习策略]… (.)相对来说就有的，也会整一些那个提纲，然后就是考试之前过一遍。然后就因为那个要考那个英文的话，然后平时自己做笔记的话会用那个(.)就是基本上都是用英文在记东西，然后考试的时候就会比较熟悉。(PP student 3)

Since her case is quite rare, I followed up on her statement by asking for more detailed descriptions of this learning strategy. So after the group interview, she sent me private messages to elaborate on her notetaking strategy by showing several pages in her notebook as examples (Figure 9 and Excerpt 46).

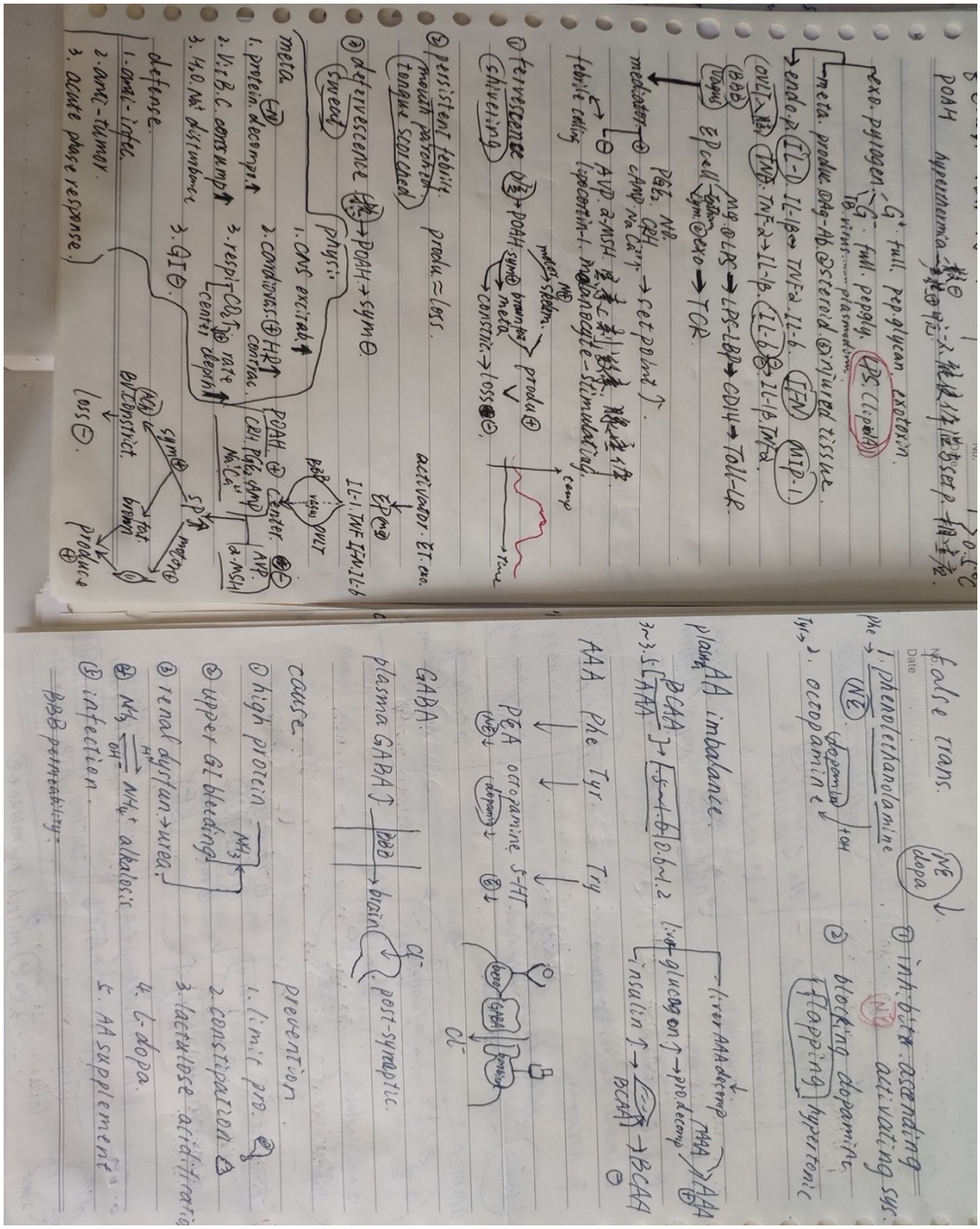


FIGURE 9 Handwriting notes in PP student 3's notebook

Excerpt (46)

Text message 1: Most of the time all in English, and then some are mixed with some parts in Chinese. There are two cases, one is that the expressions in Chinese are shorter and more straightforward; another is that (I) forget the expression in English and have to use Chinese to note down.

Text message 2: One more, that is, it is convenient to mark in Chinese for some new vocabulary that seems not to be remembered easily. This situation is quite rare, and I still forget the vocabulary and re-check the meanings most of the time. (PP student 3)

短信 1：多数是全英文的，然后里面掺有一部分中文。主要两种情况，一个是有些中文表达更简单粗暴；再一个是（我）英文表达不会然后只能用中文记。

短信 2: 还有一个就是有一些生词感觉不太好记可能就会顺手用中文标一下。这个比较少，大多数时候还是忘了再重新回去查是什么意思。(PP student 3)

Figure 9 illustrates that these written learning materials resemble described language practices in prior excerpts (also see Chapter 5), which address the primary role of English for professional terms and Chinese as cognitive and linguistic scaffolding. Interestingly, we can see the majority of content on this page is medical terminology and phrases in English with some corresponding or supplementary Chinese terms and sentences. The figures and symbols are frequently used to illustrate the relations among these terms. Different coloured pens are used for marking importance.

More importantly, the messages of PP student 3 (Excerpt 46) explain how she perceives the different use of languages in her notetaking habits. She states three situations: first, the better clarity of Chinese expression than English; second, using Chinese to note down those unknown expressions in English; and finally, marking the corresponding Chinese to better memorise the English items. It is evident that Chinese not only provides a linguistic rescue or scaffolding (referring to the second and the third situations), but it is also integrated with content learning thanks to its better capacity to convey meaning for native Chinese speakers. These findings draw attention to recent studies on bilingual education that have criticised the default monolingualism ideology and appealed to adopt a multilingual paradigm (Fang, 2018; Galloway et al., 2017; Macaro, Hultgren, Kirkpatrick, & Lasagabaster, 2019; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). In line with the acknowledgement by many scholars of the pedagogical role of L1 in EMI/CLIL education (Chen et al., 2020; Lin, 2015; Qiu & Fang, 2019), the teachers and students have agreed that it is clearer and more efficient to teach and study content knowledge, convey meanings, and offer language rescue or scaffolding in their L1, Chinese.

6.1.3 Relations between Chinese and English beyond the EMI classroom

Having discussed the language practices in classrooms, the following part presents the descriptions of relations between Chinese and English regarding career development. That illustrates the EMI participants' construction and

negotiation of bilingual identities affected by competing ideologies. In the first description (47), RA teacher metaphorises English as "a bonus" and "a wing" for the students who are the "diamond in the rough" for their later studies and career development. And the "good" English that he refers to means reading and writing skills, which leads to "leaps and bounds" in further education. That finding echoes prior findings showing that English language learning was considered an additional benefit by the EMI Chinese students (J. Hu & Wu, 2020).

Excerpt (47)

Of course, I think this's good, good for students. First of all, as I said, if this cohort of students can pursue postgraduate education, it is a great help for their later studies. After all, it gives her/him a bonus, a wing, right? So, this (bilingual learning) is really helpful (.) for them later, that's say (.) they say (.) it's like diamond in the rough (for their futures). Because her/his English is good, and s/he to read English literature, to write in English, they definitely will (.)develop by leaps and bounds. (RA teacher)

当然，我觉得是好的，对学生是好的。就说首先当初，我也讲了，如果这帮学生能读得研究生，对他的后劲帮助真的很大。毕竟他就给他一个加分，就个他一个翅膀，是吧。所以这个对他们帮助的确是(.)以后就说呢(.)他们就说(.)的确是一个潜力股。因为他英语好了，然后他去看英文文献，英文写作，他们就说肯定会(.)一个突飞猛进的。(RA teacher)

The next excerpt (48) illustrates that he relates medical knowledge in Chinese to English language skills when talking about students' failure in exams. His comment on exam failure indicates that the EMI students who do not acquire sufficient medical knowledge could lose the opportunity to pass the "threshold" for reaching a higher and broader "platform". Under that situation, it seems that no matter how good the students' English is, the failure in their acquisition of knowledge stops them from entering the "platforms", and then their English skills become "useless" and "a waste" in "zero-level hospitals". In the RA teacher's opinion, English is intertwined with career development or professional status, echoing the findings that EMI is still strongly related to elitism in the focal context (see Section 5.2). At the end of this excerpt, RA teacher confirms that medical knowledge serves as a foundation and the English language is a "bonus". In other words, he portrays a layered relationship between Chinese and English, in which Chinese is a basic layer while English is a build-up layer. Although he has not explicitly articulated the role of the Chinese language in this conversation, we can see that he equates medical knowledge with the Chinese language. This excerpt further supports the view that Chinese is described as a hidden agenda and a basic layer in interviewees' discourse of content knowledge. That echoes the previous findings that almost all interviewees have affirmed the priority of acquiring medical knowledge, with English seeming an additional task, even though English is depicted as prestigious capital in bilingual teaching and learning. It seems that the perceived advantage of EMI would disappear without the foundation of medical knowledge. However, this trade-off perception of Chinese - English may be seen as going against the simultaneous attention to content and language in integrated

teaching/learning that is valued in EMI. In other words, English has not been considered as an essential component to build up the medical professional identity by the teacher. Instead, the value of English falls heavily on instrumental and additional use, as many scholars, such as G. Hu (2019), Iwaniec & Wang (2022) and Rose et al. (2019), have suggested. Consequently, J. Hu and Wu (2020) have pointed out that such a mindset might be responsible for students' reluctance to make a great effort to learn English.

Excerpt (48)

RA teacher: ……What does failure mean? If this student can't reach a threshold, right? (Although) your English is good, it seems (.) how to say (.) useless, a waste. I think a person, because you don't (.) that's to say (.) a platform, the platform, you are unable to use. The same for English, if you couldn't be admitted into postgraduate (programmes), failing to be admitted into postgraduate, then you couldn't work at a large hospital, a university (.) for example, a hospital at a certain level. If working in zero-level hospitals, your English is basically (.) you learned it but seems like (.) you couldn't communicate, right? You couldn't communicate (with others). That says it's a kind of uselessness.

Researcher: So, do you mean the professional knowledge first err firstly very primary, and then language is a bonus?

RA teacher: Yeah, yeah, language is a bonus.

RA teacher: ……不及格意味着什么? 假如这个学生你不能上到一个门槛，是吧?就说你的英语再好，好像也是(.)怎么说呢(.)也是用不上，也是浪费的。我是一个人认为啊，因为你没有(.)就是说(.)一种平台，平台你就说-就说你用不上。就像英语一样的，就说那个研究生，如果你都考不上，那考不上研究生，你就不能在(.)一所大的医院，一所大学(.)比如说有一定层次的医院，那没有这种层次的医院的话，你的英文基本上(.)你学了好像是(.)你没法交流啊。是吧? 你没法交流，也就说用处不大的。

Researcher：所以您觉得这个专业的知识先是 err 先是非常基础的，然后语言是加分项?

RA teacher：对对，语言是加分项。

An emerging trend from student groups is to see relationship between English and Chinese as interdependent for their individual development. For instance, MB student 3's description demonstrates the relationship between Chinese and English by drawing a zone of the individual's development where these two languages go hand-in-hand (Excerpt 49). It seems that Chinese secures the EMI students' minimum achievement while (medical) English extends the possibility of their achievement. Taking a career development stance encourages the students to perceive that these two languages are not separated or contradicted. As MB student 3 explains, this realisation confirms that Chinese is a fundamental language for medical knowledge acquisition, securing the "bottom line". Meanwhile, English represents the potential of one's achievement, which circulates the prevailing ideology of "western medicine" discussed in previous chapters.

Excerpt (49)

> Regarding the relationship, I think Chinese is the most fundamental language in my daily study. Teaching and understanding(.)studying in Chinese decides the minimum achievement of our medical studies, how low, how high the bottom line is, and then expanding in terms of English, the mastery level of medical English decides our maximum achievement. The higher the level of our English (.) medical English, the more we will achieve. (MB student 3)

> 关系的话，我觉得我现在日常的学习中，最基本的还是中文，中文的教学和理解(.)学习是决定了我们学医的这个下限，就是下限有多低，有多高，然后英文上面的拓展，对医学英语的掌握的熟悉程度决定了我们的上线，我们英语(.)医学英语水平越高，我们学医这个上限就越高。(MB student 3)

The final description (50) elaborates on Chinese as the "mother tongue" and English as the "lingua franca", with the opinion that neither language can be "abandoned" and "got rid of" if one "heads into the world" while rooted in (native/local) Chinese background. MB student 1 discursively creates a developmental space for one's career, indicating the central role of Chinese and an extended potential zone on a global scale via English. Compared to RA teacher's description of a layered relationship, MB students tend to portray a spatial relationship, where these two languages are dependent on each other and extend their potential space on both local and international scales. These findings suggest that the goal of bilingual learning is not a zero-sum game between two languages but a practical embracing of dynamic bilingualism – to train medical professionals to deal skilfully with various bi/multilingual situations in clinics and research work.

> Excerpt (50)

> If we are only considering languages, two languages, one is our mother tongue, another is a lingua franca worldwide. Of course, surely, if (one) heads into the world, one couldn't get rid of English. Of course, our mother tongue couldn't be abandoned either. So, these two (.) are interdependent. If (we are) open to the world, these two should be interdependent. (MB student 1)

> 如果单单对于语言来说，两个语言，一个是我们的母语，一个是世界通用语言。当然肯定如果走向世界的话，这个英语肯定是脱离不了的。当然，我们自己的母语也不可能抛弃掉，所以说两个是(.)相互依存的吧。如果（我们）要走向世界的话，这两个应该是要相互依存的。(MB student 1)

As Dafouz and Smit (2016) have stressed, it is necessary to investigate the perception of the roles of English in relation to other languages by the teachers and students to understand the agents' language ideology under the bi/multilingual educational policy. The section above has unfolded how the EMI teachers and students have negotiated and reconciled the ambivalence within their identity construction by describing an interdependent relationship between Chinese and English. That also helps to explain their ideological stance against monolingual instruction.

These observations above reveal how the teachers and students have displayed competing ideologies of bi/multilingualism towards the EMI medical teaching/learning in the classroom and in relation to career development. At the classroom level, some teachers and students have considered bilingual

practices in EMI as natural and desirable, whereas others have regarded them as problematic and have wanted to try English-only or maximum use of English. These findings mirror the ongoing debate between traditional and emerging ideologies towards bi/multilingualism. In particular, as the default ideological orientation is towards bilingualism, the traditional monolingual ideology within EMI teaching is still widespread worldwide (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Poza, 2018). Consistent with the prior literature, some teachers and students have illustrated a general preference for monolingual instruction, as shown in excerpts 35 and 37-38. Bringing out the connotations to "Complete English", however, I find that the Chinese language and learning medical knowledge in Chinese have emerged as a hidden agenda – a default procedure and outcome in the focal context since a few participants have explicitly mentioned "the Chinese language" when talking about medical knowledge. This hidden agenda shows the complexity and contested ideologies towards bilingualism amongst the teachers and students. On the one hand, they have tended to display a preference for monolingual instruction that contributes to constructing their elite and professional identity through a lens of English language teaching. On the other hand, Chinese is essentially needed to construct their professional identity (e.g., the qualification test of the practitioner in Chinese, the principal working language in China's hospitals). Consequently, there is universal agreement amongst interviewees that it seems challenging to compromise on the quality of content teaching/learning by adopting monolingual (English) instruction, since Clinical Medicine is a life and death matter (Estai & Bunt, 2016; M. Yang et al., 2019). This finding is contrary to previous studies on EMI in China, which have suggested that teachers and students with inadequate English skills tend to simplify the content while teaching (G. Hu et al., 2014). In this way, these competing ideologies intensify the ambivalence of their identity construction. Additionally, this finding further supports the need for discipline-specific negotiation, adjustment, and agreement concerning EMI courses (aims, curriculum description and instruction) amongst different stakeholders, which can encourage EMI participants to modify their imagined selves according to practical circumstances (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva, 2020; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Regarding practical and future-oriented discussions, the interviews show that the fundamental goal of the bilingual programme is to improve students' bilingual literacy in medicine and to be well-prepared for clinical language practices in local contexts. That seems to lead the teachers and students to see the relationship between Chinese and English as intertwined, despite the different modes of desirable bilingual courses mentioned above. Further, as Kroskrity (2010) and Silverstein (1979) have pointed out, teachers and learners may not necessarily be fully aware of their language ideology, which may be a reason why they tend to display an ambivalent ideological stance.

A shared view amongst interviewees is that the learning process should be bilingual, and the desirable or ultimate outcome is to acquire medical

literacy in Chinese and English. From their ideological perspective, the aim of medical courses is not a zero-sum game between two languages, but rather it embraces the dynamic bilingualism that refers to the flexible use of the full repertoire (i.e., translanguaging) of resourceful practices in bi/multilingual education (García & Li, 2014; W. Li, 2018; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Nevertheless, it is not surprising to see the tension between different stances towards the EMI programme, thanks to the concerned discourses driven by the monolingual ideology that criticises the over-reliance on Chinese implementation and reluctance to use communicative English in current classroom practices.

6.2 Diverse beliefs of languages as capitals and identity negotiations

This section draws our focus to another prominent observation concerning ideologies of languages, which has a strong impact on how the interviewees negotiate their ownerships of languages through evaluating the linguistic capitals. On the one hand, the interview dataset shows that binary beliefs of Chinese and English strengthen interviewees' identity confirmation as native Chinese speakers in relation to their identities as English users. Further, their contested evaluations of English varieties reinforce their sense of (oral) English deficiency in ways that highlight linguistic hierarchy. On the other hand, interviewees' reflections on their *de facto* English practices potentially contribute to negotiating their identities as English speakers/users with an emerging awareness of ELF and a neutral attitude towards China.

6.2.1 Challenging the either-or belief in language ownership

Apart from the role of L1 as cognitive and linguistic support shown in the observations above, a noticeable observation that emerged from the interviews indicates that Chinese can also provide interpersonal rapport in EMI teaching and learning. As previous studies on the role of L1 in EMI suggest, a shared L1 (and culture) between teachers and students can enhance inter/intra-cultural and emotional support (Chen et al., 2020; Lin, 2015; Qiu & Fang, 2019). In the same vein, a common finding derived from the interviews reveals that the teachers and students tend to feel "natural" when communicating in Chinese, while English is limited to articulating professional words and terms. For instance, a comparison reported by an RA teacher on classroom language practices shows that he employed distinct language practices according to different interlocutors - international students and Chinese students (Excerpt 51).

Excerpt (51)

> The difficulty, that is, we, after all, our English is not that good. So, ah-ya it's not fluent if sometimes you want to express all the sentences (.) paragraph by paragraph. Another problem is that teaching Chinese students and always speaking in English, (I) am not used to it. It's not like with international students, we can speak in English@, and for international students@, it won't be a problem, speaking in English. For Chinese students, speaking in English feels like (.) except for terminology, we talk some medical vocabulary in English, while for the rest, (I) don't get used to speaking in English. This is a challenge. (RA teacher)
>
> 困难的经历，就是我们就毕竟怎么说(.)我们的英语不是很好。所以有些时候你想把整句话(.)就说整段整段那种表达可能，哎呀，不是那么流畅。另外还有一个问题，跟中国学生，你老是讲英语啊，好像也不习惯。你不说像留学生，我们又能讲得英语@，那留学生@讲英语不成问题啊。那个中国学生讲英语好像觉得(.)除了就是说就专业的术语，我们讲到一些医学词汇讲英语，那其他的话讲起英语来的话，好像也觉得不习惯。这是一个挑战。(RA teacher)

As the excerpt shows, when the RA teacher talked about the difficulties in bilingual teaching, he referred to the Chinese subject teachers' incompetence in English ("we, after all, our English is not that good"). Here, "after all" signals that the perceived Chinese teachers' English incompetence is rooted in his self-awareness so that he naturally takes this perception to build up his language identity. This agrees with the finding in the study by Feng et al. (2017) that EMI participants from non-top tier universities usually consider their English as inadequate. As a result, this leads them to the uncertainty of mixed language practices – like the RA teacher's "difficulty" in bilingual teaching. At the same time, it is interesting that his lack of fluency in (oral) English seems to disappear when teaching international students. As discussed in Chapter 5, the participants' emphasis on English medical words and terms helps to build their medical expertise, while Chinese enhances the intra-cultural and interpersonal affinity within Chinese communities. This positioning of intra-community may in turn lead the Chinese content teachers to draw a boundary between what is self-owned as "native" against what is as "foreign". This boundary of ownerships (especially language ownerships) may result in their perception of being deficient in "foreign" languages based on their full ownership of Chinese as a native language. By contrast, international students are positioned by the RA teacher as others who are excluded from Chinese communities and who do not share native languages or cultures, so that it does not trouble him much to deliver lectures in English. That is to say, English has become a "natural" choice in inter-cultural EMI classrooms rather than in intra-cultural ones. Additionally, his role as an EMI medical expert increases his confidence in discipline-specific English competence when interacting with international students who are regarded as medical learners. Taken together, this self-and-other/native-and-foreign belief about language ownership can contribute to different perceptions of self-language proficiency in intra- and inter-cultural EMI settings.

With this perception of ownership of "native" and "foreign" languages, the RA teacher pictures his "ideal" bilingual classroom as breaking the boundary between intra-cultural EMI and inter-cultural EMI classrooms. Through mixing Chinese students with foreign students, the languages spoken by these two groups of students could be resources to facilitate content learning, as he

explains in Excerpt (52). His imagined bilingual course presents a mixed-groups mode in which English would be the main lecturing language, possibly alleviating the discomfort of using English with Chinese students. Meanwhile, the primary reference materials (anatomical instruction) would be in Chinese. His further explanation suggests that this planned bilingual instruction requires two groups of students to scaffold each other by utilising their own languages if they cannot comprehend the teaching content because of the language barrier.

Excerpt (52)

Actually, what is the best bilingual teaching? Mixing Chinese students and international students and teaching in one class. If mixed together to teach, that would be good both for Chinese students and international students. …in that way we teachers would teach and instruct easily. Then we (could) lecture in English @@ but what could the Chinese students do? If they didn't understand, they could ask international students, right? Then how could we (deal with) the instruction? We could give (.) the Chinese version. The international students could ask the Chinese (Chinese students). Then, they could say, give them evening time, free time, to do what? To practise … (in the lab). I prefer that, first, promote the Chinese students to learn, then to learn from each other… (RA teacher)

其实一个双语教学最好是什么东西呢？把中国学生和留学生混在一起上的。混在一起上的话，对中国学生，对留学生都有好处。我说这样我们老师带教起来也很轻松，然后我们一面用英文讲@@那中国学生什么呢，他听不懂可以问下留学生，是吧？然后操作指导我们可以怎么样呢？可以给就是说呢(.)中文。那个留学生可以问（中国学生）中文，然后他们就说可以给他们晚上时间自由时间什么呢？去操作，去做的。我说这样呢，第一，促进中国学生互相之间呢互相学习… (RA teacher)

In other words, although RA teacher categorises himself (native) and others (foreign) according to the languages they usually speak, his description of "ideal" bilingual teaching encourages breaking the intra-cultural and inter-cultural classroom barriers between the two groups of students, creating a flexible linguistic environment. Although we can see his assumption that "international" equals proficiency in English, his explanation indicates that this classroom mode could break the boundaries between two groups of students. That may serve as the very first step for the Chinese students to reduce their constrained feeling of using English. In this way they could increase their confidence in English via intercultural communication - naturalising their English. Furthermore, RA teacher elaborates that the local and international students could strategically utilise and combine their full linguistic repertoires to co-build on medical knowledge in both languages simultaneously. Here he also values the Chinese students' linguistic knowledge of Chinese in EMI teaching, since the international students are required to learn a certain amount of medical knowledge in Chinese to be able to take part in internships at local hospitals. This intercultural classroom setting is not English-only but embraces bi/multilingual interchanges between the Chinese students and international students as well as the Chinese content teachers. To some extent, the described scenario seems to echo the trend of multilingualism that promotes dynamic multilingual practices in a translanguaging space (García & Li, 2014; W. Li, 2018), even

though RA teacher's statement implies a divided native-and-foreign language ownerships between local students and international students. Nevertheless, this finding further supports the previous findings that Sino-foreign joint international programmes can help Chinese students to develop their intercultural awareness and build up a multilingual identity (Ou & Gu, 2018; Song, 2019, 2020; Song & Lin, 2020).

Since RA teacher's view of an ideal EMI course implies translanguaging space, that is a crucial concept in dynamic multilingualism, I employed his description of the ideal EMI course - mixed-groups of local students and international students - as a stimulus to elicit other interviewees' imagination of their ideal EMI courses, particularly when they did not yet have any ideas concerning this topic. It is not surprising that some students' comments on this imagined course are in agreement with the above binary positioning between "native" and "foreign", where Chinese is firmly tied up with their identities as native Chinese speakers. Meanwhile, English is perceived as owned by foreigners. For example:

> Excerpt (53)
>
> (it) would be a more natural atmosphere for communicating in English, rather than we, a bunch of Chinese here speaking English. Just like the more (.) they speak English as a native language, the more they would speak naturally. Then (if) communicating with them, I think (our) oral English would improve considerably. (MB student 3)
>
> 会有一个比较更加自然的英语交流环境，而不是我们一-一堆中国人在-在这里说英语，就-就有-就有更(.)他们以英语为母语的话，他们会说得更加自然。（如果）就跟他们交流的话，我觉得这个口语提高还是会比较显著的。(MB student 3)

MB student 3's comment points out a prominent advantage of a mixed classroom with international students, that it creates a "natural atmosphere" of communication in English, while it seems unnatural to speak a language other than Chinese with Chinese interlocutors. His claim stresses the foreign students' ownership of English – they "speak English as a native language", which implies his ideological chain connecting English as a native language to foreign students, whereas the Chinese language is seen as fully owned by Chinese students. This assumption is also evident in Excerpt 52, where RA teacher positions international students as proficient English users compared with Chinese students. In turn, this binary ideology of Chinese and English reinforces his self-positioning as a native speaker of Chinese who could improve his oral English "considerably" if communicating with foreign students. All in all, although the notion of translanguaging space seems to emerge from the discussion about meaning-making oriented teaching, it is clear that the distinction between nativeness and foreignness still appears in their discourses. Furthermore, these beliefs in native language ownership may legitimise when to use a particular language and with whom to speak it. For instance, the above excerpts indicate that the Chinese teachers and students think the right time to use English is

whenever they are involved with "foreign" interlocutors or are acquiring "foreign" knowledge. Influenced by this ideology, some interviewees show they are favourably disposed to the mixed-class lesson/inter-cultural classroom, where Chinese participants (teachers and students) intentionally naturalise the use of English and co-create a bi/multilingual environment with international students.

6.2.2 Foreigners and English(es)

Interestingly, although the interviewees widely acknowledged that ownership of English belongs to foreigners, the nativeness of English or who are seen as native speakers by the Chinese teachers and students was also debated and contested in interviews. This section will display and discuss the EMI medical students' and teachers' perceptions of foreigners/international students and the varieties of English that they spoke. It is worth bearing in mind that most international students are from *Outer* (ESL) and *Expanding* (EFL) *Circles* (Kachru, 1985, 2005, p. 14) at the focal university, a factor that may affect the interviewees' evaluations of different varieties of English.

To continue MB student 3's comment (Excerpt 53) above on foreignness in EMI, his initial thoughts on the bilingual programme represent an idealised image of foreignness (Excerpt 54).

Excerpt (54)

@(I) thought there were foreign teachers in a bilingual class, foreign teachers to teach (us). Then I also was afraid of the pressure of bilingual study, but (.) in my brain, I imagined something like American TV series, like medical series, with doctors speaking fluent English, and that seemed a smart thing to do, so I was quite looking forward to it, with a determination to challenge myself. (MB student 3)

@一开始以为双语班有外教，就是会有外国的老师来上课。然后呢也以为好像会害怕这个双语的学习压力会很大，但是呢(.)就是脑子里面会脑补出那种像美剧-美剧，那些医疗剧里面那些医生操着一口流利的英文，感觉也有点潇洒，所以也会有一点向往，就是挑战自我的这种决心在里面。(MB student 3)

His description illustrates an essentialised and idealised image of "foreigners" as American medical professionals and native speakers of English. When MB student 3 describes his initial expectation of the bilingual learning journey, he expects to have "foreign teachers" and shows his motivation ("looking forward to it … with a determination to challenge myself") to become a member of that imagined community through bilingual learning. Further, he portrays how he wished to be like the doctors in "American TV series" who "speak fluent English", which in his view contributes to smartness. This finding resonates with a common observation suggested in previous research that EFL stakeholders tend to idealise the image of English speakers as white people from western developed countries or regions, and they also show a preference for NS teachers (Rose et al., 2022; Tian et al., 2020). The scholars call for a need to apply a

multilingual or non-western lens to reflect what competencies/traits are valued in EMI teaching in Asian contexts (Rose et al., 2022; Tian et al., 2020).

Like MB student 3, PP student 4 also positions foreigners as competent speakers of English, while himself/themselves (Chinese students) as English learners. In addition, it is noteworthy that his understanding of "standard" English further supports an essentialised and idealised image of English speakers (Excerpt 55).

Excerpt (55)

PP student 4: … it was hard to be the standard by merely practising by ourselves here, listening to English audio, watching and listening to the BBC. (You) need to a build connection with foreigners, American or British people, to like them, communicating, interacting for a long time, then you could (acquire it) naturally@.

Researcher: Hmm, okay. So, you think the standard you mean, the so-called "standard" should be based on, like native speakers of English or the people who are primary users of English, what they say is standard, right?

PP student 4: er, basically. Like - like India or which countries, they also speak English as a native language, but they, their pronunciation is funny. Basically, it would refer to America and Britain, developed western capitalist countries.

PP student 4：…… 就是单靠我们自己在国内发挥主管能动性去练，去听英语音频也好，去看那个去听 BBC 也好，都很难练得标准的。(你)一定要去接触过外国人的，美国人也好，英国人也好，人家那种就跟人家交流过，相处得久了自然就才有那味吧@。

Researcher：嗯，okay。所以你认为你的标准，所谓的标准应该是以，比如说以英语作为母语或者主要使用语言的这些人，他们的说出来的是标准的，是吗？

PP student 4: er 主要吧。好像-好像印度还是哪个国家，也是以英语为母语，但是他们那个,他们的那个发音也很好笑。就主要还是指那种美英那种发达资本主义的西方国家吧。

PP student 4 mentions "standard" issue by himself and specifies "foreigners" as "American or British people" when talking about the difficulty to improve (oral) English under the current circumstance. The researcher followed his explanation by asking for clarification of "standard" because none of the interviewees and researcher had raised this word in previous interviews. Then, he lists some countries ("India" and "America and Britain") where the people speak English as a "native language" and explains his perception of "standard" based on the English speakers from "developed western capitalist countries". It seems to him that Indian people's English could not be seen as "standard" and "their pronunciation is funny", even though he acknowledges that Indian people's English could belong to a native type. Here, his perception of "standard" English suggests that nativeness does not automatically equate to being "standard". In other words, standardisation of English is never value-free, but inevitably associated with political, economic, social, and other aspects of power. This is in accordance with the investigation of EMI students' perceptions of English at a Swedish university (Kuteeva, 2020), where both local and

international student participants regarded British English and American English as more prestigious than other native varieties of English because of their value in academic writing. Meanwhile, her study also suggests that ELF and translingual practices were found in that Swedish EMI settings. Yet to what extent these practices could work positively requires negotiation and agreement amongst multiple EMI stakeholders (Kuteeva, 2020). It is noticeable that the above discussion on standard English implies that the EMI students' current perceptions of English may be limited to the academic purposes of this EMI programme/courses since English is not prominently presented in the daily life of Chinese students (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Bolton & Graddol, 2012). Therefore, echoing Kuteeva's (2020) observation, PP student 4 may narrow the norms of English into the academic variety so that he tends to pay more attention to or add value to academically standardised English - British and American English. Besides, as Rose et al. (2022) point out, the (economic) centre-periphery world system has long affected people's perceptions of different English varieties, which results in a hierarchical view of Anglophonic or western-based English at central/top and non-Anglophonic or non-western ones at the periphery/bottom. That helps to understand PP student 4's comment that affluent and developed western countries make their English(es) sound "standard", while less-developed counterparts' accents seem to be "funny". Additionally, this ideology relating to the hierarchy of Englishes may also help us to better understand PP student 4's perception of his incompetence in EMI learning, as he has often positioned himself as a low-achiever in the group interview (Excerpt 44).

Furthermore, as previous research on the MBBS (Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery) programme in China has shown, the majority of MBBS international students are from South Asian countries (Botha, 2016). Plus, due to the provincial educational strategy to develop international cooperation, a large number of international students in the focal region are from ASEAN counties (MOE, 2016). In the same vein, the focal university shares a similar demographic structure of international students, as many interviewees reported. Consequently, a noticeable tendency to emerge from the interview dataset is that the international students – "foreigners" - at the focal university did not match the Chinese students' perceptions of who English speakers are. In that way, Chinese students' concerns about the nativeness of English seems to result in their reluctance to study with the international students, for example (Excerpt 56):

Excerpt (56)

If (they're) Indian students, I wouldn't very welcome that. If (.) European and American, I would welcome. But they won't come here (the focal university) @. (RA student 2)

我觉得如果是印度学生的话，我不是很欢迎。如果是(.)就是欧美的话，我就挺欢迎的。不过他们应该也不会来吧@。(RA student 2)

Compared with the English spoken by "European and American" students, the English spoken by "Indian students" is devalued by RA student 2. Moreover, this example hints that RA student 2 over-generalises the concept of (native) speakers of English as the people from Europe and America. Yet, given the various multilinguistic landscapes in Europe and America, it is not necessary for every European and American student to speak English as a native language. However, the view expressed in Excerpt 56 seems to circulate a discourse of linguistic hierarchy, in which the students think that "European and American" or the Western world represent development and advancement (also see in Section 5.2). Specifically, like PP student 4's interpretation of "standard" English in Excerpt 55, RA student 2 thinks highly of "European and American" English because he assumes that the economic status of those western capitalist countries is higher than "Indian". This is in line with a prior discussion (Rose et al., 2022) that the students' evaluations of English and its speakers are often associated with economic status rather than being value-free. This excerpt illustrates that the over-generalisation of typical English speakers as westerners leads the students to fail to recognise that the other speakers of English, like Indian students, might also be proficient in English.

In the same vein, Excerpt 57 implies a linguistic hierarchy based on native speakerism when PP teacher 2 comments on selected overseas sites for EMI teacher professional training.

Excerpt (57)

[professional teacher training organised by the university] … like - like in the past, we went to countries such as the Philippines, Malaysia, as I remembered, and Hong Kong, for short-term training. But I feel the English accents spoken at these places were too-o-o strong, strongly localised. So, I mean (we) could go to like, erm, the US, Canada, or the UK, if that is the best. (PP teacher 2)

[校方组织的教师培训]……好像-好像以前我们国家去那个菲律宾啊，马来啊，这些好像是有过，香港啊之类的啊。这种是短期培训。但是我觉得那些地方的英文本身口语，那个太-太-太浓了，地方特点太浓了啊。所以我意思说如果能够去到像啊，erm 就是那个美国加拿大啊或者是英国啊，如果有这种是最好的哦。(PP teacher 2)

His categorisation of English accents reflects how he perceived the nativeness of English hierarchically. As discussed above, "native" is not necessarily equivalent to "the best". It seems that nativeness is associated with economic and political power, as "US, Canada or the UK" rank as "the best" and the places ("the Philippines, Malaysia, Hong Kong") with colonised histories are in the second tier ("too-o-o strong, strongly localised"), even though certain local people in the latter countries and regions may speak English as a native language. To some extent, these excerpts above further support the argument that there is even a hierarchy of native speakerism not only in English-speaking countries/regions but also in EFL contexts (Ennser-Kananen et al., 2021). English spoken as a native language does guarantee it to be "the best" and "standard", since it largely depends on the speakers' social, political, or economic powers.

Interestingly, this excerpt also hints that despite not being the "the best", the "localised" Englishes in the above places are considered by PP teacher 2 to be better than the English used by Chinese locals. It is also interesting that all teacher participants give positive comments on their overseas experiences (e.g., visiting researcher, professional development training in both English-speaking and non-English speaking countries and regions). One possible reason may be that the overseas experience has placed them in intercultural communities, helping them to reduce the strong sense of nativeness that they have taken for granted in intra-cultural communication; therefore, these intercultural experiences make them give positive feedback like a growing sense of English ownership via "naturally" making use of their English language skills to construct their medical identities. That may be helpful in understanding their assumption that they are incompetent when speaking English. Despite the linguistic hierarchy of native English, it suggests that most of the interviewees regard English as a language possessed by "foreigners". In previous literature, China is seen as a typical EFL context, commonly affected by native speakerism and the notion of "standard" English (Leung & Valdés, 2019; Widdowson, 2015). For example, although Chinese ELT policies have stressed the neutrality of English by not following a particular type of English, Pan's research (2015) suggests that British English and American English have been the most popular two varieties among Chinese teachers and students. With these mindsets, the teacher participants and student participants think highly of "US, Canada or [the] UK" English and marginalise other "non-native" varieties of English. In turn, this seems to easily trap them into self-marginalisation as incompetent (spoken) English users.

On the other hand, the following two excerpts illustrate how the interviewees decentralise the ideology of native speakerism and move to the emerging trends of ELF and different varieties of English, leading them to negotiate and re-form their (developing) identity as medical experts. The first expect (58) derives from an interview with the RA teacher, the one who wishes to mix Chinese students with international students in his EMI course. This interaction between him and his international students implies a positive impact of ELF in the intercultural EMI context, which enables him to increase his sense of ownership of English.

Excerpt (58)

And interacting with international students and then changing my pronunciation constantly. Discuss and explore, and argue, I said my pronunciation (.) international students said mine was incorrect. I said: I pronounced according to phonetic symbols, and yours were not correct. @@like this, really(.) (through) discussion, this pronunciation is okay, that's fine. Then I grew confident, right? With confidence (.), you can easily talk, you're not afraid of making mistakes, because we said we have different (ways of) pronunciation, right? You can pronounce it on your way. (RA teacher)

然后跟留学生一面不断地交流，然后不断地改变自己的一些读音啊。然后跟留学生不断地探讨，又争啊，我说我的发音(.)留学生说的我发音不正确。我说：我都按照

音标来发，你们才不正确。这样讲讲@@然后就觉得，哎，真的(.)讲讲这个发音也行，那个发音也行。然后就有自信了，是吧。有自信了就(.)就说你随便讲。也不怕错了，因为我们讲到有不同发音，是吧，你怎么讲不得。(RA teacher)

As mentioned above, a few international students at the focal university are from major English-speaking countries. Hence, English acts as a lingua franca in their interaction, and their ownership of the English language is comparable in the RA teacher's view. In his short narrative of negotiation with international students, "discuss, explore and argue" indicates that he realises various ways of pronunciation and extends the ownership of English beyond native speakers ("this pronunciation is okay, that's fine"). Facing the international students, he neither devaluates their English varieties nor feels his English pronunciation is in inferior place. Finally, his conclusion: "we have different (ways of) pronunciation… You can pronounce in your way" supports the positive impact of ELF in EMI suggested by previous literature (e.g., F. Fang, 2018c; Jenkins, 2019; Tian et al., 2020). Furthermore, as RA teacher frequently mentions in Excerpts 51 and 52, such intercultural communication has the potential to create a space for negotiating the agreed linguistic practices between interlocutors. By doing that, the local interlocutor - the RA teacher – has exercised his agency to increase his ownership of English as a lingua franca.

Another intriguing example related to M student 6's internship illustrates her decentralised perception of English nativeness (Excerpt 59).

Excerpt (59)

M student 6: I'm in the clinic, working there. And meeting so many patients, basically taking charge of nine hospital beds; within those, the patients would come from 5 different places, speaking 5 different dialects, plus myself, Mandarin. There are also foreign interns. Some of them, if they take the internship seriously, s/he would come every day. Then, you were in contact with Indian English, Malaysian English, English from Laos, and many types of English@. On that day, it may be {unstable connection}

M students: @@@

Researcher: How do you feel-feel about this? Like multilingual, including dialects, English, and Mandarin?

M student 6: I actually quite like this environment, not only learning but also practising my listening, particularly in English. You need to understand what they say from different accents. Actually, it's quite delightful.

M student 2: Hmm, particularly, when you become an interpreter between two people. Actually, (you) can not only make friends, but have a sense of achievement.

M student 6: 我在临床的话，就是上班了嘛。然后就会遇到很多的病人，然后基本上管 9 张床会有来自 5 个地方的病人，那就有 5 种方言，然后包括自己的普通话。还有实习同学有留学生。某些留学生就是比较认真的话，他会每天都过来。那你就会接触印度英语、马来西亚英语、老挝英语，几种英语@。那一天可能也有{unstable connection}

M students: @@@

Researcher: 那你自己感受-感受是怎么样的？就是这种多-多语言，包括有方言，然后有英语，有普通话这种。

M student 6: 我其实是挺喜欢这种环境，不仅能学习，还能够锻自己炼听力，特别是在英语方面，你要从不同的口音上面去听他们说什么。其实是挺开心的。

M student 2: 嗯，特别是你当某两个人之间的翻译的时候，其实不仅能交朋友。也挺有成就感的。

When talking about students' everyday linguistic practices, M student 6 (a first-year postgraduate) recalls her daily routine in clinics where the linguistic landscape is diverse with regard to Chinese dialects and different Englishes. With the patients, her conception of Chinese turns into different dialects. With international interns, she names different English varieties: "Then, you were in contact with Indian English, Malaysian English, English from Laos, and many types of English", particularly "non-western" Englishes. Alongside the naming, her reply to the follow-up question shows a positive attitude towards those "non-western" English varieties. In other words, rather than sticking to the nativeness of English accents, her comment demonstrates how the student can benefit from the communication with the speakers of different types of English in the hospital placement. As she described it, this intercultural occasion allows her to learn and exercise her English in the medical field, requiring her to grasp information from different English accents. And M student 2 in her fifth year adds how valuable such intercultural interactions could feel ("a sense of achievement") because this intercultural involvement enables them to perform as medical professionals by applying bilingual skills. Similar to RA teacher's narrative above, this excerpt suggests that intercultural clinical interactions facilitate the students to widen the scope of English varieties and develop a sense of being medical English learners and users. In this way, as the recent discussion on global English/Englishes in EMI such as by F. Fang (2018), Ou & Gu, (2018) and Rose et al. (2022) have suggested, their reflections on language practices in clinical interactions encourages the student interviewees to negotiate and reshape their developing identity as medical professionals.

One more example is extracted from the interview with MB teacher (Excerpt 60). When talking about the different accented Englishes she has encountered, MB teacher highlights intelligibility rather than nativeness in EMI teaching (also see Excerpt 64). MB teacher starts her comment on the intelligibility of different accented Englishes by referring to her EMI teaching experience in the international EMI programme (i.e., MBBS programme). Then she displays a decentralised point of view concerning English accents by listing several non-typical English-speaking countries across both developed (e.g., Germany and Russia) and developing countries (e.g., Thailand) and by stressing her capacity to comprehend various Englishes. This statement indicates that she does not take the economic statuses into account to evaluate the English spoken by people from different countries and/or regions. However, she frankly expresses a feeling of guilt about her failure to understand Indian English when she

communicates with the Indian students in the MBBS programme. In other words, she points out that intelligibility is an essential factor when encountering different varieties of English in EMI. This further supports the prior finding that EMI (international and local) students in Sweden have stressed the significance of clarity and mutual understanding in ELF and translingual communication (Kuteeva, 2020). Returning to this excerpt, MB teacher considers English to be owned by everyone as long as it is intelligible in her practical EMI teaching.

Excerpt (60)

The EMI class (for the international students), for me, the most difficult part is that I can't understand Indian students' English. It's very very demanding when I communicate with Indian people. Like I can understand (.) basically, people's Englishes from every country; I can understand even Thai people's English, but I can't understand Indians'. What they say, (you) actually would get used to it after listening quite a lot. But unfortunately, I always fail to get used to it. So, like German people's English, Russian people's English it's very difficult to comprehend, but I can still manage to communicate with them. Only with Indians, I can't communicate. So I feel guilty in fact when I give my lectures to Indian students, because most of the time, I need to guess while they are saying - it's too demanding, yep@. (MB teacher)

全英班，对于我来说，最大的问题就是我听不懂印度人说英语。这是我最大的一个问题。我完全，我跟印度人交流的时候非常非常费力。就是我可以听懂(.) 基本各个国家人，泰国人说英语我都听得懂，我就是听不懂印度人说英语。他们说的，（你）其实听习惯了也就听懂了。但是很不幸，我一直没有习惯。所以什么德国人说英语啊，什么俄罗斯人说英语也是跟鬼一样，但是我也能够跟他们交流，就唯独印度人我真的是没法跟他交流。所以这个当时再我上课的时候，我觉得很(.)其实我对学生还蛮愧对的。因为他们跟我说的话，觉大多数的时候，我都要七八去猜，太费力了，对@。(MB teacher)

Overall, this section has displayed a debated and contested conceptualisation of "E" in (EFL and) EMI education in Chinese HE. Revealing these ideologies related to native speakerism, ELF, and Englishes, it can be observed how the Chinese EMI teachers and students associated with this EMI programme and its courses are being shaped by and are re-shaping their language identities as Chinese native speakers, as non-native English users who regard themselves as incompetent, and as intelligible ELF medical professionals and communicators.

6.2.3 China English: Legitimate localised language practices.

An intriguing theme raised by the student interviewees is China English (CE) and Chinglish[16], which is the most common variety of English that the EMI

[16] "China English" (中国英语) and "Chinglish"(中式英语) reflect different ideological stances on the English variety used in China. "China English" is a more neutral term than "Chinglish" which implies a stigmatised sense (W. Li, 2016). However, the participants are more familiar with the term - "Chinglish" for a long time, compared with the emerging academic term - "China English". Thus, I keep this verbatim word "Chinglish" here, but use the "China English" simultaneously for neutralising my tone.

students have contacted. A common observation derived from student group interviews is that many of them regard CE as a part of their repertoire (both spoken and written forms) and hold a generally neutral attitude towards it. The following excerpts illustrate a series of reported CE practices related to bilingual teaching and learning.

Firstly, the students' discussion (Excerpt 61) on clinical language practices reveals that the most common interlocutors of English that they have are Chinese teachers and peers and not native English speakers or foreigners. When pondering the advantages of bilingual learning, RA student 1 said there was a departmental practice to use English ''for handing over to the next shift". Although the researcher and the student herself seemed to be a bit surprised, the student group tend to see CE (even though it was not explicitly mentioned in the conversation) or the English variety used amongst Chinese colleagues as common English language practice in their EMI learning.

Excerpt (61)

RA student 1: … Something beneficial I think, like what they said, for example, some senior students in the internship said that some departments required them to use English for handing over to the next shift. Probably some departments set a requirement for English. That might be a benefit.@

Researcher: Hand over to the next shift? I didn't get it.

RA student 1: It's when handing over at 8 am every day, to report the situation in the past day, about the patient.

Researcher: I'm wondering why use English for the hand-over, your patients are Chinese, mostly, aren't they?

RA student 1: Yeah, I also wonder about that.

RA student 4: But it's in the department, not with patients.

RA student 1: Right.

RA student 2: Perhaps the department director wants them to practise English a bit. Maybe it means that.

Researcher: Oh, okay.

RA student 4: Between doctors, not doctors and patients.

RA student 1: ……然后有利的地方，我大概就是觉得就像他们比如说有一些实习的师兄就会说有一些科室会要求他们用英文交班这样。可能有一些科室对英文会有一定的要求，觉得这是稍微算是一个好处吧。@

Researcher:英文交班是什么？我还不懂。

RA student 1: 就是每天早上八点上班的时候，前一天的会汇报一下前一天的情况，然后就交接一个病人的情况这样子。

Researcher: 我好奇为什么会有英文交班，你们的病人不都是中国人嘛，大部分。

RA student 1: 对啊，我也很好(奇)。

RA student 4: 但是它是科室里面的，它不是跟病人啊。

RA student 1: 对。

RA student 2: 可能是科室主任让他们就是锻炼一下英文，可能是这个意思。

Researcher: 哦，okay。

RA student 4: 是医生之间，不医生和病人。

Furthermore, they discursively emphasise the use of English in clinics for professional communication such as processing the daily report of shifting in English by their clinical supervisors rather than for daily conversation. RA student 2 interprets the intention behind the use of English in this shift hand-over by suggesting it may be because ''the department director wants them to practise English a bit''. This excerpt indicates that English used amongst Chinese interlocutors (or for intra-cultural communication) is legitimated as a professional language for pedagogical and academic purposes by the students. That echoes the above findings of their strong self-attachment to the English medical identity (also see in Section 5.1).

Moving from clinical practices to bilingual course assessment, the next excerpt (62) indicates that the Chinese variety of English receives more favourable evaluation than other non-native English varieties. Although PP student 1 acknowledges the issue of Chinese-English machine translation in exam papers, it seems to her that "Chinglish", even though it mismatches with the essentialised and idealised perception of "native" English, is acceptable as one of the commonly used varieties in the focal context. As W. Wang (2015) has reported, Chinese university students and teachers thought positively of the role of CE for communicative purposes and identity-making. PP student 1's comment implies that she could make use of her frequent exposure to CE to decode those machine translations which help in understanding the exam questions in English better. In other words, her flexible use of bilingual Chinese-English assists her to build up a professional identity in medical exams.

Excerpt (62)

Yeah, yeah, sometimes there are these problems, But (.) because after all we also were engaged with Chinglish a lot, so although it was machine translated, we could guess its meaning. Personally, I feel that is not a big problem. (PP student 1)

有有，有些会有这样的问题吧，我觉得。但是(.)因为毕竟我们也是那种中式英语接触的比较多，所以虽然它是机翻，但是我们还是能揣测它的意思。我觉得是这样子。我觉得问题还不是很大吧。(PP student 1)

In Excerpt 63 another example comes from the comments on the bilingual course exams. On the one hand, it shows that the teacher's un-proofread

machine translation created a socially sensitive problem by seeming unprofessional, even though they could fully understand the meaning.

Excerpt (63)

That's (.) Regional Anatomy is fine, but some (.) like mentioned before, the otorhinolaryngology, like those students roasted (its translation), for example, Xiqi xing huxi kunnan (inspiratory dyspnea), then he/she (the teacher) translated it by machine. Generally, the Xiqi xing (inspiratory) should be translated into an adjective or adverb; then he/she directly translated the 'Xing' of Xiqi Xing into SEX. @@ s-e-x. (RA student 1)

就是(.)感觉局解这种还好，就是一些(.)就是之前说的那个耳鼻喉，就像他们同学吐槽（它的翻译）就是，比如说那个吸气性呼吸困难，然后他就机翻。一般不是吸气性的什么，然后它应该是一个形容词或者是副词什么的。然后他就直接那个什么吸气性的"性"他就直接翻译成一个 sex。@@就是 s-e-x 那个。(RA student 1)

On the other hand, despite hearing that some students complained about this socially sensitive translation related to 'Xing 性' (Sex), RA student 1 talks about this mistake in a humorous tone in the end, instead of treating it as something to seriously complain about. This Chinese-English machine translation error (mixing up English with Chinese grammar) seemed not to lead to strong negative feelings. Conversely, she in fact demonstrates her knowledge of Chinese-English linguistic rules behind this apparent mistake by clearly pointing out how to correct it. Her focus is not on whether CE leads to misunderstandings in intra-cultural communication (i.e., between Chinese teachers and students, or peers) but on how CE can work appropriately in the given context. This echoes the ambivalent feeling toward CE concerning its social legitimacy found in W. Wang 's study (2015). In short, this excerpt shows that RA student 1 understands that English is not always faultlessly used in practice, even by their teachers who are supposed to be knowledgeable in this field. And it also implies that although CE is understandable among Chinese participants, CE users should pay more attention to the translated linguistic features between Chinese and English since the legitimacy of CE has not been socially established yet. Otherwise, their failures could easily result in socially sensitive issues and affect their bilingual professionality.

Another interesting sub-theme in relation to CE resonates with the above findings on the accent issue (in Section 6.2.2). Excerpt (64) indicates that accuracy is the key to pronunciation, instead of the "standard" or any other accent of English, in MB teacher's view.

Excerpt (64)

To us, if we're talking about the most painful thing in the preparation of lessons, that's first how to pronounce certain (medical) vocabulary. They're very long Latin words to pronounce, and I need to practise it many times. Because my, in fact, my pronunciation is not standard, it is accented; but your pronunciation can't be quite off from, that is, you-you cannot pronounce wrongly (but) you can have an accent, I think. You can pronounce accented, non-standard English; it is okay, but you cannot completely mispronounce the vocabulary. (MB teacher)

对我们来讲，备课对我来讲比较痛苦的话，就是首先这个（医学）单词发音。就是它很长的拉丁文单词的发音，我要练习很多遍。因为我，其实我发音很不准，它带有口音，可是你不能太偏差那个发音。就是你你不能发错音。你可以有口音，我觉得是这样啊。你这个发音有口音的，不标准的英语，这个 okay，但是你不能把这个单词完完全全地读错。 (MB teacher)

When she talks about her "painful" experience of practising pronunciation of Latin terminology, MB teacher first labels her pronunciation of English as "non-standard" with a (Chinese) "accent". However, she explains that the accented pronunciation is not a problem, but complete mispronunciation is unacceptable. In other words, it seems that the CE accent does not negatively affect her professional identity, whereas mispronunciation might damage the comprehensibility. Consequently, that may threaten her identity as a medical expert and teacher, who are supposed to be more knowledgeable and represent authority according to traditional Confucian ethics (C. Li, 2012). In this sense, the CE accent is interpreted as acceptable and understandable in most EMI settings rather than as a threat to the MB teacher's medical professional identity.

With respect to the students' views of teachers' CE accents and pronunciation, although their common reaction is to say they are "funny" or laugh, their comments reflect different orientations to teachers' CE accent. On the hand, it is not surprising that Chinese students depreciate teachers' CE pronunciation compared to native-like or "standard" accents, as previous studies have suggested (W. Wang, 2015; M. Wei, 2016). For example, PP student 2 comes up with the "standard" issue in the group interview when imagining their future identity as medical teachers (Excerpt 65). He wishes to encourage prospective EMI medical students to learn more English vocabulary by using "more professional" and "standard" English expressions in the classroom. It seems that "standard" pronunciation sounds more attractive to the students since it is interpreted as professionality by PP student 2. Echoing the result in M. Wei's study (2016) that Chinese students did not give a positive response to CE in terms of identity-making, this excerpt further reveals that the predominant attitude to "standard" English may affect the students' perceptions of teachers' professional identities, even though using "standard" English is not directly linked to the teachers' capacity of professional knowledge.

Excerpt (65)

…If I were a bilingual teacher, I would, how to say? I would er would encourage (.) more encourage the students to learn - learn those English words. In the class, (I) would use more - more some professional-professional, very standard, standard and professional English expressions. Then, the students, er also er in comparison to that non-standard pronunciation, would like English more. (PP student 2)

……作为一名双语课的老师的话，我会，怎么说呢？就会 er 就是会鼓励(.)多鼓励学生去学习-学习英文的那些词汇。就上课的时候，(我)会多-多使用一些专业-专业，很标准，就标准的专业的英语表达。然后让学生，er 也会 er 相较于那种不标准的发音，更-更加喜欢英语的一点吧。 (PP student 2)

Excerpt (66) shows the follow-up elaboration of his understanding of "standard" English in relation to bilingual teaching by spotlighting some teachers' "funny" CE pronunciation. With his respect for "standard" English, he devalues CE pronunciation and translated expressions and prefers "foreign-like" English expressions in teaching. That seems to draw his attention away from the medical professionality and to position himself as a vulnerable CE speaker in comparison to "foreign-like" English speakers. It is noteworthy that he equates "foreigner" with speakers of "standard" English. As discussed in Section 5.2 and 6.2.2, this simple ideological chain of "foreign", "western", and "international" may reinforce the Chinese EMI participants' tendency to disregard their own English practices while being attracted by their imagined powerful others in an unreflective manner.

Excerpt (66)

The researcher: You - you go first, you talked about you - you feel you just talked about the standard, what could be accounted for the standard that you mean?

PP student 2: First, his pronunciation should be standard. Many teachers' pronunciations are so funny@. Er first is pronunciation. Their expression should also be that foreign-foreign-like (.) the English expressions used to teach foreigners, instead of the Chinese-Chinese way of translating English. These two points.

The researcher: 你-你先说你-你觉得你刚才说到这个标准，是你觉得什么样可以你觉得是算标准了？

PP student 2: 首先他的发音要标准。就很多老师就发音特别好笑@。Er 就首先是发音。他的那个英文的表达也要就-像接近于那种-那种外国-外国(.)教育外国人的那种英语表达，而不是那种中式中式翻译的英文那种。就这两个。

On the other hand, Excerpt (67) below shows a tolerance and understanding, even positive comments on Chinese accented English in the group of senior students.

Excerpt (67)

M student 2: Visual-audio combination is pretty good. Especially some teachers, he/she pronounces words distinctly. For example, "Pantous" (a type of medicine for the stomach), some teachers pronounced <imitating> "Pan-tou-si" </imitating> @@

Other students: @@

M student 2: Yeah, very distinct, and then the impression would be deeper, a bit deeper.

{Students echoing} …

Researcher: Actually, teachers sometimes do not pronounce the words as the standard in the dictionary; and you feel actually it made it easier to remember, can (we) say that?

M student 2: Hmm, if the pronunciation was distinctive, impressive, it has an effect.

M student 1: Because the sounds of teachers contain meaning, their pronunciation is in second place.

M student 2: 试听结合挺好的，特别是有些老师，他念单词很有特色，比如说 Pantous（一种胃药），有些老师就念成 Pān-tóu-sī@@

M students: @@

M student 2: 对，就很有特色，然后印象就比较深刻一点深刻。

{学生回应}……

Researcher：所以其实老师读音有些时候读的不是像字典一样标准，你们也觉得，其实也-也对你们记忆也挺好的，可以这么说吗？

M student 2: 嗯，如果是读得比较有特色的话，印象深刻效果，达到效果就好。

M student 1: 因为老师语音上是有内容的，所以老师的发音倒还是其次。

In the same vein as the interviewees who have moved away from an essentialist view of English, these students discuss the Chinese medical teachers' accents and pronunciation by recognising their practical value in EMI learning. M student 2 firstly imitates how the teacher pronounced "Pān-tóu-sī", and she says that the teacher's distinctive non-standard pronunciation could actually help students to memorise English terms. Although students may laugh at non-standard pronunciation, they are at the same time focusing on the meaning of those English words. This is in line with the focus of their learning in English - concentrating on content "meaning", with the teacher's English pronunciation ''in second place". So, although it is debatable whether CE is accepted as a variety in pedagogical use (Pan, 2015; W. Wang, 2015; Z. Xu, 2020), the reported cases of CE in interviews indicate that the EMI medical teachers and students treat CE differently from other English varieties. Further, although F. Fang (2018a) prefers to direct research attention to ELF rather than CE in EMI, he calls for more critical interrogation of and reflection on the relationship between English (and its cultures) and locals. In accordance with his call for a critical investigation, the above observations suggest that the EMI participants acknowledge the frequency of CE in their educational activities, the usefulness of CE in comprehension and communication, and the that it is not a major threat to their professional identities. In other words, since the identity of Chinese NS is rooted in the Chinese EMI participants' minds, a positive discourse regarding CE may encourage them to share ownership of CE that has the potential to neutralise the distinct "either-or" positioning of (non-)native speakers of English in intra- and international communities.

To sum up, this section has presented and discussed interviewees' ideologies of languages and their varieties related to EMI medical education. On the one hand, it is evident that adopting binary ideologies of Chinese-as-native and English-as-foreign leads the teachers and students to strengthen the identity confirmation of being Chinese speakers and users. In other words, that

weakens their identity as English users. As a result, Chinese has become a "natural" or comfortable language in EMI teaching and learning between Chinese teachers and students in terms of interpersonal relationships, whereas widely using English seems artificial except for medical terminology. This mindset to some extent intensifies the interviewees' linguistic insecurity about using English for other than medical technical terms since they feel detached from the identity of fully-fledged English speakers/users and seem to cede the ownership of English to others (i.e., foreigners). In this way English is capitalised as either an affordance or a barrier to forming their identity, according to the EMI participants' beliefs in how English was used in their classes. Furthermore, English is never value-free. It is interesting that the participants discursively categorised and standardised English(es) and their speakers, reinforcing a linguistic hierarchy among "foreigners". Yet most of these discursive evaluations focus on English oracy, especially accent and pronunciation issues. This finding may reveal a possible explanation for the push force that places themselves into non-native shoes with the assumption of being incompetent in English oracy. On the other hand, although some interviewees hold a conservative perception of English varieties and the speakers of English, an emerging finding suggests that the re-interpretation "E" (e.g., Englishes, ELF) in EFL and EMI education can decentralise their ideologies of English from relying on native speakerism and standardisation. Moreover, the students' descriptions and comments indicate that the ideology of CE related to bilingual teaching/learning may neutralise their distinct "either-or" positioning of (non-)native speakers of English and build up students' ownership of English(es).

6.3 Chapter summary

To summarise, this chapter has showed tensions and arguments concerning ideological stances of bilingualism and beliefs of the languages as well as their speakers. In accordance with Kuteeva's (2020) argument on the use of languages in EMI, the above findings further support the view that the diverse ideologies of bilingualism and languages have produced both pull and push forces in EMI participants' identity confirmation, negotiation, or resistance, as Chinese speakers, (non-)native English speakers, ELF medical professionals/learners, and China English speakers. Those processes also mirror the power flows between *ideology*, *capital*, and *identity* (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

The first key observation relates to how different ideological orientations compete and are reconciled in and beyond the EMI classroom when the teachers and students have discussed various bilingual practices. Influenced by (default) prevailing monolingual ideology towards bilingualism, a few teachers and students expressed their preferences for monolingual instruction or maximal use of English. More importantly, the description of monolingual English

instruction implies how the teacher (e.g., PP teacher 2) performed as the institutional authority for supervising teaching quality. From student interviewees' perspective, the institutional policies of EMI have turned the classroom into a space where English legitimated, even with pressure on the teachers and students to use English. In other words, this finding suggests that teachers and students, quite understandably, feel more obligated to use English within bilingual classrooms compared to everyday communication outside of classrooms. Hence, the students wish to make the best use of this legitimate environment for their medical learning in English. Another interesting point is that the interviewees frequently referred to percentages to measure the proportion of languages, which resembles the institutional description of bilingual instruction. To some extent that circulates the institution-led discourse of bilingual instruction, which makes bilingual teaching and learning easier to be measured and regulated. However, as the above discussion on the dynamic nature of bilingual practices in the EMI classrooms has shown, the participants' monolingualism stance seems to break down when they reflected EMI from a practical perspective. For example, it is noticeable that, no matter which language practices in the classroom the participants have described, they include the use of the Chinese language, even for English-only practices, so that Chinese serves as a hidden agenda in EMI learning. More importantly, flexible deployment of the participants' full linguistic repertoires can better meet the specific linguistic demands across different subjects and supports the needs of students with different language levels within the EMI classes. In this way the participants' views support an interdependent relationship between languages for boosting students' agency and fulfilling their ultimate goals of EMI medical education, echoing the emerging trend of dynamic bilingualism. Furthermore, this suggests that future-oriented reflection can help the teachers and students to discover and reconcile the relationship of languages since their interview responses indicates that the essence of bilingual education should be not a zero-sum game. Instead, they portray themselves as capable bilingual medical professionals in both local clinics and international research fields. In other words, a fundamental ideology towards bilingualism by Chinese medical students echoes the emerging perspective of flexible bilingualism instead of static monolingual instruction.

The second key observation relates to the interviewees' discourses of Chinese and English, revealing diverse ideologies of (non-) nativeness, standardisation, and different English varieties. Like the competing ideological stances towards bilingualism in EMI, the tensions between language ideologies reinforce a binary position of EMI Chinese stakeholders as legitimated native Chinese speakers compared to foreigners as English speakers. On the other hand, the contested ownership of languages can encourage the EMI participants to decentralise the linguistic hierarchy and the idealised perception of English speakers, and to develop a sense of ownership of English. It has been common for the interviewees to essentialise and idealise English speakers and users

based on native speakerism. This finding suggests that the interviewees initially position themselves as native Chinese speakers and non-native English speakers/users within Chinese communities like the bilingual classroom. Consequently, they feel more comfortable and confident in communicating in Chinese while English is limited to their medical discourses associated with medical professional identities in such intra-cultural communication. At the same time, an intriguing finding suggests that an intercultural space can serve as a legitimised setting for Chinese EMI teachers and students to use English, which has the potential to increase the participants' confidence in using the language. In addition, the interview dataset indicates that nativeness does not necessarily involve standardisation. In other words, the interviewees' views on English varieties reflect their evaluation of their speakers' economic, political, historical, and sociocultural backgrounds. Here, English is never neutral, but a linguistic and symbolic capital tagged with different prices based on a perceived linguistic hierarchy by the teachers and students. However, when they reflected on the actual occasions of communicating in English, their responses reflected a view of most of their interlocutors having failed to fit the essentialised and idealised image of English speakers. This suggests that English serves primarily as a lingua franca in the focal contexts. At the same time, it is noticeable that the intelligibility of English should be taken into account by the EMI stakeholders for creating an effective and sustainable EMI teaching/learning experience, even though some interviewees hold an open and positive attitude towards ELF and different English varieties. More interestingly, the discussion about China English shows the students' neutral attitude since it shows the potential to neutralise the participants' binary perceptions of English language ownership. The interviews, particularly with students, show that although CE has been regarded as a vulnerable variety – undermining professional identity-under the "standard" English lens, the Chinese teachers and students acknowledge that the overall comprehensibility of CE has the potential to move them away from the "either-or" position in practical intra-and inter-cultural communication. In other words, revisiting "E" in EMI practices can stimulate the participants to re-evaluate their predominant perceptions of English speakers that are derived from the prevailing ideologies, so they can better exercise their agency to negotiate their ownership of English(-es).

These two chapters above have shown the emerging themes and subthemes with illustrative excerpts from the qualitative dataset. In the next chapter I discuss those findings based on the main research questions and draw the conclusions from this study and the implications for the future.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the identities and language ideologies of Chinese teachers and students regarding their bilingual practices in EMI medical education so that we can better understand and support the participants. Having presented and interpreted the relevant findings in the two above chapters, I will discuss the findings in relation to the earlier research in the area to answer the research questions associated with identity construction and mutual influence between (language) ideologies and identities, and then draw conclusions derived from the discussion. This chapter ends with an evaluation of the present study and the implications for EMI educational policies, practices, and further research.

7.1 Discussion

As presented and elaborated in Chapter 3, this study concentrates on the following two main research questions:

- How do the Chinese teachers and students construct their identities in this EMI medical programme and its courses?
    - How do they position themselves when talking about their present and imagined EMI practices?
    - What do they perceive as affordances and challenges in (re-) constructing their identities?

- How do language ideologies intertwine with the participants' identity construction?
    - What kinds of ideological orientations towards bilingualism are embedded in participants' identity construction?

- What kinds of ideologies of English in relation to other languages (mainly Chinese) are embedded in participants' identity construction?

According to the Model of Investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015), power flows across the overlapping spaces of identity, ideology, and capital from which learners exercise agency for investing in or retreating from certain linguistic practices and literacies during their language learning. Turning to the content and language integrated learning context, this model can also be useful to reveal how the EMI participants, not only the learners but also content teachers, (re-)construct their multiple (present and imagined) identities and how the (re-)construction intertwines with the diverse ideologies of bilingualism and English. Through this process, the medical teachers and students constantly evaluate the language and other forms of capital - seeing them as affordances and/or challenges - to modify and justify their investment in/from certain bilingual practices in EMI. Therefore the insights of this model have been applied to synthesise and discuss the findings in Chapters 5 and 6.

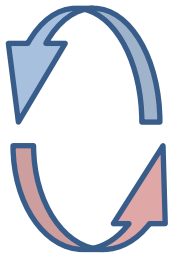
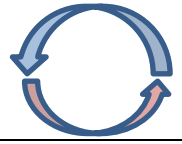
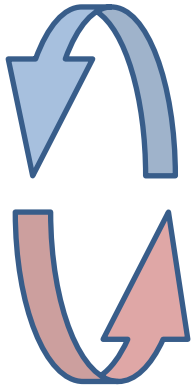
Returning to the main research questions, the first investigates the identity construction and negotiation of the Chinese medical teachers and students in the given social context, where different ideologies have primarily shaped the access or transferability of capitals. The second question looks into the impact of diverse ideologies held by the participants on the process of their identity-making in this EMI context. So to answer these two research questions, I next consider them together and examine the concepts of identity and ideology simultaneously, as shown in Table 5.

These two concepts are multi-layered within themselves (e.g., present and imagined identities, and predominant and marginalised ideologies), and they are embedded in discourses (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Kroskrity, 2010; Norton, 2013; Woolard, 1998). In order to illustrate the interaction between multiple identities and various ideologies found in this study, I cluster the findings related to identity construction into three key themes: (1) Medical content teachers and learners, (2) Challenge-ridden "elites", and (3) Bilingual medical professionals (at present and in the future) in the orange-coloured column on the left in Table 5. The blue-coloured column on the right lists different (language) ideological strands that this study has identified as influential for identity construction and negotiation: (a) Under the "Gaze" of the ELT/EFL (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019), (b) Centre-periphery world system (Englishisation, westernisation, and internationalisation), (c) Monolingualism and native speakerism, and (d) Dynamic bi/multilingualism, ELF, and Englishes. The mid-column illustrates the circular images in the mid column illustrate the power flows within each thematic cluster. To start with the blue arrows, the ideological strands were found to exert influences in the form of positioning on corresponding identity clusters and affected the participants' perceptions of their bilingual teaching and learning practices. At the same time, the orange

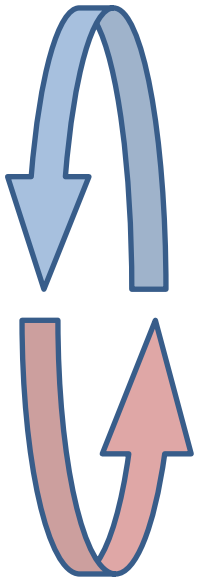
arrows represent the responses – the thematic cluster number followed by the corresponding lower-case letter of each ideological strand (e.g., 1a1) - to the identity construction and negotiation under each ideological strand. Instead of viewing these two columns as separated, the pairs of arrows and the number and letter combinations illustrate the intertwining relationship between identity and ideology. Taken together, Table 5 visualises the interactions between identities and ideologies to understand what EMI meant to the Chinese teachers and students and how it has shaped them and been reshaped by them.

As Table 5 indicates, there is an interconnection between the two main research questions represented in the topmost cell on both sides of the table. Hence, the following discussion section merges and refines the key findings summarised in Table 5 regarding the interactions or power flows between identity positioning and (language) ideological stances into three pivotal perspectives to address the research questions, to be handled in sub-sections as follows: 7.1.1 Integration of content and language, 7.1.2 Perceptions of English for pedagogy, and 7.1.3 Bilingual skills and practices for intra- and inter-cultural communication. Each sub-section will discuss the findings in relation to the earlier research in the field to develop the sociocultural understanding of EMI participants' – Chinese medical teachers and students – experiences in the focal context.

TABLE 5 Synthesis of findings for discussion

Identity construction and negotiation – Chinese EMI teachers and students	**Power flows**	**Co-construed (language) ideological strands, and responses/reactions from the Chinese EMI teachers and students**
1. Medical content teachers & learners		**a. Under the "Gaze" of the ELT/EFL**
• medical knowledge: essential teaching/learning content • medical English: sophisticated and complex • pragmatic approach(es): meaning-focused and less grammatical complexity		• 1a1: lack of awareness of the need to learn subject-specific Chinese • 1a2: bypass teaching/learning disciplinary-specific language to engage in medical English practices • 1a3: a demand in developing a new way to understand and recognise EMI participants' (existing) sources and approaches to teaching and learning
2. Challenge-ridden "elites"		**b. Centre-periphery world system (Englishnisation, westernisation, and internationalisation)**
• "western" medicine: English - instrumental use (predominant) • "English-only" and maximum use of English: high-quality, authority, authentic • self-perceived deficiency in English (prominent within intra-national/cultural Chinese communities): vocabulary-focused instruction, paper-pencil assessment, (non-communicative approach to English learning) and negative impacts of the COVID-19 outbreak • micro-level clash of eliteness: the institutional discourse of EMI as a privilege while the teachers and students find it clashing in their teaching/learning practices (e.g., no long-term language support and PD training, "unfair" ranking system, university-led & one-way selection)		• 2b1: easily create "craze" of English and west without critical reflection and adaption according to local practices
		**c. Monolingualism and native speakerism**
		• 2c1: intensify their perceived deficiency in English • 2c2: bilingual practices as a zero-sum game • 2c3: (native-foreign) binary positioning pushes the Chinese teachers and students away from language ownership of English while presuming foreign others as legitimate even powerful English users • 2c4: insufficient clarification, negotiation, and agreed practices across different levels of stakeholders for the source/capital access, transfer, and upgrade

3. Bilingual medical professionals (at present and in the future)		d. Dynamic bi/multilingualism, ELF, and Englishes

• flexible use of bilingual skills in medical contexts
  • teachers: become confident and even competent in English within international/cultural communities (e.g., teaching EMI to international students)
  • students: customised supports for different level of achievers within EMI class, and the interdependent relationship between Chinese and English
• Englishes and ELF users: develop tolerance of different English varieties and intercultural awareness, meanwhile highlight the importance of intelligibility in practical ELF communications.
• CE users: communicative purpose and language ownership
		• 3d1: a reflection from practical (and future professional) contexts to make sense and re-imagined what EMI meant to them
		  • 3d2: break teachers' self-constraint of communicative English proficiency and increase a sense of English ownership for teaching.
		  • 3d3: helpful to recognise the differentiated levels and support personalised needs within EMI classes; and with future-oriented reflections the students navigate their imagined identities and communities.
		• 3d4: intercultural/international communications and practices decentralise the idealise image of ("standard") English speakers perceived by the Chinese EMI participants (the outward force); at the same time, it can also be possible to perpetuate linguistic hierarchy derived from native speakerism and the Centre-periphery world system (the onward force).
		• 3d5: generally neutral attitude towards CE for comprehensibility and as part of their own linguistic repertoire; while CE becomes depreciated and unattractive in comparison with "standard" English and may cause an impression of "unprofessionality".

7.1.1 Integration of content and language

The "gaze" from the ELT/EFL (English Language Teaching/English as a Foreign Language) perspective can easily lead to a separation of content and language in identity-making. As Block and Moncada-Comas (2019) have argued in their study on the identity construction of Spanish EMI lecturers, the macro-level ELT "gaze" made the EMI content lecturers resist the interactive-positioning as English language teachers; as a result, they were reluctant to take the responsibility for English teaching (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Reynolds, 2019). It is usual for content lecturers, who are employed for their disciplinary expertise, to not consider their work from the perspective of language teaching. However, the findings of this study show that they frequently mention English language teaching and learning moments when talking about the EMI practices. The language element, in turn, composes an indispensable part of identity-making, despite their initial focus of EMI on content rather than (English) language. This discursive positioning, which indicates the ambivalence of identity-making between their professional expertise and legitimate users/speakers of English, could bring negative consequences that prevent the EMI teachers and students from exploiting their full potential. In this study, one prominent finding is that the Chinese EMI participants attach pedagogical centrality to medical knowledge and regard English as an additional task or difficulty in teaching and learning. This positioning mirrors an ideological separation of content and language among the Chinese teachers and students. In their view, the Chinese language represents content knowledge, and the English language belongs to the language component. More specifically, the Chinese language is treated as a hidden agenda, whereby the medical teachers disregard the student identity as learners of *subject-specific* Chinese language (J. Hu & Wu, 2020). That possibly results in some teachers' desire for English-only instruction or at least maximum use of English, since they do not recognise students' need to learn medical-specific Chinese. Besides, Block and Moncada-Comas (2019) have elaborated that the EMI lecturers, positioning themselves as distinct from EFL teachers, display a strong affiliation to disciplinary literacies in their fields. In accordance with their findings, the present study further argues that the EMI participants consider medical English, particularly technical vocabulary, as more sophisticated and demanding than general/College English. As a result, their teaching/learning focuses on those medical terms and phrases, giving top priority to learning medical knowledge. As presented in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2., most of the EMI participants interpreted their current teaching/learning practices (i.e., vocabulary-focused instruction and exam-oriented learning) as evidence of their own insufficiency in English. That leads them to feel self-constrained and marginalised participants in EMI. Furthermore, the institutional management seems to leave the medical teachers and students alone to cope with the difficulties in EMI, which demotivates them from improving their present pedagogical/learning methods. Consequently, displaying a strong affiliation to medical expertise seems to give them a sense of security in constructing their professional identity as (future) doctors

while avoiding being judged from the ELT perspective. At the same time, this may result in the participants by-passing the pedagogical moments for teaching/learning disciplinary-specific English since they do not seem to postulate or fully realise language as an inherent part of their responsibilities or goals (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021). The earlier research in disciplinary literacy suggests that it is vital to raise the subject teachers' and students' awareness of disciplinary literacy – "the ability to engage in social, semiotic, and cognitive practices consistent with those of content experts" (Z. Fang, 2012, p. 19) – and that cannot be achieved by merely vocabulary-focused instruction (Nikula, 2016). In this study, particularly when the subject teachers talked about their teaching responsibility, they express a detachment from the general/College English language. In particular, they perceive that medical English is fundamentally different from general/College English. They also, especially the teacher participants, consider their type of English more complex and sophisticated than College English. This implies that they perceive medical English as superior. Since the teaching responsibility of English is vaguely articulated in the focal institutional context, the medical teachers may not be willing to put an effort to take care of language elements. Also, as shown by the findings, there is no reported collaboration between EMI content teachers and EFL teachers at the focal university. That indicates a lack of mutually agreed stance towards needs and responsibilities of teaching/learning English in EMI programmes. In turn, it can reinforce the separation between content and language in EMI. The medical teachers may neither necessarily realise nor explicitly employ pedagogical strategies to engage students with learning disciplinary literacy and oracy especially in order to boost their potential in working and researching locally and internationally. So this observation calls for the development of a new way to understand and legitimate (existing) resources, skills, and practices of EMI teachers and students.

Furthermore, a recently proposed concept - CLIL-ised EMI (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021) that highlights the significant moments for teaching language-related points in EMI - could potentially reduce the ideological separation of content and language teaching/learning by encouraging collaboration between content teachers and English language teachers. More specifically, in contrast to evaluating their own English language practices as inadequate (Beckett & Li, 2012; Dearden, 2014; G. Hu et al., 2014), some teacher participants in this study demonstrate a strong self-confirmation as medical teachers by justifying their investment in meaning-focused English instruction. This finding illustrates their negotiation to position themselves as pragmatic English users in EMI teaching. That passes on the message to EMI policymakers, managers, researchers, and EFL specialists that there is a need to recognise the content teachers' pedagogical skills and practices in EMI courses. Besides, although the participants' accounts of teaching medical English indicate, more or less, their methodological awareness in bilingual teaching, language-related pedagogical training and collaboration projects with EFL stakeholders were only rarely mentioned by the teacher participants. As noted by Moncada-Comas and Block (2021), the recognition of the integration of content and language in EMI practices may help to re-direct

EMI stakeholders' attention to the significant moments for teaching language-related points. This cannot be achieved without improving the EMI agents' strategies for managing their bilingual teaching and learning efficiently (Ball & Lindsay, 2013; Qiu & Fang, 2019). It is therefore suggested that the EMI teacher training needs to include subject-specific language teaching, in which collaboration between EMI teachers and EFL teachers could facilitate the integration of content and language learning (Macaro et al., 2019). At the same time, as discussed above, the EMI participants are sensitive about the ELT/EFL "gaze" on account of the traditional understanding of the language education field. This study suggests that, when encouraging collaboration, it would be beneficial for ELT teachers to avoid using their preconceived lens to examine EMI practices but accommodate their pedagogical and linguistic knowledge and skills to meet EMI participants' needs.

7.1.2 Perceptions of English for pedagogy

The Western-centred discourse in and beyond the modern medical discipline emerges in the findings in the form EMI teachers and students tending to link up the concepts of development, modernity, western, English, and internationalisation. This is consistent with a frequently found perception of internationalisation as westernisation among Chinese students' experience of internationalisation at home (Y. Guo et al., 2021). As a result, when they reflected on their EMI experience, we can observe the participants' discursive engagement with these dominating ideologies about the West. For instance, the participants always address the Modern Medicine that they are specialised in as "西医(Western medicine)" because this is a taken-for-granted naming in the Chinese context, while "中医(Chinese medicine)" refers to the Traditional Chinese Medicine. This naming practice may lead the teachers and students to connect modernity to the "West" and further link it to English. That can direct the EMI participants to overestimate the value of English, notably in its instrumental and additional use for building their professional identity (G. Hu, 2019; Iwaniec & Wang, 2022; Jiang et al., 2016; Rose et al., 2019; Y. Wang, 2020). With that in mind, several reports have called for a critical reflection on how to adapt "western" knowledge to local practices as well as on the development of scholarship in local languages (Kirkpatrick, 2011, 2014; Shohamy, 2013; Wilkinson, 2013). As the findings indicate, the Chinese EMI participants speak more favourably about acquiring medical knowledge in English than in Chinese. Their preference on medical knowledge in English could possibly result in a simple ideological chain - equating internationalisation to Englishisation - and make them neglect the significance of multilingual scholarship development in this diverse world.

Furthermore, a glimpse at the contextual conditions of the focal university could help us better reveal the ambivalence of the participants' identity-making process. A notable socio-economic precondition is that the focal university is not on the list of "prestigious (non-Double First Class) universities" issued by MOE (Ministry of Education et al., 2017), and its location is in a less economically developed region. At the same time, the focal university has positioned the EMI

teachers and students as elites according to the stated goals of this programme/courses in the institutional documents. Based on this socio-economic and institutional positioning, the EMI participants question what internationalisation and EMI mean to them in order for them to be able to join the internationalised elite at this "non-prestigious" university. One noticeable tendency in the interviews is that some medical teachers and students tend to model their imagined communities by describing the top tier universities' EMI practices as English-only, even though this might not be the case in those "prestigious" contexts (e.g., Rose et al., 2019; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). That raises a question why did this positioning occur in the participants' imagination of EMI practices? Driven by the predominant ideology of monolingualism and values originating from the Centre-periphery world system, it seems that the EMI participants interpret the English-only instruction as a symbol of development and modernity. This finding further confirms the common trend that people favour English-only or complete immersion instruction because of the dominant ideology of monolingualism in the EFL context (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Poza, 2018). Being categorised into the ordinary type within the national university stratification, they took that positioning to presume how EMI practices should be in their more prestigious counterparts' contexts (in the higher-ranking places and/or in more economically developed regions). In other words, their discursive preference for monolingual instruction – a socially constructed elitism in a broader discourse - builds up their imagined professional identity since they consider it represents a high quality, authority, and authenticity. Meanwhile, they seem to consider the bilingual instruction as occupying a secondary place, or what Carroll & van den Hoven (2016) called stigmatised EMI practices.

This phenomenon of devaluing bilingual instruction is also evident at the instructional level since the university regulation concerning language practices in bilingual courses hints that the most capable teachers are encouraged to instruct only in English. As mentioned in the literature review, there has been a popular ideological stance that assumes the bilingual approach to EMI to be deficient or an alternative to English-only, as indicated by Galloway et al.'s (2017) comparative study on EMI in China and Japan. In the same vein, although the focal institutional EMI policies allow bilingual practices and name this programme the "bilingual class" rather than EMI, the institutional discourse indicates that "bilingual" is a "soft" alternative approach to EMI. At the same time, influenced by these dominant ideologies, the data frequently shows that the Chinese EMI teachers and students consider their own bilingual practices (vocabulary-focused teaching and paper-pencil exam-oriented learning) as inferior and therefore limiting. Furthermore, the COVID-19 outbreak forced the Chinese teachers and students to adapt to the distant learning mode. Facing this unprecedented situation, they compromised the teaching/learning-in-English by making content instruction the priority, and that had the effect of increasing the perception of the inferiority of language practices to content teaching in online EMI teaching/learning (Qin et al., 2022). These findings are consistent with previous findings concerning Chinese EMI participants' proficiency in English,

particularly communicative English skills (Cheng, 2017; Feng et al., 2017; G. Hu, 2019; G. Hu et al., 2014). More importantly, this study further argues that such a positioning – being locating at an ordinary type of university in the macro-level discourse - has aggravated the EMI participants' sense of being deficient in English, in turn perpetuating their reluctance to use English in teaching/learning.

Thus far these findings have raised an important question about the contextualisation of EMI and its goals according to local practices. Having been driven by the traditionally prevailing ideology of monolingual instruction, the institutional discourse seems to fail to critically examine the Chinese EMI participants' actual needs (e.g., bilingual literacy in medicine) by disregarding the value of bilingual instruction. Nevertheless, when the medical teachers and students reflected on their pedagogical and professional practices, they thought that they themselves were positioned in a dilemma by on the one hand accommodating a broader discourse of EMI as an elite education and English-only as a superior mode of EMI yet on the other hand struggling to build up the bilingual identities needed in clinical services and research work.

More noticeably, given the fact that both the EMI teachers and students are Chinese, the classrooms represent intra-cultural communities, intensifying the participants' binary perception of language ownership: Chinese as self-owned (native) and English as owned by others (foreign). In other words, this could make them find it difficult to legitimate English for communicative purposes in that classroom, so English has been limited to medical terminology and phrases. Under the prevailing values derived from the monolingualism ideology, the EMI medical teachers and students display a zero-sum game mindset when expressing a preference to maximise or only use English. In the sense that, they consider the relationship between two and more languages as competing. That is, the increasing use of one can result in a reduction in another language during EMI teaching and learning. According to research by Bolton & Botha (2015) and Bolton & Graddol (2012), the use of English is restricted to a small number of domains even though English has increasingly been presented in daily life in China. So the Chinese EMI participants perceive the EMI classroom as a legitimate space for using English, whereas outside of the classroom is deemed to be a context for Chinese monolingual language use most of the time. Paradoxically, their bilingual classrooms, as mentioned above, are primarily intra-national communities and share the same L1, which prevents the participants from exercising their communicative English if they maintain the binary perception of language ownership described above. Furthermore, constraints in these intra-cultural communities may lead the Chinese teachers and students to idealise the image of English speakers as white people from western developed countries or regions. As many scholars such as Ou & Gu (2018), Rose et al. (2022), and Tian et al. (2020) have argued, this could possibly make the Chinese EMI participants position themselves in a secondary place – a less powerful one - when using English.

Ironically, in the student participants' view, though the university has positioned them as "elite", it seems to disregard the differences in learning experiences between EMI and CMI programmes which results in their sense of losing

"eliteness". As shown in the findings, the interviewees' discourses expressing dissatisfaction bring out issues concerning the institutional management of this EMI programme, such as the lack of adequate medicine-specific language support and follow-up PD training in teaching/learning-in-English, the "unfair" academic ranking system, and the university-led method of selecting students. Those management approaches seem to create another type of inequality in EMI. Such type of inequality differs from the earlier founded ones that have suggested that EMI as an elite education could enlarge educational and socioeconomic inequality between EMI and non-EMI students (G. Hu, 2019; Lei & Hu, 2014). It is somewhat surprising to find that EMI students feel vulnerable compared to their CMI counterparts, as Gu and Lee (2019) have suggested. In accordance with previous findings reporting top-down EMI implementation in many contexts, the present study shows that Chinese medical teachers and students strive to fit themselves into the *de facto* EMI situations regulated by the focal university, and in so doing the ambivalence of their identity affirmation is intensified (Macaro et al., 2019). In other words, the lack of clarification, negotiation, and agreed practices among different stakeholders contributes to the EMI participants' frustration with difficulties in capital access, transfer, and upgrade for reaching the discursively created elitism. Meanwhile, it is also crucial to raise the question about these discursive creations of EMI as an elite education, which I will further discuss in the following part.

Taken together, the lack of a diverse outlook on internationalisation and intercultural communication opportunities constrains the Chinese medical teachers and students to taken-for-granted imaginations of English and EMI education based on Western-centralised and monolingual perspectives. This may have the result of perpetuating the asymmetrical relation of power flows between central and peripheral sectors. In this study, the Chinese medical teachers and students were positioned as peripheral EMI participants in various ways. Specifically, although the influence of China is growing in the global market, it is still placed in the peripheral area in the Western-centralised system. At a national level, the focal university is not on the top tier plus it is located in an economically developing province, which adds another "powerless" layer into the participants' identity-making. Also, the top-down management of EMI at the institutional level continues to marginalise the teachers and students who feel their opinions are unvalued by other powerful stakeholders. Although EMI is described as "elite" education in public or official discourses, those imposed positionings lead the participants to struggle in a conflicted reality related to their EMI practices. Consequently, they tended to disregard their existing resources, capabilities, skills, and language practices.

7.1.3 Bilingual skills and practices for intra- and international/cultural communication

Those taken-for-granted or prevailing perceptions of English and EMI mentioned above tend to be dissolved when the Chinese medical teachers and students reflect on their English practices in intra- and international/cultural

communication. In other words, they demonstrate a decentralised understanding of English - how English is used by them and others- in their own contexts. In recent years, an increasing number of scholars in bi/multilingualism research have criticised the default monolingualism ideology and appealed for the adoption of a multilingual paradigm (F. Fang, 2018b; Galloway et al., 2017; García & Li, 2014; Macaro et al., 2019; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). In contrast to the structuralist stances on bi/multilingualism, dynamic bi/multilingualism rooted in the poststructuralism perspective probes into the values of multilingual phenomena and diversifies people's perceptions of (named) languages since it embraces the flexible use of the entire repertoire (e.g., translanguaging) as resourceful practices in bi/multilingual education (García & Li, 2014; W. Li, 2018; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). In this study, such poststructuralism ideological stance became prominent when the EMI teachers and students reflected on and imagined themselves in intercultural experiences and future professional scenarios. One interesting observation amongst teacher interviewees is that they do not emphasise their deficiency in English but refer to it rather as a capability when describing their EMI teaching experience with international students. As discussed above, intercultural communication has the potential to break the Chinese EMI stakeholders' ideological constraints affected by monolingualism and to increase their confidence in disciplinary-specific English as well as a sense of ownership of English for teaching and learning. The increase in confidence is particularly noticeable when the student interviewees take a future-oriented stance by imagining themselves becoming medical professionals who could flexibly exercise their bilingual skills to sustain their medical professionality. To approach this imagined identity and community, they rationalise the roles of L1-Chinese in bilingual learning and develop an interdependent relationship between Chinese and English rather than carrying on the assumption of a bilingual learning mode as a zero-sum game. As many EMI researchers for example Kuteeva & Airey (2014) have suggested, EMI stakeholders should recognise the discipline differences and design the courses and programmes accordingly. In this study, the students' future-oriented reflections provide EMI policymakers/managers with a window to see how EMI has been perceived by teachers and students. Given the disciplinary nature of Clinic Medicine - theoretical knowledge basis originated from Modern Medicine and clinical skills and conventions based on local practices (M. Yang et al., 2019), in some Chinese student's opinion Chinese and English should work hand-in-hand to build up their professional identities. Turning to the EMI (classroom) teaching and learning, the findings further suggest that dynamic bilingual practices are generally welcomed by the EMI teachers and students. One possible reason for this preference is that the flexible use of the full linguistic repertoire recognises the complex needs at different language levels within an EMI class and the distinct features of the requirements in different subjects within the medical discipline (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Nikula et al., 2022). Such findings related to bilingual practices in and beyond the EMI classroom suggest that the EMI teachers and policymakers/managers do adjust their perceptions and descriptions of bilingual instruction to boost the

students' agency to realise their imagined selves according to the practical circumstances. As discussed above, the participants of this study were found to discursively associated EMI elitism because they highly appreciate "Western" scholarship in English. Yet, what makes EMI different (i.e., representing a type of elite education in the broader discourse) is not to emphasise "English" solely but the bi/multilingual and intercultural competence that the teachers and students can develop through English as a medium in disciplinary studies. That contributes to a generally favourable attitude towards EMI - constructing its so-called elitism.

Apart from seeing the value of dynamic bilingual practices in EMI medical education, intercultural communication and practices could decentralise the idealised image of ("standard") English speakers perceived by the Chinese EMI participants. Traditionally, as Rose and his colleagues (2022) have argued, the (economic) Centre-periphery world system has long affected people's perceptions of different English varieties, supporting a hierarchical view between Anglophonic or western-based English at the top and non-Anglophonic or non-western ones at the bottom. This phenomenon is evident in the interview dataset when the teachers and students portray the image of legitimated English speakers and discuss standardisation and the nativeness of English without referring to actual intercultural experiences. Nevertheless, some interviewees became more tolerant of, and even showing appreciation for, different varieties of English. They also demonstrate intercultural awareness through mentioning practical communication with international students or foreigners (esp. most of them were from non-western countries and regions). This serves as an indication of the participants engaging in a positive discourse about non-western English varieties and ELF. These findings further suggest that an international/cultural environment and communication could facilitate Chinese students to increase awareness of interculturality and build up a multilingual identity (Ou & Gu, 2018; Song, 2019; Song & Lin, 2020). In addition, earlier studies (e.g., Jenkins, 2019; Rose et al., 2022; Tian et al., 2020) have called for the multilingual or non-western lens to examine what competencies/traits are valued by the EMI stakeholders in Asian contexts. F. Fang (2018a) has maintained that Chinese EMI and ELT stakeholders should take social-political and sociocultural perspectives into account when interrogating and reflecting on the relationship between the ideologies of English and local practices. Echoing the previous calls, this study shows that the Chinese EMI teachers and students negotiate and re-construct their language identities by widening their perception of English as a lingua franca and of English varieties used in intra-and international/cultural communication. In turn, these decentralised views on English have the potential to melt away their binary belief about language ownership being either native or foreign – serving as a bridge which increases their confidence in using English for communication. At the same time, Kuteeva (2020) has reminded us of the centripetal forces concerning language uses in EMI, which may push English users towards the standardisation and even linguistic hierarchy derived from native speakerism and the Centre-periphery world system. For instance, although the notion of translanguaging space seems to emerge from the participants' discussion about meaning-making-

oriented teaching, it is still possible to find a distinction between nativeness and foreignness in their discourse. Besides, the finding concerning the clarity of ELF practices further suggests that intelligibility between interlocutors should be considered a key factor in EMI teaching and learning. Otherwise, the lack of mutual understanding between English speakers/users could increase the counterforce against dynamic use of languages and the decentralised concept of English in EMI. In short, diverse (language) ideologies have intertwined, and that drives EMI medical teachers and students who displayed different degrees of engagement with those ideologies to confirm, negotiate, and even resist various identities such as Chinese speaker, (non-)native English speaker, ELF medical professional/learner and CE speaker (Kroskrity, 2010; Silverstein, 1979).

Last but not least, this study shows that EMI medical teachers and students treat CE differently from other English varieties. CE emerges as a part of their repertoire when they negotiate and re-construct their imagined identities under dynamic bilingualism and related values. On the one hand, the EMI participants' perceptions of CE suggest a generally neutral attitude towards CE for comprehensibility and as a part of their linguistic repertoires. This observation agrees with previous findings that have shown the positive evaluation of CE for communicative purposes and identity-making (W. Wang, 2015). More interestingly, when the Chinese teachers and students reflected on their practical English communication scenarios, they acknowledged the frequency of CE in their educational activities, the usefulness of CE in comprehension and communication, and its minimal effect on their professional identities. In other words, considering themselves as native speakers of Chinese, the students' reflexive positioning as CE users is more likely to encourage them to share ownership of CE which diminishes the strength of the distinct "either-or" positioning of (non-)native speakers of English. On the other hand, it is debatable whether CE is accepted as a variety in pedagogical use since the CE could be seen as less attractive compared to "standard" English and create the impression of being "unprofessional" when the CE usage violates sociocultural understandings in the given context (e.g., Pan, 2015; W. Wang, 2015; Z. Xu, 2020).

Thus far, although the dominant ideologies of monolingualism and English are influential across different levels of EMI stakeholders, some medical EMI teachers and students have shown their agency to ease the concerns about their English competence. In particular, through reflection on their educational and professional practices, they are able to re-evaluate their bilingual practices and uses of English in intra-and intercultural communication. That enables them to widen the scope of their internationalisation by developing professional identities under the multilingual paradigm.

To sum up, this section has synthesised and discussed three significant perspectives to address the two main research questions in the present study. Through revealing the Chinese EMI participants' discourses and positionings, this study highlights the fluidity of identity (re)-construction associated with tensions of different ideologies towards EMI flowing across various agents and levels. Therefore, to better understand, engage, and boost the Chinese medical

teachers' and students' agency in the EMI courses and programme, it is necessary for different stakeholders (i.e., students, teachers, and the institution) to have open dialogue to negotiate, agree on, and evaluate the management and planning of the EMI programme and courses according to practical and local needs, and with a multilingual mindset.

7.2 Conclusions and implications

This section concludes this doctoral study by proposing implications based on the prior findings and discussions. As stated in Chapter 1, the outcomes of EMI may not necessarily meet the EMI stakeholders' expectations, though it has been promoted rapidly in China over two decades. Many previous studies have suggested that a significant number of Chinese teachers and students think highly of EMI yet are concerned about what they regard as the poor implementation of their EMI programmes and their own consequent disappointing performances. This observation is shown in the way those EMI participants tend to present an ambivalent attitude towards bilingual programmes and courses. Therefore, focusing on Chinese EMI content teachers and students in Clinical Medicine, this doctoral study has aimed to investigate this ambivalence by revealing identity construction and its interaction with different ideologies and by pondering possible implications to dissolve that ambivalence.

Drawing on the social constructivism theories to explore the relationship between identity and ideology (see Chapters 2 and 3), this study has analysed the qualitative dataset (multi-sessional one-on-one and group interviews and supplementary written materials) at both content and discourse levels (see Chapter 4) and identified five key findings (see Chapters 5 and 6):

1. The Chinese EMI medical teachers and students consider EMI fundamentally different from EFL education, leading them to emphasise their roles of teaching and learning the content knowledge by positioning EFL counterparts as others who are on the language-centred side.
2. Their discourse of beliefs associated with EMI reveals the "*West*" is considered as the dominant place in modern medicine, where English is an essential medium for medical scholarship.
3. They deconstruct their imagined and "elite" identity when talking about challenge-ridden bilingual circumstances due to the teachers' major investment in medical vocabulary instruction, students' paper exam-oriented learning strategies (non-communicative English), contestable institutional management, and the online learning during the COVID-19 outbreak.
4. They display different ideological orientations (e.g., monolingual/separate bilingual, and dynamic) towards bilingualism that compete with and are reconciled in and beyond the EMI classroom when talking about various bilingual practices.
5. Their perceptions and reflections of bilingual pedagogical and

professional practices indicate diverse ideologies of languages, such as (non-) nativeness, standardisation, and different English varieties, which simultaneously push them onward and outward to negotiate and re-construct their identities as future bilingual medical teachers/students and professionals.

These five key findings have been synthesised into three pivotal perspectives by which to address the main research questions (see Section 7.1). In brief, the first perspective shows that the dominant gaze from the ELT stance can easily lead to a separation of content and language in the identity-making of EMI teachers and students. In turn, such a mindset can reinforce the EMI participants' reluctance to commit to improving language teaching and learning skills with the guidance and support from their ELT counterparts. Specifically, like EMI participants in many other contexts (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Reynolds, 2019), the Chinese EMI teachers and students perceive themselves as pragmatic English users and learners whose English medical knowledge is so sophisticated that they do not pursue grammatical accuracy and complexity like their EFL counterparts. At the same time, they are likely to presume that their English competence is so deficient that it has constrained them from using English in medical teaching and learning. Consequently, these beliefs may have perpetuated their reluctance to value their existing language recourses and skills. They have also felt demotivated to invest in the promotion of language and pedagogical competence for bilingual teaching and learning. Echoing calls (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016) to bring the sociocultural and ideological aspects to the investigation of EMI participants' practices, the findings in this study render possible explanations for their perception of poor performance in the EMI programme and courses. As discussed above, one possible implication deriving from the ambivalence between content and language teaching is that the EMI teachers and EFL teachers should collaborate to facilitate the integration of content and language learning. For example, an increasing number of studies have suggested that teacher PD training and sustainable language support for students are crucial for raising teacher multilingual and pedagogical awareness and enhancing student capabilities to manage bi/multilingual learning (Dafouz, 2018; Macaro et al., 2019; Macaro & Han, 2019; Pappa & Moate, 2021; Reynolds, 2019; Rose et al., 2019). Further, it encourages not only collaboration between the EMI researchers and stakeholders but also the investments of time and money at the managerial level to develop a comprehensive EMI lens for better understanding its language practices and to customise pedagogical and learning strategies in order to better meet the participants' needs (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021). On the other hand, promoting cross-disciplinary collaboration may confront several challenges. As identified in this study, studying in the Clinical Medicine programme is rather intensive, and its curriculum structure leaves little room for flexibility due to the mandatory clinical practices in the final years. Given this disciplinary nature, one of the burning issues for the institutional management and planning is how to organically integrate ESP or provide disciplinary language support within the subject curriculum. For instance, one teacher participant suggested introducing teaching

assistants (i.e., senior postgraduate students) who major in medicine and are proficient in English. Those teaching assistants could work as a bridge between EMI teachers and students, providing in-class support and organising workshops or study groups after classes to assist the students in digesting medical English. Another issue that the focal university (and other ordinary universities in developing areas) encounters is the scarcity of EMI resources, including well-developed teaching materials and teachers with pedagogical training of EMI. Although there is no quick solution to solve those scarcities, the initial cooperation can start by bringing subject teachers and language teachers in pairs to engage in revising EMI teaching materials, observing EMI classrooms and even co-teaching.

Secondly, given the Western-centred discourse in and beyond the modern medical discipline, the EMI teachers and students tend to see the concepts of development, modernity, western, English, and internationalisation as interlinked. As a result, they consider themselves as outsiders of such discourse and as vulnerable English users/learners and report about their bilingual practices in a concerned manner, widening the gap between their high expectations of EMI and their perceptions of their incompetence in actual performance. As discussed above (see Section 7.1.2), the Chinese medical teachers and students from a non-top tier university become positioned in various ways as peripheral EMI participants, which seems to intensify the ambivalence and even tensions in their identity-making process. Such marginalised positionings (e.g., their category in the national university ranking and representing developing regions without much connection with Western countries) lead those "invisible" participants to idealise English-only instruction as a common practice for EMI courses at "prestigious" universities. In other words, despite being involved in EMI that is widely seen as an "elite" education by the policymakers or general public (Y. Wang, 2020), it seems particularly distant for the Chinese participants from ordinary universities to shape their EMI reality according to the prevailing models of EMI adopted by the stakeholders in economically developed or "prestigious" contexts. Consequently, being influenced by the predominant ideologies of EMI, the "invisible" EMI teachers and students are more likely to pay attention to their deficiency in English and consider their bilingual practices as an inferior approach to EMI.

Thirdly, the taken-for-granted perceptions of English and EMI approach generated by the prevailing monolingual and western-dominant ideologies seem to dissolve when the Chinese medical teachers and students reflect on their English practices in intra- and intercultural communication. In this way they demonstrate a localised understanding of English - how English is used by them and others - in their own contexts. As shown in the discussion, this study argues that the EMI participants' perceptions of language competence and concerns about bilingual language are dynamic according to their *de facto* interactions and orientations towards imagined identities/communities. So given the contextual conditions of the focal university, a possible implication is the development of a diverse outlook on internationalisation and an increase in intercultural communication opportunities with (on-site) international students. That can help the Chinese EMI participants to break out of the "taken-for-granted" mindset associated

with English and EMI and to foster a more decentralised understanding of internationalisation and English with multilingual paradigms (F. Fang, 2018a; Ou & Gu, 2018; Rose et al., 2022). As suggested in Chapter 2, EMI is no longer a privilege only for stakeholders from top tier universities and economically developed regions, but is spreading more widely across different tiers of institutes and areas, and this trend also applies to other non-western countries, such as Official Development Assistance (ODA) recipient countries. Since EMI in those contexts is oriented towards strengthening engagement with markets of the "West" and inward internationalisation of HE (Sahan, Mikolajewska, et al., 2020), this orientation can possibly result in an over-admiration of western-led discourse or a homogeneous perspective from which to view EMI in their local practices, especially for those from the peripheral place. Thus, rather than perpetuating the western-centric orientation towards the internationalisation of HE, diversifying the understanding of internationalisation and English in this multilingual and multicultural world can help to view the global trend of EMI from a standpoint that is not uncritically admiring but questioning. For instance, given the provincial strategy to strengthen international cooperation with ASEAN countries and the institutional specialisation on modern medicine, the students from Southeast countries and South Asia compose the majority of international students at the focal university (Botha, 2016; MOE, 2016). The resulting linguistic and cultural diversity among international students can be transferred into abundant resources for the local Chinese students, developing their intercultural competence and an ELF perspective on English if these two groups of students jointly engage in interactional activities (e.g., workshop and clinical internship). In addition, as required by the focal university, it is a must for international students to be proficient in Chinese at a certain level for clinical placements at local hospitals. Therefore, as a practical approach, the integration/interaction activities between international students and local EMI students have the potential to bring mutual benefits. For local EMI students, it can encourage them to break the idealised image of English speakers and re-construct themselves (in relation to others) as ELF users. For international students, being involved in local communities can help them to improve their Chinese skills. As argued above, what makes EMI different is not to emphasise the "English" solely but to develop students' bi/multilingual and intercultural competence in their professional fields.

At the same time, there should be awareness of the counterforce that still might be circulating in the form of centralised and static beliefs from monolingualism and the central-periphery world system. More importantly, as Macaro et al. (2019) have pointed out, with the top-down EMI implementation in Asian contexts, there is a need to establish an effective and sustainable platform or system where different levels of EMI stakeholders (i.e., the institution/managers and administrators, content teachers and language teachers, and students) can discuss and evaluate their linguistic resources and skills, academic and practical needs, and constraints that they have encountered. This approach can help EMI stakeholders in and beyond China to better contextualise EMI experiences of medical teachers, students, and professionals in a multilingual and multicultural

social world. Further, resources should be recognised and made use of according to local practices, with EMI in Asia being multilingual in nature, as many scholars such as Rose and his colleagues (2022) have stressed. It is important to bear in mind, however, that there is no single and universal way to implement EMI in this diverse world, so local linguistic, social-cultural, and ideological aspects of EMI should be carefully examined in order to develop the most appropriate ways of carrying it out.

Finally, based on the limitations and delimitations of this doctoral study (see Section 4.8), there are two methodological implications to further research. First, since many scholars such as Kroskrity (2010) and Woolard (1998) have reminded researchers that ideologies may also be embedded in participants' actual language usage, it could be beneficial for future research to apply multiple data collection methods, such as classroom observation and stimulated recall interviews, and to conduct longitudinal ethnographic studies. This particular study has collected the interviewing data remotely due to the COVID-19 outbreak; therefore, it would be fruitful for further studies to carry out face-to-face interviews to capture direct discursive interaction between interviewers and interviewees. Nevertheless, the pandemic made people (i.e., researchers, teachers, and students) get used to virtual environments – conducting online interviews and teaching/learning online. It is therefore worth considering how to build rapport in virtual interviews. One possible method is to turn on the camera, at least for the interviewers, which shows their engagement and openness to the interviewees. Besides, online interviews could benefit from the screen-sharing function. In this study, some teacher interviewees explained their EMI teaching practices by screen-sharing PPT slides and e-copies of exam papers with me. For future studies, it would be useful for researchers to utilise IT and communicative applications to engage with interviewees and to diversify the modalities of online interview datasets. In terms of data analysis, although this study collected the data from both EMI teachers and students, the analysis did not cover a systematic comparison and contrast between these two groups of participants. Therefore, the follow-up research focus could pay specific attention to cross-group analysis of similarities and differences between these two groups. Secondly, since there have been suggestions for collaboration between EMI and EFL teaching teams (G. Hu, 2019; Macaro et al., 2019) and calls for disciplinary-specific adjustment of EMI policies (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014), further work could include multiple perspectives, including those of EFL teachers and EMI and bilingual programme managers/administrators. In addition, due to the complex developmental landscape of EMI (and bilingual) education in and beyond China, it would be useful to conduct studies in multi-contexts, across different disciplines, universities, regions, and countries.

To close the dissertation, I hope this doctoral study has yielded fruitful insights to analyse the socially constructed ambivalent identities and diverse ideologies of the Chinese teachers and students, including especially those "invisible" participants who are in under-researched contexts in EMI education. On a more personal note, it has been a valuable experience for me to listen to the thoughts

and ideas of my colleagues – the EMI medical teachers - and the students, sharing their thoughts on teaching and learning in that unusual academic term of 2020 in China. I hope this study will encourage researchers and current and prospective EMI stakeholders to take the sociocultural aspect into account - critically reflecting and defining EMI and bilingual education in their own contexts.

RESEARCH SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

Research context and aim

In the trends towards the internationalisation of higher education, the two recent decades have witnessed a rapid growth of English-medium-instruction (EMI) education globally. The outcomes of EMI, however, have not necessarily met the EMI stakeholders' expectations. Existing research on higher education in China, indicates that the stakeholders have held a generally positive attitude towards EMI (Rose et al., 2019). At the same time, Chinese EMI students and teachers are frequently concerned about how EMI teaching has been implemented in practice and about their own disappointing performance, with their inadequate levels of proficiency in the English language (G. Hu, 2019). Focusing on Chinese EMI medical teachers and students from an ordinary university (i.e., not ranked among top-tier universities), this study aims to address the misalignment through investigating identity construction and its interaction with different ideologies and to diversify the understanding of forms of EMI provision in and beyond China. It will also suggest implications to resolve this issue. Two main research problems and sub-questions are:

- How do the Chinese teachers and students construct their identities in this EMI medical programme and its courses?
    - How do they position themselves when talking about their present and imagined EMI practices?
    - What do they perceive as affordances and challenges in (re-) constructing their identities?

- How do language ideologies intertwine with the participants' identity construction?
    - What kinds of ideological orientation towards bilingualism are embedded in participants' identity construction?
    - What kinds of ideologies of English in relation to other languages (mainly Chinese) are embedded in participants' identity construction?

Furthermore, the stakeholders in different disciplines may view and experience EMI differently, and it is problematic to adopt a "one-size-fits-all" approach to study and manage EMI programmes (Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Having reviewed the prior literature, I found that there are only a few studies on Clinical medicine disciplines and programmes that require the accuracy of content knowledge and combine theoretical learning with an intensive clinical practicum in local hospitals. These discipline features may pose challenges and provide opportunities to the teachers and students regarding their EMI teaching and learning practices. More importantly, due to the complex developmental landscape of HE in China, there has been insufficient research attention to EMI in non-top tier or ordinary universities, especially in developing regions (Rose et

al., 2019). In other words, EMI Chinese teachers and students from those universities are selected without receiving as much support and attention as their prestigious counterparts. As a result, those "invisible" teachers and students tend to display an ambivalent attitude towards the EMI programme and courses, with a consequent impact on their identity-making: What does it mean to be EMI teachers or learners? And how do they shape the EMI practices to make sense of themselves?

Theoretical framework

Recent decades have seen a rise in post-structuralist research interest in identity associated with language. In language educational research, Norton (2013) defines identity as socially interactional subjectivity across different time and space scales. Previous research on identity in EMI shows that the teachers' and students' identities are often associated with professional and disciplinary expertise, internationalisation and local practices/cultures, comparison between EMI and non-EMI learners, and power relations between English users in intercultural communication (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Gu & Lee, 2019; J. Hu & Wu, 2020; Ou & Gu, 2018; Sung, 2020). Furthermore, the process of social identity construction is mediated by intertwining language ideologies (Wortham, 2001), which brings language ideology as one of the key concepts in this study. Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 44) define ideology as "a site of struggle, of competing dominant, residual, and marginal ideas" which endow the dynamic of identity construction and negotiation through behaving according to certain dispositions while exercising agency to re-construct the contexts. Earlier research on EMI has indicated that EMI stakeholders display various tensions between the different ideologies of bi/multilingualism and English, such as monolingualism and dynamic bi/multilingualism, native speakerism, ELF and Englishes (F. Fang, 2018a; Kuteeva, 2020; Rose et al., 2022; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

A recent Model of Investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015) is useful for this project because it portrays the fluid power flows amongst contiguous spaces: ideology, identity, and capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991). In this study, the insights of this model have been applied to reveal how individuals (the teachers and students) in EMI construct and negotiate their multiple identities for investing in or retreating from particular language and educational practices. More importantly, it pays particular attention to the three overlapping circles: ideology, identity, and capital, which suggest the interrelated nature of these social spaces and highlight learners' agency to participate in or retreat from specific contexts (i.e., investment in the intersectional centre). In this way, rather than viewing these spheres as detached from each other, this model provides a useful framework to synthesise the complex and mutually affected relationships between ideology, identity, and capitals in the Chinese EMI participants' discursive realities and how they, in turn, invest in or from particular practices in their EMI teaching and learning. Turning to empirical research on EMI in China, a general observation across different disciplines is that teachers and students have been found to express concern about the mixed language practices that may be related to their dissatisfaction with EMI, whereas others have considered these practices

positively (G. Hu, 2019; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Zhao & Dixon, 2017). This observation provides motivation to explore how such diverse views from EMI participants on linguistic practices are produced and (re-)shaped the discourses related to EMI.

Research dataset and methods

Drawing on social constructivism theories to investigate the relationship between identity and ideology, this study employs qualitative modes of enquiry that contribute to obtaining thick and in-depth descriptions of the Chinese participants' experiences, feelings, and ideas about EMI medical education. Since semi-structured interviews enable researchers to probe into any emerging points of interest (Dörnyei, 2007), the primary data were collected using online semi-structured one-on-one and group interviews. With the approval of the JYU research ethics committee, the researcher recruited five Chinese medical teachers and eighteen Chinese medical students, who participated in a series of interviews during the 2020 Spring term. More specifically, the first round of interviews focused on participants' experiences of EMI teaching and learning in the current term in online courses. In the second round, the participants projected their views to the future by discussing their "ideal EMI courses". A final round of interviews was concerned with participants talking about the final exams and looking back on the whole term. All interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim for data analysis. The supplementary written materials consist of institutional documents from the staff in the Academic Affairs Office before the formal interviews and the teaching and learning materials from the interviewees who voluntarily provided them during the interviews.

According to the discursive nature of identity and ideology in social interaction, this study adopted thematic and discourse approaches to analyse the qualitative dataset. In other words, these two approaches worked hand-in-hand at both content (what they say) and discourse (how they say it) levels to reveal the nuanced and multi-layered relationship in the dynamic identity construction associated with competing ideologies. Given the large body of interview transcripts, I started to approach the dataset by a thematic analysis that enabled me to generate and organise the EMI participants' perceptions and reflections on their language practices - what they said - into themes (patterns) and sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During discourse-level analysis, attention was drawn to how the teachers and students said indicates about the construction of their identities in relation to language ideologies in this EMI context. Alongside the attention to themes emerging in the data, I simultaneously focused on discursive interaction and construction since discourse is a key to understanding identity and ideology in a social world (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Barkhuizen et al., 2014; Block, 2009; Gee, 1996; Kroskrity, 2010).

Findings and discussion

Having iteratively analysed the data till the findings relevant to (language) identity and ideology became "thick'' descriptions, the study identifies five key findings:

1. The Chinese EMI medical teachers and students consider EMI fundamentally different from EFL education, a view which leads them to emphasise their roles in teaching and learning content knowledge rather than language by positioning EFL counterparts as others who are on the language-centred side.
2. Their discourse of beliefs associated with EMI reveals the "*West*" is considered to be the dominant place in modern medicine, with English as an essential medium for medical scholarship.
3. They deconstruct their imagined and "elite" identity when talking about challenge-ridden bilingual circumstances due to the teachers' major investment in medical vocabulary instruction, the students' paper exam-oriented learning strategies (non-communicative English), contestable institutional management, and online learning during the COVID-19 outbreak.
4. They display different ideological orientations (e.g., monolingual/separate bilingual, and dynamic) towards bilingualism that compete yet are reconciled in and beyond the EMI classroom when talking about various bilingual practices.
5. Their perceptions and reflections of bilingual pedagogical and professional practices indicate diverse ideologies of languages, such as (non-) nativeness, standardisation, and different English varieties, which simultaneously push them onward and outward to negotiate and re-construct their identities as bilingual medical teachers/students and professionals in the future.

These five key findings have been synthesised into three pivotal perspectives from which to address the main research questions above:

a). Integration of content and language. Firstly, the predominant stances from normative ELT can lead to a separation of content and language in the identity-making of EMI teachers and students. The Chinese EMI teachers and students perceive themselves as pragmatic English users and learners whose English medical knowledge is so sophisticated that they do not pursue grammatical accuracy and complexity like their EFL counterparts (Finding 1). At the same time, they are more likely to presume that their English competence is so inadequate that it constrains them from using English in medical teaching and learning. Consequently, these beliefs perpetuate their reluctance to value their existing language recourses and skills (Finding 3).

b). Perceptions of English for pedagogy. Secondly, given the Western-centred discourse in and beyond the modern medical discipline, the EMI teachers and students tend to link up the concepts of development, modernity, western,

English, and internationalisation (Finding 2). Due to being positioned in different ways as peripheral EMI participants, the "invisible" participants have idealised the English-only instruction as a common practice for EMI courses at the more "prestigious" universities. Meanwhile, they portray themselves as vulnerable English users/learners and report about their bilingual practices in a concerned manner, widening the gap between their high expectations of EMI and their perception of being incompetent in actual performance. That seems to intensify the ambivalence and even tensions in their identity-making process. (Finding 3, 4 and 5).

c). Bilingual skills and practices for intra- and international/cultural communication. Finally, the taken-for-granted perceptions of English and EMI caused by the prevailing monolingual and western-dominant ideologies seem to dissolve when the Chinese medical teachers and students reflect on their English practices in intra- and intercultural communication (Finding 4 and 5). In this way, they demonstrate a decentralised understanding of English - how English is used by them and others - in their own contexts. This study argues that the EMI participants' perceptions of language competence and concerns about bilingual practices are dynamic according to their *de facto* interactions and orientations towards imagined identities/communities. At the same time, there needs to be vigilance that the counterforce from monolingualism and the central-periphery world system does influence participants so that they also continue to circulate centralised and static beliefs.

Implications for stakeholders and researchers in EMI

According to the key findings and discussion above, there are several implications for teachers and students, policymakers/managers, and researchers in EMI education in and beyond Chinese contexts.

Firstly, one possible implication is that the EMI teachers and EFL teachers should collaborate to facilitate the integration of content and language learning. For example, as many studies (e.g., Dafouz, 2018; Macaro & Han, 2019) have suggested, it is essential to provide EMI teachers with PD training to raise their pedagogical awareness in an increasingly multilingual world and to give EMI students sustainable language support to enhance student capabilities to manage bilingual learning. To achieve that, not only collaboration between EMI researchers and stakeholders is required but also the financial and time investment at managerial level to develop a comprehensive EMI lens for a better understanding of its language practices and to customise pedagogical and learning strategies to meet the participants' needs (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021).

Secondly, it is crucial for EMI participants to develop a decentralised outlook on internationalisation and to raise intercultural awareness, which traditionally has been dominated by western-centralised ideologies. In this study, given the contextual conditions of the focal university, it is suggested that increasing the opportunities of communication between the local students and (on-site) international students, can help the Chinese EMI participants to foster a

decentralised understanding of internationalisation and English with multilingual paradigms (F. Fang, 2018a; Ou & Gu, 2018; Rose et al., 2022).

Thirdly, as prior literature (e.g., Macaro et al., 2019; Sah, 2022) has called for, the findings of this study point towards the need to establish an effective and sustainable platform or system where different levels of EMI stakeholders (i.e., the institution/managers and administrators, content teachers and language teachers, and students) can discuss and evaluate their linguistic resources and skills, academic and practical needs, and constraints that they have encountered. This approach has the potential to help EMI stakeholders in and beyond China to understand what their EMI experiences means to them as medical teachers/students and to grow to become genuinely professional in the multilingually and multiculturally social world.

As suggested above, there is no single or universal way to implement EMI in this diverse world. Focusing on the EMI experiences of Chinese medical teachers and students from an ordinary university, this study enriches the current understanding of EMI participants' experiences through a sociocultural and ideological lens. In particular, it has paid special attention to investigating the misalignment between expectations and practices encountered by those participants through revealing their identity-making in relation to various ideologies in this EMI context. In short, this study not only contributes to diversifying the research on the forms of EMI provision, focusing on the category of ordinary universities in China, but also responds to the call for interdisciplinary research in order to critically examine and (re-)define EMI and bilingual education.

Finally, reflecting on the research methodology employed in this study, I make two main suggestions for further research on EMI. First, it would be beneficial for future research to apply multiple data collection and analysis methods, such as classroom observation, stimulated recall interviews, and multimodal analysis, to conduct longitudinal ethnographic studies. Second, the field would benefit from multi-perspective work, by bringing in the views of EFL teachers and EMI and bilingual programme policymakers/managers. In addition, due to the complex developmental landscape of EMI and bilingual education in and beyond China, it would be useful to conduct studies in multiple contexts, across different disciplines, universities, regions, and countries.

研究总结 (RESEARCH SUMMARY IN CHINESE)

研究背景与目的

在高等教育国际化趋势推动下，English-medium-instruction (EMI)，即英语作为媒介语教学，在全球范围内快速发展。然而，EMI 教育成果并不能完全如其各参与方所期。在中国高等教育背景下，现有研究指出，尽管各参与方对 EMI 教育大致持积极态度(Rose et al., 2019)，但中国 EMI 师生们常常因其英语能力不足，对他们教学实际情况和学习表现感到担忧(G. Hu, 2019)。本研究关注于在普通高校里中国 EMI 医学教师与学生，旨在从身份构建与意识形态互动的角度去揭开上述期望和实际的偏差，并多样化对在中国及以外地区 EMI 教育供给情景的理解。通过研究，本文期望能为上述偏差现象带来解决方法与启示。由此，笔者提出两个主要研究问题和若干子问题：

- 在该 EMI 医学专业项目与课程中，中国教师和学生如何构建他们的身份？
  - 通过其谈论现时与想象中的 EMI 实践，他们如何定位自身？
  - 在构建其身份时，他们把什么认为是示能和挑战？

- 各语言意识形态如何与他们的身份构建交织？
  - 在其身份构建中，呈现出哪些对于双语现象的意识形态的类型？
  - 在其身份构建中， 呈现出哪些对于英语（与中文）意识形态的类型？

此外，因为来自不同学科的 EMI 教育参与者会不同的体验与观点，所以我们难以用“一刀切”的方式去研究和管理 EMI 项目(Airey et al., 2017; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014)。通过阅读文献，笔者发现当前针对临床医学专业及项目的 EMI 研究尚较空白。尤其，临床医学专业对知识内容要求精准，理论学习与本土医学实操结合强度高；该专业特点为师生的 EMI 教授与学习带来了挑战和机遇。更重要的是，由于中国高等教育的发展情况复杂，那些处于非顶尖层级的普通高校，尤其位于经济欠发达地区的高校，往往缺乏研究者的关注(Rose et al., 2019)。换言之，相较于顶尖高校，来自普通高校 EMI 课程的师生较难获取优质资源支持和研究关注。这使他们变成易“被忽略“的 EMI 参与者，也对该教育模式展现出矛盾的态度。该现象影响到他们对自我身份认识：成为 EMI 师生中的一员意味着什么？以及，他们如何塑造 EMI 实践和在其中理解自己？

理论框架

近几十年来，学界在后结构主义影响下兴起了对与语言相关的身份研究。在语言教育领域，Norton (2013) 把“身份”定义为：在不同时空层面进行社会性互动的主观。此前关于 EMI 教育的研究显示，师生身份塑造常涉及方面为：专业及学科知识技能、国际化与本土实践/文化、与非 EMI 参与者对比、在跨文化交际中英语学习/使用者权利关系 (Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019; Dafouz, 2018; Gu & Lee, 2019; J. Hu & Wu, 2020; Ou & Gu, 2018; Sung, 2020)。此外，社会身份构建的过程需经语言意识形态的介导(Wortham, 2001)。由此，语言意识形态成为本研究另一重要概念。Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 44) 把“意识形态”理解为：“一个由主导性、剩余性和边缘性观念相互竞争所形成的领域”；其赋予了身份构建与协商

的动态性，即（行为者）及能根据情景中形成的规则来表现，也能发挥主观能动性去重建情景。当前关于 EMI 教育的研究发现，其参与者展现出多方面语言意识形态拉锯，例如：单语主义与动态双/多语主义，英本主义、英语作为通用语和多样英语 (F. Fang, 2018a; Kuteeva, 2020; Rose et al., 2022; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018)。

由 Darvin 和 Norton(2015) 提出的投入模型（Model of Investment）阐述了流力在三处毗邻领域：意识形态、身份和资本(Bourdieu, 1986, 1991)之前的动态。在本研究中，笔者将应用该模型中的观点去揭示 EMI 教师和学生个人如何构建其多重身份来实现投入/出某特定的语言和教育惯例。更重要的是，该模型强调三处领域（意识形态、身份和资本）的重叠性，表明三者相互关联的社会属性。这使学习者可发挥其主观能动性决定参与或退出某情景（即位于三者交互中心的“投入”）。因此，该模型把上述三个领域联系起来，而非独立分离对待。

在本研究中，该模型被应用于整合从中国 EMI 师生个人话语中发现的，复杂且相互影响三领域（意识形态、身份和资本）的互动；同时，展现师生们如何投入/出 EMI 教学实践。在不同学科的 EMI 教育实证研究中发现，一部分师生对他们混合语言使用惯例感到担忧和不满，而另一部分师生则对该现象持积极态度(G. Hu, 2019; Wang & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Zhao & Dixon, 2017)。此普遍存在的研究结论促使笔者深入探究，这些不同观点是如何产生，以及它们如何影响重塑关于 EMI 的话语。

研究数据与方法

基于社会构建主义理论对身份与意识形态的理解，本文采用质性研究方法来深刻细致地描述中国受访师生对 EMI 医学教育的经历、感受和观点。笔者利用半结构访谈的灵活性(Dörnyei, 2007)，通过线上一对一和小组访谈来收集数据。经过 JYU 大学研究伦理委员会的备案，笔者在 2020 春季学期与五位医学专业课老师和十八名医学生陆续进行了三次半结构性访谈。第一次访谈主题：了解受访者当前（线上）EMI 教授和学习经历；第二次主题：受访者“理想”中 EMI 课程；最后一次主题：期末考核与学期回顾。所以访谈均录音均由笔者逐字转录，进行分析。补充文本材料包括：在正式访谈前，笔者从受访学校教务处获取的关于双语课程项目管理规；在访谈中，受访者自愿提供的教学材料。

基于身份与意识形态的社会互动性构建话语属性，本文采用主题性与话语性分析。换言之，这两种分析方法相互协作，来探究质性数据的内容（他们说了什么）和话语（他们如何表达那些内容），以揭开在 EMI 师生话语中所展现，多层次动态身份构建和不同意识形态之间的互动。针对大量的访谈转录文本，笔者首先采用主题性分析梳理受访的 EMI 师生们对他们语言实践惯例的理解与反思，即他们说了什么(Braun & Clarke, 2006)。随之，笔者转入话语分析，把分析重点集中于受访师生们如何在话语中构建其身份，及其身份构建与语言意识形态的关系。在两种分析方式的交互使用下，笔者既注意整理在话语分析中新出现的主题，也视话语互动与构建为分析社会性身份与意识形态的重要环节(Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Barkhuizen et al., 2014; Block, 2009; Gee, 1996; Kroskrity, 2010)。

发现与讨论

经过反复分析数据直至相关发现变得丰富后，笔者整理明确出五个关于身份与意识形态的要点：

1. 在受访的中国医学师生们看来，EMI 从本质上与 EFL 教育不同；该观点促使他们强调自身角色为教授和学习医学专业知识，并把 EFL（英语作为外语教学）师生们置于他者，即语言学习为中心。
2. 受访师生们谈论 EMI 的话语体现出，其认为“西方”为现代医学领域的主导地位，并视英语为现在医学知识的必要媒介。
3. 在受访师生们谈论挑战重重的双语学习实践情况中，他们所想象出的和展现出的“精英”身份遭到解构。其中的原因包括：教师偏重医学词汇的教学方式、学生应试学习策略（无沟通英语的元素）、有争议的校方管理措施、和新型冠状病毒疫情期的线上学习。
4. 受访师生们展现出不同的看待双语主义的意识导向（如：单语/分离双语、动态双语）。在他们谈论双语实践惯例的话语中，这些不同的意识形态在 EMI 课程教学和其以外领域情景下相互斗争和解。
5. 受访师生对其双语教学与专业实操的认识与反思中呈现出多样的对语言的意识形态，例如：（非）母语者意识、标准化、和不同的英语变体。这些意识形态同时地发挥作用，让受访师生在向内与向外的博弈力中协商（重）构建其作为双语医学师/生和（未来）从业者的身份。

为了回答本文提出的研究问题，笔者将从三个启发性的观点整合以上五个发现要点：

a). 内容与语言融合。首先，以 ELT（英语语言教学）为标准的主导观念会导致 EMI 师生在身份构建时产生内容与语言分离的倾势。一方面，中国 EMI 师生会着重强调其自身为实用英语使用和学习者，即他们的英语医学知识非常尖端精细，以至于可忽略 EFL 者所重视的英语语法准确和复杂程度（发现 1）。另一方面，在 EFL 主导观念的影响下，该身份构建会导致他们自视自身英语能力不足，从而限制了他们在医学教与学中的英语使用实践惯例。结果，这些观念会不断循环强化了他们不能正视自己现有语言资源及技能的价值（发现 3）。

b). 在教学中，对英语的认知。其次，鉴于以西方为中心的话语在现代医学及以外领域的地位，EMI 师生们倾向把发展、现代性、西方、英语和国家化观念串联起来（发现 2）。由于被放于多重边缘位置，这些“被忽略”的 EMI 师生视纯英语教学为“精英”大学的通用惯例。同时，他们把自身视为弱势英语使用/学习者，并以担忧的话语描述其双语教授与学习实践惯例。这扩大了他们的观念上产生差距，即对 EMI 教育的高期望和对其实际教学能力不足的失望。由此，他们在身份构造过程中展现出模棱两可甚至冲突的情况（发现 3、4 和 5）。

c). 在同一/跨文化沟通中，双语技能和实践惯例。最后，在单语主义盛行和西方主导的意识形态影响下，上述关于英语和 EMI 教育的观念被视为理所当然。同时，当中国医学师生们反思其在同一和跨文化场景中的英语实践时，以上观念呈现瓦解之势（发现 4 和 5）。如此一来，他们展现出对英语“去中心化”的理解，即在切身情景中，自己和他人如何使用英语。本文指出，EMI 师生对于自身语言能力和对其双语实践惯例的担忧是动态的；这取决于他们实际交流情景，以及对其想象身份/群体的导向。与此同时，我们也要注意来自单语主义和中心-边缘世界体系的反向力，即影响 EMI 师生们继续循环对英语中心化和静止化的理解。

对 EMI 教育参与方和研究者的启示

根据以上发现和讨论，笔者针对在中国以及为外 EMI 教育情景下的师生、制定/管理者和研究学者，提出以下几点启示。

其一， EMI 教师与 EFL 教师应当积极合作，以促进内容以语言教学的融合。例如，许多研究强调（如：Dafouz, 2018; Macaro & Han, 2019）应给予 EMI 教师职业培训以提升其教学意识适应愈发多语化的世界，并让学生得到可持续的语言支持以有能力应对其双语专业学习。想要达到这些，不仅仅需要 EMI 教育参与者和研究学者的通力合作，也需要管理层面的经济与时间投入。如此，我们能发展出一套适用于与 EMI 教学的观点，去理解 EMI 师生的语言实践惯例，并依据他们的需求来整理适配的教授和学习方法(Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021)。

其二，在以西方为主导的意识形态的传统影响下，EMI 师生们应培养对（教育）国际化“去中心化”的认识，并提升跨文化意识。基于本文研究大学的环境背景的了解上，笔者建议增加中国本土学生与（在校）留学生的交流机会。这会促进中国 EMI 师生在多语化范式中拓宽对国际化和英语的理解(F. Fang, 2018a; Ou & Gu, 2018; Rose et al., 2022)。

其三，呼应早前研究显示(如：Macaro et al., 2019; Sah, 2022)，本文支持建立一套有效且可持续的平台或系统，使 EMI 教育各参与方（即，校方/管理行政人员、学科教师、语言教师和学生）能探讨和评估他们的语言资源和技能、学术和实践需求，以及所遇到的困难。该措施可以帮助医学 EMI 教育的各参与方更好地去理解，EMI 对他们的师生来说意味着什么，如何成长为适应在多语且多文化社会的医务工作者。

正如本文所述，在这多样化的世界中，没有唯一或同一的 EMI 教育实施模式。本研究把目光聚焦于来自普通医学高校的中国 EMI 师生群体，从社会文化和意识形态的角度丰富了对当前 EMI 师生教学情况与经历的理解。尤其，通过探究受访者身份构建与意识形态的互动，本文有助于更好地理解 EMI 师生所面临的争议处境。简而言之，本研究不但多样化对（在中国地区）EMI 教育供给情景的理解，即关注那些易“被忽略”的来自普通高校的师生群体；也积极响应（应用语言学）跨学科研究趋势，即运用社会文化理论来批判性探究和（重）赋义 EMI 以及双语教育。

最后，经反思本文所用研究方法，笔者提出以下两点针对 EMI 教育的研究改进建议。第一，后续研究可进行长期性民族志研究，采用多样化数据收集和分析手段，例如：课堂观察、回顾式访谈、多模态分析等。第二，涵盖更多类型的 EMI 教育参与方（EFL 教师、课程项目管理和制定者）观点将有助于增加后续研究的价值。此外，由于 EMI 教育在中国及以外地区的发展阶段和形式的复杂多样性，所以多教育情景，即跨学科、学校、地区及国家的相关研究亦可作为后续研究方向。

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
Guiding interview questions (original in Chinese and translated in English)

Guiding interview questions (the 1st session)	
To teachers	1. 您参与双语教学有多长时间了？您之前是否有过类似的学习经历？ Could you tell me how long you have been teaching bilingual[17]courses? And have you received any education that used a similar teaching approach? 2. 您能描述下您最近一次双语课堂是怎样的吗？ Could you tell me what your recent bilingual lessons are like? - 您是怎样选择和使用语言的？学生呢？ - How did you choose or use languages? And how about the students? - 您对此的感受如何？ - How do you feel about that? 3. 您在双语教学中碰到哪些困难吗？ What difficulties have you encountered during your bilingual teaching/course? - 您能描述下那些困难吗？ - Could you please describe it/them? - 您解决了它们吗？如果是，您是怎么解决的？如果没有，那为什么？ - Did you resolve it/them? If yes, how? If not, why not? 4. 关于双语教学，您还有什么想补充说说的吗？ Do you want to add any other comments about your bilingual teaching?
To students	1. 你能先介绍下自己吗？ Could you introduce yourself? 2. 你平时会遇到几种语言？ How many languages have you used in everyday life? 3. 你能描述下你最近一次双语课堂是怎样的吗？ Could you tell me what your recent bilingual lessons have been like? - 你是怎样选择和使用语言的？和谁交流？老师呢？ - How did you choose or use languages? With whom? And how about the teachers?

[17] As mentioned in Chapter 2 Research on EMI education, although the "EMI" and "bilingual" are interchangeably used in the dissertation, the "bilingual" is the literal translation and preferable to be used in the interviewing context with the participants. Therefore, Appendix 1 displays the originally literal term - "bilingual" used in the interview questions.

	- 你对此的感受如何？ - How do you feel about that? 4. 你在课堂之外是如何选择和使用语言的？ How did you choose or use languages after the classes? 5. 你在双语学习中碰到哪些困难吗？ What difficulties have you encountered during your bilingual teaching/course? - 你能描述下那些困难吗？ - Could you please describe it/them? - 你解决了它们吗？如果是，你是怎么解决的？如果没有，那为什么？ - Did you resolve it/them? If yes, how? If no, why? 6. 关于双语学习，大家还有什么想补充说说的吗？ Do you want to add any other comments about your bilingual study?

Guiding interview questions (the 2nd session)	
To teachers	1. 您对回到校园线下教学感觉如何？ How do you feel about resuming teaching on campus? 2. 您能描述下您理想中的双语教学或课是怎样的吗？ Could you tell me what your ideal bilingual teaching or ideal bilingual course would be like? 3. 您会如何在不同的教学环节中选择或使用语言（例：大课，考核）？ 为什么？ How would you choose or use languages in different educational events (e.g., lecture, assessment)? Why? 4. 您觉得要实现您理想的双语课，我们会遇到哪些困难？ What difficulties would there be in realising your ideal bilingual teaching/course? 5. （一些老师和学生提到他们理想中的双语课，可以把留学生和中国学生放在一起上课教学。） 您对此有什么想法？ (Since some teachers and students mentioned that it is possible or ideal to combine Chinese students with international students in one class to teach/study,) how do you feel about this imagined situation? 6. 如果有新老师想教授双语课程，您会给他们什么建议？ If there were a novice teacher in your department, who was about to teach the bilingual course, what suggestion you would give to him/her? 7. 关于双语教学，您还有什么想补充说说的吗？ Do you want to add any other comments about your bilingual teaching?
To students	1. 你对回到校园线下学习感觉如何？ How do you feel about resuming learning on campus? 2. 你能描述下您理想中的双语学习或课是怎样的吗？

	Could you tell me about your ideal bilingual learning and ideal bilingual course like? 3. 你会如何选择或使用语言？为什么？ How would you choose or use languages? 4. 如果你是一名医学老师，你会如果教授双语课（例：大课，考核）？ 为什么？ If you were a medical teacher, how would you teach a bilingual course (e.g., lecture, assessment)? Why? 5. 你觉得要实现你理想的双语课，我们会遇到哪些困难？ What difficulties would there be for realising your ideal bilingual course? 6. （一些老师和学生提到他们理想中的双语课，可以把留学生和中国学生放在一起上课教学。） 您对此有什么想法？ (Since some teachers and students mentioned that it is possible or ideal to combine Chinese students with international students in one class to teach/study,) how do you feel about this imagined situation? 7. 关于双语学习，大家还有什么想补充说说的吗？ Do you want to add any other comments about your bilingual study?

Guiding interview questions (the 3rd session)	
To teachers	1. 您能谈谈本学期期末双语考试吗？ Could you tell me about the final bilingual exams? - 您是怎样设计试卷考试/实验考试？ - How did you design the exam papers/lab tests? - 学生考试表现如何呢？ - How did the students of the bilingual class perform? 2. 您对本学期的双语教学感觉如何？ How do you feel about your bilingual teaching this term? - 有哪地方您觉得做得不错的，或者哪些是不理想的，下学期可以改进？ - Is there anything you think you have done well, less well, or can improve in the following terms? 3. 您觉得双语教学给您带来了什么？ What does the experience of bilingual teaching bring (to you)? 4. 关于双语教学，您还有什么想补充说说的吗？ Do you want to add any other comments about your bilingual teaching?
To students	1. 你能说说本学期期末双语考试吗？ Could you tell me about your final bilingual exams? - 哪一门最容易？哪一门最难？ - Which one is the easiest and which the most difficult? And why?

	2. 你有没有遇到困难？你在考试中是如何处理的？ Have you encountered any difficulties? How did you cope with those difficulties while taking the exams? 3. 你能说说你是如何备考双语考试的？ Could you tell me how you prepared for the final bilingual exams? - 有哪些小技巧可以和大家分享的？ - Is there any tip to share? - 遇到了哪些困难？你是如何处理的？ - 有哪地方你觉得做得不错的，或者哪些是不理想的，下学期可以改进？What difficulties did you encounter, and how did you cope with those difficulties? 4. 与中文班的同学相比，你感觉这次的期末考试如何？ Compared with the final exams that CMI students took, how do you feel about yours? 5. 你对本学期的学习效果感觉如何？ How do you feel about your learning outcomes this term? - 一学期下来，有变化吗？ - Is there any change throughout this term? - 有没有完成你对自己的目标？ - Have you reached your learning goals? -有哪地方你觉得做得不错的，或者哪些是不理想的，下学期可以改进？ - Is there anything you think you have done well, less well, or can improve in the following term? 6. 你能说说你希望五年后的自己是怎样的（职业发展方面）？ Could you see/imagine yourself in five years' time (professional development)? 7. 您觉得双语教学给你带来了什么？ What does the experience of bilingual learning bring (to you)? 8. 如果有一位新入学双语班的同学，你会给他哪些双语学习建议？If there were a newly enrolled student in your programme, what suggestion would you give to him/her? 9. 关于双语学习，大家还有什么想补充说说的吗？ Do you want to add any other comments about your bilingual learning?

APPENDIX 2
Transcription convention

The transcription mark-up and spelling refer to the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) conventions (VOICE Project, 2007). The transcript symbols used in excerpts are:

Pause (.)
Other – continuation =
Repetition –
Laughter @
Speaking modes <>
Anonymisation and left-out content []
Contextual events {}

Reference

VOICE Project. (2007). *VOICE Transcription conventions [2.1].* https://voice.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/transcription-conventions/

APPENDIX 3
Consent form (example)

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYL.

CONSENT TO SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

I have been asked to take part in the study:

Analysing translanguaging ideology: Narrative research of EMI (English Medium Instruction) courses in mainland China.

I have read the research notification and obtained sufficient information about the study and the processing of my personal data. The content of the study has also been described to me verbally, and I have received sufficient responses to all my questions about the study. Responses were given by the researcher. I have had a sufficient amount of time to consider my participation in the study.

I understand that participating in this study is voluntary. I have the right, at any time during the study and without giving any reasons, to cancel my participation in the study. Cancelling my participation will not result in any negative consequences for me.

In addition, I can, at any time, withdraw my consent to the study without any negative consequences for me.

By signing this consent form, I accept that my data will be used in the study described in the research notification.

☑ Yes

I give my consent to be contacted with regard to any further research.

☑ Yes

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I will participate in the study, that I am a voluntary research subject and give my consent to the aforementioned.

_____

Signature

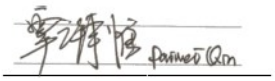
2020、3、21

Date

[redacted]

Name in print

Consent received



Signature of the recipient

覃湃惟 Paiwei Qin

Name in print

The original signed consent form will remain in the archives of the person in charge of the study, and a copy of it will be given to the research subject. This consent form will be retained securely for as long as the data is in identifiable format. If the data is anonymised or erased, this consent form no longer needs to be archived.