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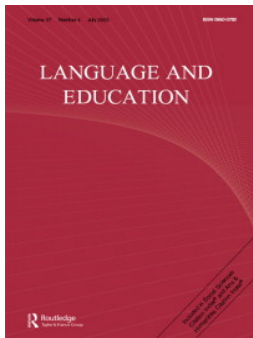
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Researching EMI policy and practice multilingually: reflections from China and Turkey

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ABSTRACT

In the field of English medium instruction (EMI), multilingual research approaches are crucial to carrying out effective and ethically responsible research, because EMI policies and practices are inherently multilingual. This paper is a partial replication study that adopts a 'researching multilingually' analytical framework to interrogate the challenges and affordances of using multiple languages during two EMI research projects. In the project in Turkey, the lead researcher, who is an English-Turkish bilingual, analysed policy documents (n = 145) and interview data (n = 67) drawing on her knowledge of both languages. Additionally, 85 EMI classroom observations were conducted. In the project in China, the research team of two L1 English speakers and two L1 Chinese speakers investigated 93 bilingual policy documents and conducted interviews with 26 policy arbiters by drawing on both languages during data collection and analysis. Together, these reflections highlight how multilingual approaches can be utilised throughout the research process, from team formation, research design, data collection, data analysis, and presentation of findings in research reports.

1. Introduction

Practices of researching multilingually have been increasingly foregrounded in applied linguistics research (see Andrews et al. 2020, Holmes et al. 2013, 2016, 2022, Phipps 2013). In the field of English medium instruction (EMI), multilingual approaches are essential to carrying out research, because EMI policies are almost always produced in different language mediums for global and local stakeholders. Moreover, a vast body of evidence suggests that *English-medium practices* are inherently *multilingual pedagogies*, where L1 use is the norm rather than the exception in EMI classrooms (see Paulsrud et al. 2021 for several global examples). Through critical reflection on experiences of multilingual research, EMI researchers can problematise their practices, by considering how their subjectivity and underlying biases effected their outcomes. This paper is a partial replication of Ganassin and Holmes (2020) and uses researcher reflection as a lens to explore the processes of

researching EMI multilingually. It adopts an approach illustrated by Andrews et al. (2020), which is built on several iterations of a framework of theorising multilingual research practices (Ganassin and Holmes 2020, Holmes et al. 2013, 2016). It draws on the researchers' own reflective experiences of utilizing multiple languages when researching EMI policies and practices in research projects in China and Turkey.

2. Literature review

2.1. Researching multilingually

Language-related choices in applied linguistics research can be complex—a realisation researchers may only have through critical reflection. While linguistic diversity may be expected in certain areas of applied linguistics research, the need to respond to such linguistic diversity cannot always be anticipated. In Andrews et al. (2020), the authors reflect on their own definition and rationale for such reflection, which they refer to as *researching multilingually*. They provide a premise for revisiting their definition of such research and extending arguments calling for more critical attention. The base definition of researching multilingually is taken from Holmes et al. (2013) as 'how researchers conceptualise, understand, and make choices about generating, analysing, interpreting and reporting data when more than one language is involved – and the complex negotiated relationships between research and researched' (297). In revisiting this definition (Holmes et al. 2016), they draw on research from the wider applied linguistics community, such as Stelma et al. (2013) study exploring the concept of intentionality through an ecology theory lens that highlighted the value of exploring *how* researchers in multilingual studies reached various decisions.

There are two influences in Andrews et al. (2020) revisitation of the definition of researching multilingually. First, they refer to recent conceptualisations of multilingual research practices (e.g. Martin-Jones and Martin 2017), as well as Canagarajah's (2013) ideas about translingual practices in language education, to interrogate the definition and challenge their own thinking about how researchers prepare linguistically (Andrews et al. 2018), which they argue benefits from having a translingual mindset. Such a mindset prepares researchers for the unexpected, which is inevitable in the kind of research practices that occur in multilingual contexts. For the second influence, they consider research that problematises different language-in-use conceptualisations, referred to as *languaging*. Drawing on the work of Phipps (2012, 2013), they highlight the benefits of matching how researchers use language with participants' language use. For example, Phipps (2013) noted that depending on power dynamics, participants may be more comfortable in interactions with a less linguistically competent researcher (than a fluent-speaker researcher) and that these may allow for more effective and engaging data. In this way, the researcher is voicing solidarity, a distinct research choice (Phipps 2012).

2.2. Researcher reflexivity

Reflexivity is defined by Young et al. (2022, 175) as 'account[ing] for the values, beliefs, and knowledge that researchers bring into their studied context'. Applied linguistics researcher choices are realised through *researcher reflexivity*, which Starfield (2013) explains has grown in importance since the 'reflexive turn', in which social science research moved away from

objectivity and positivism in favour of more qualitative methodologies that embrace researcher subjectivity and ethnographic research. In defining researcher reflexivity, Starfield draws on Pillow's (2010) argument that it requires criticality and problematising—troubling and making 'uncomfortable' any or all preconceptions relevant to the research. Researcher reflexivity is essential in researching multilingually, as it involves being critical of the researcher's own biases and situates the researcher as part of the phenomenon being investigated. Schwandt (2001) points out how this process helps to establish 'the *validity* [author emphasis] of accounts of social phenomena' (224) and highlights the messiness of embracing researcher reflexivity in writing up social research (see McKinley and Rose 2017).

Specific to EMI research, based on our own experience, Rose et al. (2022, 162) explained that 'it is … necessary that we interrogate our own researcher positionalities and engage in reflexivity to bring our own preconceptions to the surface'. While we are a team of researchers who have extensively lived, worked in, and investigated the contexts of Japan, Turkey, and China, other researcher, professional, and linguistic identities have undoubtably shaped our positionalities. Similarly, Sabaté-Dalmau (2020) emphasises the importance of adopting an interpretive reflexive framework for analysing multilingual practices in EMI research in Spain. And Manan et al. (2023) argue for teacher and researcher reflexivity concerning multilingualism and translanguaging in EMI in Pakistan.

While the foremost quality of researcher reflexivity is problematisation, the benefits of what the act of reflexivity bring to understanding social phenomena outweigh the messiness by revealing invaluable insights. These are particularly beneficial to researching multilingually, as the complexity of such research aligns with the understanding that the phenomena being investigated are dynamic and in flux, so methods that assume 'predictable and unchanging uses of language' (Andrews et al. 2020, 77) are insufficient.

2.3. Arguments and frameworks for reflexive multilingual research

Reflexivity in multilingual research is often linked with ethnographic research. Costley and Reilly (2021) explain that linguistic ethnography helps us to understand communication in local contexts and situates such communication socio-historically and sociopolitically (Copland and Creese 2015). They draw on Clifford and Marcus (1986) concept of the 'reflexive gaze' as essential for ethnography, positing the argument that for linguistic ethnography, 'complex multilingual interactions are the object of study' (Costley and Reilly 2021, 1035). They propose three principles for reflexive multilingual research to work: researching multilingually, collaboratively, and responsively. Researching multilingually, they argue, involves making the (often undervalued) role of multilingualism central to the study. Researching collaboratively means doing away with the default 'lone ethnographer' approach, which has been critiqued as inherently problematic (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln 2011), and instead understanding collaboration as central to the entire ethnographic process. Researching responsively recognises the flexibility of linguistic ethnography to adapt to the complexities—to embrace the messiness—of local contexts.

With conceptualisations of multilingualism developing since the turn of the century, Martin-Jones and Martin (2017) explain that the understanding we now have has led to an adjustment of research lenses and methodologies. Costley and Reilly (2021) refer to the work of Holmes et al. (2013, 2016), expressing concern about the inability of current ethnographic methodology to account for and prepare ethnographers for

multilingual research, and arguing for the importance of training for researching multilingually.

It was in this work by Holmes et al. that the first framework of researching multilingually was developed with the intention of providing some support for researchers to adjust their methodologies according to a raised awareness of the complexities in such research. The framework was first proposed by Holmes et al. (2013), reiterated years later (Holmes et al. 2016), and promoted by Andrews et al. (2020) as 'an overlay, which works with any research methodology, for understanding and interpreting how researchers might draw on their linguistic resources in the research process' (78). The framework is comprised of three aspects: intentionality, spatiality, and relationality. Intentionality concerns the design of the research or methodological choices that directly address multilingualism, such as which language(s) are used when and how. Spatiality concerns the research context and its associated linguistic practices. Relationality refers to the development of rapport between those involved in the research, how the researcher and participants position themselves and each other, acknowledging the range of linguistic practices that may occur.

Ganassin and Holmes (2020) expanded the framework by adding two (overlapping) 'standpoints' to the aspect of intentionality, which they refer to as the 'realization phase': reflexivity and ethical representation. They refer to Woodin's (2016) conceptualisation of reflexivity as the understanding(s) and position(s) that researchers have going into the study, which identify the subjectivity that informs the research. They provide an example of reflexivity on their own earlier research (Ganassin and Holmes 2013), which revealed linguistic power dynamics between the researchers and participants, noting relational identity and power in the choices and preferences for the use of some languages over others. Concerning ethical representation, they note that researchers practise linguistic agency in establishing trust, maintaining ethics, negotiating power, and saving face. Referring to the work of O'Neill (2010), they note that 'researchers need to demonstrate a commitment to cultural—and, we add, linguistic—justice to avoid cultural and linguistic domination, non-recognition, and misrecognition of their participants' linguistic identities' (Ganassin and Holmes 2020, 832). This argument was further developed by Holmes Reynold, and Ganassin (2022), who insist the political implications of researching multilingually, including those involved 'in fieldwork, in interviews, in communication to different publics, including not least the role of translation and interpreting' (Risager and Dervin 2015, 6) which can result from both conscious and unconscious decisions, must also be accounted for. Holmes, Reynold, and Ganassin note (2022, 1) 'that power relations and the role of languages and language hierarchies in the research process are seldom reflected upon by researchers' and that 'the political dimensions of such multilingual research work' can be better understood through researcher reflexivity.

To conclude the review of literature, we must acknowledge some criticisms raised against the researching multilingually framework. Wei (2018) argues that in our era of post-multilingualism, multilingualism means much more than just having multiple languages; the complexities of blurred boundaries between languages means we need to ask different questions (which researcher reflexivity allows us to do). Wei (2018, 15) also stressed that the focus on the use of languages in conceptualising multilingualism limits it due to a 'lingua bias' of communication'. However, we understand that languages underpin cultural traditions as well as epistemological traditions. Liddicoat (2018, 25) argues that 'working multilingually considers each academic tradition as having a contribution to make and aims at

a reciprocal transformation of thought and practice in all of the epistemological traditions involved.' As such, we see problematising multilingual research practices through researcher reflexivity, interrogating our own epistemologies, as a valuable contribution to knowledge in the EMI research field.

3. Methodology

Our methodology is a partial replication of Ganassin and Holmes (2020), who analysed a past study to explore the challenges and opportunities of researching multilingually. Following their example, our paper aims to answer the research question:

> RQ: What opportunities and challenges does a researching-multilingually perspective offer researchers in the context of (Chinese and Turkish) English medium instruction?

We answer this question through the creation of a new analytical study that critically explores three dimensions of multilingualism in two previous studies (labelled in the paper as Study A and Study B).

3.1. Background to the studies

The dataset for this paper comes from two studies into the policies and practices of EMI in Turkish (Study A) and Chinese (Study B) universities. In Study A, the lead researcher, who is an English-Turkish bilingual, analysed policy documents (n = 145) and interview data (n = 67) drawing on her knowledge of both languages. Additionally, 85 EMI classroom observations were conducted, necessitating the creation of research frameworks and coding tools to analyse the multilingual data due to the high prevalence of observed translanguaging. In Study B, the research team of two L1 English speakers and two Chinese-English bilinguals investigated 93 bilingual policy documents by drawing on both languages during data collection, data analysis, and data presentation. During fieldwork for the project, interviews with 26 policy arbiters were conducted multilingually using a translanguaging approach although in some instances interpreting was used when communicating with the L1 English researchers. The details of each of these studies are explicated in Table 1, which demonstrates the two studies' methodological comparability, which is essential for comparative EMI research due to the field's vast variability (see [Rose] et al. 2021).

3.2 Analytical framework

As this is intended to be a partial replication study, we adopt the same framework used in Ganassin and Holmes (2020), which was developed from earlier iterations found in Holmes et al. (2013, 2016). The framework, visualised in Figure 1, consists of three dimensions, which are further comprised of several categories of analysis. We note that these are not neat, isolated categories, but rather overlapping and interdependent aspects.

In line with Ganassin and Holmes (2020), we used a researching multilingually approach to revisit the research processes and data sets of Studies A and B. This process required a double hermeneutic, or two stages of understanding and interpretation (Smith and Osborn 2008). For our study, these two stages were inter-related and iterative: first, each member of the research team made sense of their experiences researching multilingually for these

Table 1. Overview of Study a and Study B (note: categories are based on Ganassin and Holmes 2020).

Category	Study a	Study B
Focus	EMI policy and practice in Turkish Higher Education	EMI policy and practice in Chinese Higher Education
Research Approach	Qualitative, interpretative	Qualitative, interpretative
Methodology	Policy analysis with fieldwork	Policy analysis with fieldwork
Methods of data collection	Document collection, interviews, and student focus groups, observations	Document collection, individual and group interviews
Overview of the data set	145 policy documents, 67 interviewees and 85 classroom observations	93 policy documents, 26 interviewees
Methods of analysis	Thematic analysis	Thematic analysis
Authors involved in research	Sahan (PI): Turkish-English bilingual who received her bachelor's degree in the USA, her master's degree in Turkey, and her PhD degree in the UK; Rose: Supervisor	Rose (PI); Non-Chinese-speaking multilingual; all degrees in Australia; McKinley (Co-I): Non-Chinese-speaking multilingual; all degrees in Anglosphere; Zhou: Chinese-English bilingual who received her bachelor degree in China and Master and PhD degrees in the UK
Languages of data analysis	Turkish and English	Chinese and English
Ethics	Approved by UK based university and participant universities.	Approved by UK based university and participant universities.
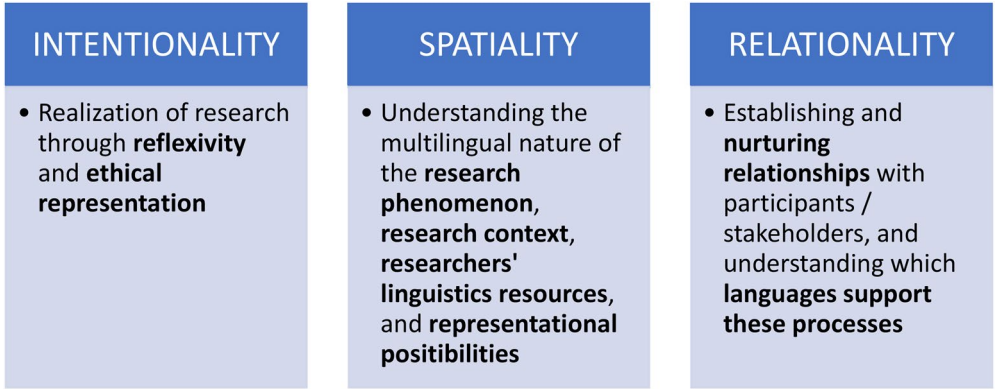
Figure 1. Researching multilingually framework (Holmes et al. 2016; Ganassin and Holmes 2020).

studies. This involved writing reflective accounts based on the researching multilingual framework, which provided themes around which the reflections from Study A (Turkey) and Study B (China) were organized. We then discussed our experiences and reflections as a group to make sense of each other's interpretations. The experiences from Study A and Study B were compared during the reflective group discussion, and the researching multilingual framework again served as a prompt to guide this discussion. The written reflective accounts were then revised, based on the group discussion (i.e. to clarify or add points raised during the discussion), and the analysis from these reflections is presented below.

4. Intentionality: researchers' developing awareness of multilingual possibilities

For this first aspect, we considered reflexivity, ethics, and the centrality of English in choices made in the two studies.

4.1. Reflexivity

From the initial planning stages of Study A in Turkey ('the realization phase', as Ganassin and Holmes 2020, refer to it), Sahan and Rose were aware of its multilingual possibilities, and given the nature of the project, there was never a question that it would not be multilingual, since the object of study was multilingual pedagogy in higher education. Because Sahan was researching multilingual practices, she was also prompted to reflect on her own linguistic resources and positionality as a researcher. She had some insights from her experiences working at an English preparatory program in Turkey about the multilingual practices that characterised EMI university settings there, including awareness that the vast majority of staff and students would be L1 Turkish speakers and that Turkish would figure prominently within the broader university setting. However, what Sahan could not anticipate was whether or to what extent languages other than Turkish and English would figure into the research; for example, what other languages might be used by local and international students or teaching staff.

For Study B in China, which was initially led by two English L1 researchers with no Chinese language ability, decisions were made from the outset to form a research team that would enable the research to be conducted multilingually. Two Chinese L1 bilinguals (Chinese-English) were co-opted into the project at the proposal stage to form a multilingual team. This was more than a strategic choice, but rather a fundamental necessity to ensure fidelity of the project. In Stage 1 when policy analysis was carried out, Chinese was used as the language of data collection and analysis. An L1-Chinese research member first searched for and coded the Chinese policy documents, and then asked the other L1-Chinese researcher (Zhou) to check the coding for inter-rater reliability. Translation was avoided to circumvent potential misunderstanding brought to the highly culturally dependent terms used in the national or institutional policies. Instead, the two Chinese researchers drew on their linguistic and cultural awareness to achieve consensus in coding the data. In Stage 2, when field data were collected, the team then decided to use both English and Chinese as the research languages. During data collection, it became clear that participants preferred the use of English, perhaps due to the language being regarded as symbolic of an international level of research. However, some participants, such as those in senior management positions (i.e. not in EMI delivery), were not proficient in English and thus responded to questions in Chinese. As the fieldwork was conducted during the preparations for the 70th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, there was a heightened sense of formality and political caution with receiving foreign researchers, which resulted in group meetings at some universities, comprising a mixture of EMI program directors and senior management of the university. The research team aimed to respect the participants' choice of interview format and language. We always allowed respondents to speak in full and waited to consult with each other after the interviews to clarify the content of what was said. We refrained from overuse of interpretation to 'save face', especially seeing as the multilingual research team could use their shared linguistic resources to shuttle between languages and maintain the flow of the interview.

4.2. Ethical representation

As an L2 user of Turkish conducting research in Turkey during Study A, Sahan's linguistic preparation for fieldwork involved reflecting ethically on her linguistic resources and identifying potential 'gaps' in her linguistic knowledge. Her formal education was conducted

entirely through the medium of English, and as a result her ability and comfort discussing academic concepts in English was much greater than in Turkish. Moreover, most research in the field, including research on EMI in Turkey, is published in English. Sahan was therefore less familiar with project-related academic terminology in Turkish. Sometimes her linguistic preparation was as simple as looking up terminology (for example, to ensure that *odak grubu*, a literal translation of 'focus group', would be understood). At other times, it involved more reflection on how best to describe her research in Turkish, including, for example, how to express the term 'EMI' itself. Sahan reflected on how best to translate this term so that non-area specialists (e.g. the participants) would understand what was meant by it, and thereby fully understand what was being researched. This required reflection on the concept of EMI to assess different translation possibilities, as well as discussion with other Turkish-speaking researchers in the field to determine how different translations would be perceived by participants.

The ethical considerations of Study B in China were mainly rooted in the role of power in the researcher–researched relationship. Efforts were made to equalise the power relationships between the researchers and the researched by approaching the project as an avenue for collaboration. Study B was explicit in its grant application to ensure the 'researched' universities benefited from the research in articulating:

> During this fieldwork, we will aim to forge stronger ties with key universities leading to future collaborative projects and in-depth data collection on EMI. Our previous research in Japan has indicated that it is important to build careful relationships with research partners, so that universities do not feel like 'research sites' for Western researchers. Thus, the main aim for this fieldwork is to build these relationships for future research opportunities, rather than collect data for this current project. (Source: Grant application, Study B)

Since the conclusion of Study B, Zhou maintained close research connections with one of the fieldwork universities, and McKinley and Rose have engaged in research publication activities with researchers at another participant university indicating ongoing fulfilment of this ethical choice. Similar to Study A, the issue of terminology also posed challenges to Zhou when she shuttled between English and Chinese to interview and translate conversations. Although being a native speaker of Chinese, Zhou received academic training for her master and PhD in the UK which made her feel more familiar with research terminology in English than in Chinese. To ensure accuracy, she consulted the national and institutional EMI policy documents, finding that the term of EMI is often translated into 'full-English instruction' ('全英文教学', *quan yingwen jiaoxue*) or 'bilingual instruction' ('双语', *shuangyu jiaoxue*). To cohere with the preferred use of terminology of each research site, a conscious decision was made by Zhou during data collection to first observe the terminology choice by the interviewees and then model after their use. This alignment in word choices was intended to indicate that the researcher could understand the practice of EMI (full English or bilingual) that is operating at the institutional level, which in turn, also opened up discussions on contextual factors that shape such practices.

5. Spatiality: researcher spaces

The dimension of spatiality explores the multilingual nature and multilingual possibilities of four aspects: the phenomenon being investigated; the research context (location); the

strategic use of researchers' linguistic resources in conceptualizing, planning, conducting, and presenting the study, and representational possibilities (reporting/dissemination). As EMI is already well-established as a multilingual phenomenon in the research literature, we focus on the latter three categories.

5.1. Research contexts

In both Study A and Study B, data revealed the multilingual nature of the EMI research contexts. Time-coded data from 85 classroom observations in Study A indicated that EMI was inherently bilingual in practice, with more than 15% of classroom talk in Turkish, and a further 12% as illustrative of translanguaging/code-switching (see Table 2). Self-reported data from student questionnaires in Study B revealed a similar situation, where 78 EMI lecturers reported an average of 74.5% (SD = 28.91) of language spoken in lectures was in English.

In the research context of Study A, Turkish was privileged over English in the macro research context (although English was often privileged above Turkish in the EMI classroom). One example of how this played out during data collection was the use of Turkish as a lingua franca during an interview with two international students from Pakistan and Kyrgyzstan. In line with the flexible multilingualism of the project, the international students were given the option to speak in their preferred language. For these students, both English and Turkish were L2s. Although the students were studying in an EMI programme, they stated that they were more comfortable conversing in Turkish because they used Turkish more commonly than English in daily life, in Turkey. (Note: The students had also completed an intensive Turkish language program offered by the university.) The use of Turkish as a common L2/lingua franca between the researcher and participants reflects the complexity of multilingual identities, and it challenges assumptions of English as the dominant language or de facto lingua franca in international student communications. In this way, flexible multilingualism allowed Sahan to capture the complexities of interactions among multilinguals and to engage with participants to negotiate multilingual identities.

In Study B, fieldwork revealed that the EMI contexts, especially at the postgraduate level, were often engineered to separate international and domestic students, with different degree programs targeting different types of students. Nonetheless, fieldwork revealed a lot more flexibility in practice where local students could elect to take EMI courses offered to international students and vice versa. International students were also required to take Chinese language classes, making the researched EMI contexts complexly multilingual in presentation.

Table 2. Proportion of observed language use in EMI classrooms in Study A.

Language use	Mean (%)
Pauses	15.93
English (L2)	56.42
English with Turkish lexical items	0.66
Inter- sentential codeswitching (L1/L2)	3.66
Turkish with English lexical items	8.18
Turkish (L1)	15.35

5.2. Linguistic resources

There were very different linguistic positions for researchers on each study in the two contexts: L2, L1, or deficient in the local language. These positions led to researchers drawing on their linguistic resources during fieldwork in ways that resulted in different roles in the research (in Study B), as well as instances of codeswitching (in Study B) and translanguaging (in Study A). Here, we have used both the terms code-switching and translanguaging to reflect distinctions made by the researchers in their experiences researching multilingually. As will be illustrated below, Zhou alternated between Chinese and English depending on who she was communicating with and in what situation, while Sahan and the participants in Study A frequently shuttled between languages while communicating with each other. The language practices described by Zhou capture the fluidity and creativity that characterises translanguaging (see Wei 2018).

As a Chinese-English bilingual, Zhou was best positioned to handle several roles for Study B, coordinating logistics for visits with British Council China officials and university administration, translating at two of the Chinese universities were interviewees elected to speak in Chinese, analysing data in L1 and using her subjectivity to selectively translate the data into English for dissemination. On reflection, Zhou noted the command of two languages enabled her to draw on different linguistic resources in different situations, and to codeswitch between English and Chinese to meet the diverse needs of the tasks. When preparing for fieldwork, she often used Chinese to contact the British Council China staff via the Chinese platform of WeChat. Using Chinese also allowed her to establish a close relationship and trust with some staff, which greatly facilitated the data collection process at multiple research sites later. However, when data were collected onsite, Zhou used English as the principal language for communication to include the other two L1-English researchers in the discussion. While taking notes during the interviews, she frequently codeswitched between the two languages. Chinese was used to record certain expressions and terms to reduce the potential loss of meaning or connotation as much as possible. During the data analysis stage, Zhou was responsible for transcribing and analysing the interview data. However, instead of conducting the analysis entirely in Chinese, as the team did for the policy analysis (which had numerous culturally laden terminologies), she provided English glosses to the transcripts to ensure access of data to different team members.

In Study A, translanguaging was not only an object of study (e.g. translanguaging practice in the classroom) but also a tool for research (e.g. switching between languages in interviews and focus groups). Examples of translanguaging could be found throughout the observation, interview, and focus group data, as teachers and students frequently shuttled between languages. As a tool for research, translanguaging facilitated data collection in focus groups with participants with diverse linguistic backgrounds. For example, in one focus group, the participants consisted mostly of Turkish students, but also one international student from Namibia with limited Turkish skills. As the students spoke in their preferred language (Turkish for the Turkish students and English for the student from Namibia), the focus group was conducted in two languages. Sahan shuttled back and forth between the two languages, asking follow-up questions in both languages. The Turkish students were able to understand the international student's contributions in English but responded in Turkish, and she offered translations of their Turkish responses in English for the international student when necessary. Through translanguaging, she drew on the linguistic resources of

the group as a whole and from her linguistic repertoire as a researcher, to ensure that all students were able to participate in the focus group in their preferred language. As a research tool, translanguaging allowed Sahan to conduct the focus group with students from diverse linguistic backgrounds, and it allowed them to discuss their experiences collectively and simultaneously, in their preferred language.

While translanguaging facilitated the processes of data collection and rapport building with participants, Sahan encountered some minor challenges working with multilingual data during the analysis stage – specifically, challenges with respect to the mechanics of processing multilingual data. Sahan manually transcribed the recordings from classroom observations and interviews, because existing transcription software were inadequate to handle the fluid language practices of the participants. Similarly, many of the auto-coding features of qualitative data analysis software are designed for monolingual (rather than multilingual) datasets. For a large-scale study like Study A, this lengthened the time required for data analysis, although the processes of transcription and manual coding allowed Sahan to remain close to the data.

5.3. Representational possibilities

Both Study A and Study B have been predominantly published in English (see, for example, McKinley et al. 2021; Rose et al. 2020; Sahan et al. 2021; Sahan 2021; Zhou et al. 2022). Despite English being the priority language of publication, some efforts were made to improve the multilingual nature of research outputs, including: For Study B, a bilingual presentation given at the 2019 International Symposium on EMI for Higher Education in the New Era in Beijing where all slides and presentation speeches from Study B were provided in English and Chinese via simultaneous interpretation; and, from Study A, multilingual data frequently embedded in English-medium publications (see Sahan et al. 2021; Sahan and Rose 2021). Although most output was delivered in English, effort was made to research and read literature multilingually and to bring forth voices from scholars through their works published in Chinese or Turkish so that knowledge produced in non-Anglophone contexts could be incorporated (Liddicoat, 2016; Piller 2016). For example, in Zhou and Rose (2022), Zhou searched for EMI-related publications through *Zhiwang* ('知网'), a renowned academic database for publications in Chinese, and reviewed key issues pinpointed by Chinese researchers in relation to the wider global EMI community to outline the national and institutional trends of EMI implementation and situate the discussion internationally. Despite such effort, however, on critical reflection of dissemination of the research both Study A and Study B we, as researchers, could do better to harness the representational possibilities in languages other than English. There are ethical issues associated with conducting research in multilingual spaces, but prioritising one language in dissemination, which both studies are guilty of, thus warrants further improvement.

6. Relationality: building relationships

Relationality concerns who are involved in the research, what function or purpose relationships have, how relationships are negotiated and managed, and which languages are in play in these researcher-researched relationships. Researchers rarely work alone, instead sharing

multiple relationships (e.g. with supervisors, participants, translators, interpreters, transcribers, editors, funders). How these relationships are managed interpersonally and linguistically, and what languages are privileged within and across these relationships, all influence research processes and outcomes. In this section, we consider the impact of our positions on the relationships we built with others in our research, including the potential impact of our affiliation with the University of Oxford.

In Study A, Sahan was aware of the layered complexity of her positionality as both insider and outsider. She would initially be perceived as an outsider, since her name would clearly signal to participants that she was not Turkish. Although it would not necessarily reveal her L1 and nationality, her name signalled her as *yabancı,* a foreigner. However, Sahan was a *yabancı* who could position herself as a linguistic and cultural insider due to her knowledge and experience working and living in Turkey for many years, as well as through personal circumstances (e.g. marriage to a Turkish national). In some context, her marriage status allowed her to transition identities from *yabancı* to *gelin* (bride or daughter-in-law), embedding her within the community and helping to negotiate access. As a researcher with these dual insider/outsider identities, Sahan made the conscious decision to share her (personal and linguistic) background openly with participants, so that they could understand the experiences and personal connections she had to Turkey and the Turkish language and culture. She did so because she believed that sharing these aspects of her 'insider' positionality would help gain the trust of participants.

In Study B, we found the decision to use English or Chinese affected the negotiation of the relationship between researchers and the participants. There was also the influence of the preparations for the 70th anniversary of the People's Republic of China and associated political implications with language choices. On two occasions, after group interviews, participants shared contrasting views about EMI in Chinese with Zhou, who was a Chinese national, and thus had insider status. The use of the L1 between the researcher and the participants seemed to establish a natural sense of trust, assuring them of the researcher is an 'insider' sharing the same Chinese values and society, and thus who could better understand their point of view.

In consideration of the relationships built in both Study A and Study B, we cannot ignore the potential impact of our affiliation with the University of Oxford on participants. We reflect on how the global reputation of the university helped during participant recruitment, and how it may have influenced participants' expectations of who we were because of our affiliation. Sahan reflects on how the professors and Engineering faculty heads at one university held a reception meeting because they heard that a researcher from the University of Oxford was coming to conduct research at their university; this included a formal meeting with men in suits (she was wearing jeans), in which they offered her a gift bag with stationary including the university's logo. It seems that they may have been expecting a (male) 'big-shot' Oxford professor and instead they got, as Sahan puts it, 'little old me'.

Similarly, there was some formality to the two group interviews in the Chinese universities in Study B, including the invitation of very high senior management to speak before the interviews took place (in Chinese, with Zhou providing interpretation in English), and distribution of university-branded gifts, which we assumed to be an important cultural gesture of gratitude, but also a gesture of 'soft power' for the English-L1 researcher team members. McKinley and Rose note that light-hearted conversations, such as about football,

indicated the assumption that they were British (they are not), which led to certain disappointment when the conversations fell flat. Similarly in Study A, Sahan also noted it was often assumed that she was British (she is not) because she is a 'native speaker' from Oxford. Upon reflection of these moments, we recognise this assumption as a form of native-speakerism, noting that many participants were not able to distinguish differences between native speakers, such as English, American, or Australian accents, and so we were categorised as British 'others'. McKinley and Rose tried to close this cultural gap by emphasizing their past collective 18 years of work history within EMI programs in other nations of East Asia, as well as their multilingual status as Japanese and English language speakers. However, these efforts had as much intended effect as our counterpart's conversations around football. The realisation here was that the name Oxford opened doors, even if it came with certain expectations, including the expectation that we would be native speakers, British, white, male, and monolingual English speakers, and deeper concerted efforts were required to break these assumptions.

These experiences raise not just multilingual but also multicultural considerations, highlighting the importance of conducting research in a culturally appropriate way when building researcher-researched relationships. In Study B, McKinley and Rose recall the importance of showing gratefulness (a face-saving gesture) during a cultural exchange at one university where they showed cultural accommodation by providing a post-interview meal from McDonald's (much to their disappointment, given how much more they would have enjoyed the local cuisine). In Study A, Sahan's cultural considerations include drinking tea and sharing meals with participants as an important component of Turkish hospitality (e.g. their hosting of Sahan in their local context) and politeness (e.g. the researcher and researched making time for each other – not just about 'professional' interactions).

7. Discussion

Our reflections on two EMI research projects highlight several areas of methodological discussion when researching multilingually.

First, our analysis has implications for theory building for frameworks to reflect on multilingual research. In our own reflections, it was evident the three aspects of the framework for researching multilingually (Holmes et al. 2013, 2016) overlapped and informed each other, rather than serving as three distinct categories for analysis. The two new standpoints of reflexivity and ethicality added by Ganassin and Holmes (2020) were relevant to all three aspects, not just intentionality, as we had initially understood. In both Study A and Study B, we found the spatiality of research to be overlapping in its subcategories. For example, the multilingual nature of the EMI phenomenon meant that our EMI research contexts were also multilingual spaces, necessitating use of our linguistic resources to not only research these spaces, but to report on them in multiple languages to relevant stakeholders in both English and the home languages of the EMI spaces under scrutiny. Through our analysis, these examples show how small multilingual decisions in research do not have isolated effects (i.e. the three elements should be understood as overlapping, rather than distinct) but can resonate and cause a positive ripple effect for other linguistic decisions in a research project.

Our findings also have implications for researcher positionality when researching multilingually. Both studies incorporated rich qualitative data to explore EMI policies and

practices: Study A collected data from classroom observations, interviews, and focus groups in Turkey; and Study B involved extensive fieldwork at the research sites in China. Because qualitative research is an interactive process negotiated by the researcher and participants (Finlay 2002), it was ethically important that our participants understood our personal stake in the research, as well as the experiences that we were bringing to the projects. Ganassin and Holmes (2020, 844) argue that 'personal relationships are essential for researchers to access participants' lived experiences and collect truthful accounts, and hence a faithful representation of participants' voices.' In addition to building trustworthiness in the research, sharing our background with the participants reinforced our positionings as 'researcher as resource' (Candlin and Sarangi 2003), through which participants could refer to our own background to explain their own experiences.

Both studies also show how multilingual researchers who are researching multilingually can use translanguaging to draw on the full range of their multilingual resources when engaging with participants. Translanguaging is now well-established as an important pedagogical resource in language learning (e.g. Cenoz and Gorter 2021), as well as in EMI (e.g. Paulsrud et al. 2021). However, it has been less widely discussed as an important researcher tool when conducting research on EMI. Canagarajah's (2013) conceptualisation of translingual practices can be used to challenge researchers' thinking about how they conduct research. Our studies demonstrate how researchers can use their linguistic resources to 'shuttle between communities' (Canagarajah 2005, xxv) when conducting research multilingually. Andrews et al. (2018) argue for the benefits from having a translingual mindset. This mindset not only prepares researchers for the kind of research practices that occur in multilingual EMI contexts but equips them with the linguistic resources to use translanguaging as a tool to build solidarity with participants, and also enhance the quality of data collected as a representation of languages in practice.

Our reflections also highlight key affordances of working in an L2. In Study A, the L1 English researcher conducted research in L2 Turkish, and found value in working in her second language while researching her participants who were working in theirs. Conducting interviews in her L2 (the participants' L1) provided opportunities to build a researcher-researched relationship premised on (relatively) neutral linguistic power dynamics. By operating in her less proficient language, the researcher and researched were in the position of asking for mutual 'non-judgemental acceptance' (Ganassin and Holmes 2020) of each other's language skills, which helped to emphasise the fact that questions about the participants' language use and language learning were not an assessment of their language abilities. This mutual non-judgemental acceptance created a space for reflection and empathy with participants, through conversations comparing experiences with second language learning. Such practices facilitate further the 'researcher as resource' (Candlin and Sarangi 2003) and provide a backdrop against which to discuss various aspects of language practices in applied linguistics research. It allows a researcher to communicate to participants, 'Look, I speak your first language with an accent and I make mistakes when I talk, so who cares if you do the same in English (my first language), when answering my questions about your language learning experiences?'. This researcher positionality resonates with Phipps's (2013) claims that participants may find comfort in interactions with a less linguistically competent researcher (than a fluent-speaker researcher) and that this may lead to more effective and engaging data. By positioning themselves as language learners, researchers can voice solidarity through an intentional research choice (Phipps 2012). In Study A, there was also an

added benefit for those teachers who were less confident in their English language skills. Conducting interviews in Turkish meant that they (the older, professionally senior individuals) were in the linguistically superior position (e.g. them speaking in their L1 and the researcher in her L2). This served as a counterbalance to the linguistic power dynamic of the classroom observations, in which the researcher was viewed as a 'native speaker' of English observing them teaching in English.

8. Conclusion and recommendations for researching EMI multilingually

Critical reflection of these two previous EMI projects have highlighted several aspects that were implemented well (e.g. utilisation of multilingual researcher positionality in Study A; the formation of a multilingual team of insider and outsiders in Study B), and several aspects which required further improvement (e.g. a lack of multilingual research dissemination in both Study A and Study B; a lack of successful effort by the L1 English researchers in Study B to minimise linguacultural relational gaps with L2 English participants). The main results of this reflective investigation led us to conclude this paper with several recommendations for future EMI research. These are:

1. *EMI research should always be conducted by multilingual researchers or multilingual research teams.* As EMI is always a multilingual practice in a multilingual context, researchers need breadth and depth in their own linguistic repertoire to fully engage with participants and faithfully record practices. Where a researcher is lacking the requisite linguacultural knowledge of the researched context, skilled collaborators should be recruited to form a research team.

2. *Multilingualism should be embedded in all decisions in EMI research from project inception to dissemination.* As the 'researching multilingually' framework (Holmes et al. 2013, 2016) is overlapping, decisions to use multiple languages should be encouraged to ripple throughout the research. To conduct EMI research monolingually will inevitably constrain the research, its data, and its representational possibilities.

3. *Outsider EMI researchers should make concerted efforts to reduce linguistic, cultural, and perceived power relation differences between them and their researched contexts.* These efforts may include face-saving activities, utilisation of researcher as resource (Candlin and Sarangi 2003), engagement in appropriate cultural activities during fieldwork, and explicit acts of researcher solidarity (Phipps 2012). Other scholars (e.g. Andrews et al. 2020; Phipps 2012; Martin-Jones and Martin 2016) have made similar calls for research in applied linguistics more broadly, and we echo their emphasis on the importance of developing a 'translingual mindset' (Andrews et al. 2018) for research in the field.

4. *Translanguaging should be utilised as a research tool during data collection in EMI research.* Translingual practices are not only reflective of the realities of most EMI contexts, but they allow researchers to maximise opportunities for data collection and engagement in the researched. A translingual mindset encourages EMI researchers to shuttle between communities of multilingual speakers and remain flexible to research challenges and affordances during data collection.

5. *EMI research should benefit the researched context.* It is especially important in international EMI research that EMI contexts are not treated as research sites for data collection, but as sites for important stakeholders in the research for which there is a tangible benefit, such as via collaboration or knowledge exchange activities.

6. *EMI research should be disseminated in the languages of the researched context.* Researchers should actively resist the neoliberal status of English as the dominant language of academic publishing, and ensure they report their research results in multiple language to enhance accessibility, especially for speakers of the languages of the researched context. Writing multilingually will endeavour to answer calls to challenge 'assumptions of monolingualism in the academy' (Andrews et al. 2020, 83).

Overall, our partial replication of Ganassin and Holmes (2020) has highlighted that the field of EMI is a prime context for researching multilingually due to the multilingual nature of the research phenomenon of EMI and multilingual realities of EMI contexts and practices. EMI is a global phenomenon with local repercussions. Thus, we conclude by going beyond claims of the benefits of researching multilingually, and by unequivocally arguing that it is both an ethical and pragmatic imperative that future EMI research be conducted multilingually.

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