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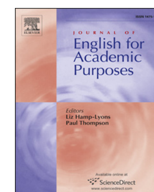

Canada has two official languages—Or does it? Case studies of Canadian scholars' language choices and practices in disseminating knowledge

Guillaume Gentil [a,*], Jérémie Séror [b]

[a] *School of Linguistics and Language Studies, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6, Canada*
[b] *Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute, University of Ottawa, 70 Laurie Ave East, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5, Canada*

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A B S T R A C T

Despite a growing body of research on multilingual scholars' publication practices in several countries, the little research available on Canadian contexts has been limited to the predominantly French-speaking province of Québec. This gap in research is somewhat surprising given the significance of Canada's official bilingualism as a defining feature of Canadian identity and governmental support to French-medium and bilingual universities outside Québec. To investigate how francophone Canadian researchers in French-minority contexts meet pressures for publication and public engagement in English and French, we adopt a dialogical self-case study design and compare on our own experiences as applied linguists located in the same regional context and yet working in two markedly distinct institutional environments, a unilingual English university and bilingual university. Reflecting on our biliteracy development and bilingual publication practices, we attempt to reveal the social conditions that influence our individual language choices and enable (or constrain) our ability to sustain our commitment to disseminating knowledge in both English and French. We identify the challenges of, and strategies for, biliterate academic work, and show the key role of language-minority institutional spaces and continued governmental support in creating enabling contexts for biliteracy.

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1. Introduction

This special issue attests to the growing body of research on multilingual scholars' publication practices (for recent reviews: Flowerdew, 2013; Uzuner, 2008). Focusing on the challenges of non-anglophone scholars to publish in English in a range of geopolitical—notably European and East Asian—contexts, this research has identified strategies for facilitating academic publication in English by means of EAP instruction (e.g., Hyland, 2009) and recommendations for improving access to English-medium journals (e.g., Belcher, 2007). Relatively less attention has been paid to multilingual scholars' attempts at balancing demands for publishing in English and other—local, national, or transnational—languages, an imbalance which this special issue aims to address (see also Casanave, 1998; Li & Flowerdew, 2009; Lillis & Curry, 2010). One country where these competing linguistic demands are expected to be acute is Canada, given that each of its two official languages—English and French—enjoys a long tradition of scholarship and, indeed, a history of rivalry as linguae francae for science. By virtue of its

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +1 613 520 2600x3595; fax: +1 613 520 6641.
E-mail address: guillaume_gentil@carleton.ca (G. Gentil).

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geopolitical location and demographic makeup, Canada belongs to the anglophone center and yet is also a member of the Francophonie. Somewhat surprisingly, however, we are not aware of research on Canadian scholars' bilingual practices beyond a few reports restricted to Quebec-based academics (Dion, 2012; Gentil, 2005), a gap which this study aims to address.

While maintaining a role for French as a language of science attracted much attention in France and Quebec in the 1980s and 1990s, the quasi-hegemony of English in scientific publications is now a fait accompli. In France, the debate has moved on to whether English should be allowed as a language of instruction in universities (Gosh, 2013); in Quebec, governments now focus on the challenge of educating the next generation of French-speaking scientists in an English-dominated academic landscape (Dion, 2012). Nevertheless, there is still room for French scholarship in the social sciences, and, for the most part, francophone students still write their theses in French (Dion, 2012). Gentil (2005) illustrated how despite the appeal of English, young francophone scholars in Quebec can remain committed to using French for reasons of identity affirmation and linguistic loyalties. The study also illustrated the determining influence of interlocked contexts—personal and interpersonal, interactional and institutional, local and global—in enabling or constraining individual scholars' sustained engagement with, and negotiations of, biliteracy, including their language choices and strategies for "shuttling" (Canagarajah, 2006) across languages.

Whereas Quebec-based universities may offer a relatively enabling context for English–French academic biliteracy, it is important to note regional asymmetries within Canada. Although they represent 80% of Quebec's and 22% of Canada's population, francophones (French-mother-tongue speakers) account for only 4.4% of Ontario, the province with the largest number of francophones after Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2012). As often observed in language contact situations, bilingualism rates are low among language majority speakers (8% of English Ontarians speak French) and high among language-minority speakers (93% of Franco-Ontarians speak English; Statistics Canada, 2012). Access to French-language post-secondary education is thus more difficult in the English-dominant parts of Canada (Lamoureux, 2006). Nonetheless, there exists a network of French-medium and bilingual universities and colleges outside Quebec, such as the University of Ottawa (UOttawa).

Federal language policies reflect these demographic asymmetries to some extent by providing additional support for official language-minority communities (OLMC), i.e., anglophones in Quebec and francophones elsewhere. This support extends to OLMC post-secondary institutions, including UOttawa (OCOL, 2008). Given the mandate of OLMC universities to support scholarship and higher education in the minority official language, the question arises as to whether the formal and informal "systems of regulations and rewards" (Lillis & Curry, 2010, p. 48) that control faculty performance and career advancement within these institutions pay explicit attention to choice of language for knowledge dissemination. More generally, to what extent do French-medium institutional spaces, with the support of federal agencies, sustain the possibility of—and expectations for—French publishing alongside English?

To shed light on how francophone Canadian researchers outside the French-dominant Quebec context negotiate pressures for publication and public engagement in English and French, we report here on our own experiences as applied linguists working in the same regional context—Canada's capital city—and yet in two markedly distinct institutional environments, unilingual English Carleton University (CU) and bilingual University of Ottawa (UOttawa). The rationale for contrasting our individual experiences in these two settings is to investigate institutional influences on individual choices. Canada's capital region further provides a unique backdrop against which to observe the language dilemmas of scholars. Such dilemmas are expected to be particularly critical in applied linguistics where, unlike in the natural sciences, publishing in a language other than English is still an option, especially given this discipline's focus on language.

The following set of questions guided our study:

- *Contexts of biliteracy*: What are the systems of regulations and rewards for multilingual publishing within our respective institutions, and what are the broader contexts of Canadian language policies and publication practices in applied linguistics?
- *Commitment to biliteracy*: How do we respond to these systems as francophone applied linguists negotiating pressures for publication and public engagement in English and French? What motivates our choices of language and venue?
- *Negotiations of biliteracy*: What challenges do we face when writing bilingually and shuttling across language and discourse communities? What strategies and resources do we use to overcome these challenges?

2. Methodology

To investigate our own individual literacy practices in social contexts, we draw on a rich tradition of case study and autobiographical research in applied linguistics and second language writing (e.g., Belcher & Connor, 2001; Casanave, 2003; Casanave & Vandrick, 2003; Pavlenko, 2007). Nonetheless, we are mindful of Bourdieu's (1986) charge of *biographical illusion*, i.e., the risk inherent in all biographical attempts to construct one's self as the free agent of one's existence by making sense of one's life retrospectively as a coherent intentional project—an endeavor "nearly as absurd as trying to make sense out of a subway route without taking into account the network structure, that is the matrix of objective relations between the different stations," that circumscribes a person's choice of route and destination (p. 302). While even social theorists cannot free themselves from their socially situated interpretative lenses, we believe, from a critical hermeneutics perspective, in the potential "power of dialogue" (Kögler, 1996) to help disclose the background assumptions that frame one's understandings by confronting one another's interpretative biases. In other words, by engaging in "dialogical self-case study," sharing not only our experiences but also contrasting our respective contexts and pooling our interpretative resources, we can increase our

explanatory power to expose some of the unattended conditions and unintended consequences of our language choices and literacy practices.

In practical terms, we triangulated different sets of data, some objectively verifiable and others more prone to subjective interpretation. First, we wrote short literacy autobiographies (Belcher & Connor, 2001) to reflect on our biliteracy development. Second, we compiled our publishing records to analyze our language choices. Third, drawing on Lillis and Curry's (2010) methodology but turning text-based interviews into *text-based dialogical reflections*, we each selected two recent publications, one in each language, and compared their "text histories" (Lillis & Curry, 2010, pp. 4–5) from early outlines to final products. This allowed us to ground the analysis of our biliterate practices in specific instances of biliteracy. Fourth, to investigate our contexts of biliteracy, we amassed a fairly large set of documents: our universities' collective agreements and mission statements, publication and grant application statistics, and federal agencies' reports and websites. In keeping with the dialogical nature of our inquiry, we continually shared texts and analyses.

Our theoretical toolkit draws on a number of sources, including several concepts (re)defined in Lillis and Curry (2010) such as language/literacy brokers, research networks, and discourse/speech communities. While embracing a social approach to literacy, we maintain clear distinctions among the linguistic, cognitive, and social dimensions of biliteracy, as well as between French and English as language systems and disciplinary discourses as specialized configurations of language use (Gentil, 2011). We also draw on Bourdieu's (1994) social theory, particularly his economics of language exchange and his concepts of habitus, field, and capital (see Gentil, 2005). A central assumption is that our individual language choices as scholars are evaluative, subjective, and intersubjective responses to contexts of possibilities—we can only make choices among available options; our choices reflect our values, particularly those that are essential to our self-definition or identity (Gentil, 2005), yet our values themselves are shaped by the contexts into which we have been socialized.

In what follows, we first present information pertinent to our contexts of biliteracy, namely about Canadian language policies in research and higher education and the Canadian market of language exchanges in applied linguistics. We then report on the main findings of our self-case studies, first sequentially, then by drawing comparative insights. A clarification of pronoun use is in order: In Guillaume's self-study report, "I" refers to Guillaume, and "we" to Guillaume and his co-authors. Similarly, in Jérémie's self-study "I" and "we" refer to Jérémie and his co-author. Elsewhere, however, "we" refers to Guillaume and Jérémie as the co-authors of this article.

3. Canadian language policies in research and higher education

The Official Languages Act (OLA, 1985), along with the Constitution Act, 1982, provides an overarching legal framework for language policies in Canada. Passed in 1969 and strengthened in 1988, the OLA does not address language rights in research and higher education specifically; it is mostly concerned with language use within federal institutions and between federal institutions and citizens. However, the amendment of Part VII, Section 41, in 2005, had important implications for the support of research in and about French, because it required all federal institutions, including granting agencies, to take "positive measures" to fulfill their commitments to supporting the development of OLMCs, while allowing for court remedies if they failed to do so (OCOL, 2008).

To meet this new obligation, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the main funder of social science research in Canada, began to develop three-year action plans in 2005, followed by annual status reports. These documents reveal an interesting tension between SSHRC's support for OLMC-related research and institutions and its primary mandate "to support excellence in Canadian research" by means of a "rigorous peer-review process" that cannot privilege researchers from particular groups or have quotas based on language (SSHRC, 2009, p. 3). While SSHRC can focus some of its strategic programs on official language research, its main programs are "investigator-framed," in that the subject of the proposed research is defined by the applicant. SSHRC thus implements Section 41 in essentially three ways: (1) by ensuring awareness among OLMC researchers of funding opportunities; (2) by ensuring equal opportunity for OLMC and majority-language applicants; and (3) by supporting research that promotes the development of OLMCs through both targeted and regular programs (Malatest, 2011).

The action plans list numerous initiatives under "awareness," "consultations," and "communications." The status reports further list all OLMC-related research projects funded annually, with total amounts highlighted. Less prominent, however, is evidence of equal access to funding when applying in French or English despite concerns raised by two studies. The first was by the Office of Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL), which has a mandate to monitor federal institutions' compliance with the OLA. The OCOL (2008) found that peer reviewers' inadequate language skills were perceived by French-speaking researchers as a main barrier to success in obtaining a grant (p. 4). Malatest (2011), a consulting firm, similarly questioned whether SSHRC's adjudication process offers "substantive equality of opportunity" to OLMC applicants (p. 2). In response to these criticisms, SSHRC commissioned a second study with another consulting firm, which argued that statistics on access to funding contradicted survey respondents' viewpoints. The conclusion was that, while SSHRC did provide substantive equality of opportunity, it should "attempt to overcome the gap between the researchers' perception of the way they are treated and the objective reality" (Bisson, 2011, p. 1).

The supporting data for such a rebuttal, however, compared success rates per language of application (over 2000–2011) only for the sub-set of projects with an identifiable focus on official languages. A close examination of competition statistics not cited in Bisson (2011) but available elsewhere on the SSHRC website for *all* applications to the standard research grants (the main funding program until 2011) led us to identify the following trends: 1) the percentage of French applications has

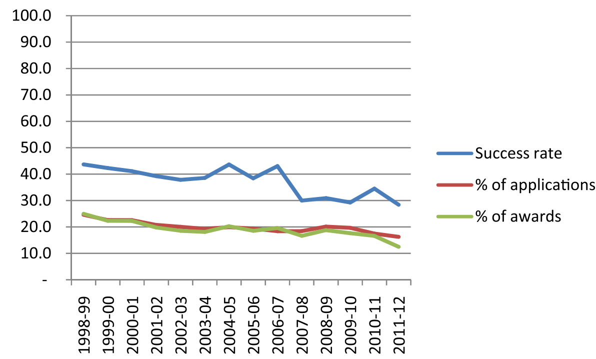

Fig. 1. Competition results for standard research grants: French applications.

Fig. 2. Competition results for standard research grants: English applications.

declined from 24.6% in 1998–1999 to 16.3% in 2011–2012; 2) over the same period, the success rate of French applications dropped from 43.7% to 28.4%, and 3) the percentage of grants awarded in French fell from 25% to 12.5% (Fig. 1). In contrast, the success rate of English applications, while also declining because of budget cuts, has hovered around 40% (Fig. 2). Over this 14 fiscal year-period, success rates were higher in French than in English only in 1998–1999 and 2004–2005 (by 1% or less); in all other years, success rates were higher in English, and by as much as 10.3% in 2011–2012 (SSHRC, 2012a).

It is noteworthy that SSHRC did not include success rate data per language of application in its annual status reports on the implementation of Section 41 (this statistic is reported elsewhere and is missing from the latest 2012–2013 competition results). Nor does SSHRC identify the comparatively lower success rates in French as a priority to redress in its action plans. Rather, its official documentation highlights commitments and achievements in a somewhat boilerplate fashion. The reasons for the decline in French applications and French awards are most likely complex and have not, to the best of our knowledge, been systematically investigated.

Whereas most of the research funding available to us comes from federal sources, additional funding is provided provincially. We are not aware of a comprehensive policy framework aimed at supporting research and scholarship in French in Ontario. However, under the French Language Services Act of 1986, provincially administered funding programs should be accessible in French to researchers based in bilingually designated areas such as Ottawa. Furthermore, in Canada, higher education generally falls under the jurisdiction of provincial governments (with federal support). The Province of Ontario supports nine French language and bilingual universities (among 20), including UOttawa (Ontario Ministry of Training, 2013).

4. The Canadian market of language exchanges in applied linguistics

Individual choices of language for knowledge dissemination are constrained by the availability and valuation of outlets such as journals and conferences. The main venues for French-medium dissemination available to Canadian applied linguists include the Canadian Modern Language Review (CMLR) and the Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics (CJAL), the annual conferences of the Canadian Association for Applied Linguistics (French acronym: ACLA) and the *Association francophone pour le savoir* (ACFAS), and a few France-based venues. Theoretically, papers can be submitted in French to the World Congress of the International Association of Applied Linguistics, but the use of French is now rather symbolically limited to the Association's French acronym (AILA).

Given the increasing importance of bibliometrics in the evaluation of research productivity (Lillis & Curry, 2010), it is worth mentioning that in applied linguistics, the CMLR and the *Revue française de linguistique appliquée* are the only French-medium journals indexed in both the ISI Web of Knowledge and Scopus. Scopus also indexes the France-based *Études de linguistique*

appliquée (ELA). However, the *Revue* and ELA are among the lowest ranked journals. With a five-year impact factor of 0.7, the CMLR fares somewhat better, but still ranks lower than most journals by American, British, and international publishers such as Oxford University Press, Sage, Elsevier, or TESOL. By way of comparison, Applied Linguistics ranked first in 2011 with a five-year impact factor of 2.5 (CU Library, 2013).

Co-edited by an anglophone and a francophone, the CMLR maintains a bilingual website with bilingual guidelines for authors. Editorials and abstracts are also bilingual. In 2012, 20% of the feature articles (one per issue), but only one book review (out of 13), were in French. Because the CLMR readership statistics feature the most cited articles in French and in English separately, we used Google Scholars to compare their citations: 80 for the most cited English article vs. 9 for the top-ranked French article (CMLR, 2013). Likewise, the CJAL provides bilingual author guidelines, editorials, and abstracts. In 2012, French content was exceptionally high (6 feature articles out of 10). In 2010 and 2011, about one third of the feature articles were in French. Over 2010–2012, one book review was in French, four in English (CJAL, 2013).

The ACLA annual conference also attempts to provide a bilingual forum, featuring at least one plenary in French. However, English is predominant. By way of illustration, in the 2013 program, over 90% of the presentations have English titles, and board member's reports at AGMs are predominantly in English, despite a few vocal complaints we witnessed.

While drawing over 5000 participants from the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, the ACFAS congress does not list applied linguistics as a research domain and includes few presentations relevant to this field. European French-medium venues are harder to access for Canadian researchers without a professional network in Europe, partly because ELA and *La Revue française de linguistique appliquée* publish thematic issues by invitation only.

These trends are indicative of the Canadian market of language and knowledge transactions in applied linguistics. While the structures of knowledge dissemination allow opportunities for publishing and presenting in French, the risk for choosing French in a predominately English market is a lower return on investment of time and resources in terms of visibility, impact, and status as per indicators such as citation statistics, presentation attendance, and impact factors. To our knowledge, no statistics are available on the percentage of Canadian applied linguists who can read an academic article or follow a presentation in their second official language. While it is often assumed that French will exclude more unilinguals than English, our observation is that the use of English can impede comprehension and comfort levels among francophones as well; taking the bilingualism of francophones for granted overlooks the range of abilities hidden under the "bilingual" label.

Through our professional socialization we have developed a habitus that makes us attuned to the realities of the academic market we find ourselves in. In the next section, we describe our language choices and literacy practices as influenced by our "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1994) in our respective, partly overlapping, partly distinct academic contexts.

5. Self-case study: Guillaume

5.1. Biliteracy development

I was born and raised in France where I completed all my education up to the equivalent of a master of science. My first experience of learning English as a foreign language in middle school did not bode well: My pronunciation was incomprehensible, the lack of written support in the then-fashionable audiovisual method made my comprehension of the lessons minimal, and I earned a failing grade for writing *Friday 13rd* instead of *13*th. However, regular trips to England and a daily dose of BBC radio listening allowed me to associate English with out-of-school contexts.

My home and school environments supported my French literacy. My parents were intellectuals; books and newspapers were plentiful at home. Reading and writing were also emphasized throughout my schooling as part of a well-rounded education. Writing assignments included, in junior high, a daily log of school activities (*carnet de bord*) and fortnightly narrative writing (*rédactions*), and from middle school on, fortnightly expository writing (*dissertations,* summaries, text analyses), occasional poetry and fiction writing, and quarterly 20–30-page special project reports (*mini-mémoires*). Five years of Latin and continual practice in French clause analysis also helped build grammar skills. Writing practice in English and German, however, was limited to short expository pieces and text analyses.

I was first exposed to English academic texts as an undergraduate student of biology in Paris. While instruction was in French, textbooks could be borrowed in French translation or in the English original. I used mostly the latter to combine language and content learning and because English books were more readily available. English research articles were necessary readings only occasionally in the upper undergraduate years, but regularly during my master's program. Like most French graduate students of science, I wrote my thesis in French while citing mostly English sources. Instruction was chiefly in French with occasional seminars and lab work involving non-French nationals in English. Thus, when I moved to North America in the mid-1990s, I had a strong academic literacy foundation in French to build on. This foundation has helped me gradually develop academic literacies in English over the last two decades, as I worked in English-dominant academic environments.

5.2. About Carleton University

CU began in 1942 as a small non-denominational college offering evening courses to daytime workers or returning veterans. It soon established its current campus a few kilometers south of Ottawa centre, an area with a distinctly English-speaking demographic. A provincially funded institution since the 1960s, it now serves 26,000 students at the

undergraduate and graduate levels in a range of areas. While branding itself as a research-intensive university, CU continues to emphasize its community engagement in its strategic planning documents. It has always been an English-speaking institution serving a predominantly English-speaking, although increasingly multilingual, student body, mostly from Ontario. The Department of French is the only space on campus where French is commonly used by staff and faculty (CU, 2013; Fortin & Kuzyk, 2013).

5.3. Systems of regulations and rewards at Carleton

Faculty performance is formally evaluated on three main occasions: 1) when applying for tenure and promotion, 2) when applying annually for a career development salary increment, and 3) when applying for grants and awards. In none of these assessments is the language of knowledge dissemination given explicit consideration. Furthermore, the language of instruction and administrative service is by default English. However, this does not mean that language choices do not play a role. On the one hand, one could make a case for the importance of publishing in French, for instance as part of an outreach effort in keeping with the overall community-orientation of the university. On the other hand, the submission of work in languages other than English for career advancement purposes presumes the availability of evaluators with a reading comprehension in that language. Internally, this is a reasonable presumption in the case of French in my department, although linguistic capacity is subject to the vagaries of who happens to be evaluating files at a given time. As for external assessors, candidates for tenure and promotion must suggest a list of potential names, from which the Dean chooses two. I made sure all the assessors I suggested had a good reading comprehension of French, which limited my choices somewhat.

Overall, having a few French publications does not hamper my performance assessment, and perhaps helps given the biliteracy focus of my research. However, a majority of publications in French would cause problems, since publishing exclusively in English is the default choice. In the absence of a codified point system for evaluating academic output based on publication metrics, assessment is based on an informal, more or less tacit ranking system wherein English-medium journals are invariably at the top because they tend to be better known and valued.

As for grant and award applications, the choice of language arises only for applications to external agencies, mostly SSHRC. Although most of the literature I draw on is in English, a non-negligible portion of my citations are to French works, which, along with the focus of my research, could justify the use of French. However, the main reason I have submitted applications in English is the limited institutional support available in French for vetting. Furthermore, major grant applications to external agencies typically build on internal proposals for seeds projects, which must be in English. Having to rework proposals in French would not be time effective. Last, English sometimes allows for greater brevity than French (Calvet, 1989), a key consideration given the limited space available (the same word limits apply to both languages).

5.4. Languages used for knowledge dissemination

My opportunities for using French for instructional purposes are limited to the occasional supervision and examination of theses for the French department. The choice of language arises only for publications and conference papers (Table 1). English clearly dominates, but a few conference papers and publications in French nonetheless reflect my commitment to academic biliteracy. Basically, I try to publish in French in Canadian journals and in English elsewhere. The CMLR encouraged me to write a book review in French to help increase its French content. For Canadian conferences, I also take into account the location (e.g., French-dominant regions). Regardless, I have always presented in English at ACLA, after having witnessed poorly attended presentations in French.

I wish I could publish in European French-medium venues more. However, my professional network in Europe is limited, and as mentioned previously, the better known journals publish thematic issues by invitation only. A book project based on an international colloquium in Switzerland fell through for lack of funding, but another collaborative venture sponsored by the France Berkeley Fund allowed me to contribute an entry to a handbook published in English and French.

My motivation for choosing one language over another has probably changed as I advanced in my career. My increasing ease with English over time has made composing in that language less cumbersome. However, with my position as a professor came a new sense of duty to francophone students whom I see struggling to develop and maintain academic biliteracy in

Table 1
Pierre's publishing record.

	French	English	Bilingual
Master's theses	1[a]	1	0
Doctoral dissertation	0	1	0
Articles	2	5 (6[a])	0
Book chapters	0	5 (6[a])	0
Entry in handbook	0	0	1
Book reviews	1	3	0
Conference papers	4	16	1
Invited papers at other institutions	3	3	1

[a] If counting publications in biology.

English and French. From a moral viewpoint, publishing in French is a matter of principle—part of a commitment that is essential for my self-definition (Gentil, 2005) as a francophone who feels obligated to help provide the opportunity I was once given to access knowledge and literacy in my first language. From the perspective of Deci and Ryan's (2002) self-determination theory, the pleasure of "wordsmithing" in French, as well as the intellectual satisfaction of developing deeper insights through bilingual work, could be interpreted as intrinsic motivation. From a Bourdieusian angle, my investment in protecting my own linguistic capital may help explain my interest in publishing in French. English, of course, has its own appeal, as potentially allowing greater distribution for my work (including among my students, many of whom cannot read French), and therefore greater symbolic capital in terms of recognition. Wordsmithing in English is pleasurable as well, notwithstanding a sense of greater linguistic resourcefulness and control for rhetorical and stylistic refinement in French.

5.5. Negotiations of academic biliteracy

A recently completed research project on post-training language retention in the Canadian federal workplace can illustrate my "shuttling" between languages and language communities. This project began as a successful application, in English, for a SSHRC Standard Research Grant, and resulted in a number of conference papers and publications in English and French with two research assistants (one francophone and one anglophone). The summer of 2008 was particularly active, with two presentations in June, in English at the ACLA conference in Vancouver and then in French at the Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute (OLBI) in Ottawa, followed by an English presentation in August at AILA in Germany. By presenting our results at three conference venues, we hoped to reach different audiences.

The ACLA conference abstract was written first, in November 2007, following an Introduction–Methods–Results–Discussion template. We quickly generated four pages of bullet points, and then reduced them to the allotted 250-words. This expansion-distillation sequence proves effective in composing complex arguments from multiple sources, especially bilingual source materials (e.g., grant proposals, research notes, and citations), which can be left in the original language at the initial stages. The OLBI conference abstract, submitted a few months later, was a partly revised, partly translated version of the ACLA abstract, with revisions taking into account newer progress. Similarly, slides and notes first prepared in English for ACLA were then translated into French for the OLBI venue with minor improvements. Although we expected different audiences given the physical distance between the two venues, we expected them to share background knowledge about the Canadian context of the study and thus did not feel a need to reframe the presentations. The AILA conference paper, however, was noticeably recontextualized for an international audience. The abstract was nearly twice as long, owing to the more generous allowance, which facilitated the addition of background information. Similarly, three slides were added at the beginning as background, while the other slides were streamlined to ensure the presentation remained under 20 min.

The French manuscript for the Canadian Modern Language Review (CMLR), completed in the late summer of 2008, drew on the conference materials and a progress report being prepared for the participating institution. We began by creating a template in MS Word according to the journal style sheet, and then drew up an outline by adding a tentative title, headings, subheadings, and main points in bullet lists. The outline was developed into a manuscript following the same expansion-distillation sequence as before. Even though the majority of the citations were in English, it was not too difficult to compose most of this earlier draft directly in French for a number of reasons: 1) translation and bilingual reconceptualization work had been ongoing since the beginning of the study; 2) most federal documents and some scholarly work (e.g., Bourdieu's) were available in English and French; 3) the French education system gave me a strong French literacy foundation. Nonetheless, there were a few terminological challenges, such as translating "second language retention" "retrieval" and "attriter," because nearly all the primary research articles on language attrition were in English. There was also occasional uncertainty with French phraseology, likely resulting from the constant exposure to English and the prescriptivist pressure of French that was so deeply drilled into me in school.

Fortunately, a battery of resources was at hand. For terminology, we consulted the *Grand dictionnaire terminologique*, a multilingual terminology database made freely available by the Office québécois de la langue française (gdt.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca; the federal equivalent, Termium, had restricted access at the time but is now also free:www.btb.termiumplus.gc.ca). The most useful resources, however, were federally sponsored research reports available bilingually. For phraseology and usage, we drew extensively on Antidote—a complete set of software reference tools including a grammar checker, thesaurus, and a collocation dictionary (www.druide.com). We regretted not having access to a large reference corpus via an interface similar to corpus.byu.edu for English. Google searches nonetheless allowed us to verify the frequencies of specific phrases. My mother also provided useful stylistic advice on a later draft. (A more recent tool, Linguee's parallel bilingual corpora and search engine now also proves extremely useful for contextual and phraseological translations: www.linguee.com.)

Cross-language work was not the main challenge. More arduous was confining considerable ethnographic data to 9000 words. We were also unsure how our attempt to bring together typically separate frameworks from the sociology of language and educational psychology would be received. The reviews (one in French, two in English) were mixed, and requests for revision (a more controlled quantitative research design vs. a thicker analysis) hardly reconcilable. The third review was more appreciative. Because our research design was more in line with an in-depth sociolinguistic analysis, we revised the manuscript mostly according to the second reviewer. The manuscript was then accepted with minor revisions.

Our AILA presentation was part of a symposium. After the conference, the organizers invited submissions of revised papers for a volume to be published by John Benjamins. We composed a first draft in late February 2009 shortly after the first review of the CMLR manuscript. Because this first draft was based both on AILA materials in English and the CMLR manuscript in

French, it contained sections in English (e.g., the introduction) and in French (e.g., the methodology). Other sections were not yet written but identified with subheadings. This draft was left to rest until late April, at which point the CMLR manuscript was in its final editing stage. We thus took account of the CMLR reviewers' suggestions as we resumed composing. An anonymous reviewer praised the paper and recommended only minor changes, including a request for comparisons with similar studies in European contexts. The editors also suggested minor clarifications. We revised accordingly, adding about 1500 words of text and references. My partner, a professional English-language editor, helped me edit the proofs.

Overall, the AILA conference paper and the John Benjamins chapter were easier to produce because we could build on previously elaborated ideas for the Canadian venues. The overlapping timelines, however, along with the bilingual data set of interviews and documents, required constant juggling between English and French. Postponing translation and editing work until we had a clearer idea of the arguments we wanted to convey proved to be an efficient strategy for composing from bilingual source materials. Furthermore, in each language, we had editors and resources to turn to. While I am not aware of an equivalent of Antidote for English, the regular consultation of learner dictionaries, collocation dictionaries, and online reference corpora can help attune one's sensitivity to the English language to a near-native level, at least in the restricted academic register of a specialized field in which most of the primary research literature is in English.

6. Self-case study: Jérémie

6.1. Biliteracy development

Born in Montreal to parents recently arrived from France, I spent most of childhood in a small town on Prince Edward Island where we were, to my knowledge, the only native French-speaking family. I was thus raised bilingually, speaking exclusively French at home and English outside the home. My initiation into English literacy was a "sink-or-swim" experience when I was sent to an all English elementary school speaking little English. Though far from painless, this early exposure to English and French contributed to my identifying as a balanced bilingual.

Like Guillaume, I grew up in a family that valued books and languages. Unlike Guillaume, however, much less emphasis was placed on academic writing development in my schooling. It was not till I pursued post-secondary studies at UOttawa that I felt pressure to develop academic literacies in both English and French. Over time, in a process marked by trial and error, the analysis of writing models and time spent at the university writing center, I managed to gain some confidence with academic writing. However, only with the completion of my master's thesis and later my PhD dissertation, at the University of British Colombia (UBC), did I finally develop a more explicit understanding of academic conventions and genres.

At UBC, unlike at UOttawa, my academic literacy experiences were confined almost exclusively to English academic discourses, a reality that impacted my development as a young academic as I became more comfortable working with and producing academic texts in English. It would not be till my return to Ottawa in 2008 that I was able to reconnect with French in an academic and social context that was uniquely conducive to the further advancement of my bilingual literacy.

6.2. About UOttawa

Founded as a Catholic liberal arts college in 1848, UOttawa joined the ranks of Ontario's publically funded institutions in 1965. It owes much of its distinctive character to a long-standing mandate "to bring together anglophones and francophones" by encouraging them to study and work together "in both English and French" (Prévost, 2008, p. 13). Located in central Ottawa, where francophones and anglophones cross paths, it offers a full-range of undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs to approximately 40,000 students, about 30% of which are francophones (UOttawa, 2012). The present imbalance in the student population, while reflecting a larger demographic reality, has spurred the university to explore ways of attracting non francophone students to its French programs. One such innovation has been the establishment of the French Immersion Studies program as a means of facilitating the participation of anglophone students in courses offered in French (Séror & Weinberg, 2012).

6.3. Systems of regulations and rewards at UOttawa

Much like CU, faculty performance at UOttawa is assessed annually and when applying for tenure and promotion. A key difference, however, is that the attainment of English–French bilingualism is in the majority of cases an additional condition that must be met to receive tenure. Bilingual proficiency is typically demonstrated by passing a test or by teaching or publishing in one's second official language. Consequently, research output in English and French at UOttawa does not need to be justified—indeed, it is institutionally sanctioned. Less officially, however, even in the absence of overt pressure to publish in English, calls to publish in "international" high impact journals tend to favor English publications.

When applying for tenure, bilingual scholars face the same difficulties as Guillaume in finding external examiners capable of evaluating scholarship produced in English and French within both North American and European research traditions and journals. This said, external evaluators have been known to explicitly commend the ability to work and publish bilingually.

Considerable weight is also placed on the ability to obtain research funds, with extensive support offered to produce grant applications in French or English. As a bilingual scholar I have received conflicting advice regarding the decision to submit in English or French. As a graduate student at UBC, one professor suggested that applications in French would have an advantage

given the pressure for the government to fund a certain number of French projects. Another professor, however, dismissed this belief and strongly recommended applying in English to allow for feedback and evaluation from a wider pool of professors and assessors. At UOttawa, while it was clear grants in English or French were equally valued, I was advised that French grants could at times be judged more harshly at a linguistic level by French assessors that were less tolerant of departures from established usage, a considerable risk in an adjudication process in which assessors may be unfamiliar with my specific field and its rhetorical tradition and vocabulary.

Ultimately, I chose to write my first two external grant applications (to SSHRC) in English. This decision reflected the above-mentioned advice and my fear that including in a French application too many citations from an English literature with which I was more familiar could antagonize French assessors. While I did experience success submitting grants in English, in 2011, I submitted a third grant application, to the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario, a provincial funding council. This time the application was in French for three main reasons: 1) the research team was francophone; 2) the research focus was French as a second language; 3) the Council assured us that the competition was indeed open to both English and French applications. This grant was also successful.

6.4. Languages used for knowledge dissemination

Working at a bilingual university offers me flexibility and choice in the languages I use for my daily work. I have regularly been able to teach courses offered in English and French, and use both languages daily in face-to-face and email interactions. My publication record to date, however, displays a less balanced usage of French and English. While conference papers, workshops, and guest lectures attest to my attempts to disseminate knowledge in French, I have published only two articles in French (Table 2). Although I conduct research on French-language learning—a topic that is likely to be presentable and interesting to a wide audience in the Canadian context, like Guillaume I have often chosen to present at Canadian conferences in English because of the low attendance I have noted for French papers.

A determining factor in the growing use of French in my publications has been opportunities for collaboration with francophone co-authors and researchers in Canada and Europe. These opportunities are directly linked to efforts made by the UOttawa to establish itself as an institution known internationally for its bilingual education mandate and research. For example, regular guest lectures by European colleagues and formal agreements established between European institutions and my own unit at UOttawa have had a direct impact on my ability to be invited to present and publish in European venues. I have also been encouraged to work bilingually as a result of witnessing the insights that can be gained from the cross-pollination of academic traditions, and I do see my role as broker between French and English academic communities. Consequently, I expect that French will continue to represent a growing part of my scholarship. While English remains attractive to ensure I am read and cited widely, as a French speaker in an English-dominated continent, I am increasingly aware of the privilege I have to work in an institution that values both of my languages and feel it is my responsibility to use French academically to inspire francophone students and help preserve and promote bilingual spaces and identities.

6.5. Negotiations of academic biliteracy

An ongoing collaborative research project with Alysse Weinberg, a senior professor and mentor, will serve as an example of my engagement in the bilingual dissemination of knowledge. From the beginning we planned to report our results bilingually for several reasons: our project's focus on French immersion, a bilingual data set, our own bilingualism, and the propitious pervasiveness of bilingual practices in our institutional surroundings. The question was thus not whether to publish bilingually, but rather how and where.

The identification of two focuses in our findings led us to plan for two sets of conference papers and publications. An international research forum held at our university in February 2012 allowed us to present on the first focus, bilingually, alternating languages by slide, a common practice at UOttawa. We then drew on this presentation to submit a paper, in English, in the summer of 2012, for OLBI Working Papers, a peer-reviewed journal. Simultaneously, we also worked to produce a separate article, on our second research focus, in response to a call for a special issue of Synergies Europe, in November 2011. In keeping with the vocation of Synergies Europe to promote French-medium research, the editors encouraged us to submit our text in French, which we did, in March 2012. Later an opportunity arose to present the findings at a European conference, in English, in April 2013 (when the manuscript had been accepted but not yet published).

Table 2
Stéphane's publishing record.

	French	English	Bilingual
Master's theses	0	1	0
Doctoral dissertation	0	1	0
Articles	2	11	0
Book chapters	0	2	0
Book reviews	0	2	0
Conference papers	4	26	0
Guest lectures/workshops	6	4	1

When working on the French article for Synergies Europe, we composed our texts together in front of a computer. Like Guillaume, we first organized ideas in bullet points. Composing in French was fairly easy, as we pooled our lexical resources to test ideas aloud before writing them down. We used Antidote to verify our lexical and phraseological intuitions. We also drew on textual material previously written in French, such as ethical review documents. Another valuable resource was a personal corpus of French and English academic readings I had been building up; we used it with the concordancing tool *AntConc* to search for collocates. Finally, we benefited greatly from my co-author's extensive knowledge of, and previous contributions to, the relevant literature. Despite our confidence as native speakers of French, we sent a draft of the article to a family member in France to verify whether it met the stylistic and rhetorical expectations of European French readers. Overall, only minor terminological and phrasal issues were identified. The greatest challenge was rather to position our paper within the theme of the special issue in light of differences in the labeling and conceptualization of bilingual education programs in European and Canadian contexts. Nevertheless, in the end, the manuscript was well received. Preparing the slides for the April 2013 presentation from manuscript materials was relatively straightforward, though it required reworking ideas, from French to English, for the more succinct presentation slide format.

For the English manuscript, the process was reversed as we drew on presentation materials produced for the international forum talk to compose our article. Composing was thus faster than for the French manuscript. We also benefited from our greater familiarity with the expectations of North American, English-medium discourse communities. As with the French manuscript, only minor revisions were requested.

7. Discussion

Our self-case studies point to interesting similarities and differences in our situations and negotiations of biliteracy, which we review to reveal social and institutional influences on individual choices and draw implications for language policy and language instruction.

7.1. Similar commitments, but different contexts

Our respective paths to biliteracy are similar in that we both greatly benefited from home and school contexts that supported our biliterate development. In Hornberger's (2003) terms, in providing ample exposure to English and French in diverse oral and written academic and informal registers, our learning contexts allowed us "to draw on all points of the continua of biliteracy" (p. 26), thereby increasing our chances for advanced biliteracy. The main difference between us is that Jérémie was exposed to English much earlier and thus developed a native ear for the language; Guillaume was in a monolingual French environment longer and benefited from more L1 writing opportunities in high school. In the end, however, these early differences evened out as we were both able to become biliterate.

Our motivations for publishing in English and our first language are also similar and not unlike those of other multilingual scholars (Lillis & Curry, 2010; Uzuner, 2008): while the growing hegemony of English as a language of scholarship—even in a social science like applied linguistics—pressures us to publish in English, we remain committed to the dissemination of knowledge in our first language for reasons of identity and linguistic loyalty. To keep our commitment to biliteracy despite the challenges of cross-language work, we draw on an array of

- ***resources***: collocation and learner dictionaries, concordancers, corpora, reference software, terminological databases, bilingual academic sources;
- ***strategies***: consulting whatever specialized literature is available in both languages, composing rough drafts bilingually if using bilingual source texts, and leaving translation work till the end;
- ***language and literacy brokers***: mentors, co-authors, family members, colleagues, reviewers.

Critical to our ability to sustain L1 academic literacy, we both work in research areas with a sizeable body of literature in French and have access to French-medium publishing outlets; in that respect we are more fortunate than researchers in other geopolitical contexts with limited access to L1 journals or literature (see, e.g., Hamid, 2006, on TESOL professionals in Bangladesh, or Cho, 2010, on Korean scholars in the U.S.).

A noteworthy difference between us, however, is the impact of our respective institutional contexts on accessing resources, notably academic brokers. In Jérémie's case, being able to co-author with a senior mentor and successful biliterate academic role model proved instrumental in his re-immersion into French scholarship. Francophone networking opportunities seem to arise more naturally in the UOttawa context given the institution's mandate to serve the local francophone community and more or less formalized ties with other francophone institutions in the country and abroad. In the CU context, francophone networks must be sought after by individuals. Lillis and Curry (2010) document the importance of English academic networks in facilitating publishing opportunities in English; Ferenz (2005) further points to the impact of writers' social networks on advanced academic literacy development in English as a foreign language. Our experience suggests that language-minority networks are also essential for both publishing and academic literacy development in a minority language. Not only do language-minority institutional spaces help to sustain these networks, they also keep open discursive spaces that are paramount for the production and exchange of knowledge in the minority language. To publish in

a minority language, one needs not only support but also an audience, both of which are provided by membership in a viable discourse community.

Baldauf's (2001) "Model of Language Selection in Scientific Communication" highlights the mediating role of institutional contexts and social networks between society and the individual in influencing the choice of language of publication. Our present study sheds light on this mediating influence in part because of the salient contrast between the institutionalized bilingualism of UOttawa and the pervasive dominance of English outside UOttawa. Given their spread and small numbers, French Canadians outside Quebec have sought to create self-enclosed unilingual or bilingual institutional spaces to safeguard their language (Heller, 2002). Because institutions like UOttawa can regulate access, for instance by requiring certain language proficiencies of faculty and staff, they can develop a critical mass of French speakers within their bounds, which in turn helps develop French-medium social networks. Furthermore, despite technological advances, face-to-face communication remains important in sustaining the mutual engagement at the core of communities of practice. While disciplinary discourse communities may be primarily communities of focus, their access is nonetheless mediated by mentored socialization into *place* discourse communities, that is, those communities that develop from sustained interaction in a given locale (Swales, 1998). Whereas UOttawa has enabled Jérémie to participate in both place and focus French-medium communities, the CU context means that Guillaume's participation in French-medium discourse communities requires more effort and is generally restricted to focus discourse communities. By placing us in the center (Jérémie) or on the periphery (Guillaume) of the francophone networks, our institutional affiliation shapes our overall disciplinary socialization profile into local, national, and transnational discourse communities along linguistic lines. The impact of the language practices of departments (and disciplines) on choice of language of publication should not be underestimated, as Petersen and Shaw (2002) illustrate in the Danish context.

The differential influence of the two institutional contexts can also be seen in systems of rewards and regulation (such as bilingual requirements for tenure and greater appreciation for bilingual output in UOttawa), as well as in bilingual vs. monolingual teaching opportunities. Clearly, maintaining academic biliteracy is facilitated in institutional and discursive contexts of additive bilingualism and hampered by assimilationist monolingual contexts. In Canada's French-language-minority context, Jérémie owes much of his academic biliteracy to having studied at and then worked for UOttawa. Correlatively, one may wonder how—and for how long—Guillaume has been able to maintain French academic literacy in CU. In a study of Korean scholars in the U.S., Cho (2010) underscores the importance of prior literacy experiences in the home country in shaping subsequent literacy practices after immigration to a new linguistic context. In Cho's study, limited development in and unfavorable attitudes toward L1 academic literacy at home helped explain the exclusive use of English for scholarship. By contrast, Guillaume's sustainment of L1 literacy in L2 dominant contexts is likely attributable in part to a strong L1 literacy foundation acquired in France, along with the official, yet minority status of French in Canada and the central significance of French to francophone identities.

7.2. Challenges for biliteracy

In the literature on scholars using English as an additional language (EAL), the relative importance of linguistic challenges as a barrier to publication is debated. Reviewing this debate, Flowerdew (2013) notes that for some, the "NS/NNS demarcation is … breaking down" and level of expertise (junior vs. senior researchers) is "more important than the question of L1 and L2" (p. 15); acknowledging the role of expertise, location (center vs. periphery), and network access, Salager-Meyer (2008) nonetheless emphasizes that "the importance of linguistic skills should not be underestimated," while pointing out heterogeneity among "privileged" EAL scholars who have spent time in an English-speaking country and those who have never left their home country (p. 125). Although we both consider English an additional language for us, we are aware of being "privileged" to work in the anglophone center. Arguably, Jérémie enjoys the added advantage of native fluency in both English and French through early exposure. In that respect, he may be considered a true bilingual, although he deliberately thinks in French, unlike Guillaume, who usually thinks in English in professional settings (unless composing in French). From our vantage point, linguistic skills are undeniably critical to successful academic biliteracy, yet for novice scholars in English-dominant institutions the real challenge may be developing verbal repertoires for academic purposes in the first language rather than in EAL, as evidenced not only by our experience but also in other contexts such as Bangladesh (Hamid, 2006), Hong Kong (Li & Flowerdew, 2009), and the U.S. (Cho, 2010).

Not to be underestimated either are the challenges of translingual work—composing in one language from sources in another and then reversing languages. Although we developed biliterate composing strategies over time, many novice bilingual academic writers, including our own students, appear ill-prepared for translingual work (Gentil, 2005). Given the documented need of multilingual scholars to publish in both English and other languages (e.g., Casanave, 1998; Lillis & Curry, 2010), it is surprising that little research has focused on scholars' translingual composing processes. An earlier study by Gosden (1996) reports the use of scientists' translation strategies such as phrase-by-phrase translation, which expert translators tend to avoid (e.g., Delisle, 2003). Conversely, some informants perceived the delayed consideration of lexical and grammatical problems until the final stages of writing as a poor writing strategy, even though it may be considered an expert strategy (Gosden, 1996, p. 121). In the bilingual composing we report here, we found it most efficient to work with messy rough drafts full of code-switching until we had a clear idea of our argument. We also found corpora and concordancers most useful for phraseological and terminological issues; yet scholars who do not specialize in applied linguistics are unlikely to know of these.

Our insistence on the (cross-)linguistic aspect of biliteracy is not meant to downplay the importance of other dimensions. Although we have developed strategies for shuttling between languages over time, shuttling between English and French discourse communities still requires effort. As well demonstrated since Swales' early work on introductions (Swales, 1990), a key to success in scholarly publishing is carving a research space for oneself; difficulty in positioning one's work within an academic conversation is compounded when juggling linguistic and cultural traditions, in part because of additional reading demands to keep up with several literatures. Only then can one begin to imagine potential audiences and think strategically about who to cite, what to explain or assume known, and how to claim a contribution to scholarship. This extra demand on one's time and rhetorical savvy may well be a price to pay for tapping the potential of cross-linguistic pollination. That said, belonging to reasonably well-funded universities, we are fortunate to have access to the cultural and material resources we need, unlike scholars in less privileged positions (e.g., Canagarajah, 2002).

Restrictions on submitting the same work twice can pose another challenge for multilingual scholars wishing to reach out to more than one linguistic community (Hamp-Lyons, 2010). In Jérémie's case, it was possible to divide up research findings into two reports with distinct focuses, one for each language. This strategy nonetheless leaves monolingual readers with access to only half the findings. In Guillaume's case, all the findings were reported in both languages, but recontextualized for different audiences (with editors' and readers' knowledge). We agree with Hamp-Lyons (2010) that "originality of the research" should not be confused with "the originality of the research *article*" (p. 692, original emphasis). Short of being sent to bilingual journals with similar audiences, manuscripts submitted in different languages are likely to be significantly different if they are to be accepted.

7.3. Implications for EAP pedagogy and language policy

Although explicit instruction cannot replace years of exposure and practice, courses in languages for research purposes can help develop awareness of academic genres, writing strategies, and reference tools. Research in English for Research Publication purposes has informed EAP instruction (Flowerdew, 2013; Hyland, 2009), yet our case study should remind EAP teachers that multilingual scholars can seek to publish in their L1 as well as in English (and other languages). We thus echo Curry and Lillis's (2004) call for reframing the field of English for academic purposes as *languages for academic purposes*. While more research is needed on multilingual scholars' cross-linguistic strategies, existing research and pedagogy in translation and comparative stylistics should be given greater attention in instruction for multilingual research writing. Particularly detrimental for multilingual scholars is departmental compartmentalization that sequesters translation and L1 writing instruction away from EAP instruction (Gentil, 2006). To be effective, pedagogical intervention should be conceived holistically and collaboratively. In particular, apprentice multilingual scholars could benefit from compiling not only English corpora but also multilingual ones (Lee & Swales, 2006).

Language instruction is unlikely to be enough, however, in empowering multilingual scholars for biliteracy. A more global approach seems necessary to create enabling social conditions while raising scholars' critical awareness of the social conditions and consequences of their choices of language (Gentil, 2005, p. 459). Such an approach can be based on a language policy perspective, provided that language policy is conceived as including not only overt rules and regulations but also more covert "mechanisms" that influence language practices less directly or less intentionally (Shohamy, 2006). One such mechanism is the use of bibliometric performance indicators that favor English publishing because of the intrinsic Anglo-American bias of the reference databases (Gazzola, 2012). In our institutional contexts, the pressure to publish in English is not formalized on journal impact factors yet is nonetheless tacitly understood. A strategy to counter this de facto language policy is to formulate a policy that explicitly recognizes the value of publications in French (or other languages) in the spirit of scientific multilingualism and community outreach.

Conversely, as a result of this research we have become aware of a contradiction between SSHRC's explicit policy for accepting applications equally in English and French and a de facto language regime wherein English applications have a greater acceptance rate. By submitting our applications in English, we may have become the unwitting contributors to the decline in French applications; yet now that we are aware of the trend, should we submit French applications? Two individual choices are unlikely to change a collective practice, but this report may contribute to greater awareness on a collective level and thus to mobilization. The current grant adjudication regime is based on the premise that peer review provides a fair assessment of all applications based on merits; yet differential funding seems to belie this as a "transparency ideology of language" (Lillis & Curry, 2010, p. 124). The conflicting advice Jérémie received regarding the language of application as well as the exchanges of views between SSHRC, OCOL, and Malatest are symptomatic of the need to revisit the current adjudication regime. Given concerns over the assessors' insufficient French linguistic capacity impacting the fairness and quality of evaluation (OCOL, 2008), one option might be to create broader multidisciplinary panels for French applications only and to ascertain the French proficiency of evaluators based on a record of scholarly activities in French. Measures are conceivable, but would require a political will. SSHRC is no longer required to implement Section 41 of the OLA since 2012 (SSHRC, 2012b, p. 1) and has not renewed official languages research and dissemination as a strategic priority (SSHRC, 2009, p. 4).

Language (in) education is another critical mechanism of state and institutional intervention on language practices (Shohamy, 2006). Our findings confirm the value of Ammon's (2006) recommendations to improve the fairness and efficiency of international academic communication by a) foreign language instruction in anglophone education and b) the continued use of national languages as media of instruction in higher education. In English Canada, enrollment in French-as-second-language instruction in elementary and secondary public-school dropped from 53.3% to 43.8% from 1990 to 2010,

resulting in the first decline in the knowledge of French among English Canadians since the 1960s (Lepage & Corbeil, 2013). This does not bode well for the next generation of anglophone scholars' ability to read scholarship, let alone assess grant applications, in French. Anglophone institutions like CU have a role to play in strengthening language instruction in their curricula; at present, most CU programs do not have French-language requirements. Equally important to train the next generation of francophone scholars is for UOttawa and francophone universities to be able to continue to provide French-medium higher education. Indeed, the struggle to preserve French as a language of scholarship in Canada might serve as a sobering tale for countries notably in Europe (e.g., Gazzola, 2012; Gosh, 2013) that feel tempted to increase the role of English as a medium of higher education at the expense of national languages.

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Guillaume Gentil is Associate Professor at Carleton University's School of Linguistics and Language Studies in Ottawa, Canada. His research focuses on bilingual writers and French–English biliteracy in professional and academic contexts. His work has appeared in Written Communication, the Canadian Modern Language Review, and the Journal of Second Language Writing.

Jérémie Séror is Associate Professor at the Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute at the University of Ottawa. His scholarship focuses on academic discourse socialization in plurilingual and pluricultural settings. His present research projects explore the dynamics and impact of post-secondary immersion programs and second language writing development in digital spaces.