Doctoral Candidates' Motivation for Using French for Research Publication Purposes in a Multilingual Environment

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Abstract

In academia, publishing in English-medium journals has become the norm and multilingual scholars, whether they work in English-dominant settings or not, experience immense pressure to publish in English. However, we find, increasingly, a discourse surrounding the importance of promoting multilingual publishing practices and some researchers have examined experienced scholars' beliefs and practices in relation to English for research publication purposes (ERPP). Despite these contributions, we currently have a narrow understanding of emerging scholars' practices and beliefs. The present case study investigated two doctoral French-English multilingual scholars' publication practices studying in a multilingual Canadian city. We focused on the factors that influenced their choice of publication languages (French and English) and their multilingual citation practices. Drawing on interview data, on-line questionnaire data, and the participants' actual French and English publications, we found that their future professional goals and an understanding of their readership mediated their language of publication choices. Findings are discussed from Bourdieu's (1994) Social Theory framework.

Keywords: English for research publication purposes, French for research publication purposes, novice scholars, beliefs and practices, writing for publication

Introduction

In academia, publishing in English-medium journals has become the norm (Lillis & Curry, 2010). This practice, for monolingual English writers, is presumably the only option; however, for multilingual scholars, an English publication may be the result of a complex decision-making process. Multilingual scholars, whether they work in English-dominant settings or not, experience immense pressure to publish in English since it is considered the language for the creation and dissemination of knowledge (Casanave, 1998). Swales (1997) compared English with the Tyrannosaurus rex with English as "a powerful carnivore gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds" (p. 374). Increasingly, a new discourse is emerging in which scholars are advocating for multilingual publishing practices (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Kuteeva & Mauranen, 2014) and discussing the importance and struggles of engaging in these practices (Payant & Belcher, 2019; Shi, 2003). While a select number of scholars are committed to publishing in multiple languages, we have limited information regarding

Caroline Payant, Université du Québec à Montréal, payant.caroline@uqam.ca Daniel Jutras, Université du Québec à Montréal, jutras.daniel.3@courrier.uqam.ca the rationale for maintaining a bilingual publishing agenda. Moreover, research has focused primarily on established researchers, and how emerging multilingual scholars navigate the world of publishing remains under-researched. The present case study examined two novice multilingual academics' experiences publishing in two languages and the factors that motivated these choices.

Maintaining a Multilingual Publishing Agenda in an English-Dominant World

In academia, scholars from multiple fields of study have prioritized English-medium journals for the dissemination of knowledge (Ammon, 2012; Hyland, 2016; Lillis & Curry, 2010). Gentil and Séror (2014) claim that "the quasi-hegemony of English in scientific publications is now a fait accompli" (p. 18). With the rise of online resources and greater ease of access to publications globally, English-medium publications reach a wide audience and increase scholars' visibility (Godin, 2002; Hyland, 2016), contribute to a global knowledge base (Casanave, 1998), add value to this kowledge base by combining multiple perspectives (Canagarajah, 1996; Shi, 2003), and are associated with promotion and tenure (Casanave, 1998; Flowerdew, 2000).

Prioritizing English-medium publications has been, however, critiqued. Increasingly, we find a discourse surrounding the importance of promoting multilingual publishing practices (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Kuteeva & Mauranen, 2014; Payant & Belcher, 2019; Salö, 2016) and for adopting citation practices that are inclusive of publications from multiple languages to counter the hegemony of English (Liddicoat, 2016). The push for multilingual publishing practices is motivated by the idea that research in additional languages can lead to new ways of seeing empirical questions: "Publier en français, c'est penser parfois les problèmes de manière différente". [To publish in French is, sometimes, to think about issues in a different way] (Chanlat, 2013, p. 14). Furthermore, it can lead to more inclusive practices given that English-medium publications often ignore non-anglophone research (Ammon, 2012). Currently, in the words of Liddicoat (2016), "languages other than English, and their associated epistemologies, are made almost invisible in the research practice of the field and are represented as making only a peripheral contribution to the field and to its theoretical bases" (p.13).

In Canada, where there are two official languages (i.e., English and French), English-medium journals and English publications outnumber French medium-journals and publications (Cornut & Roussel, 2011; Gentil & Séror, 2014). Canada further has province-specific language policies and in Quebec, where the present study took place, French is the sole official language. Nevertheless, there is a prevalence of English-medium publications in Quebec, despite the prestige of the French language in this setting (Gingras, 1984; Godin, 2002), which reproduces dominant structures. This gives rise to greater English-medium journals and English article citations, even when written by French scholars. Consequently, French-speaking scholars who wish to publish their work in French have fewer outlets (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Imbeau & Ouimet, 2012) and research published in French are cited less frequently.

We draw on Bourdieu's (1994) Social Theory and the concepts of habitus, field, and capital to explore factors that impact scholars' writing and publishing practices. Habitus is a system of acquired dispositions which develop over time and the acquisition

process is impalpable. These acquired dispositions place individuals in a position to navigate intuitively within their social contexts and abide to context-specific rules and norms. This behavior reproduces social structures and socially acceptable behaviors. Field is a space that favors particular types of activities and each field has unique sets of rules. In the case of academia, researchers learn that the expectation is to engage in English for research publication purposes (ERPP) practices. Abiding to these rules further reinforces established societal structures, namely, the emergence of English-medium journals and a dominance of English article citations. Consequently, French-speaking scholars who wish to publish their work in French have fewer outlets (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Imbeau & Ouimet, 2012). Habitus and field are further connected to the concept of capital. Scholars have learned that English is a highly valued form of cultural capital, namely, linguistic capital. By using this valued form of currency, scholars yield greater returns on their investment in the form of promotions, visibility, and prestige. In turn, French is a weaker form of currency in academia and, by extension, French-medium publications yield lower returns, namely decreased impact and visibility (Gentil & Séror, 2014). By investing in ERPP, the development of a scientific language for francophone scholars has been neglected which has led to unique challenges in publishing in French (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Payant & Belcher, 2019). Furthermore, prioritizing ERPP has pushed scholars in non-English dominant countries to the periphery given that publishing in a non-native language is challenging (Duszak and Lewkowicz 2008; Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2013; Moreno, Rey-Rocha, Burgess, López-Navarro & Sachdev 2012).

Scholars become socialized into activities that reproduce context-specific rules and norms over time, which intensifies during their graduate training. Kwan (2010) found that doctoral students in South Korea were often encouraged to publish their thesis work in English-medium publications. Langum and Sullivan (2017) recently conducted a study with doctoral students from Sweden and found that they were having to select the language of publication for their thesis in the early stages of their programs. The participants explained that this pressure is caused, in part, by the lack of academic instruction in the national language.

During doctoral education, graduate students are being socialized into the approved practices of academia. This socialization process is influenced by writers' geopolitical context and access to a community of practice, namely, a group of experts that collectively share learning in a shared domain (Lave & Wenger, 1991). To become legitimate members of a professional community, emerging scholars must acquire academic literacies through active participation (Flowerdew, 2000), a process that is facilitated with the help of literacy brokers. Lillis and Curry (2006) identify three types of literacy brokers: academic professional brokers (e.g., experts from the field, general academic), professional language brokers (e.g., editors, translators), and non-professional brokers (e.g., friends and family outside academia who have knowledge of the target language). For doctoral students, these brokers typically include major professors and dissertation advisors. The availability and ease of access to these resources can weigh heavily on publishing practices and could mediate publication practices.

In summary, research shows that ERPP is the norm in academia and researchers have often focused on challenges associated with publishing in English, especially those experienced by non-native English writers (Belcher, 2007; Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada, & Plo, 2011; Li & Flowerdew, 2009). Increasingly, the discourse

surrounding multilingualism highlights the importance of publishing in languages other than English (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Huang, 2010; Kuteeva & Mauranen, 2014; Payant & Belcher, 2019); however, we tend to focus on the practices of established scholars. The present study contributes to research within a multilingual context, Canada, and more particularly within the province of Quebec, which only has French as its official language. It focuses on doctoral students' publishing practices given that we have a narrow understanding of the practices of emerging multilingual scholars in this context. The goal of the present study is to examine factors that influence the choice of publication language by two native French speaking doctoral students who have successfully published papers in French and in English during their studies. The overarching question that guided the present research is: What influences the choice of publication languages and citation practices of emerging scholars?

Methodology

Context

The present case study, part of a larger scale research study, examines the publishing practices and experiences of emerging scholars in Quebec. The case study methodology was a natural fit to examine the relationship between the focal participants' practices and the context in which they work, a prestigious francophone institution located in a multilingual city in the province of Quebec. The participant selection was based on opportunistic convenience and snowball sampling. The first author invited via email one doctoral candidate she had met at a local professional meeting to participate in the study. This participant later provided the names of two additional potential participants who also informed their peers about the study resulting in three additional requests to participate in the study. The present paper focuses on two focal participants, Michel and Melanie (pseudonyms), selected based on shared characteristics: they study at the same institution, have bilingual publishing experiences, and are in the field of education.

Focal Participants

Melanie, a native French speaker from Québec, Canada, specialized in pedagogy for her undergraduate and her MA degree in Quebec. For her doctoral studies, she is pursuing a dual degree, with a faculty member in Quebec and a faculty member in France. Melanie is part of a research group that studies French literacy development in multilingual and multicultural settings. She aspires to obtain a faculty position in a French-speaking institution. At the time of the study, she had published four papers as first author: three in French and one in English. In French, she published in a bilingual journal dedicated to the dissemination of graduate-level work, a conference proceeding, and in a French journal. In English, she contributed a book chapter to an edited book. When prompted to evaluate her L1 French language proficiency, she reported having a very high level of proficiency. When describing her L2 English proficiency for non-academic purposes, she judged her English to be strong, but specified that it required greater efforts, especially when writing. For ERPP, her oral and reading comprehension was high and she judged her productive competence to be lower.

Michel, a native French speaker from Quebec, Canada, obtained a bachelor's degree in translation (English to French), an MA in education and is pursuing a doctoral degree in education with a focus on French as an L2. Michel, an experienced teacher of French as an L2 for adults, has more than six years of classroom-based experience. He aspires to obtain a faculty position in a research institution and is open to working in a French or English institution in Canada or internationally. At the time of the study, Michel had published three papers: two in French and one in English. His first publication appeared in a professional magazine and was written in French. In 2018, he published two empirical studies, one in French and one in English, in a bilingual peer-reviewed journal. When prompted to evaluate his French and English language proficiency for academic and non-academic functions, he reported having a very high level of proficiency in both.

Data Analysis

For this qualitative case study, we relied on three data sources: a 70-minute one-on-one interview with each participant, an on-line questionnaire, and participants' publications. The individual interviews were conducted by the first author and subsequently transcribed verbatim. The questionnaires included ten demographic questions and three open-ended questions. Each interview and the questionnaire responses to the open-ended questions were read by the researchers. Following an exploratory stage, both authors met and discussed preliminary insights and initial codes which included the following: 1) relationship with director, 2) access and knowledge of journals, and 3) professional identities. The first author subsequently analyzed the data which led to the creation of two overarching themes: Joining discourse communities and Audience awareness. To learn about their citation practices, we examined the reference lists of their published papers in French and English and tabulated the number of French and English citations, respectively.

Findings

Joining Discourse Communities

Melanie and Michel discussed the importance of publishing as doctoral students and expressed the belief that the best way to join a discourse community is by actively participating through the publication of scientific knowledge. However, both emerging researchers expressed a different connection to French and English-medium publications and communities of practitioners.

In the case of Melanie, publishing in French was of utmost importance and she believed that this would facilitate her integration into her ideal research community. In 2018, she published a study in a French-medium peer-reviewed journal housed in a French-speaking institution in the province of Quebec. This was, in her opinion, a success story and she explained that this contribution was an important step for becoming a more central participant in her professional community as it allowed her to better understand the publication process and also establish contacts with potential future colleagues. She said: "Des gens à Sherbrooke, des chercheurs avec qui j'aimerais travailler. Alors je pense

que c'est un grand pas pour moi d'avoir fait ça (publié)". [People in Sherbrooke, researchers I would like to work with. So, I think that doing that (publishing) was a big step for me]. She emphasized the importance of maintaining a French publication record to reach and eventually join this local community. She defined a local community in terms of shared linguistic repertoires, geographical proximity, and shared publication outlets: "Le réseau local c'est ce qui est francophone. Local, je dirais aussi la revue des sciences de l'éducation, la revue à Sherbrooke. Je trouvais ca local et toutes les revues professionnelles là". [The local network is what is francophone. Local, I would also say the journal of educational science, the journal at Sherbrooke. I also considered that local and all the professional journals]. In order to communicate with her professional local community. Melanie highlighted the importance of French: "En français. Je pense que c'est important. Vraiment. Il faut qu'on ait un réseau francophone". [In French. I think that it's important. Absolutely. We must have a francophone network]. This finding supports the idea that French-medium publications are an important form of currency in her field and acting upon this has given her the opportunity to engage in professional communications with a group of established researchers. She felt that this linguistic capital increased her visibility and professional connections.

Melanie also engaged in ERPP; however, in discussing this practice, we uncovered some tensions. On the one hand, Melanie attributed value to ERPP but also saw this practice as a form of linguistic discrimination. She explained: "Je trouve que c'est toujours décevant de voir que tout ce qui est académique est en anglais. En même temps c'est beau parce qu'il y a quelque chose d'universel là-dedans, mais c'est quand même discriminatoire". [I always find it disappointing to see that everything that is in academia is in English. Then again, it is beautiful because there is a universal aspect in that, but it is nonetheless discriminatory]. She elaborated on this notion of discrimination: For francophones, there is an expectation to publish in English (and in French); however, for anglophones, to publish in two languages is an asset and exceeds expectations. In her words: "On n'a pas les mêmes attentes. On s'attend à ce que les francophones publient en anglais mais les anglophones ont le beau jeu dans tout ça (...). C'est un beau devoir de prendre ca en main, je ne pense pas que ca va les nuire dans leurs carrières". [We do not have the same expectations. We expect that francophones will publish in English, but the anglophones have it easy in all of this. It is a nice task to take on, I do not think that it will harm them in their career]. Compared to an anglophone bilingual researcher who can decide to publish exclusively in a native language (English) or also in a non-dominant language (French), Melanie experienced a need to publish bilingually to conform to the norms in academia.

Melanie's bilingual publishing experiences have been positive to date and she was, at the time of the study, planning her dissertation-related publications. She described her aspiration, during the interview, to work in a francophone institution, ideally in Quebec. To continue publishing in French and also to demonstrate her English writing abilities, she opted for a dissertation-by-article with two French publications and one English publication. This would allow her to target her local community but also reach a broader audience and potentially enable her to join a larger discourse community: "Pour intégrer d'autres réseaux parce que l'anglais c'est la langue académique. Pour jouer le jeu un peu". [To integrate other networks, because English is the academic language. To play the game a little bit]. Overall, we see that she prioritized French-language

publications to access her local community but also saw English as an important aspect of becoming an academic. Overall, the findings indicate that while English is a valuable form of capital, her system of acquired dispositions favors a bilingual approach. She has learned that she must strive to disseminate knowledge in both French-medium and English-medium journals since the dissemination of knowledge through a single language could have a negative impact on her academic trajectory and her goal of becoming a professor.

Michel also placed value on disseminating his work in French-medium publications; however, we noted a more pragmatic approach underlying his practices and he appeared to attach significant value to English-medium journals, especially for certain types of projects. In a first instance, he explained that it was more natural to be writing in French for research publication purposes (FRPP), compared to ERPP. He further brought up the importance of developing a scientific language in his mother tongue and felt that he could contribute to this endeavor: "De contribuer au développement d'une langue scientifique en français, parce que souvent, l'anglais va être la lingua franca de la communication scientifique". [To contribute to the development of a French scientific language, because often, English will be the lingua franca of the scientific communication]. Finally, he argued that if L2 researchers only publish in one language, English, they are not practicing what they are preaching: "On est là pour l'acquisition des langues secondes. Pouvoir offrir un petit peu plus de vitrine à des chercheurs canadiens qui pourraient lire des articles, et surtout écrire des articles en français et en anglais. Je pense que ça serait une bonne politique". [We are here for the acquisition of second languages. To be in a position to offer more visibility to Canadian researchers who could read articles, but above all, write articles in French and in English. I think that it would be a good policy]. Overall, Michel attributes value to engaging in FRPP and is invested in developing the scientific discourse in French.

However, maintaining a bilingual research agenda appeared to be a site of greater tension for Michel. Despite highlighting the importance of FRPP, he frequently discussed the necessity for ERPP. He explained that English-medium publications are needed in order to contribute to a shared knowledge base. He also explained that it was important for him to contribute to this effort, a finding that echoes the notion that in academia, the norm is to contribute new knowledge to a global knowledge base via the most valued currency, English. He maintained: "Si on n'avait pas accès à ces articles-là, bien, on pourrait travailler chacun dans son coin. Donc, je pense que l'avantage, c'est vraiment de pouvoir avoir accès à plein de connaissances et de pouvoir contribuer à ça, le développement des connaissances". [If we didn't have access to those articles, well, we could all work in our own corner. So, I think that the advantage is really to be able to access plenty of knowledge and to be able to contribute to that, the development of knowledge]. He also discussed the reality that academic positions are quite limited and having a monolingual French publication record would limit potential employment opportunities, especially if these publications are found in obscure journals. He said: "Les chances d'être appelé en entrevue, je pense, seraient pas mal plus grandes si on publie dans une revue qui est connue disons, qui a un facteur d'impact plus élevé que si c'était pour une revue francophone où les membres du jury d'embauche ne connaitraient pas". [The odds of being interviewed, I think, would be much greater if we publish in a journal that is well known, that has a higher impact factor than if it were for a francophone

journal that the hiring committee would not know]. In sum, from his perspective, ERPP is a valuable resource that increases his value on the job market and without this form of capital, he would remain on the periphery in his field.

As such, at the time of the study, he planned on maintaining a bilingual agenda but explained that he would base his decisions of language and target journal in light of the types of research projects and potential research impact these might have. In his immediate future, he is planning on prioritizing top-tier English-medium journals for large-scale studies. For his dissertation data, he said without hesitation: "Bien, anglais, et les revues réputées. Je vais essayer de viser le top." [Well, English, and reputable journals. I will try and aim for the best]. However, after completing these dissertation-related publications, he maintained that he would continue to try and publish practitioner-oriented papers in French, his mother tongue: "Disons les projets de grande envergure, toujours viser, oui, les grandes publications, et, peut-être, avec d'autres projets qui concernent peut-être plus le milieu francophone, québécois, d'essayer de publier aussi en français". [The larger scale projects, always aim, yes, the big journals, and, maybe, with other projects that are of interest to the francophone Quebecer community, to try to publish in French as well].

In summary, the two participants, in the process of completing their doctoral studies in the same institution, both in the area of French language acquisition, appear to have different rationales for maintaining a bilingual research agenda. In the case of Melanie, we find a clearer FRPP agenda, which is associated with her strong desire to work in a francophone institution, her local social structure, with the understanding that she needs to engage in ERPP to conform to the rules of academia at a more global level. Michel, on the other hand, appears to attach more importance to ERPP in general as he strives to reach larger scientific audiences and is more open to working in English and in French contexts. He also attributes unique functions for FRPP (practitioner-oriented publications) and ERPP (theory-building and large-scale studies). Through our analysis, it is evident that both novice scholars have developed of sense of best practices through their unique experiences, or habitus, and will draw on their available linguistic capital to ensure their success in academia.

Audience Awareness: Readership and Citation Practices

The second theme that emerged from the data is audience awareness. Both Melanie and Michel explained that their contributions should be in alignment with their target audiences. Melanie, who focuses on writing pedagogy for French as a first language, stated that her audience included French researchers, teachers, and students: "Les chercheurs francophones, mais aussi les enseignants, les étudiants. La recherche écrite en français, surtout en didactique du français, je me dis ça doit être publié en français". (Francophone researchers, but also teachers, students. The written research in French, especially in French language teaching, I say to myself, it must be published in French). This community, she explained, is primarily located in Quebec although she could imagine her work to be of import to French European scholars. Michel described a larger French-Canadian audience to also include francophones outside Quebec: "Au Canada, il y a quand même un public francophone au Québec. Mais, à l'extérieur du Québec aussi, où des profs de français langue seconde, pourraient bénéficier de ce genre d'articles-là".

[In Canada, there is still a francophone audience in Quebec. But, outside of Quebec too, or French as an L2 teachers could benefit from these types of articles]. He emphasized the need for empirical studies that have direct classroom applications to be written in the language being taught: "C'est important que l'on puisse faire un transfert ou un tremplin vers des connaissances qui sont plus applicables en salle de classe, et ca passe par les publications en français". [It's important that we can transfer, or springboard towards knowledge that is applicable in the classroom, and it is done through French publications]. He maintained that francophone teachers (also potential researchers) reading about French as an L2 pedagogy in English would lack authenticity. He said: "Si je suis un francophone qui lit un article d'un francophone sur un sujet de français langue seconde et que c'est écrit en anglais, bon, c'est un peu artificiel, mais en même temps, on comprend. pour la diffusion de la connaissance". [If I am a francophone reading an article by a francophone about French as a second language and it is written in English, well, it's a little artificial, but then again, we understand, for the dissemination of knowledge]. In sum, both saw their work having value for language educators and both argued that the language of publication should be that of their readership. Their belief system guides their behaviors, a system which is heavily influenced by their prior experiences as francophone graduate students. Again, both participants are acting in complicity with the social structures established in their field.

A second dimension related to audience awareness includes citation practices. Both emerging scholars read and cited research written in French and in English, a practice that is heavily influenced by their experiences as graduate students at a francophone institution. In Melanie's research, French publications accounted for 62% of her citations. She has come to realize that scholars in her specific area of research publish regularly in French rather than English given her specific research theme: "Je me suis rendu compte dans ma thèse que la plupart de mes références sont en français (...). Des recherches empiriques, qui portent sur l'orthographe et l'orthographe grammaticale, écrites en anglais, il n'y en a pas tant que ça". [I realized that in my thesis, a majority of my sources are in French (...) empirical studies written in English, that examine spelling and grammatical spelling, in English, there aren't that many]. Melanie recognizes that her community publishes in French, which allows her to engage in FRPP and cite work in French.

Michel studies the acquisition of French as an L2 and adopts a task-based perspective. He has observed that in this field, scholars publish extensively in English-medium journals and this is reflected in his reading and citation practices. He explained that theoretical discussions are informed primarily by English-medium publications and that context-specific data, when necessary, was informed by government-issued documents, published in French:

Tout ce qui était plus statistiques ou compétences recherchées par les employeurs on s'appuyait sur des données en français publiées souvent par le gouvernement du Québec [...]. Mais pour ce qui est [...] plus cadre théorique, scientifique, situer l'approche, bien là c'était plus avec des articles qui étaient publiés dans les revues anglophones.

[Everything that was more related to statistics or desired qualifications by employers, we would rely on government-issued data often published in French (...). However, for the (...) theoretical framework, scientific,

to set the approach, well there it was more with articles that were published in anglophone journals.]

This was in fact corroborated. The French empirical study included 20 citations and 11 of these were from French sources. The French references comprised primarily government and institutional-issued reports (n=7). English references comprised booklong theoretical discussions (n=7) and empirical studies (n=2). The English publication, however, relied solely on empirical publications and these were all written in English (n=26). In sum, it appears as though both candidates reflect on their audience, in-service teachers of French, when making decisions regarding the choice of language. Furthermore, they both adopt multilingual citation practices, when needed, a practice that is influenced by the practices within their respective fields. We find that their actions are in line with the social structures already in place by their field and by abiding to these structures, both participants appear to be acquiring greater capital.

Discussion and Future Directions

The goal of the present study was to examine how two emerging scholars navigated the world of publishing, while paying close attention to their choice of languages and citation practices. Through the qualitative analysis of the data, two major themes emerged. We identified that their current and future professional goals impacted their publication practices. In the case of Melanie, we found a stronger aspiration to join a French-speaking community, which compelled her to publish primarily in French, whereas Michel, who was open to the possibility of working outside of Quebec, was aiming for top-tier, English-medium journals. We also identified that both emerging scholars valued the dissemination of knowledge in the language that is in line with their target audience and their needs. In the case of Melanie, who works primarily in an L1-French context, she aims to publish mostly in French for French teachers and was reminded that French can be sufficient for her to have a successful career. Michel, who studies primarily the acquisition of French as an L2, aspires to work in a research institution, to make theoretical contributions, and to reach a more global community of researchers who study the acquisition of L2s. He also maintained that pedagogical papers should be in French given the importance of developing an academic language in additional languages. Finally, audience was an important mediating factor in their decision-making process.

We drew on Bourdieu's Social Theory (1994) framework and the concepts of habitus, field, and capital to explore their publication practices. Habitus guides behaviors that are socially and historically grounded and these behaviors take place within a socially constructed context, or field. From this perspective, individuals who operate according to the norms and expectations gain greater social, economic or cultural capital. English, a lingua franca, is considered to be the de facto language for knowledge dissemination and transfer (Ammon, 2012; Belcher, 2007; Gentil & Séror, 2014; Hyland, 2016; Swales, 1997). The push to publish in English may in fact reproduce a dominant structure in the world of academia and it is believed to be necessary to have access to this type of linguistic capital. The focal participants echoed these observations that English publications can reach a larger audience and could, particularly in the case of Michel, help further his career. In this sense, our participants were abiding to the norms established by

their academic context. These findings are in line with Li and Flowerdew (2009) who also found that established scholars publish in English "to accommodate the assessment criteria, to reach a wide readership, and to aim for a high standard" (p. 283).

English is perceived to be a valuable tool for professional growth and knowledge building; however, in the context of the present study, the participants could also acquire more capital by maintaining a bilingual publication record. In fact, we found that the focal participants also attribute value to French-medium publications. Michel attributes some currency to FRPP whereas in the case of Melanie, French is an extremely important form of currency in her local communities. Her advisor, her primary academic professional broker, encouraged her to publish, when necessary, in her two languages. Melanie has, to date, co-published three papers in French with her advisor which confirms the critical role of brokers in the process of publishing. This finding appears to echo recent work with doctoral candidates who also aspire to publish in their L1 (Huang, 2010) as well as established scholars (Gentil, 2005; Gentil & Séror, 2014; Li & Flowerdew, 2009; Payant & Belcher, 2019). The present study contributes to the discourse surrounding the urgency to promote research in local/national languages. While both participants believed it is important to counter the dominance of English in academia, the sentiment was even greater in Melanie's case (Gentil & Séror, 2014; Huang, 2010; Kuteeva & Mauranen, 2014). As argued in several papers, publishing in languages other than English, often in peripheral journals (Salager-Meyer, 2014), plays an important role on local and national communities (Li & Flowerdew, 2009) and could potentially have an international impact. However, various stakeholders must collaborate to promote and increase the visibility of work published in additional languages (Gingras & Mosbah-Natanson, 2010; Huang, 2011).

Another important way to contribute is to identify and reference research written in additional languages (Liddicoat, 2016). In this context, both emerging researchers cited works published in French and in English; however, Michel turns to English-medium publications more often than Melanie. In the case of Melanie, we find that her local community regularly publishes in French, which allows her to reference their work with greater ease for her intended audience, namely, L1 teachers. In the case of Michel, the L2 community of researchers publishes regularly in English, which was reflected in his citation practices for the theoretical framework; however, he strives to include French publications as well especially when referring to local realities. At this stage of his career, we sense that he is motivated to diversify his publication practices where the type of publication (practical or theoretical) will guide his language choice and citation practices for his own writing.

In conclusion, in a bilingual setting like Canada and even in Quebec, where the official language is French, it would appear as though the ability to draw on a combination of French and English is a valuable currency. The two focal participants in the present study were able to draw on their rich linguistic repertoire to contribute new knowledge. However, this ability was also perceived to be a double-edged sword: Bilingual scholars who have French as their L1 are highly encouraged to publish in English and in French whereas bilingual scholars who have English as their L1 are not having to establish a bilingual record. These diverging expectations warrant additional attention. Nevertheless, we maintain that there are multilingual scholars who are invested in knowledge creation and transfer in local/national languages as well as in English. For

established scholars, it may be easier to develop or sustain a bilingual publishing record. However, for emerging scholars to sustain their publishing practices in languages other than English or a combination of multiple languages, they require the support and recognition from the larger community and publications. Without this support from publishers and researchers, their work may not be read/cited and would thus risk remaining on the periphery of their professional community. This could, in the long term, jeopardize their academic aspirations or they could succumb to the Tyrannosaurus rex and prioritize an English-medium publication agenda at the expense of contributing in their L1. In conclusion, we hope that experienced and established researchers will continue to work on developing their academic literacies and contribute to the creation of scientific knowledge and language across multiple languages and contexts.

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Doktor Adaylarının Çok Dilli Ortamlarda Yayın Amaçlı Fransızca Kullanma Motivasyonları

Özet

Akademide, yayın dili İngilizce olan dergilerde yayın yapmak norm haline gelmiştir. İngilizcenin baskın olduğu ortamlarda çalışıp çalışmadıklarına bakılmaksızın, çok dilli akademisyenler İngilizce yayın yapma baskısı yaşamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, çok dilli yayıncılık uygulamalarını teşvik eden bir söylemin giderek artuğı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu bağlamda bazı araştırmacılar, yayın amaçlı kullanılan İngilizce hakkında tecrübeli akademisyenlerin inanç ve uygulamalarını incelemiştir. Ancak, gelişmekte olan akademisyenlerin uygulamaları ve inançları konusundaki bilgiler sınırlı kalmaktadır. Bu vaka çalışması, Kanada'nın çok dilli bir şehrinde öğrenim gören iki Fransızca-İngilizce çok dilli akademisyenin yayıncılık uygulamalarını incelemiştir. Çalışmada, iki akademisyenin yayın dili (Fransızca ve İngilizce) seçimlerini ve çok dilli alıntı uygulamalarını etkileyen faktörlere odaklanılmıştır. Görüşme verileri, çevrimiçi anket verileri ve yayımlanmış Fransızca ve İngilizce yayınları katılımcıların gelecekteki mesleki hedeflerinin ve okur anlayışlarının yayın dili tercihlerine etkisi olduğunu göstermiştir. Bulgular Bourdieu (1994) tarafından öne sürülen Sosyal Kuram çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Yayın amaçlı İngilizce; yayın amaçlı Fransızca; yeni yazarlar; inanç ve uygulamalar; yayın amaçlı yazma