

English in China's universities: Past and present

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ABSTRACT: By many, the recent popularity of English in Chinese education, at all levels of learning, has been seen as a very modern phenomenon, which followed the opening of China in the late 1970s. In fact, the learning of English in China has a long and partly forgotten history, not least at the level of higher education. From an historical perspective, it is salutary to remember that English medium universities and colleges were first established in China in the late 19th and early 20th century. Today, all the state-run key universities in China are officially Putonghua-medium, but despite that, English has an increasing presence in university education, both in the classroom and in the personal lives of Chinese university students.

INTRODUCTION

In the past, little attention was paid to the historical background of the English language in China. Recent scholarship, however, has emphasised the fact that English has had a surprisingly long history in China, which dates from the early seventeenth century, followed by the 'pidgin English' era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to the Republican age of the early twentieth century and to the contemporary present (Bolton 2003; Adamson 2004). China's present university system has developed very rapidly over the last three decades, to the extent that Chinese students now travel the world, and Chinese researchers are now increasingly represented in leading international academic journals. Today, China's universities are typically seen as very modern institutions, and many of their students and faculty are often only vaguely aware of the origins of their nation's university system, and the fact that English-medium universities and colleges were first established in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At that time, there were various motivations for the establishment of such institutions by US missionary organisations, which set out to teach 'modern knowledge' as well as Christianity. Today, all the state-run 'key' universities in China are officially Putonghua-medium, but, in recent years, English has gained increasing importance in university education, both inside and outside the classroom. In this article, our research focuses on one leading Chinese university, Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, where we juxtapose the historical record of the early university with recent empirical research on the status and functions of English throughout the institution.

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CHINA'S CHRISTIAN COLLEGES

In considering the history of university education in China, one largely forgotten episode in this context is that of the establishment and influence of the 13 Christian colleges that were established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These 13 Protestant colleges included St John's University in Shanghai (from 1879), Hangchow University (1897), Soochow University (from 1901), Shantung Christian University ('Cheeloo' University, from 1902), Lingnan University ('Canton Christian College', from 1903), the University of Shanghai (1906), University of Nanking (1910), West China Union University (1910) at Chengdu, Yenching University (at Beijing, from 1912), Fukien Christian University (1915), Ginling College (1915), Hwa Nan Women's College (at Fuzhou, from 1921) and Hua Chung University (at Wuhan, from 1927). Many of these universities have survived to the present in modified form, as Zhejiang University (which has incorporated Hangchow), Suzhou University, Shandong University, Sun Yat-sen University (Lingnan University), Nanjing University, Huaxi Medical University (West China Union University), Peking University (which is located on the previous Yenching campus), and Hwa Zhong University. During the period of their operation as missionary universities, the numbers of students taught at such institutions were relatively small, but their influence and importance is attested by the continuing prestige of a number of these institutions in present-day China. Their impact on Chinese education was probably at its height in the 1920s and 1930s, when increasing numbers of middle-class parents sent their children to them to receive a western-style education and to gain a command of English. A number of these colleges specialised in certain fields of study, including agriculture at Nanking and Lingnan University; business studies at Hangchow and St. John's; journalism and sociology at Yenching University; legal studies in Soochow University; as well as medicine at St. John's and the North China Union Medical College (Deng 1997).

Many of the colleges taught through the medium of English, although this policy was not uniform across all institutions, where practices varied. At a number of colleges there were parallel language streams of study, and all included the study of Chinese language and literature to a greater or lesser degree of emphasis. Arguably, the best known of the English-medium colleges was St. John's University in Shanghai, which, under the missionary leadership of Dr Francis Pott gained a reputation as 'the English training center of China' (Xu 1994: 22). Pott's own advocacy of the use of English was set out in an 1887 report to the Board of Missions, where he asserted that the benefits of the language were as follows:

- (1) By teaching students English we are doing something of the same character in educating the Chinese mind, as Greek and Latin accomplish for the foreign boy. The analysis of the words, the close study of their meaning, the drill in syntax, all tend toward developing the analytical powers of their mind; (2) We are doing our little toward helping in the civilisation of China, preparing men capable of coming in contact with foreigners, and of filling important positions in business; (3) We are doing something toward breaking down the prejudice against everything foreign, so strong in the Chinese mind; (4) We are proving that we are acting on the ground that Christianity teaches us to prepare men to play their part well in this life, as well as teaching them about a life to come; and (5) China wishes now, and must have, at least in her open ports, natives acquainted with English. It is better to allow them to acquire English in schools where they receive Christian instruction than in schools totally of a secular character (Pott, cited in Xu 1994: 21).

Such enthusiasm for English was not shared by all Christian colleges, and at Shantung University, Calvin W. Mateer and his wife Ada insisted on the use of Chinese as a teaching medium. The opposition of the Mateers and their colleagues to the teaching of English was motivated mainly by the fear that a knowledge of the language would divert their students from religious studies into business and commerce (Corbett 1955).

At the same time as such institutions were gaining prestige, missionary education in China continually encountered resistance, particularly with the growth of nationalist sentiment after the May 4th student demonstrations of 1919 against the terms of the Treaty of Versailles which handed German holdings in Shantung to Japan. In the years that followed, mission schools and colleges were increasingly seen as agents of foreign control and privilege which hindered the creation of national pride and identity (Deng 1997). In the mid-1920s, government regulations were issued, requiring the registration of missionary schools, to safeguard the 'educational rights' of Chinese people, and that the principals of such schools should be Chinese citizens. Following this, the Christian colleges began to comply with these regulations, and to transfer administrative posts to their Chinese colleagues. By the end of 1928, many of the important administrative positions in the Christian colleges had been assumed by Chinese staff. Many missionary elementary and secondary schools were secularized, although the number of mission secondary school students continued to rise substantially until 1936 (Deng 1997).

After the Second World War, the missionary colleges attempted to resume their work, but their campuses rapidly became the site of renewed disturbances between nationalists and communists, who were gaining ground at universities such as St. John's, Soochow and Yenching. A wave of anti-American feeling swept through many campuses, and many student activists from the colleges joined the communists. After 1949, many Christian teachers had stayed on at the colleges, but in the subsequent reorganisation, all foreign missionaries were expelled from China. Erh & Johnston (1998) assert that the Protestant colleges were 'pioneers of modern education in China', and that they 'took leading roles in various fields, including scientific education, medical and dental education, and agricultural education'. They proceed to state that:

The colleges therefore played an important part in the introduction into China of modern science, contributing to the development of a scientific terminology in Chinese and the training of scientists, especially in the fields of biology and parasitology, industrial chemistry, and physics. [. . .] In 1949 there were four medical schools among the thirteen Protestant colleges and universities and about ten percent of all medical practitioners in China were graduates of these schools (Erh & Johnston 1998: 13).

They further note that the colleges also made an important contribution to such other fields as agriculture, business education, journalism, law, library science, social service, and teacher education (Erh & Johnston 1998: 13).

China's Christian colleges were typically founded on the US liberal arts model, and it is notable that these were American not British institutions. It was perhaps a testament to the spirit of the American age that such institutions were not only seen as religious in motivation, but also as proselytisers for the values of a modern education, known for their strengths in arts and social science, basic science, medicine, as well as subjects such as agriculture and journalism (Hayhoe 1989). Arguably, the best known of these colleges in southern China was Lingnan University in Guangzhou, whose campus today is home to Sun Yat-sen University, one of China's leading tertiary institutions.

CANTON CHRISTIAN COLLEGE (LINGNAN UNIVERSITY)

The immediate forerunner to Lingnan University in Guangzhou was Canton Christian College, a remarkable institution, whose biographers have described as a unique bicultural experiment that not only involved 'bringing the American educational model to China', but also 'incorporating local involvement', and 'adapting the American curriculum to the needs of Chinese students'. Its mission was to educate Christian graduates, and to provide them with training in 'citizenship, scientific agriculture, medicine, engineering, and liberal arts' (Wang 2007: 5–7). The university had its origins in the Christian College in China (1888–1903), but changed its name to Canton Christian College (1903–1926). In the mid-1920s, at the time of growing Chinese nationalism, it was then renamed Lingnan University (from 1926–1952). In 1952 it was then merged with another Guangzhou institution to form Sun Yat-sen University, although it still occupies the original Canton Christian College campus.¹

Contemporary visitors to the Sun Yat-sen campus today often comment on the beauty of the original brick-built tiled buildings of the university, of the classic Chinese ornamental design of the buildings, and that of the tree-lined campus generally. In fact, the construction of the campus, and its design features, were the work of the New York architects, Charles W. and Arthur Stoughton, graduates of the Architectural School of Columbia University, whose plans for the campus were publicised by the *New York Times* in a 1904 feature article entitled, 'A Chinese University along English lines'. In the article, it is mentioned that the brothers 'have formulated an elaborate system of buildings divided into several groups, which [...] will cover an area of thirty five acres (*New York Times* 1904). The same article also described the aims and objectives of the new college:

[T]he general scope of the project is to demonstrate the practical benefits of education, which are now sadly lacking in the Chinese system, as well as to offer home opportunities for Chinese youths anxious to perfect themselves in English studies and methods. The desire for an English education is growing all the time in China, and with a first class college, established in one of the large centres of the great empire, there is every assurance that the number of students anxious to avail themselves of its advantages will increase rapidly every year (*New York Times* 1904).

The first building was completed in 1907, and many more buildings were added over the following three decades, including science laboratories, athletic grounds and college dormitories.

The numbers of students enrolled in tertiary-level courses were very small at first, but grew over time, as specialist programmes were established in dedicated colleges, including the College of Arts and Sciences (1916), the Agricultural College (1922), the College of Sericulture (1927), the College of Commerce (1928), the College of Engineering (1929), and the Sun Yat Sen Medical College (1930). From the outset the faculty comprised both foreign (largely American) and Chinese teaching staff. In 1907 there were 13 Chinese and 10 expatriate teachers, but by 1917 the totals had risen to 44 Chinese and 24 foreign teachers. At the levels of both faculty and students, there was a high degree of internationalism, as, in time, the College attracted overseas Chinese students from the US, the East Indies, Hong Kong, Malaya and Thailand, as well as exchange students from North America (from 1933 onwards). Young women as well as men were admitted from an early point, and by 1930, 25 per cent of graduates were female, a feature of university policy that further advanced its modern, progressive reputation (Wang 2007). Throughout its existence as

a Christian institution, as both Canton Christian College and Lingnan University, it had three American Presidents, Oscar F. Widner (1899–1907), Charles K. Edmunds (1908–1924), James M. Henry (1924–1928), and three Chinese Presidents, Chung Wing Kwong (1927–1937), Lee Ying Lam (1938–1948), and Ch'en Su-ching (1948–1952).

The President of Canton Christian College during its formative period was a renowned physicist, Charles K. Edmunds, who was later to become President of Pomona College in California. In 1919, halfway through his presidency, Edmunds authored a report for the US Bureau of Education, entitled *Modern education in China*, in which he reported on a number of aspects of the educational system across the country, including the progress of the College. In the introduction to this report, Edmunds begins by expressing his appreciation of the intellectual abilities of the Chinese compared with American students, declaring that 'there is no fundamental difference in intellectual character', explaining that '[w]hen modern scientific knowledge is added to the skill which the Chinese already have in agriculture, commerce, industry, government, and military affairs, results will be achieved which will astonish the western world (Edmunds 1919: 5). Later, writing at an early point in the *baihua* language reform in China, he discusses the 'language difficulty' in education in some detail, the problems of the Chinese writing system, and the prevalence of regional dialects across the country. Here he suggests that such difficulties may be overcome by a number of measures, including '(1) Substitution of a rational process of learning the meaning instead of merely memorizing the sound of the character [. . .]; (2) use of graded and illustrated readers; (3) publication of books and papers in the vernacular especially adapted to the daily speech of the people; (4) in the hands of modern trained Chinese the written language proper is growing clearer through simplification of style and introduction of punctuation; (5) a more widespread and insistent emphasis on the study of Mandarin in all schools, in order to hasten the unification of the spoken language throughout China; and (6) a more widespread use of a properly developed romanized or phonetic form of the written language'. Interestingly, Edmunds saw the use of English at tertiary level not in terms of the intrinsic value of the language, but as a necessity occasioned by the limited reform and spread of Mandarin:

But development of the language so as to be able adequately to express the content of modern knowledge presents a most tremendous problem, which only native scholars highly trained in modern thought and equally familiar with their native tongue and its previous development can solve. It will take time, but this difficulty will ultimately be overcome. [. . .] So long as this language difficulty remains so largely unsolved it will be necessary to conduct the higher grades of instruction in the sciences with English as the medium – at least for those who are themselves to be leaders in the renaissance. To have a share in the preparation of men who will solve the problem is about as far as the foreigner can hope to go (Edmunds 1919: 25).

Despite such qualifications concerning the use of English as a teaching medium, the use of the language as the main medium of instruction appears from the historical record to have continued throughout the lifespan of the university, that is until the amalgamation of Lingnan with Sun Yat-sen University in 1952. At the time Edmunds was writing, Guangzhou was a very different city than it is today, with a population of around one million, and notable for the 'richly furnished' houses of the wealthy, which stood in stark contrast to much of the city, which was allegedly described by a contemporary observer as 'perhaps the greatest aggregate of human squalor, filth, and misery in the whole world' (National Review 1910).

If one were to imagine Guangzhou's sociolinguistic past during the early days of the College, and the language world of Canton at that time, one might speculate (in the absence of hard historical data) that the prevalence of the Guangzhou dialect, that is, the variety of 'Cantonese' spoken by natives of the city would have been far higher than today, and that the city would also be home to a language number of other Cantonese, Hakka and Min dialect speakers drawn from other localities across the province. Knowledge of Mandarin would have been restricted to a small minority of the educated and government officials. A number of other foreign languages including French, German, Japanese, and Russian may also have had some minority use, given the presence of foreign embassies and trading houses in the Shameen district of the city. English would also have been taught in various mission schools in Guangzhou and surrounding districts, and versions of pidgin English would have also been audible in the markets of the city. The recent promotion of Putonghua would be some forty years off in the future, and English would not have had a general currency with the wider population, outside such enclaves as Canton Christian College.

FROM CANTON CHRISTIAN COLLEGE TO SUN YAT-SEN UNIVERSITY

Today, the official population of Guangzhou is estimated at 12.75 million people (Statistics Bureau of Guangzhou City 2011), although the actual total may exceed that by one or two million. Manufacturing is the largest economic sector in Guangzhou, employing almost half of the city's working population. The linguistic landscape has changed radically since the early 20th century. In the boom manufacturing years of the 1980s and 1990s, millions of migrants from other provinces moved to Guangdong in order to find work in Guangzhou and its satellite factory towns across the province. Although very little information is publicly available on languages in Guangzhou, Branigan (2010) reports that today only 50 per cent of the city's population are Cantonese speakers. Liang's (2015) research on language attitudes and use among schoolchildren in the city tends to confirm this general impression. After discussing the recent waves of in-migration into Guangzhou from people from many different provinces across China, together with the increasing promotion of Putonghua in the city's schools, Liang states that:

Guangzhou is no longer a predominantly monodialectal Cantonese city. It is a multidialectal city where Putonghua and Cantonese play the most important roles, while many other dialects coexist. Most of its current residents are at least bidialectal, and often tridialectal. The language of Guangzhou is not Cantonese, and Cantonese is not the language of Guangzhou [...] we are not even sure whether it is still Cantonese-dominant (Liang 2015: 153).

At the same time, given the widespread teaching of English in schools and colleges in Guangdong and across China in recent decades, one may also infer that at least some knowledge of the English language has spread among the general population on a scale that would have been unimaginable in Edmunds' day.

In higher education, Guangzhou also has around 12 universities, with three of these directly under the Chinese Ministry of Education, namely, Sun Yat-sen University, Jinan University and South China University of Technology, and these three institutions all offer at least some bilingual Chinese-English-medium courses and degrees, and to some extent branding themselves as internationally-oriented universities. Jinan University, for example, has an International School that claims to offer eight degree programmes

through the medium of English and boasts a current international student population of over 1,500 from 68 countries and regions. Interestingly, it appears that the Ministry of Education does not sanction all such international programmes, and that some universities are offering courses not officially listed by the Ministry as English-medium programmes. However, one of the English-medium programmes that is officially recognised by the Chinese Ministry of Education is the international Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MBBS) programme offered at Sun Yat-sen University. According to its website, Sun Yat-sen University (SYSU) currently has an undergraduate student population of over 32,000. The university is one of a small number of universities in China which is managed by the Chinese Ministry of Education, and as such, it could be assumed that the university receives a great deal of funding and support from the Chinese Ministry and the Chinese State. Officially, it is known as being 'directly under the Chinese Ministry of Education' (Chinese Ministry of Education 2011).² In 2012–2013, one of the two authors of this paper carried out detailed fieldwork research at Sun Yat-sen University in order to investigate the current status and functions of English and other languages at the university (Botha 2013b), the results of which are summarised below.³

Officially, in accordance with the Chinese Government's official language policy on language use in education (see Chinese Government 2001), SYSU is a Putonghua-medium university with very few programmes officially authorised to be taught exclusively through the medium of the English language. One exception to this is academic units that have 'joint-degree' programmes with overseas institutions where students can, for instance, complete the last two years of their undergraduate degree studies abroad, at selected universities in a number of 'English-speaking' countries. A second exception is made in the case of international medical degrees, taught through the medium of English.⁴ In addition, despite official policy, English-medium instruction also takes place informally in a number of programmes at SYSU. In a preliminary survey for this research, it was found that English was increasingly used throughout the university's 42 schools, faculties, departments, and institutes, and the website of Sun Yat-sen School of Business (SYSBS) even offers a range of some 50 courses that are taught through the medium of English (Sun Yat-sen University 2013). Specifically, the SYBSS website notes that the School has 'a reputation for academic excellence (e.g., 98% of employment rate for our students), internationalization (30% of our faculty hold doctorate degrees from leading schools overseas); over 50 courses are offered in English; about 70 full-time or visiting foreign students each year', where the use of English is promoted in terms of the business school's 'internationalization'. It was in this context that the following issues were formulated in order to guide the fieldwork research for this project:

- to describe the use of English in the formal education of undergraduate and postgraduate students, across academic units where English is informally used as a medium of instruction;
- to describe the extra-curricular use of English by these undergraduate and postgraduate students, in the context of other languages; and
- to investigate the range of attitudes of undergraduate and postgraduate students towards English-medium instruction, as well as their personal use of English.

In addition, this research project also aimed to provide another account of the so-called 'linguistic worlds' of Chinese students (Bolton 2012, 2013; Bolton & Graddol 2012; Botha 2013a, 2013b). It was the hope that the qualitative interviews and recorded discussions that

formed part of the data collection would reveal not only students' sociolinguistic realities and attitudes of language use, but also the interplay between these students' use of various languages in their educational as well as personal lives at SYSU.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In general, over the last decade or so, there has been an increasing use of English in Chinese universities, outside of English-language classes, whereby English is used as a medium of instruction in courses, as well as between students in various contexts. Despite this increasing use of English, very few sociolinguistic studies focused on how ordinary Chinese students typically engage with English in their daily lives, and the study reported on here aimed to explicitly investigate the sociolinguistic realities of English and Chinese use at SYSU (see Bolton 2012; Bolton and Graddol 2012; Botha 2013a, 2013b). Various sociolinguistic approaches were utilized during the data collection phase of this project, with the primary research method being a sociolinguistic questionnaire (see Bacon-Shone et al. 1996) that was distributed to a sample universe, consisting of undergraduate and postgraduate students. The sample universe consisted of two subsamples of students who were engaged in (unofficial) English-medium instruction programmes: one being a subsample of undergraduate students; and one a subsample of postgraduate students. This questionnaire was presented to the respondents in bilingual Chinese and English versions, which allowed the participants to optimise their chances of comprehending the text of the questionnaire.

A total 201 students took part in the research, with 189 students taking part in the survey, and 12 students participating in the qualitative interviews/discussions. The survey sample was controlled for academic unit, year of study, and gender. As for academic unit, the subsample of undergraduate students ($n = 126$) consisted of 23 (18.3%) students from the school of business, 24 (19%) students from the social sciences,⁵ 38 (30.1%) students from the school of physics and engineering, 24 (19%) from the school of mathematics, and 17 (13.4%) from the school of medicine. The postgraduate sample ($n = 63$) consisted of 40 (63.5%) students from the school of business, and 23 (36.5%) students from the school of medicine. In terms of year of study, the sample consisted of 36 (19%) first students, 36 (19%) second year students, 37 (19.5%) third year students, 17 (8.9%) fourth year students, and 63 (33.3%) postgraduate students. The sample consisted of 102 (53.9%) males and 87 (46.1%) females. The majority of the students (44.6%, or 84/188) came from Guangdong province, with the rest of the student population reportedly coming from all the other provinces in China. Further to this, notices were posted on various online student communities at the university, informing as many students as possible to volunteer in taking part in interviews and/or recorded discussions about their use of English at the university. The only requirement that was specified in the recruitment of volunteers was that they study some of their subjects through the medium of English, and that they were not English major students. As already mentioned, a total of 12 students volunteered for the interviews, with seven males and five females participating.

It was decided during the planning stages of the study that the main focus would be on the use of English by ordinary Chinese students at the university. This specifically means that students studying English (as well as other language courses) as a subject were deliberately excluded from the study. Another consideration was that although many postgraduate students from a range of academic units were found to be exposed to English in their formal education (most notably with reading), the study presented here is limited

to postgraduate students from only the school of business and the school of medicine. The main reason for this was the predominant use of English in these two academic units, as well as the promotion of the use of English in these units. Thus, a major emphasis was on surveying students that were regularly exposed to English in their formal education at SYSU. A limitation of this research concerns the nature of research data gathered by self-report (i.e. questionnaire surveys and interviewing), as this may project participants' beliefs at a certain point in their lives, rather than accurate linguistic behaviour (see Briggs 1986). The discussions and interviews were transcribed using the discourse transcription (DT) system proposed by Du Bois (1991, see Appendix). Bearing these considerations in mind, the paper proceeds to discuss some of the prominent findings of the sociolinguistic study at SYSU.

FINDINGS

The use of English in the formal education of undergraduate and postgraduate students

Students were asked a number of questions concerning their use of English in various educational, as well as extra-curricular settings. Table 1 and Table 2 present the use of English by undergraduate and postgraduate students in various educational settings at SYSU. From the figures presented in panel A in Table 1, it is evident that undergraduate students are infrequently exposed to spoken English in their lectures. However, and similar to the study reported on in Botha (2013a), exposure to English varies according to field of study (i.e. academic unit). The greatest exposure to English was found to occur in the social sciences where some 16 per cent of students reported that most of their courses were conducted in English and a further 25 per cent reported that 'about half' of their courses were presented in English. The results presented in panel B in Table 1 indicate how the undergraduate students reported on their proportional use of English, Putonghua, and Cantonese on the SYSU campus. From this panel it is evident that Putonghua is the most prominently used language on campus, with some 96 per cent of the surveyed students reportedly using Putonghua most of the time, while none of the undergraduate respondents claimed little or no use of Putonghua on campus.

One surprising result, however, is the number of students that reported using English, with just over 26 per cent of students claiming to use English 'about half' the time. As expected, and with most of the students coming from Guangdong province, Cantonese also appears to be frequently used on campus, with some 47 per cent of the students claiming that 'about half' to 'all' their language use was in the language. The dominant use of Putonghua on campus may be explained by the educational history of these students as the vast majority attended high schools where Putonghua was used as the medium of instruction. It was also found from the survey data that only 22.8 per cent of the undergraduate student respondents reported to using Putonghua at home with their families (i.e. as a 'home language'). However, it appears that many of these students are shifting to Putonghua as a first language, as some 31 per cent (39/124) considered Putonghua to be their first language at the time of the survey. Nevertheless, the results indicate that these students were accustomed to using Putonghua in their education before beginning their studies at SYSU.

Undergraduate students were also asked which proportions of their lectures were presented in English, Putonghua, and Cantonese, as presented in Panel C in Table 1. Consistent with the figures presented in Panel A in Table 1, students reported that they heard very little English in their lectures, with only some 8 per cent of these students claiming that they

Table 1. Undergraduate students' exposure to and use of English in educational settings

Faculty	All/almost all	About half	Almost none/none
A. Students' responses on lectures in English (by % and no. of academic unit)			
School of Business (<i>N</i> = 23)	8.6% (2)	21.7% (5)	69.5% (16)
Social Sciences (<i>N</i> = 24)	16.6% (4)	25% (6)	58.3% (14)
School of Medicine (<i>N</i> = 17)	0%	0%	100% (17)
School of Physics and Engineering (<i>N</i> = 38)	7.8% (3)	7.8% (3)	84.2% (32)
School of Mathematics (<i>N</i> = 24)	0%	8.3% (2)	91.6% (22)
B. Students' responses on proportion of language use on campus (for English, Putonghua, and Cantonese)			
English (<i>N</i> = 118)	7.6% (9)	26.2% (31)	66.1% (78)
Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 124)	96.7% (120)	3.2% (4)	0%
Cantonese (<i>N</i> = 109)	20.1% (22)	27.5% (30)	52.2% (57)
C. Students' responses on proportion of language heard in class (for English, Putonghua, and Cantonese)			
English (<i>N</i> = 115)	8.6% (10)	37.3% (43)	53.9% (62)
Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 118)	88.9% (105)	6.7% (8)	4.2% (5)
Cantonese (<i>N</i> = 103)	5.8% (6)	11% (13)	81.5% (84)

heard English 'all' or 'almost all' the time in class, while the majority of around 88 per cent of students reported hearing Putonghua very frequently. As expected, Cantonese was the least frequently reported language heard in class, with just over 81 per cent of the students reporting that they heard the language 'almost none' or 'none' of the time in their lessons.

The results presented in Table 1 suggest that although Putonghua is evidently the most frequently used language in educational settings on the SYSU campus, English is gaining popularity as an additional language of instruction. However, the use of English as a medium of instruction is not wide spread, and it appears to be restricted to certain academic units, and it is more evident in certain fields of study. The reported amount of required reading by the various academic units was found to generally reflect the amount of spoken English students in the various academic units were reportedly exposed to, with the most prescribed reading in English occurring in the social sciences, and the school of business. What is surprising is that students from the school of physics and engineering also appear to be required to read a large amount of their material in English, with some 42 per cent claiming that at least half their prescribed reading was in English.

The postgraduate student sample was found to be different in many respects to undergraduate students' reported use of English in educational settings. Table 2 presents the results of the reported use of postgraduate students from the school of business and the schools of medicine. It needs to be pointed out the results presented in Table 2 are separated into two groups of business students, with one group from the International Masters in Business Administration (IMBA) programme, with the other from the Masters of Business Administration programme (MBA). The results for these two groups were separated since the school of business claims that the IMBA programme is taught through the medium of English, while no such claims were evidently made with regards to the MBA programme. Although only two academic units were surveyed for the postgraduate sample, it is evident that postgraduate students from these schools received a far greater exposure to English, compared to undergraduate students in the same schools. It is evident from Panel A in Table 2 that postgraduate students in the IMBA programme have a high level of exposure to English at SYSU, with all of the respondents claiming that 'all/almost

Table 2. Postgraduate students' exposure to and use of English in educational settings

Faculty	All/almost all	About half	Almost none/none
A. Students' responses on lectures in English (by % and number per academic unit)			
School of Business: IMBA (<i>N</i> = 23)	100% (23)	0%	0%
School of Business: MBA (<i>N</i> = 16)	75% (12)	25% (4)	0%
School of Medicine (<i>N</i> = 23)	8.6% (2)	4.3% (1)	86.9% (20)
B. Students' responses on seminars in English (by % and number per academic unit)			
School of Business IMBA (<i>N</i> = 22)	77.2% (17)	9.1% (2)	13.6% (3)
School of Business MBA (<i>N</i> = 16)	31.2% (5)	12.5% (2)	56.2% (9)
School of Medicine (<i>N</i> = 23)	4.3% (1)	8.6% (2)	86.9% (20)
C. Students' responses on workshops/labs in English (by % and number per academic unit) ^a			
School of Business: IMBA (<i>N</i> = 22)	77.2% (17)	4.5% (1)	18.1% (4)
School of Business: MBA (<i>N</i> = 16)	25% (4)	18.7% (3)	56.2% (9)
School of Medicine (<i>N</i> = 23)	4.3% (1)	8.6% (2)	86.9% (20)
D. Students' responses on proportion of language use on campus (for English, Putonghua, and Cantonese)			
English (<i>N</i> = 57)	36.8% (21)	26.3% (5)	36.8% (21)
Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 59)	79.6% (47)	10.1% (6)	10.1% (6)
Cantonese (<i>N</i> = 49)	28.5% (14)	16.3% (8)	55.1% (27)
E. Students' responses on proportion of languages heard in class (for English, Putonghua, and Cantonese)			
English (<i>N</i> = 60)	56.6% (34)	20% (12)	23.3% (14)
Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 56)	60.7% (34)	10.7% (6)	28.5% (16)
Cantonese (<i>N</i> = 49)	10.2% (5)	6.1% (3)	83.6% (41)

Note: ^a 'labs' refers to classes or courses that are conducted in a (scientific) laboratory

all' of their lectures were presented in English. Students from the MBS program reported that 75 per cent of their lectures were presented in English, compared with some 86 per cent of medical students who reported that they almost never or never heard English in their classes. The predominant use of English in the IMBA program can also be explained by the fact that many international students (most notably from Southeast Asia) were enrolled in this programme.

When it came to seminars and labs/workshops, the IMBA group also claimed the most frequent exposure to English, with some 77 per cent of their seminars and workshops being given 'all/almost all' in English. Reported figures for the MBA group indicated a much lower exposure for seminars and workshops with some 56 per cent claiming little or no English in this category. Again, the majority of some 86 per cent of the medical students in the survey reported to seldom or never hear English in their seminars and workshops/labs.

Panel D in Table 2 presents the use of English and other languages on the SYSU campus. In terms of an educational lingua franca, Putonghua was the most frequently reported language used by the postgraduate students, with some 79 per cent using the language 'all/almost all' the time. Not surprisingly, Cantonese was reportedly the least frequently used, with some 55 per cent claiming that they seldom or never used the language on campus. In Panel E in Table 2, results are presented of the proportionate use of English, Putonghua, and Cantonese in postgraduate students' classrooms, as an average result of the whole postgraduate student sample. In terms of this proportionate exposure to languages, it generally appears that English and Putonghua are both heard frequently in the students' classes, although as evidenced by the data in Panel A, the exposure

to English in postgraduate students' lectures is skewed to the predominant use of English in the IMBA classes, and little exposure to English in medical students' classes. What is important to note about the postgraduate students' exposure to English in their education is that there appears to be a large amount of prescribed reading in English in all three of the academic units presented in Table 2. Not surprisingly, the majority of IMBA and MBA students reported that almost all of their academic reading was in English.

In both the undergraduate and postgraduate samples, English appears to be used to some extent as an additional language of instruction, most notably with regards to reading their course material in English, although this additional use of English is not widespread at SYSU and may be limited to the academic units surveyed in this research⁶. In interview discussions, some students reported difficulties when learning through the medium of English, as in (1) below.

(1)

Interviewer: In your classrooms, do the teachers sometimes use English?

Billy*: Yes, when we study . . . when we study . . . the many course in English use English book and use English PPT and our papers is English too.

Interviewer: So you have to write in English?

Billy: No, we write in Chinese.

Interviewer: [OK]

Interviewer: Well, that's interesting, so you're reading in English, but write your exams in Chinese?

Billy: Yes, so sometimes, I can't..can't remember uh.. actually what I've learnt, and uh . . . last term a co..course is teaching in English with English PPT but the exam paper is in Chinese, so I don't understand what the exam paper is talking about, so sometimes I don't understand uh..uh . . . professional terms.

*Billy (postgraduate male student, aged 23, School of Medicine)

Such difficulties were expressed not only by postgraduate students, but also by undergraduate students. For instance, one undergraduate student in (2) described her experience of when she was required to read one of her prescribed books for a course in abstract algebra in English. From the response by the student in (2) it is evident that she had great difficulties studying her course material when the required reading was in English. In addition, she indicates that she felt she would probably have done better in this particular course (abstract algebra), if English had not been a requirement in her reading. This student also describes one of the coping strategies by many of these university students when they are required to read their course material in English – that is, they often purchase the Chinese language editions of the prescribed English books. They then study these Chinese versions in order to gain a better understanding of their theoretical aspects of their coursework.

(2)

Sandy*: In last semester we use English book . . . English textbook as the as Abstract Algebra . . . uh . . . this lesson . . . and it brings me much difficulty to learn it

Interviewer: [but that's just numbers, isn't it?]

Other: (@@)

Sandy: . . . yeah . . . but uh this lesson is difficulty . . . is difficult itself and uh . . . I must uh . . . understand English and [uh] then I must understand the..uh..the *ding yi* . . .

- Other: [principles]
- Sandy: ... uh ... the principles meaning ... so I must uh ... I have two [X X] to go ... [yeah] ah ... so it's very difficult.
- Interviewer: [very difficult?] ...
- Sandy: [yeah]
- Interviewer: Were you successful? Did you pass?
- Sandy: uh ... pass but the score is very low.
- Interviewer: So, if you only studied in Chinese, do you think your score would have been higher?
- Other: (@@)
- Sandy: I think so.
- Interviewer: Do you think so?
- Sandy: Yeah, uh ... because I bought a Chinese textbook myself ... and I think the theory is much more easier to understand.

*Sandy (undergraduate female student, aged 20, School of Mathematics)

The extra-curricular use of English by undergraduate and postgraduate students

A number of questions were also asked regarding the use of English in extra-curricular settings so as to give an indication of the spread and use of English in the personal lives of the students at SYSU. Table 3 presents selected results of the reported extra-curricular use of English, Putonghua, and additional languages and/or dialects by undergraduate students at SYSU. It is evident (but perhaps not surprising) from Table 3 that the most frequently reported use of English outside of education settings is for 'reading', with just over 68 per cent of the students claiming to use English, and some 74 per cent of students in this group (who read in English in their leisure time) doing 'half' to 'all' of their reading in the language. This compares with 80 per cent of students who reported using Putonghua for this activity, and some 97 per cent of this group of students who did most to all of their reading in Putonghua. The next highest extra-curricular use of English is 'Internet searches', with some 69 per cent of the students reporting using English, and 70 per cent of these students stating that most of their searches were done in English, compared with the 85 per cent of students who reported using Putonghua frequently for Internet searches. The third most frequent use of English is with 'socialising with friends', with around 57 per cent of the students reportedly using English when they were socialising with their friends, and some 26 per cent of this figure claimed that 'half' to 'all' of this use was in English. Results for this activity indicate that most of the students' additional language and/or dialect use was reported for this activity, with just over 48 per cent of the students claiming to use another language or language variety frequently when socialising.

Somewhat surprisingly, the data reveals that students infrequently used English for 'online socialising', with just over 37 per cent of the students claiming that they used English for this activity. Of the students that claimed to use English, some 48 per cent said they used English 'half' to 'all' the time. However, it should be noted, when the students reported that they used English for socialising with their friends, for online socialising, or for doing Internet searches, that this referred most often to using isolated English words, phrases, and expressions, most frequently as a form of code switching. Very similar

Table 3. Reported extra-curricular use of English, Putonghua, and other dialects/languages by undergraduate students for selected activities

Extra-curricular Activity	All/almost all	About half	Little
<i>Students' responses on the use of English, Putonghua and other languages or dialects for extra-curricular purposes (in % and no.)</i>			
A. Socialising with friends			
- English (<i>N</i> = 66)	3.8% (3)	22.7% (15)	72.7% (48)
- Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 108)	97.2% (105)	2.7% (3)	0%
- Other language/dialect (<i>N</i> = 49)	48.9% (24)	32.6% (16)	18.3% (9)
B. Internet searches			
- English (<i>N</i> = 77)	19.4% (15)	50.6% (39)	29.8% (23)
- Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 98)	93.8% (92)	5.1% (5)	1% (1)
- Other language/dialect (<i>N</i> = 19)	21% (4)	26.3% (5)	52.6% (10)
C. Reading			
- English (<i>N</i> = 79)	17.7% (14)	56.9% (45)	25.3% (20)
- Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 92)	89.1% (82)	8.6% (8)	2.1% (2)
- Other language/dialect (<i>N</i> = 17)	35.3% (6)	29.4% (5)	35.3% (6)
D. Online socialising (e.g. Weibo)			
- English (<i>N</i> = 43)	9.3% (4)	39.5% (17)	51.1% (22)
- Putonghua (<i>N</i> = 80)	95% (76)	3.7% (3)	1.2% (1)
- Other language/dialect (<i>N</i> = 22)	45.4% (10)	22.7% (5)	31.8% (7)

results emerged from the survey results for postgraduates, where 'reading' was again the most frequent activity using English, followed by 'Internet searches', and 'socialising with friends'.

The attitudes of students towards English

Some questions in the survey also asked students to comment on their attitudes towards English in their formal education. Results from these questions reveal that both undergraduate and postgraduate students generally perceive the English language as a symbol for 'internationalism' and that English 'internationalises' the university. The vast majority (72.5% or 90/124) of the undergraduate students, and just over 76 per cent (46/60) of the postgraduate students agreed with the notion that 'SYSU is more international if courses are taught in English'. This particular view of English as an international language was confirmed by the fact that the majority of students (69.3% of undergraduates and 61.6% of postgraduates) disagreed with the notion that 'SYSU is better off if all courses are taught in Chinese'. When discussing the notions of English in their education some students pointed out that the university would be more internationally competitive if English is used in teaching certain courses, as suggested by the student in (3) below.

- (3) I think... on one hand... uh... some courses should use... uh... English because different courses have its different specialties. And I think because of... oh... is... it depends on what the course you're taking because some course may be uh... in in the European it will be developing very well and as for Anthropology... especially for Anthropology I think Anthropology in China is not so good... or maybe in mainland China it's not so good and if we use the medium

of uh... English as a medium of teaching language I think it's better because it developed very well... uh... in European or America (undergraduate female student, aged 21, social sciences).

Some postgraduate students also expressed the view that English is an important means of accessing the latest academic research and publications, as noted by the student in (4) below.

- (4) The top study is usually in the... in the foreign country like America and English..uh..England. So the top paper is write... written in English. We must read this paper, so we must use English and follow the new... the newest study (postgraduate male student, aged 23, school of medicine).

Others suggested that English offered a practical advantage for their future careers, as noted by the student in (5) below.

- (5) It's very important... uh... for us... many corporations requires CET 4 or CET 6... uh... certifications... I think it will help us... It will help us... because... um... China has be open to the world... we will have more and more business with the English world (undergraduate male student, aged 21, school of physics and engineering).

However, one of the most interesting results of this research was the perceived impact that English had for many of the students' personal lives, especially since these students felt that the English language provided them an opportunity to experience worlds, outside of China, as highlighted in (6) by one student's response to the question *How do you use English in your spare time?*

- (6) I think um there Hollywood movies make the biggest difference for us... because uh... we um..uh... we some subjects we seldom talk about in China... uh have been in Hollywood movies like some sex... or um beliefs... or something else... I think it makes a difference for me... I think more open... and um... can accept the different ideas (undergraduate male student, aged 20, school of physics and engineering).

What is particularly noteworthy from the response in (6) is that it echoes many of the views held by the students during the interviews/discussions, that the English language presents for them not only an opportunity to learn and understand more about other cultures, but the language also presents an opportunity for these students to gain personal enrichment, which they perceived allows them to change they ways they understand their worlds in mainland China.

COMMENTARY

The use of English in the formal education of students

The sociolinguistic reality of English on the SYSU campus is that the amount of English students use on campus is closely related to their respective academic units. In general, students are exposed to very little spoken English in their lectures, and this exposure was specifically limited to various subjects in the social sciences, as well as in the School of Business. The apparent lack of spoken English in lectures in the undergraduate courses could be attributed to the lack of competence by both students and

teachers in having/receiving their lectures in English. One student pointed this out in her interview:

- (7) The teachers seldom speak a sentence . . . uh . . . mostly some word . . . yeah . . . they can . . . they can use those . . . they have..they have been abroad to study but I don't think most of them can speak English fluently or correctly . . . but their writing and reading is very good . . . they can fluently read the English magazine in science (undergraduate female student, aged 21, school of mathematics).

The student's response in (7) suggests that the teachers seldom speak English in their classes, but when they do, their use is restricted to certain specialised jargon for their respective courses. Even if the use of spoken English in lectures does not appear widespread in the undergraduate programmes, there is evidence in the reported results to suggest that the language is used to some extent, even if its use is restricted. The undergraduate students also generally reported little required reading in English. However, the survey revealed that the most required reading appears to occur in the school of business and in various social science courses. In addition, the vast majority of undergraduate students did not seem to be required to write in English for their courses, although there was considerably greater exposure to English in the postgraduate Business and Medicine programmes.

The extra-curricular use of English by students

It was also found that there were connections between the perceived exposure of students at SYSU to English in their formal education and their use of the language in their personal lives. These results indicated that undergraduate students from the School of Business, the School of Physics and Engineering, and social sciences students had relatively greater exposure to English, and that this was mirrored in these students' personal lives. For instance, 24 per cent of students who read in English 'some' or 'all' of the time for leisure were from the School of Physics and Engineering, while some 14 per cent were social sciences students, and just over 11 per cent were from the School of Business. Another noteworthy discovery concerning these students' use of languages was that only 22.8 per cent of the undergraduate students reported that Putonghua was their 'home language', despite their having received their formal education through the medium of Putonghua, and using the language frequently in many aspects of their social lives (e.g. China's media, travel, the Internet). This would suggest that the predominant use of Putonghua in these students' formal education, as well as their migrating from other regions in China to study at SYSU and interacting with students from other regions on campus affects how they use the language in their day-to-day lives. Not only is Putonghua a convenient lingua franca for many of these students, it also appears that this increased use of the language might be leading to an increasing shift towards the language, with some 31 per cent of the undergraduate respondents stating that they considered Putonghua to be their first language.

Students' attitudes toward English and other languages

Generally, both undergraduate students at the university considered the English language to be an indispensable part of their lives and education. The typical view held by many in the language survey was that they viewed English important in terms of

‘internationalism’, and that the language is crucial in ‘internationalizing’ SYSU, and by extension, it can be assumed, the students themselves. Overall, some 73 per cent (136/184) of the students agreed with the notion that SYSU would be more ‘international’ if courses were conducted in English. The overwhelming agreement with this notion suggests that the students do in fact perceive English as an important element concerning the ideology of internationalism. There was also the view among some of the students in the interviews that the issue of ‘globalisation’ is also tied to the usefulness and importance of English, as pointed out by one student in a discussion:

- (8) It’s very important to learn English to communicate because of the global... globa... glo... globalisation... yes... uh... a lot of foreigners are coming to China... and more and more foreigners are coming to... coming here. So it’s very useful to communicate (undergraduate female student, aged 20, social sciences; Botha 2014).

The student in (8) above points out that English has an instrumental value because of the global movement of people, with many international visitors (‘foreigners’) coming to China and this student considers English to be a convenient (and useful) means of communication. Another finding related to students’ awareness of different varieties of English, which appeared to largely impact from their exposure to English in their extra-curricular use of the language. Some of the students at SYSU responded to the question *What do you think are the differences between, say, British English and American English?* in the following way:

- (9)
- Andy*: You can feel it.
- Interviewer: [You can feel it?]
- Other: (@@)
- Andy: Because... uh..uh... we..we have watch/id/ a lot of..um..Hollywood movies..uh..when we listen British accents we feel it... uh..strange to us. So we can differ America English from English.
- Other: But I think British English is more elegant.
- Interviewer: [yes?]
- Other: More noble.

*Andy (undergraduate male student, aged 21, School of Physics and Engineering)

As can be noted from (9) above, students instinctively made comments on how they felt towards these varieties, commenting that British English was somehow more ‘noble’ and ‘elegant’. However, the students generally felt that American English was somehow ‘easier’ to learn and speak, as noted in (10) below.

- (10) And I think English... British English is more elegant... that’s true... but it’s easy... it’s much easier to speak American English. And so a lot of... um at least my classmates will use American English (undergraduate female student, aged 20, social sciences).

The fact that some of these students feel American English is 'easier' could be attributed to their frequent exposure to American English in their extra-curricular time.

CONCLUSION

Recently, Bolton (2013: 249) has pointed out that the effects of globalisation are particularly felt in Asian societies, as many young people in the region are becoming increasingly mobile, and routinely move between multiple linguistic worlds, 'sampling and mixing multiple worlds and cultures' as they go. This paper also provides evidence of such mobility, at a number of levels. In a purely physical sense, a large number of the students (some 55%) who were surveyed at Sun Yat-sen University had left their own provinces and to further their education elsewhere in Guangzhou, in the process negotiating different and changing sociolinguistic landscapes and worlds. At another level, in the digital worlds of young Chinese people, these students currently sample a wide range of media through the Internet, including books, computer games, movies, social media, and Western TV series. Conversations with these students suggest that the physical and virtual worlds of these students influence one another in surprising and unpredictable ways. An example of this is the way in which the students expose themselves to American TV series, sampling this world through English, and then projecting their experiences on to others in their daily lives, as well as through digital media. This constant sampling and projection of worlds is carried out in a variety of linguistic codes, where competence in different codes offers the opportunity to sample different worlds. Cumulatively, interviews with such students suggest that their language ecologies and social worlds display a quality of 'virtual mobility', in which English is typically seen as the language of the wider world beyond the 'great firewall' of China. In this context, Putonghua is the core language of education, and students' regional dialects are seen as increasingly irrelevant as the heritage languages of parents and grandparents. Although the fieldwork research for this paper has focused only on one major university in China, we also believe that such tendencies are likely to be found at many such institutions across China, which in itself indicates the potential for further research in this area.

Another major motivation for the learning of English by Chinese students is the desire of many young people to study overseas, at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. Over the last few decades, hundreds of thousands of Chinese students have gone to the United States, Britain and Australia, and elsewhere, in order to take degree-level or postgraduate courses at overseas universities. The United States is the first choice for most Chinese students wanting to study abroad, and the latest report indicates that the total number of mainland Chinese students studying there in 2014 was almost 275,000, which placed China in the first position of student donor countries by a large margin internationally (IIE 2014). In addition, large numbers of Chinese students are also studying in the European Union, and a recent report from the EU estimates a total of 200,000 such students in European colleges and universities. (Latham & Wu 2013). Simultaneously, China's universities are increasingly branding themselves as 'international' universities, and one 2010 article from the government's New China News Agency reported China intended to attract 500,000 self-funding foreign students by 2020 (*China Daily* 2010). Whether initiatives of this kind will be sustained in the coming years, however, will no doubt depend on official education

policies towards the spread of English in China, which, historically, have varied with the political times.

The range of questions discussed above may necessitate a reconsideration of the issue of English in China, especially with respect to how research on English in the world Englishes paradigm may be expanded and further developed. Bolton (2013) has discussed how the theorisation of research in the world Englishes paradigm might be further developed with reference to the effects of globalisation and mass media on English worldwide. In the context of China, there is an evident need for more empirical field-based research on the current impact of English, and ‘a more detailed, finer-grained body of sociolinguistic research in this area’ (Bolton & Graddol 2012: 7). It is intended that the study reported on here goes some way towards filling that gap. It is also hoped that the chronological arc of this paper may also serve to inform or remind us of language worlds from an historical perspective, as we move from the educational aspirations of missionary educators to the ambitious and pragmatic world of Chinese higher education today. In 1919, Charles K. Edmunds was discussing the ‘language difficulty’ in university education with reference to the need for Chinese language reform, and the expediency of using English. In the contemporary present, China’s universities are now once again considering the role of English in higher education, at a time when Chinese universities have begun to compete on the world stage in the sphere of international and global education.

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NOTES

1. Lingnan College in Hong Kong was established in 1967, and became Lingnan University 1999.
2. The Chinese Ministry of Education is correctly written as ‘The Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China’, and both forms are used interchangeably in this paper.
3. Some of the results reported on in this study were presented in Botha’s (2013b) doctoral thesis, as well as discussed in Botha (2014). The project was also funded by a grant (in the form of a scholarship) by the University of South Africa.
4. SYSU is also one of the select mainland Chinese universities authorised by the Ministry of Education to offer a medical degree taught through the medium of English. Since 2007, the Ministry has annually published a list of universities that it considers ‘qualified’ to teach medical degrees in English. This list is known in English as the ‘Provisions for Quality Control Standards on Undergraduate Medical Education in English for International Students in China’ (Chinese Ministry of Education 2013).
5. There is no official ‘social sciences’ unit at this university, but for clarity, students from various academic units that traditionally belong to the social sciences were grouped under this category (e.g. students from anthropology, philosophy, psychology, etc.)
6. In the context of world Englishes, the use of English in the students’ education somewhat echoes what has been called ‘parallel languages’ in many European (esp. Scandinavian) countries. This refers to the parallel use of various languages in specific domains in higher education, where, for example, students are exposed to a particular spoken language in their classrooms, while simultaneously being required to read their course material in English. For a recent study on parallel languages, see Bolton and Kuteeva (2012), in which the use of languages in students’ education were surveyed at Stockholm University.

APPENDIX

Transcription key (adapted from Du Bois 1991)

- : Speaker turn
- [] Speech overlap
- . Final

?	Appeal
\	Falling tone
/	Rising tone
^	Pri.ary accent/stress
˘	Secondary accent/stress
=	Lengthening
... (N)	Long pause
...	Medium pause
..	Short pause
(0)	Latching
()	Linguistic variables
(H)	Audible inhalation
@	Laughter
<Q Q>	Quotation quality
//	Phonetic transcription
<X X>	Uncertain hearing
1-9	Tones

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