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**Assessing Neoliberal Discourses in Communicative Language Teaching Policy: A Critical Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis of Canadian French as a Second Language Curricula**

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Assessing Neoliberal Discourses in Communicative Language Teaching Policy: A Critical Corpus-Based  
Critical Discourse Analysis of Canadian French as a Second Language Curricula

Eleftheria Ria Angelo

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

Department of Education

University of Bath

August 2020

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I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, contains no material previously published or written in any medium by another person, except where appropriate reference has been made.

Eleftheria Ria Angelo

Date: August 1<sup>st</sup> 2020

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## **Table of Contents**

<u>Acknowledgements</u> .....	3
<u>Table of Contents</u> .....	4
<u>List of Tables</u> .....	8
<u>List of Figures</u> .....	8
<u>List of Abbreviations</u> .....	9
<u>Abstract</u> .....	11
<b><u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u></b> .....	<b>12</b>
<u>1. Introduction to Chapter 1</u> .....	12
1.1 <u>Research Gap</u> .....	12
1.2 <u>Research Aims</u> .....	13
1.3 <u>Research Questions</u> .....	13
1.4 <u>Theoretical and Methodological Approach</u> .....	14
1.5 <u>Motivation for the Research</u> .....	15
1.6 <u>Contribution of the Research</u> .....	16
1.7 <u>Overview of the Chapters</u> .....	16
<b><u>Chapter 2: Literature Review</u></b> .....	<b>19</b>
<u>2. Introduction to Chapter 2</u> .....	19
2.1 <u>The Context I: Competing Neoliberal Discourses in the New Political Applied Linguistics (PALx)</u> ...	20
2.1.1 <u>The Multilingual Turn: A Discursive and Epistemic Movement in PALx</u> .....	20
2.1.2 <u>The Multilingual Turn: A Defining Aspect of PALx</u> .....	21
2.1.3 <u>The Multilingual Turn as a Product of Neoliberal Ideology</u> .....	22
2.1.4 <u>The Meritocratic Ideal, the Economization of Education and the Global War for Talent</u> .....	23
2.1.5 <u>From Multilingualism to Sociolinguistic Superdiversity (SSD)</u> .....	26
2.2 <u>Language Commodification (LC): A Paradoxical Neoliberal Discourse</u> .....	27
2.2.1 <u>Phillipson’s English Linguistic Imperialism (LI) as a Paradigmatic LC</u> .....	28
2.2.2 <u>Making the Meritocratic Link: Legitimizing Monolingualism in Phillipson’s LI</u> .....	29
2.2.3 <u>Phillipson’s Epistemic Ignorance and Implications for (an Emancipatory) Language Pedagogy</u> .....	30
2.3 <u>The Context II: Discursive Parallel in CLT</u> .....	31
2.3.1 <u>Weak CLT’s Discursive and Epistemic Assumptions</u> .....	33
2.3.2 <u>The Method-Related Problem of Identity in Weak CLT</u> .....	33
2.3.3 <u>Toward a Praxis-Based Approach to Language Learning on the CLT Spectrum</u> .....	34

2.3.4	<u>The Threat of MRPI in Separate Bilingual Policy Context</u>	35
2.3.4.1	<u>Clarifying the Canadian FSL Policy Context: The Council of Europe’s CLT Prescription</u>	36
2.3.4.2	<u>The Canadian CLT Extension</u>	37
2.3.4.3	<u>The Ontario CLT Facet</u>	37
2.3.5	<u>Discursive Parallel Established</u>	38
2.4	<u>Language-In-Education Policy as a Political Platform Through Which to Control Discourse</u>	39
2.4.1	<u>Delineating Policy as Discourse</u>	39
2.4.2	<u>Foucault’s Episteme as Knowledge Frameworks that Inform Discourse</u>	41
2.4.3	<u>Detrimental Post-Structuralism: Foucault’s Rejection of Ideology</u>	42
2.4.4	<u>The Marxist Notion of Ideology</u>	42
2.5	<u>Configuring the Epistemic Link: Understanding Hegemonies as Epistemic Problems and Counter-Hegemonies as Epistemic Struggles</u>	43
2.5.1	<u>The Hegemonic Plight of Positivism</u>	44
2.5.2	<u>Counter-Hegemonies as Epistemic Struggles</u>	45
2.6	<u>The Manifestation of Language Commodification in Weak CLT Policy Precepts</u>	46
2.6.1	<u>Establishing Monolingualism as Meritocratic</u>	46
2.6.2	<u>The Counter-Hegemonic Discourse of Sociolinguistic Superdiversity as a Strong CLT Pedagogy</u>	48
2.7	<u>Summary of Chapter 2</u>	49
	<b>Chapter 3: Research Design</b>	<b>51</b>
3.	<u>Introduction to Chapter 3</u>	51
3.1	<u>Outline and Review of the Research Questions</u>	52
3.2	<u>A Critical Realist Onto-Epistemic Stance</u>	53
3.3	<u>Critical Discourse Analysis</u>	56
3.3.1	<u>Fairclough’s CDA</u>	57
3.3.2	<u>Method and Levels of Analysis</u>	58
3.3.3	<u>Addressing Bias in CDA</u>	59
3.4	<u>Defining Corpus-Based Research</u>	60
3.4.1	<u>Keywords and Collocates as a ‘Springboard’ to CDA</u>	61
3.4.2	<u>Sinclair’s Collocational Hierarchy</u>	62
3.4.3	<u>Highlighting the Methodological ‘Synergy’ Between CBR and CDA</u>	63
3.5	<u>Toward a Critical Corpus-Based Approach</u>	64
3.5.1	<u>Qualifying SP on the Inductive-Deductive Continuum</u>	65

3.5.2 <u>The Intuitive and Subjective Nature of Semantic Sets</u> .....	66
3.5.3 <u>Hunston’s Inductive Approach to SP</u> .....	66
3.5.4 <u>Deduction and Critical Potential in Baker and Gabrielatos’ Derivation of Semantic Sets</u> .....	68
3.5.5 <u>Extending the Scope of Discourse Topics in SP: Moving Toward the ‘Critical’ Through Retroduction</u> .....	69
3.6 <u>Analytic Procedures</u> .....	70
3.6.1 <u>Nature and Scope of the Corpus</u> .....	71
3.6.2 <u>Isolating ‘Teachers’ and ‘Students’ and their Verb Collocates as Statistically Salient</u> .....	73
3.6.3 <u>Conceptualizing a Critical SP for ‘Teachers’</u> .....	75
3.6.4 <u>Modality and Evaluation in CDA: Critical Tools for Interpreting ‘Student’ Identities in Discourse</u> .....	79
3.7 <u>Validity in a Critical Corpus-Based Approach to CDA</u> .....	80
3.8 <u>Summary of Chapter 3</u> .....	82
<b>Chapter 4: Findings of the Critical Corpus-Based CDA</b> .....	<b>83</b>
4. <u>Introduction to Chapter 4</u> .....	83
4.1 <u>Keyword Analysis of ‘Teachers’ and ‘Students’</u> .....	84
4.2 <u>Extracting Verb Collocates of Key Nodes ‘Teachers’ and ‘Students’</u> .....	86
4.3 <u>A Critical SP of ‘Teachers’: Assessing the Verb Collocates <i>Encourage, Model, Suggest, Direct</i></u> .....	88
4.3.1 <u>Teachers + <i>Encourage</i></u> .....	89
4.3.2 <u>Teachers + <i>Model</i></u> .....	92
4.3.3 <u>Teachers + <i>Suggest</i></u> .....	96
4.3.4 <u>Teachers + <i>Direct</i></u> .....	98
4.4 <u>A CDA of Modality and Evaluation: Assessing the Discursive Construction of ‘Students’</u> .....	100
4.4.1 <u>Modal Finite <i>Will</i></u> .....	100
4.4.2 <u>Modal Finite <i>Need</i></u> .....	102
4.4.3 <u>Modal Finite <i>Should</i></u> .....	106
4.4.4 <u>Modal Finite <i>Must</i></u> .....	107
4.5 <u>Summary of Chapter 4</u> .....	108
<b>Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion</b> .....	<b>110</b>
5. <u>Introduction to Chapter 5</u> .....	110
5.1 <u>Research Questions and the Main Findings of this Study</u> .....	110
5.1.1 <u>Research Question 1</u> .....	111
5.1.2 <u>Research Question 2</u> .....	112

5.1.3 <u>Research Question 3</u> .....	112
5.2 <u>Contribution of the Thesis to the Field of Knowledge</u> .....	113
5.2.1 <u>Situating the Theoretical Contribution of this Thesis</u> .....	114
5.2.1.1 <u>Addressing Kubota’s Argument from Paradigm Replacement</u> .....	114
5.2.1.2 <u>Toward a Democratic Cosmopolitanism as the Political Source of SSD</u> .....	116
5.2.2 <u>Situating the Methodological Contribution of this Thesis</u> .....	117
5.2.2.1 <u>Conceptualizing Kincheloe’s Bricolage</u> .....	119
5.2.2.2 <u>Qualifying Rigour and Complexity in the Bricolage</u> .....	120
5.2.2.3 <u>Questioning the Neoliberal Research Agenda</u> .....	121
5.3 <u>Implications of the Findings for Canadian FSL Policy and Practice</u> .....	123
5.4 <u>Limitations of the Research</u> .....	124
5.5 <u>Recommendations for Future Research</u> .....	125
5.6 <u>Conclusion</u> .....	127
<u>References</u> .....	129
<u>Appendices</u> .....	146



## **List of Tables**

Table 1: <u>Most Key Words in the Canadian CLT Study Corpus</u> .....	85
Table 2: <u>Top 40 Verb Collocates for Keywords ‘Teachers’ and ‘Students’</u> .....	87
Table 3: <u>Concordance lines for Teachers + ‘Encourage’</u> .....	89
Table 4: <u>Concordance Lines for Teachers + ‘Model’</u> .....	92
Table 5: <u>Concordance lines for Teachers + ‘Suggest’</u> .....	96
Table 6: <u>Concordance lines for Teacher + ‘Direct’</u> .....	99

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1: <u>The CLT Spectrum</u> .....	33
Figure 2: <u>MRPI’s Emergence from a Discursive Parallel between LC and SSD and Weak and Strong CLT</u> .....	38
Figure 3: <u>Fairclough’s Tripartite Analytic Model</u> .....	59
Figure 4: <u>Critical Conceptualization of SP</u> .....	77

## **List of Abbreviations**

AOA – action-oriented approach

BNC – British National Corpus

CALx – critical applied linguistics

CBR – corpus-based research

CER – critical education research

CEFR – Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CDA – critical discourse analysis

CLT – communicative language teaching

CMEC – Council of Ministries of Education Canada

COE – Council of Europe

CP – critical pedagogy

CR – critical realism

DA – discourse analysis

DC – democratic cosmopolitanism

ELT – English language teaching

FSL – French as a Second Language

L1 – first language/ mother tongue

L2 – second language

LC – language commodification

LI – linguistic imperialism

LIE – language-in-education

MI – mutual information

MRPI – method-related problem of identity

NNS – non-native speaker(s)

NS – native-speaker(s)

PALx – political applied linguistics

PPP – presentation, practice, production

PS – post-structuralist

RASIM – refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants

RQ – research question(s)

SCT – sociocultural theory

SFL – Systemic Functional Linguistics

SLA – second language acquisition

SP – semantic preference

SSD – sociolinguistic superdiversity

TBL – task-based learning

## **Abstract**

This thesis assesses neoliberal discourses in current Canadian communicative language teaching (CLT) policy of French as a Second Language (FSL). Neoliberalism or the deregulation of the state based on the principle of meritocracy, or equal competition (Brown & Lauder 2006) gives rise to the competing discourses of language commodification or standardization (LC) (Cameron 2012; Block 2019) and sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD) (Blommaert 2010, 2016) that marks the mixed and hybrid language forms of transnational workers and their families. Parallel discourses in CLT pedagogy, advocated by Canadian FSL policy, also distinguish between standard or monolingual language forms and emergent language through its weak and strong methodological approaches.

This thesis offers a three-way contribution to current research. Firstly, I deploy a novel philosophical argument that problematizes meritocracy in discursive and epistemic terms. I argue that the neoliberal view of meritocracy imposes monolingual language constraints on language learners through the neoliberal discourse of LC that manifests as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts. This illuminates a long-standing criticism of CLT that charges its weak form with limiting discursive and hence social possibilities for post-structuralist (PS) language learners (Norton 2000, 2013; Norton & Toohey 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Lin 2012). I call this tension between monolingual language standards and PS language learner identities the method-related problem of identity (MRPI) and argue that it emerges as a product of LC.

Secondly, I deploy a (critical) corpus-based critical discourse analysis (CDA) to assess neoliberal discourses in Canadian CLT policy of FSL. A computerized keyword analysis that statistically isolates the nodes 'teachers' and 'students' serves as an entrypoint to the two-part critical analysis of policy. I conceptualize and carry out a critical approach to semantic preference (SP) in corpus-based research (CBR), which extends the analysis of collocations beyond their immediate lexical environment to consider macro political discourses as retroductive antecedents to social injustice found in discourse. Thirdly, a CDA of the node 'students' confirms the findings of the critical SP of 'teachers' to conclude that aspects of current Canadian CLT policy seem to suggest a weak CLT-oriented pedagogy and hence to an LC neoliberal discourse that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts. This thesis ends with a discussion on the theoretical and methodological contributions of this study. I reflect on limitations and suggest directions this thesis opens for future research.

# **Chapter 1: Introduction**

## **1. Introduction to Chapter 1**

This thesis presents the findings of an interdisciplinary and transformative study that examines neoliberal discourses in Canadian communicative language teaching (CLT) policy of French as a Second Language (FSL). It combines critical corpus-based research (CBR) with critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze the extent to which neoliberal discourses manifest in current Canadian CLT policy.

Neoliberalism or the deregulation of the state based on meritocracy, or equal competition (Brown & Lauder 2006), gives rise to the competing discourses of language commodification (LC) (Block 2017; Cameron 2012) or standardization and sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD) (Blommaert 2010, 2016) that marks the mixed and hybrid forms of transnational workers and their families. Parallel discourses in CLT pedagogy marked by weak and strong methodological approaches also distinguish between standard or a priori language structures and mixed and hybrid language forms (Kumaravadivelu 2006; Thornbury 2011).

### **1.1 Research Gap**

Despite a 'critical' turn in applied linguistics, which connects the local and peripheral context of language learning and use with the wider social and political order (Pennycook 2010: 169), how the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD are epistemically and discursively related to weak and strong CLT, to my knowledge, has not yet been examined. Moreover, how the competing discourses of LC and SSD relate to the method-related problem of identity (MRPI), a tension between (post-structuralist) PS language learner identities and monolingual or standard language practices that emerges from a weak CLT pedagogy, remains an under-examined area in the new political applied linguistics (or CALx as Pennycook 2008 has coined the term).

The import of carrying out such an analysis, therefore, stems from the main ideas behind this thesis, namely that discourses are inseparable from their politically-inflected knowledge frameworks. Through this lens, my aim was to lift what I see as an 'epistemic veil of ignorance' in applied linguistics that blurries the links between macro political structure and discourse by presenting language as a neutral and objective mechanism that is not politically-vested, that is not partial and that does not forward the interest of some over others. It is by critically examining the notion of language as a politically-neutral

system that I began to ask questions about the links between LC and SSD, weak and strong CLT and MRPI. More specifically, I became interested in how these 3 strands are epistemically and discursively related to meritocracy.

Moreover, because, discourse gives us a way of creating reality and PS identities through language, it is a tool of power and control. Understanding the parameters of language in this sense, through the dominant political economy, shines a light on manners of justifying what we know and how, in ways that align philosophically with the current political order. In this study, I believe that debasing these epistemic and discursive assumptions and rendering them explicit, serves as a grounding for an emancipatory and transformative research program able to bring alternate discourses and hence realities to the fore.

### **1.2 Aims of the Research**

Therefore, in this study I have three inter-related aims. First, I wish to explore how the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD are discursively and epistemically related to the parallel discourses of weak and strong CLT in L2 teaching and learning. Secondly, I wish to examine how the discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD relate to MRPI in CLT language learning contexts. Thirdly, the overarching research aim of this study is to assess the extent to which current Canadian CLT policy reflects neoliberal discourses.

To achieve this aim, I deploy a philosophical argument that epistemically grounds the competing pedagogic discourses of weak and strong CLT in the parallel neoliberal discourses of language commodification (LC) and sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD). I argue that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD. Establishing this claim serves two purposes. Firstly, it reframes MRPI, an inseparable aspect of a weak CLT pedagogy, in political economic terms. Secondly, it serves as a basis for my investigation of current Canadian FSL policy wherein I conceptualize and combine critical corpus-based research (CBR) with critical discourse analysis (CDA) to assess neoliberal discourses in Canadian CLT curricula.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The research questions of this study were:

Research Question 1 (RQ1): In what ways are the parallel discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT discursively and epistemically connected?

Research Question 2 (RQ2): In what ways do the discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD relate to the method-related problem of identity (MRPI), a tension between monolingual language standards and post-structuralist language learner identities in weak CLT?

Research Question 3 (RQ3): To what extent do Canadian CLT curricula commit to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD discourse?

Moreover, the following two sub-questions were designed to jointly assist in answering the central question of this thesis reflected in RQ3 which seeks to assess the extent to which Canadian CLT curricula commit to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence LC or SSD neoliberal discourse:

RQ3.A: In what ways do the discourse topic(s) invoked by the critical semantic preference of teachers prescribe a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

RQ3.B: In what ways does the discursive construction of student identities as they relate to modal verbs elucidate a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

#### **1.4 Theoretical and Methodological Approach**

A political economic approach to the analysis of language policy is used that connects language, identity, epistemology and politics (Pennycook 2001). On a theoretical level, this study takes as its starting point the need to examine the politically-inflected epistemic assumptions of knowledge-claims (k-claims) in applied linguistics as they relate to identity categories that organize the existence of language learners. In this view, native-speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) standards are not separate from a Neo-Marxist tradition that challenges the compatibility of individual freedoms with a post-capitalist political economy faced with the fundamental question: In a political economy where everything and everyone is reducible to a physical, saleable commodity, how can social investment and individual differences be accounted for? (See Marx 1867 cited in O'Regan 2014: 537-538).

At the same time, this study in critical/ political applied linguistics (or PALx as I prefer it), assumes a social practice view of discourse that disrupts positivist narratives, by 'finding questions where others had located answers' especially in k-claims pertaining to the 'identity of an ahistorical subject' (Dean

1994: 4). This corroborates Widdowson's (2001: 15) qualification of 'critical' as 'the appraisal of alternate versions of reality, the recognition of competing claims and perspectives, and the need to reconcile them'. Widdowson warns, however, against criticality as potentially proliferating that which it aims to debase. This means that in scrutinizing partiality, any staunch ideological commitment can lead to the imposition of our own partial views – resulting in a 'hypocritical' applied linguistics instead of one that is in effect 'critical' (ibid). Hence, critical must allow not only for the identification of the macro relations of dominant, normative politics in discourse, but for the emergence of multiple and competing frameworks and discourses that can lead to social change (ibid).

Therefore, methodologically, a precondition to a morally-oriented approach to the analysis of discourse requires gaining insight into the epistemic assumptions of language that is presented as a 'neutral mechanism' for explaining reality (Kincheloe 2004b: 43). '[P]oint[ing] out such reductionisms', which serve to disguise dominant political interest through positivism, allows the critical social researcher to devise an alternate mode of analysis and inquiry that allows for multiple and alternate discourses to emerge as a first step to social transformation (ibid).

### **1.5 Motivation for the Research**

My interest and rationale in pursuing this research stems from my own struggle as a second-generation immigrant and minority that went through the Canadian French Immersion K to 12 program. My experience with the role languages play in limiting and liberalizing identities and access to resources in post-capitalism serves as impetus behind this research. I have for a long time held the suspicion that positivism is responsible for the preferred ways languages are learned, and that this limits PS identities which are produced in language. I have at the same time worried about what turns out to be a neoliberal meritocratic mechanism in current political economy that only allows the 'best' to rise to the top in our current school system.

My doctoral training at the University of Bath has given me the conceptual toolkit through which to examine this suspicion in current Canadian FSL policy through a critical corpus based CDA. This research combines my academic training in Philosophy, Applied Linguistics and Education. From this perspective, this two-fold study draws on a range of disciplines (critical education and sociology, linguistics/ applied linguistics, political theory and philosophy) for a novel mixed-methods approach (philosophical, quantitative and qualitative).



## **1.6 Contribution of the Research**

This work is critical in at least two ways for a three-way contribution to current research. First, in this study I deploy a novel philosophical argument that epistemically and discursively problematizes meritocracy in neoliberalism as it relates to the paradoxical neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD. This constitutes a theoretical contribution wherein I argue that meritocracy propagates the monolingual discourse of LC, whose standard and a priori language forms emerge as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts. This conclusion situates, in political terms, a long-standing criticism of CLT that charges its weak form with limiting discursive and hence social possibilities for PS language learners (Norton 2000, 2013; Norton & Toohy 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Lin 2012). It is this tension to which I refer to above as MRPI.

Second, I conceptualize and deploy a critical corpus-based critical discourse analysis (CDA) to address the pragmatic aims of this study. While I draw on a keyword and collocational analysis in computerized corpus-based research (CBR) to enter the data, CBR is a descriptive approach to the analysis of language that allows me to isolate ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ as statistically key nodes across the set of Canadian policy texts under study. CBR’s empirical epistemic constraints of observation and generalizability, or inductive and deductive reasoning, illuminate a normative potential that can stretch legitimating criteria to include the researcher’s subjective reasons as causes in studying language in relation to the macro political context.

For this reason, I conceptualize a critical approach to semantic preference (SP), one type of collocational analysis that derives meaning categories from co-occurring words to include macro political discourses as retroductive causes of social injustice found in discourse. This is the value of underscoring the study with a critical realist ontology, that while recognizing the reality of objective knowledge, bases social realities on retroduction, or subjectively- derived reasons as causes. This constitutes the methodological contribution of this study.

Thirdly, the deployment of a critical SP for ‘teachers’ and its top 4 verb collocates is thus carried out alongside a CDA of ‘students’ in relation to its top 4 co-occurring modal auxiliaries to determine the thesis of this study. The main argument of this thesis is that current Canadian CLT policy may suggest a weak CLT-oriented pedagogy and hence to an LC neoliberal discourse that give rise to MRPI language learning contexts.

## **1.7 Overview of the Chapters**

This thesis will proceed as follows. Chapter 2, the literature review, addresses the first two research questions. Specifically, I examine parallel sets of discourses in neoliberalism and in CLT pedagogy in relation to meritocracy, the key operationalizing concept of a neoliberal political economy through a philosophical lens. By drawing discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT, I argue that the hegemonic discourse of LC manifests in weak CLT policy precepts while an SSD discourse can serve as a counter-hegemony in these language-in-education (LIE) policy contexts. The main argument in this section is that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD.

Chapter 3 describes and defends the research design of this study that seeks to assess neoliberal discourses in current Canadian CLT policy. I lay out the onto-epistemic assumptions of a critical realist (CR) ontology from which I defend a two-part critical policy analysis that employs on the one hand a CDA of modality and evaluation and on the other critical approach to SP in CBR. While the former is based in CR ontology that forwards retroductive explanations from which tentative conclusions about the social world can be drawn based on the researcher's reasons as causes, the latter SP is not inherently critical. Therefore, I conceptualize a critical approach to SP which extends the analysis of computerized collocations beyond the immediate lexical vicinity of a node word to consider retroductively derived macro political discourses. I lay out the analytic procedures of the research design wherein I defend entering the critical analysis of policy through a keyword and collocational analysis in CBR that isolates 'teachers' and 'students' and their verb collocates as statistically salient.

Chapter 4 describes in detail the critical corpus-based CDA of Canadian CLT policy itself and offers the main findings of the study. I discuss the statistical salience of 'teachers' and 'students' across the set of policy texts under study and present the findings of the collocational analysis which isolated the top 4 verb collocates for 'teachers' and the top 4 modal verb collocates for 'students'. The results of the critical SP of 'teachers' as they relate to its top 4 verb collocates are discussed prior to presenting the findings of the CDA of modal verbs for the node 'students'. Both analyses appear to reveal a commitment to a weak CLT and hence LC neoliberal discourse in current Canadian CLT policy that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts.

Chapter 5 discusses the theoretical and methodological contributions of this thesis. Theoretically, I reflect on the epistemic source of SSD to assess its potential as a counter-hegemonic discourse in MRPI

language learning contexts. Then, I discuss pragmatic validity in relation to the methodological contribution of this study. Implications of the findings for LIE policy and practice are outlined prior to ending with a discussion on limitations of this study and directions for future research.

# **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

## **2. Introduction to Chapter 2**

This chapter contextualizes the topic of this research enquiry, which seeks to assess neoliberal discourses in Canadian CLT policy. It establishes the groundwork for the critical corpus-based CDA aspect of this study by discursively and epistemically grounding weak and strong CLT in the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD, respectively. I begin by outlining competing discourses that emerge from neoliberalism's free-market economy. I problematize the discursive and epistemic assumptions of neoliberalism's meritocratic ideal in relation to the discourses of sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD) (Blommaert 2010, 2016) or the mixed and hybrid language forms of globalized speakers and language commodification (LC) (Cameron 2012; Block 2017) that standardizes language for the purpose of economic capital. While the multilingual turn in PALx exemplifies SSD, I argue that Phillipson's (1992, 2008) theory of the global spread of English as a hegemonic discourse exemplifies the more meritocratic discourse of LC.

Next, I outline a discursive parallel in weak and strong CLT pedagogy advocated by Canadian LIE policy that I argue also gives rise to language standardization and hybridization respectively. I examine the epistemic assumptions of these discourses as they relate to LC and SSD. I argue that LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts that limit discursive possibilities for language learners by legitimating meritocratic language standards through a monolingual discourse and a positivist theory of learning (Angelo 2020). This argument contextualizes a long-stranding criticism of weak CLT that charges the pedagogy with limiting PS language learner identities that bring with them a wide array of linguistic practices to the language learning context. I call this tension between monolingual language standards of weak CLT and post-structuralist (PS) language learner identities the method-related problem of identity (MRPI) and argue that it emerges as a product of LC (ibid).

This argument depends on a Foucauldian view of policy as discourse that allows me to problematize hegemonies as epistemic problems and counter-hegemonies as epistemic struggles (Angelo 2020). Hegemonies, understood as extensions of ideology, are two-way relations that though limit the social world through positivist discourse, allow for counter-hegemonic discourses to emerge. This serves as grounding for the fundamental claim on which the rest of this thesis depends, namely that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD.

This is because while the discourse of LC emerges as hegemonic discourse through weak CLT policy precepts, the neoliberal discourse of SSD I argue can serve as a counter-hegemony in MRPI language learning contexts that can be ascribed to a strong CLT pedagogy.

## **2.1 The Context 1: Competing Neoliberal Discourses in the New Political Applied Linguistics (PALx)**

To begin, I contextualize the topic of this research by outlining the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD, as the source of a multilingual turn in the new PALx. This serves as a firm grounding for the ensuing argument which epistemically and discursively links the parallel discourses of weak and strong CLT to the neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD.

### **2.1.1 The Multilingual Turn: A Discursive and Epistemic Movement in PALx**

The current 'multilingual turn' in PALx reflects both a discursive and epistemic movement that fundamentally rejects the 'monolingual bias' favouring the invariant standard code of the native speaker (NS) standard (Ortega 2014; Kubota 2016b; Canagarajah 2017; Flores 2013; Blommaert 2010, 2016). As a discursive movement, the multilingual turn challenges the notion of language as a distinct and rule-bound code (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Kubota 2016a; May 2014; Flores 2013), stating that terms such as native-speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS),

'prefigure as monolithic elements in SLA [...] they are applied and understood in an oversimplified manner, leading among other things, to an analytic mindset that elevates an "idealized" native speaker above a stereotypical "nonnative", while viewing the latter as a defective communicator, limited by an underdeveloped communicative competence' (Firth & Wagner 1997: 285).

In second language acquisition (SLA) the monolingual bias explicitly conceives of language acquisition as an aggregate and linear system of multiple or pluri- languages that are bound and acquired and that do not come into contact with each other (Garcia & Flores 2012 cited in Kubota 2016a). Importantly, therefore, qua discourse, multilingualism requires disambiguation. On the one hand multilingualism seeks to keep languages separate: it measures proficiency through the capacity of a language user to deploy the shared grammar of a traditionally conceived closed system of language. This separatist view defines language competencies as distinct in discrete languages (Wurr & Canagarajah 2011: 5-6).

Multilingualism in the multilingual turn, however, conceives of the communicative interactions of multilinguals as a hybrid and unpredictable mix of languages that resist grammar and pre-set target language standards in favour of mixed linguistic and semiotic modalities that satisfy social and

situational communicative needs (Kramersch 2002 cited in Wurr & Canagarajah 2011: 5). This means languages come into contact with each other through multiple and hybrid language practices that include code-switching (c.f. Wei 2017), code-meshing, translation and translanguaging (See Kramersch 2012; Canagarajah 2017; Cenoz & Gorter 2011; Kubota 2016a, 2016b; Flores 2013). Thus, this latter or integrationist view of multilingualism represents a discursive shift in focus, with a new interest in 'linguistic practices as products of language users' multiple repertoires that are employed in a contingent, flexible manner than an aggregate use of languages that are separated along structural boundaries' (Kubota 2016a: 476).

In this sense then, the multilingual turn fundamentally rejects a past epistemic orthodoxy in applied linguistics that idealizes mentalist constructs removed from everyday life. These a priori constructs describe the communicative exchanges of language users in formalist terms, negating discourse as social practice, as experienced in diverging contexts of use, and as expressions of social identity (Widdowson 2001: 3). The rejection of this view is, thus, also a rejection of the long-standing epistemic goal of applied linguistics to develop a 'coherent' discipline, modeled after the lower-level sciences (Davies 1999: 141 cited in Pennycook 2008: 170). Indeed Davies (1999) sites Block who poses the question:

'why do we think in applied linguistics that we have to act "scientific" where "scientific" is understood as what is done in the physical sciences? We study language acquisition, a phenomenon which is extremely sensitive to changes of context...I propose that we evaluate theories in relation to context and purpose' (Block 1996: 77 cited in Davies 1999: 140).

Block makes reference here to the observable, reproducible and generalizable tenets and methods that have formed and informed positivism as the desired justification for knowledge in the social sciences writ large, for what there is (ontology) and importantly, how we know (epistemology) (Pascale 2010: 156). As Pascale (2010: 154) notes, research methods meant to reflect reality through subjective/objective, theory/method and scientific/ideological dichotomies, have for the last century 'othered' those who do not fit the theory or who are not observable through the eyes of dominant values.

### **2.1.2 The Multilingual Turn: A Defining Aspect of PALx**

The multilingual turn, therefore, we might say is a defining aspect of PALx that takes the first step in conceiving of a paradigm shift (Kuhn 1970) in applied linguistics which rejects any of the above distinctions (Pennycook 2001: 3). Through this lens, the epistemic shift of the multilingual turn seeks to 'problematize' language (Dean 1994 cited in Pennycook 2001: 6) in relation to 'normative assumptions

of applied linguistics [and] to connect it to questions of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology and discourse' (Pennycook 2010: 16.3).

In this sense, the multilingual turn shares in the plight of PALx to examine the causes and consequences of a capitalist/post-capitalist society on language learning and use as they relate to identity categories in social and political contexts. Specifically, because PALx assumes the inflection of politics in the production of knowledge and in k-claims generally, it is imperative that PALx according to Dean (1994: 4 cited in Pennycook 2001: 7), involves the questioning of 'taken for granted components of our reality and the "official" accounts of how they came to be the way they are'. This is because, according to Pascale (2010),

'producing knowledge is always a political act, one in which cultural ideologies are both rationalized and naturalized. What researchers in dominant cultures have tended to see when looking at social life is the product of classificatory systems...that express hegemonic views of social life. The more effective scholars become at revealing the processes and terms of knowledge production – the foundation of cognitive authority – the more effective we will be at minimizing the effects of ideologies' (Pascale 2010: 163).

The problem for Dean (1994) then is in the 'naturalization' of k-claims in the lower level sciences that are no longer questioned and that are taken as 'given' (cited in Pennycook 2001: 7). At the core of PALx then, is the 'restive problematization of the given' (Pennycook 2001: 107) as it relates to 'fixed identity regulations of institutional modernity' delineated through language (Pennycook 2010: 16.6). In this view, it is the work of positivism which makes it 'impossible' to link how we use language to social inequality and difference (Pennycook 2010: 16.2). This is because 'given' knowledge that is transmitted through discourse is the 'static nemesis' of the plurality of discourses, subjectivities, ways of being and ways of knowing reflected in the multilingualism of the multilingual turn.

PALx, therefore, is inter- and anti-disciplinary in that it is constantly questioning k- frameworks and the ways we think and make assertions about the learning and doing of language that according to Pennycook (2001: 155) require new 'schemas of politicization'. Indeed it is an implicit claim of mine here that new schemas of politicization require rigorous epistemic examinations of the underlying k- frameworks of discourses that are politically inflected and that in turn inform our thinking and doing of language as it relates to identity in language learning.

### **2.1.3 The Multilingual Turn as a Product of Neoliberal Ideology**

In Angelo (2020), I argued that the multilingual turn specifically is a product of neoliberal ideology or the de-regulation of the state toward market-rule based on the principle of meritocracy or equal competition (Brown & Lauder 2006). That is, according to Saad-Filho & Johnson (2005: 1) we are currently living in a neoliberal era. Neoliberalism constitutes a political economic ideology of the post-capitalist replacement of capital with a knowledge-based economy. In this sense, neoliberalism can be understood as a derivative of globalization, wherein the advancement of technology has triggered the denationalization of barriers, changing the nature of international trade and investments (Brown & Lauder 2006, Castells 2010 cited in Stromquist & Monkman 2014; Harvey 1989 cited in Rizvi & Lingard 2009).

On the macro level, without state interventions, transnational corporations financial institutions have the freedom to alter markets, labour, the movement of capital and processes of production and distribution (Porter & Vidovich 2000: 450). According to statistics, 70% of world trade in 2002 was managed by 500 of the most powerful transnational corporations (Share the World Resources 2013 cited in Stromquist & Monkman 2014: 3). Because these corporations are 'spatially dispersed', global institutions capitalize on their profit through diverging wage rates between nations and variable market conditions from which they might benefit in the time/space warp of globalization (Rizvi & Lingard 2009: 28). This results in the interruption of traditional predictable chains of supply and demand and impacts on the individual through 'increased worker insecurity, unpredictable quality and increased pace of life' (Rizvi & Lingard 2009:26 paraphrasing Harvey 1989: 26). This makes globalization a 'hypercomplex' multi-mechanistic process that shifts powers between and within nation states (Jessop 2005: 15) with the 'click of a computer key' (Popkevitz & Rizvi 2010: 15), that quickly intersects finance with technology (Rizvi & Lingard 2009: 27). Technological proficiency thus, on which the economic success of individuals and nation states depends (Castells 2010 cited in in Stromquist & Monkman 2014: 2), forges an inexorable link between education and economic success based on meritocracy.

#### **2.1.4 The Meritocratic Ideal, the Economization of Education and the Global War for Talent**

On the micro level, from a social [welfare] state responsible for furnishing society's needs (health, education, social security), meritocracy empowers individuals to make decisions regarding their own wealth (See Davies & Bansel 2007: 251 and Ahlquist 2011: 12-13). This is framed within a neoliberal education system that premises equal opportunity on a simple equation: intelligence + ability = success (Littler 2013, 2018). As McNamee and Miller (2013) explain, as technology progresses, the educational



requirements of high-skilled jobs increase while at the same time lowering the demand for less-skilled jobs. This leads to the perceived dissolution of classes in society, whereby privilege is replaced by merit, and the materialization of success is the sole responsibility of the individual to put forth an effort, take advantage of equal opportunity and ultimately compete (See McNamee & Miller 2013: 100). According to Grin for instance, after investing in the development of certain specific skills, the individual,

‘will tend to be more productive than another without these skills. Since wage rates generally reflect productivity, a more skilled person will tend to earn more. Even if education is costly, both for individuals and for society it can therefore be seen as an investment whose rate of return can be estimated.’ (Grin 2002 cited in Shroedler 2017: 10).

Meritocracy’s individualistic cadence, however, is at the crux of the neoliberal critic’s concern, dubbing meritocracy as a ‘myth’ (Bowles & Gintis 1976- See Brown & Lauder 2006) and challenging the ‘explanatory reach’ of globalization as it pertains to claims about equality of opportunity (Peck 2016: 2). For instance, meritocracy advances the idea of individual competitive success, which, represented by a ladder, can only be climbed by oneself (Williams 1963 cited in Littler 2013: 54). This means that through education neoliberalism rationalizes the production of those that win and those that lose whereby the ‘fittest’ people (and corporations) prosper (Lauder et al. 2006: 43).

Therefore, the problem with meritocracy is that it is not value-free. Equal opportunity in this sense, serves as the ‘axis of achievement’ (Parsons 1959 cited in Brown 1995: 30), placing objective criteria on learners that mirror the expectations and qualities required for effective future employment (productive potential) (Brown 1995: 30). This manifests in teaching and learning in the ‘marketization’ of education (Apple 2001: 420) that makes ‘economic entrepreneurs’ out of teachers, students, and researchers (Davies & Bansel 2007), thereby raising the standards of all equally (Brown & Lauder 2006: 28 – See also Angelo 2020).

The strategy of ‘out-smarting’ economic competitors (Brown & Lauder 2006: 26) in the K to 12 context has recently been exemplified by the No Child Left Behind Policy in the US which depends on the capacity to demonstrate individual entrepreneuriality through high stakes testing (Giroux 2011; Giroux & Giroux 2008; Luke 2003; Apple 2001; Hursh 2000; Hursh & Martina 2003). In this regime, teachers are forced to teach toward successful results on standard tests compromising both content and pedagogy (Hursh 2000; Giroux & Giroux 2008). These results rank schools, districts, teachers, students and principals (Hursh 2000; Hursh & Martina 2003; Giroux & Giroux 2008).

According to Brown et al. (2012) objective educational criteria in this sense, bend the system in favour of the middle class whose access to material and cultural resources (ways of being, ways of knowing, skills, mannerisms), better their childrens' chances to attain the right grades and attend the most prestigious schools. The result is a social stratification that emerges from the limited seats available in prestigious higher education institutions that are reserved for those who have the material and cultural resources to compete in an education system that as it turns out, is not equal at all (Lauder et al. 2006; Brown et al. 2012).

Moreover, the knowledge-based economy has been linked to a global competition for talent between nations and corporations that attract the 'best' and 'brightest' irrespective social background and nationality (Brown & Tannock 2009: 377). In this vein, the UK, France and the U.S. have become leading suppliers of high-skilled, high-paying jobs, becoming what have been termed 'magnet economies' aimed at beating both economic competition and shifting demographics of fast production cycles that can lead to shortages in high-skilled workers (Brown & Tannock 2009: 381). In this context, the goal of education is access to global mobility and the false promise of individual prosperity on equal grounds (Brown & Tannock 2009: 383).

Hence, this study does not begin from the assumption of a perfectly competitive labour market. Rather this enquiry begins where these other theorists have ended their examinations confirming that neoliberalism benefits those at the helm of economic gain. Specifically, despite the plight to understand the effects of meritocracy on individuals in a flexible job market, meritocracy remains an under-theorized concept, particularly as it behaves across and against disciplines (Littler 2018: 8). It is, I would argue, especially under- explored in the area of PALx, where the neoliberal notion of meritocracy at the intersection of language learning and use should be of first-grade import in any critical examination that takes into consideration the wider political economy.

Secondly, the epistemic assumptions of meritocracy are seldom linked to what have been deemed politically imposed hegemonic discourses in the context of language learning and use, which I elaborate below. Therefore, in what follows I try to show that multilingualism of the multilingual turn is a discourse of sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD), one of two competing discourses that emerge from meritocracy's promise of 'boundaryless' careers (Brown et al. 2012: 19) that extend people across territorial borders in a global job market. From this, I develop the argument that LC emerges as

hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts while SSD can serve as a counter-hegemony in these contexts.

### **2.1.5 From Multilingualism to Sociolinguistic Superdiversity (SSD)**

Specifically, the global war for talent has ‘spawned its own discourses-on globalization’ (Blommaert 2010: 1) that are produced from new kinds of population dynamics (Block & Cameron 2002: 7 – See also Angelo 2020). On the one hand, neoliberalism gives rise to the ‘voice of mobility’ (Blommaert 2010) that promotes hybrid multilingualism through ‘flows, flexibility and de-regulation’ (Duchêne et al. 2013: 9). This occurs in the shift from one-to-one relations that characterized a nation and its citizenry to now the mixed and hybrid forms of language and identity that have resulted from the economic dissolution of boundaries (Heller 2003, 2010; Duchêne & Heller 2012; Pennycook & Otsuji 2015; Block 2010). In this sense, ‘ethnonational’ identity, for instance marked by language choice, regional accent, morpho-syntax and word choice (See Block 2010: 339) that delineate ways of being, beliefs and shared goals of a given nation state (Heller 2003: 475), is now fuzzy and unclear. Block (2005) opens his book *Multilingual Identities in a Global City: London Stories* with the following reflection:

‘I am sitting on a bus on my way from my house in Finchley, North London, to Bloomsbury in Central London. I am speaking to my partner in Catalan, the language we brought with us when we moved from Barcelona to London nearly a decade ago. A man talking on his mobile phone is sitting two seats back. He is speaking rather loudly in Spanish. Two rows in front of us are two teenagers who are conversing in Russian. The bus stops. Among the many people getting on are two elderly men. As they pass us, I hear Greek spoken. My linguistic radar, by now more than activated, I begin to listen more intently to the conversations around me. I hear two people conversing half in what I think is Gujarati, half in English. I hear Spanish again[...] This is the multilingual London I live in.’ (Block 2005: vii-viii).

Transnational labour flows mean that languages being appropriated in mixed and hybrid ways constitute the linguistic and communicative skills necessary to compete in an unregulated market where not everyone speaks the same language. Specifically, it is in these informal entrepreneurial settings, as in the bus above, where transactions for capital are not directly in exchange but are a prime motivating factor I would argue that multilingualism emerges in the mixed and hybrid language forms we hear in cafés, malls and market-places in globalized cities (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015).

In the above excerpt, two Greeks in London on a bus mix and switch both English and Greek. In the Canadian context for instance, as in Montréal, the same example can be compounded by French: words, expressions and cultural references might use any and all of Greek, French and English to communicate

meaning. In Sydney, Pennycook & Otsuji (2015: 2-3) for instance, record a particular type of local 'market talk' where niche terms such as 'caulies' are mixed with Arabic and English ('*Salamu alaykum mate*'). Similarly, in studying the Sri Lankan diaspora, Canagarajah (2013: 5) tracked Sri Lankan youth in Europe using bits and pieces of Tamil, intermixed with other (multiple) European languages. The linguistic norms exemplified in these globalized contexts are grammatical but not in any pre-determined or a priori sense. Rather, grammar is 'emergent' in these contexts (Wurr & Canagarajah 2011: 3), giving rise to what has been referred to in PALx as pluri-, metro-, trans- and multilingualism (Blommaert & 2011; Flores 2013; Kumaravadivelu 2006; Pennycook & Makoni 2007; Canagarajah 2013, 2017; Kubota 2016a, 2016b; Pennycook & Otsuji 2015). It is, thus, any and all of these discourses to which I will refer to for my purposes here following Blommaert (2010, 2016) as sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD).

## **2.2 Language Commodification: A Paradoxical Neoliberal Discourse**

This means on the other hand, there is a competing or paradoxical discourse that emerges from a neoliberal ideology that instrumentalizes language for the purpose of economic capital. We call this language commodification (Cameron 2012; Block 2017) that develops, I would argue, as a more direct result of neoliberalism's meritocratic ideal. The reader might consider for instance, that under the neoliberal view of meritocracy, equal opportunity is achieved by 'marketizing' or standardizing language, with the aim of satisfying a double promise that no matter your geographical locale (i.e. whether you are in Athens or in Toronto), you will always get the same product and it will therefore be accessible to you (Duchêne & Heller 2012: 12).

According to Duchêne et al. (2013: 9) this constitutes a discourse of 'control and regimentation' that develops corporate value through language policy in the form of 'marketization' or commodification, 'a process by which and through which objects that were previously unsalable become sellable' (Block 2017: 1). In this view, LC as a fundamental means of communication in a fluid labour market where political, economic, social and cultural spaces are in constant flux, is understood as an 'objective skill' that yields and ultimately affords 'material remuneration to those who possess it' (Block 2017: 6).

Learning a language for instrumental purposes here means using it as a tool to gain knowledge (Lam & Wang 2014) which in turn strengthens a link between high proficiency and increased earnings (Grin 2001 cited in Cameron 2012: 352). On the meritocratic assumption of LC those who abstain from investing in a particular language, abstain from remunerating their value as a commodity (Heller 2010: 106). Thus the promise of meritocracy allows those who put in the effort and follow through on their

learning of say English or French to stake a claim in global markets and participation in linguistic resources (ibid). Yet, the false presumption of learning these languages as ‘neutral’ and natural phenomenon in a free-market economy (Pennycook 2014: 11) is what achieves both meritocratic rationality (justification) and legitimacy (See Phillipson 2012: 410 cited in Flores 2013: 512). In what follows therefore, I draw on the work of Phillipson (1992, 2008) to show that the global spread of English, is legitimated on meritocratic grounds prior to extending the argument to CLT as a global language pedagogy. This serves as a basis for my main claim in this chapter wherein I argue that LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts.

### **2.2.1 Phillipson’s English Linguistic Imperialism (LI) I as a Paradigmatic LC**

In his seminal work, *Linguistic Imperialism* (LI), Phillipson (1992) argues that the global spread of English has emerged as a hegemonic discourse in English language learning communities around the world. Specifically, because English is a ‘key medium’ by which commercial products of all kinds (film, television, advertising, the stationing of workers abroad, the export of books, education, communications) are communicated, the proficient acquisition of English serves as a ‘gatekeeper’ to higher education and to high-paying jobs (See Phillipson 1992: 58 cited in Grimshaw 2007: 220). However, this occurs, as I show below, on monolingual language terms which legitimate the subordination of alternate languages and language forms on meritocratic grounds.

To build his claim, Phillipson (1992) distinguishes between ‘core and periphery’ or NS and NNS English speaking countries in the global landscape to argue that the sustained confirmation of monolingualism in the elite NS English countries of the core will intensify what he sees as gaps between structural and cultural resources associated with monolingualism in globalized economic market (See also Phillipson 2008: 37). Through this lens, the global spread of English, argues Phillipson, is primarily economically beneficial to core states or those who have access to core state resources causing global social inequality (Yoo & Namkung 2012: 228). This constitutes the monolingual elites in the center of both core and periphery countries that have access to the same economic gains (shared interests) by virtue of their monolingualism (Phillipson 1992: 52). By implication, those who do not speak the language of the core in the monolingual sense, are effectively left on the periphery of economic opportunity and prosperity. Through this lens, structural resources (universities, funding agencies, institutions) and cultural resources (ideas, knowledge-frameworks, experiences) at the center are both substantially

greater than those available at the periphery, and constantly being renewed leaving the periphery in a perpetual dependency vis à vis the core. (Phillipson 1992: 58).

Phillipson (1992: 17) defines monolingualism as the learning of a language at the expense of another (See also Phillipson 2013: 1). This 'linguistic homogeneity' (Phillipson 1992: 24) occurs he claims, through (a) *displacement* on the job front, where specialized commercial areas favour English in communication and (b) *replacement* in schools wherein 'the use of vernaculars has been gradually pushed out' (Phillipson 1992: 28). Both these methods proliferate linguicism or the 'genocide' or subservience of one language in favour of another (i.e. English) (See Skutnabb-Kungas & Phillipson 1994). But the main vehicle through which LI occurs on this account is through English Language Teaching (ELT) and the interrelated concepts of professionalism and anglocentrism (Phillipson 1992: 48). While professionalism is understood as pedagogy or the 'methods, techniques and procedures' implemented by ELT professionals, anglocentricity achieves sociocultural domination by affirming existing social structures between the dominant language (English) and other languages through a monolingual discursive framework (*ibid*). Anglocentrism, therefore, legitimates linguistic imperialism (hegemony) through the promise of what English can get NNS (i.e. material and cultural resources associated with a boundaryless career), that other languages cannot (Phillipson 1992: 123).

By 'buying-in' to the promise of English LI, as oppose to being forced for instance, speakers of other languages readily subordinate their own language to English thereby affirming its status as a hegemonic discourse. For this reason Phillipson (1992: 64) ultimately attributes the crux of LI to ELT professionals (teachers, syllabus designers, policy writers) who collude in LI (perhaps inadvertently) in the teaching of monolingual English to NNS of English. They write textbooks, syllabi, policy, handle classrooms all according to native English core norms. Through pedagogy (professionalism) he says, the culture and structure of English is disconnected, allowing it to be presented as an objective, 'standard product' without the consideration of local market (identity, sociocultural context) (Phillipson 1992: 67). These 'sellers' of English, who present themselves as 'saviours' in the periphery in virtue of the language teaching services they provide, claim to be politically and economically 'neutral' (they may be in their intention submits Phillipson and I agree) while highlighting the economic benefits of monolingual English (See Phillipson 1992: 287). Consequently, English is sold as the key communicative instrument of global capitalism that benefits the core through monolingual language standards.

### **2.2.2 Making the Meritocratic Link: Legitimizing Monolingualism in Phillipson's LI**

There are three implications that emerge from this conclusion. The first pertains to a missing link in Phillipson's argument from which the second and third points follow. First, Phillipson identifies monolingualism as the discursive framework at the core of LI and as an instance of LC in the global spread of English. The legitimation of this discursive hegemony occurs in the neutrality with which monolingual English is presented (i.e. as distinct from socio-, economic, political interests and contexts). Here the presentation of a standard form of language is justified by that which language (monolingualism) purports to provide (equal opportunity). But Phillipson does not make an explicit link between monolingualism and the neoliberal view of meritocracy. We can infer for instance that in a globalized magnet economy, the symbolic and material resources associated with globalization can be found in the promise of a boundaryless career. Boundaryless careers, I posited earlier, are more easily accessible to the middle class and their capacity to amass cultural capital (knowledge, world-views, ways of being, ways of knowing) of which linguistic competence occupies one of many 'systems of meaning' deemed legitimate and economically valuable by the global elite (See Giroux 1984: 71). That not everyone can rise is a product of meritocracy. Hence while monolingualism can be seen as the cause of social inequality, the legitimation of the discursive hegemony, I would argue, is in the meritocratic ideal, i.e. the promise of what English can get that other languages cannot. This is integral to understanding the 'controlling culprit' in LC as a discursive hegemony, that I argue below is an epistemic problem with consequences for PS language learners in weak CLT language learning contexts.

### **2.2.3 Phillipson's Epistemic Ignorance and Implications for (an Emancipatory) Language Pedagogy**

Secondly, Phillipson (1992), for instance, invokes ELT as the prime mover of ideology (through books, teaching, pedagogy), and in specific national contexts (i.e. France, Namibia), yet fails to address any one language pedagogy in detail. This requires posing the question, in what way does monolingualism manifest in language learning contexts? I.e. what (if any) are the pedagogical precepts that forward the discourse of LC through a monolingual discursive framework? Moreover, what does it mean to impose monolingualism (i.e. the separation of culture from structure) in a globalized language learning context? Though Phillipson identifies cultural imperialism (what I called sociocultural domination above) as a by-product of LI (in virtue of what languages express in a given k-community, i.e., identities, traditions, beliefs, religions, world- views), he fails to articulate the stakes for language learners, beyond the potential for fiscal acquisition that granted, depends on a linguistic view of language. This, I argue, is a product of his under- theorization of the epistemic assumptions of monolingualism, how it relates to language pedagogy and its direct link to meritocracy.

Thirdly, while in this study I examine one specific context of this consequence in current language pedagogy, by examining how the monolingual discourse of weak CLT limits PS language learner identities, my worry is not that positivism will be found to underlie the monolingualism of a parallel discourse in CLT. This has been established in the literature which I review below. Rather, my worry is that the positivism of a monolingual discursive framework in language learning will be complicit in the legitimation of neoliberal discourses in LIE policy with consequences for PS language learner identities. It is, thus, my contention here that making epistemic and discursive links between these parallel sets of discourses in neoliberalism and LIE policy will allow me to forge these connections while at the same time provide me with the epistemic tools to sharpen the nature of discourses that can serve as counter-hegemonic in these language learning contexts vis à vis the neoliberal discourses outlined here.

Once we understand hegemonies are epistemic problems that serve the interests of dominant social groups through preferred k-frameworks in discourse (i.e. positivist through monolingualism as I will show below), then we can conceptualize counter-hegemonies as alternate k- frameworks that underly subaltern discourses. Moreover, grounding the epistemic assumptions of weak and strong CLT in the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD will allow me to address the main aim of this study which seeks to assess neoliberal discourses in Canadian CLT policy. Therefore, in the following sections, I aim to address the following two research questions prior to addressing RQ3 in the next chapter:

RQ1: In what ways are the parallel discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT discursively and epistemically connected?

RQ2: In what ways do the discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD relate to the method-related problem of identity (MRPI), a tension between monolingual language standards and PS language learner identities in CLT?

### **2.3 The Context II: Discursive Parallel in CLT**

In order to establish that LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in language -in-education (LIE) policy, I must first establish following my argument in Angelo (2017) that a discursive parallel exists in LIE policy, between the neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT. In this context, we are also living in an era of CLT (Block 2017; Kachru 2006; Council of Europe 2001). First, I understand CLT as a spectrum of teaching practices that considers sociocultural context in language use (Littlewood 2013; Thornbury 2011; Kumaravadivelu 2006; Larsen-Freeman, 2011). On one end of the spectrum, weak or



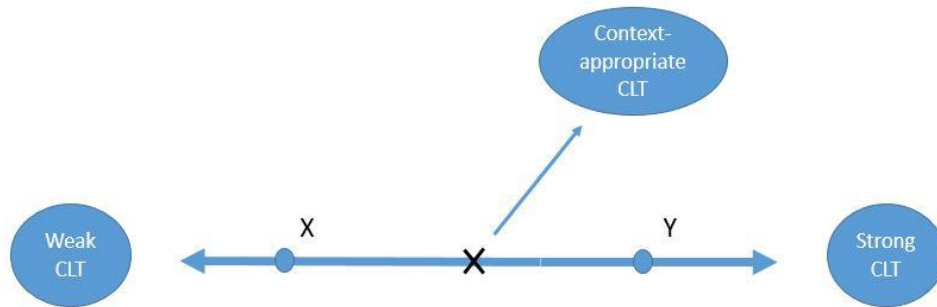
standard CLT advocates the teaching of language structures prior to social interaction by systematizing or standardizing language (Prabhu 1987: 1) whereas, on the other end a strong CLT allows language to emerge as a product of a social interaction that does not depend on a priori knowledge (Howatt 1984: 279 cited in Kumaravadivelu 2006: 271).

For instance, in the weak form 'a linear and additive' view of language focuses on the correct appropriation of linguistic structures (i.e. grammar, vocabulary) that constitute the desired 'pedagogic products' (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 132). We see examples of the standard form in presentation, practice, production (PPP) lesson plans and some forms of task-based learning (TBL) that call on language learners to practice and produce specific linguistic structures in simulated social contexts (Ellis 2003: 29 cited in Angelo 2016a: 7). This also means that in weak CLT hybrid or alternative forms of language (such as code-switching and or using multiple languages in one sentence) are prohibited whereas in the strong form communication is fluid and unpredictable.

The fundamental problem with a weaker-oriented CLT is found in recent criticism from critical applied linguists who argue that language learners in a globalized world bring with them a wide array of language repertoires that go beyond the rules and bounds of language and that reflect of a wide range of sociocultural contexts (Holliday 1994; Bax 2003; Kumaravadivelu 2006; Phillipson 1992; Canagarajah 1999; Kuchah & Smith 2011). It is in this context that political applied linguists such as Block (2017), Ricento (2012) and Block et al. (2012) argue, following Pennycook's (1989) seminal paper, that the concept of 'method' in L2 pedagogy cannot be separated from political interest.

Consequently, the proposal of context-appropriate (c.f. Bax 2003; Kuchah & Smith 2011; Holliday 1994; Kramersch & Sullivan 1996), critical (Norton & Toohey 2011; Lin 2008; Canagarajah 1999) and post-method (Kumaravadivelu 2006) pedagogies have emerged aiming to integrate both aspects of the approach. While I do not see post-method, critical and context-appropriate pedagogies as separate from CLT, I would argue that the further away we move from 'methods', i.e. weak CLT and standard language practices that follow the rule-bound nature of language, the closer to the strong CLT end of the spectrum we get. I elaborate a stronger-oriented CLT pedagogies that crosses the bounds of discrete languages through multiple languages forms and semiosis to communicate meaning in chapter 5. The following schema in Figure 1 illustrates a gradational CLT spectrum as I conceptualize it. CLT in this view ranges from weak- to strong-CLT oriented with context-appropriate pedagogies in the middle that include post-method and critical language learning pedagogies.

Figure 1: The CLT Spectrum



### **2.3.1 Weak CLT's Discursive and Epistemic Assumptions**

It has been argued that language pedagogies such as weak CLT threaten PS identities in the language learning context (Norton 2000, 2013; Norton & Toohey 2011; Lin 2008; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004 – See Angelo 2016a, 2017). This is because weak CLT is grounded in monolingual orientations to language learning that are marked by the NS / NNS speaker dichotomy where the latter category serves as subordinate to the former (Leather 2002 cited in Angelo 2016a: 9) yielding as we saw in the above discussion on Phillipson, unequal power relations between grades of competent speakers. This limits PS identities by restraining language learners' full discursive repertoires in the hierarchization of linguistic competence. Specifically, the monolingual orientation to language learning, maintains Rampton (1997: 30), is sourced in the positivist theorizations of universals meaning, and 'value-free' pedagogy.

Epistemically, monolingual orientations to language learning that include bi- and multi-lingual education are embedded in a cognitivist tradition. These mark a structuralist orientation to language learning that understands languages as a priori and therefore as distinct from sociocultural context. This is sourced in the epistemic primacy of language structures in this view, that reside at all times in the mind of the speaker thereby proliferating a Cartesian dyad between mind and social contexts (Lantolf 2000; Firth & Wagner 1998; Zuengler & Miller 2006; Swain & Deters 2007; Larsen-Freeman 2007 - See Angelo 2020).

### **2.3.2 The Method-Related Problem of Identity in Weak CLT**

That is, PS identities are not independent of their social contexts. They are an ongoing depiction of the individual as 'subject' who is subjected to subordinate or powerful positions in relation to reality and to linguistic possibilities (Weedon 1997: 21 cited in Norton 2013b: 2 – See also Angelo 2020). This is because language subordinates and empowers subjects through the symbolic and semiotic possibilities

it affords. As Norton and Toohey confirm, the language learning context is laden with 'power relations' that assign the 'right to speak' and 'the power to impose reception' (Bourdieu 1977: 648 cited in Norton & Toohey 2002: 118). In weak CLT, when students are expected to engage in monolingual language practices, this may compromise what Norton calls a student's 'investment' in learning where investment can be understood as the motivation for learning an L2 which is intimately connected to the kinds of symbolic and material resources they know learning a second language can afford them.

Akin to Bourdieu's 'cultural capital', investment indexes k-frameworks associated with different social groups and classes (Norton 2000: 10-11). When someone invests in learning an L2 they do so with the understanding that they will increase their cultural capital. These resources extend beyond instruments and materials, to include imagined futures which, and this is important, are dependent upon their shifting identities and complex and unique histories. Investing in a specific way of writing and speaking, for instance, can bring language learners closer to or farther away from the cultural capital they wish to gain (say social and professional status) (See Norton 2000: 140-141). In this way, an investment in the target language is an investment in one's identity. When a language learner speaks, they are not simply exchanging messages and communicative content. They are organizing and re-organizing a sense of who they are through the way they speak, write, listen and read (ibid).

Therefore, when a language learner in the classroom abstains from engaging in language practices it is not because of a 'perceived lack of confidence and anxiety as invariable character traits' but the explicit result of the social construction of 'inequitable relations of power' that marginalize learners and impede possibilities for practicing discourses (Norton 2000: 73). Teachers can marginalize students by not valuing the symbolic and cultural capital they bring to the language learning context and in the case of weak CLT, by positioning learners as less than competent language speakers, i.e. as NN speakers. It is this positioning that fails to acknowledge a given learner's investment in a language that is informed by their unique sociocultural pasts and futures. It is in this sense that MRPI is a tension between monolingual language standards in weak CLT and PS language learner identities.

### **2.3.3 Toward a Praxis-Based Approach to Language Learning on the CLT Spectrum**

Consequently, reformed conceptualizations of the individual as socially/ culturally/ historically situated have propelled a 'social turn' in SLA research (Block 2003) based on sociocultural theory (SCT) and a view of language learning that conceptualizes mental processes (attention, memory, logical thought and learning) and other biological predispositions secondary to social interaction (Lantolf 2000: 79).

Specifically, SCT is understood as a praxis-based approach that is socioconstructivist in nature and that therefore dissolves the Cartesian dualism implicit in linear conceptualization of language and language learning. Because SCT assumes a dialectical unity between language learners and their social contexts, language is a social practice that is never neutral or individualistic and, in the mind, turning the cognitivist view on its head (Lantolf & Thorne 2007: 198-199 – See Angelo 2020). This makes it an ideal candidate for the basis of a strong CLT pedagogy. As Thorne (2000) aptly remarks,

‘The entailments of sociocultural theory approach foreground sociality to individuality, language as socially constructed rather than internally intrinsic, language as both referential and constructive of social reality and notions of distributed and assisted activity in contrast to individual accomplishment’ (Thorne 2000: 222).

On the SCT account of language learning, socially and culturally relevant material tools in our environments ‘mediate’ the mind and hence language to allow for the primacy of the social world that informs cognition (ibid). In other words, social activities according to SCT cannot be carried out without certain objects that determine the material conditions for an action which are then internalized by the mind to interpret utterances, judge acceptability and in turn produce utterances (Carroll 2001: 16-17 cited in Lantolf 2003: 349). I return to this approach to language pedagogy as an appropriate framework to challenge hegemonic neoliberal discourses in chapter 5.

#### **2.3.4 The Threat of MRPI in Separate Bilingual Policy Contexts**

Despite the emergence of alternative approaches and conceptualizations of language that place epistemic primacy on a given speaker’s sociocultural context over genetic and biological predispositions to language learning, the threat of MRPI, for instance, looms large in the teaching and learning of L2s in accordance to what Creese and Blackledge (2010: 104) call ‘separate bilingualism’. While learning two languages in these terms occurs in tandem, reverting to the L1 or mother tongue is prohibited, excluding any possibilities of mixing, switching or translating (Creese & Blackledge 2010: 105). Thus, languages in this view and the people that speak them are reduced to ‘the postulation of rules, objects and systems’ (Harris 2013: 91 cited in Pennycook 2017: 133).

Specifically, in ‘separate bilingualism’, learners are not learning all subject-matter in a single, say second language (L2), but rather following a bilingual/ multi-lingual program here means that a language learner has designated subjects (e.g., math, history, art) where they learn in and appropriate one of their designated languages. In this sense they learn in both languages but, the L1 and L2 co-exist as separate

languages of instruction (See García & Woodley 2013: 132 and Cummins 2005: 1). Examples of separate bilingualism have been associated with language immersion programs such as French and English in Canada, the context of this study, and dual and two-language programs between Spanish and English in the US. I elaborate the Canadian policy with which I am concerned in this study, next.

#### **2.3.4.1 Clarifying the Canadian FSL Policy Context: The Council of Europe's CLT Prescription**

The extent for instance, to which Canadian CLT policy of FSL, commit to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy is *prima facie*, unclear. The Canadian CLT policy context for instance is a derivative of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (CMEC 2010), a 'common basis' for curriculum design, syllabi, the design of textbooks and classroom materials as well as principles of language learning across Europe (CEFR 2001: 1). The CEFR defines their preferred action-oriented approach (AOA) in the following way:

'Language use, embracing language learning, comprises the actions performed by persons who as individuals and as social agents develop a range of competences, both general and in particular communicative language competences. They draw on the competences at their disposal in various contexts under various conditions and under various constraints to engage in language activities involving language processes to produce and/or receive texts in relation to themes in specific domains, activating those strategies which seem most appropriate for carrying out the tasks to be accomplished. The monitoring of these actions by the participants leads to the reinforcement or modification of their competences' (CEFR 2001: 9).

On a closer reading of the statement we are able to deduce that TBL is in fact subsumed under AOA (See Puren 2004, 2009). That is, language learners within the CEFR are understood here as 'social agents', or members of a society that have (linguistic) tasks (or functions) to accomplish (CEFR 2001: 9). Where tasks in this context can be defined as 'telephoning a friend, telephoning the owner of a house for rent, [...], complaining about the quality of a holiday' (Goullier 2007: 13), their function is to develop communicative competence (CC), or the sum of linguistic knowledge a speaker is deemed to require to complete a given task (ibid – See also Goullier 2007: 15-16).

This cumulative sum comprises the interdependent categories of linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competencies (Goullier 2007: 15-16), initially theoretically developed by Hymes (1972), Canale & Swain (1980) and Bachman & Palmer (1982). For instance, linguistic competence refers to grammatical competence in a given social context (i.e. using the *imparfait* in French to describe activities of the past month (see Goullier 2007: 15-16), and also encompasses syntactic, lexical

and phonological aspects of language (CEFR 2001: 13); sociolinguistic competence encompasses sociocultural constraints on language use that may include particular politeness strategies or social conventions (ibid); and pragmatic competence comprises the ability to produce speech acts that require cohesion and coherence in the production of language (ibid).

In CLT pedagogy the methodological division between weak and strong forms, therefore, hinges on the division between pragmatic and linguistic competence or otherwise form and function where methodology becomes conspicuous in the extent to which the former subserves the latter (or vice versa) (See Labov 1987 and Zhimming & Wee 1997 cited in Angelo 2016a). Understood as such, sociolinguistic competence (being harder to delineate), might operate somewhere in the middle. Hence, the fundamental worry of a weak CLT emerges in the maintenance of strict categorical divides that, as in all positivist discourse subsumes individual and unique modes of communication (as in hybridized forms of SSD).

#### **2.3.4.2 The Canadian CLT Extension**

In Canada, CLT constitutes the prescribed language pedagogy aimed at developing ‘linguistic capital’ for language learners in a globalized era (CMEC 2010: 4). According to CMEC, CLT in this context maintains, following the work of Canale & Swain (1980) and Canale (1983), an original 4-part CLT model dividing *pragmatic competence* into *strategic* (verbal and semiotic communication skills) and *discourse competence* respectively (i.e. that comprises the ability to produce coherent and cohesive sentence structures) (See also Kumaravadivelu 2006). Moreover, CMEC adopts Stern’s (1983a) multidimensional curriculum (CMEC 2010: 5) aimed at ‘supporting’ the AOA (CMEC 2010: 15). Stern posits a 4-part interrelated syllabus that constitute language, culture, communicative activities and general language education (Stern 1993b: 239). While his principal aim is to support CLT through a view of language as a ‘global and functional’ phenomenon, his emphasis is on the ‘instrumental use of language in authentic communicative exchanges’ (cited in Stern 1983a: 364). This inevitably leaves us with the CLT dilemma with which this thesis is concerned namely, whether and to what extent Canadian policy subscribes to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD discourse.

#### **2.3.4.3 The Ontario CLT Facet**

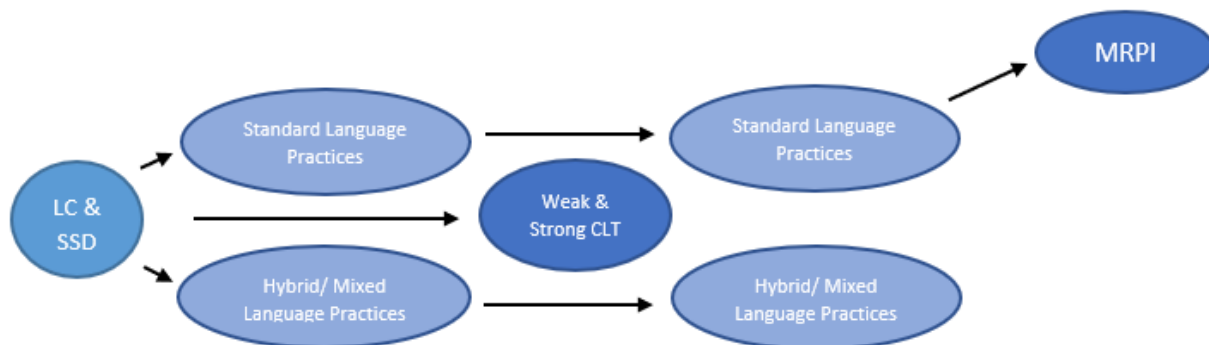
At the provincial level the functionalist premise of CLT is retained, as is evidenced in the following statement: ‘the notion that language is acquired most effectively when it is learned for and through

communication has been widely accepted and supported through research.’ (Lightbown & Spada 2006 and Genesee 1994 cited in Ontario Ministry of Education 2013b: 32). This occurs once again through language tasks that reflect the needs of everyday life in the use of a language that are mimicked by language learners in the language learning context (ibid). Moreover, at the provincial level there are 3 levels of programming that can be distinguished. These constitute a mandatory Core French program for English-stream students from grades 4 to 10, an optional Extended French program beginning in grade 4 where 50% of the day’s subjects are taught in French and a Immersion program from grade 1 taught entirely in French, followed by specialist subjects in English that begin in grade 3. It is important to note that in this study I do not distinguish between these levels of programming. Rather, to the extent that all three programs are designed for non-native speakers of French (See Ontario Ministry of Education 2013b) and to the extent that CLT infiltrates them all, it is my contention here that the effects of a monolingual meritocratic discourse on PS language learner identities, therefore, affect all students irrespective of their program.

**2.3.5 Discursive Parallel Established**

Thus far, I have established a discursive parallel between the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT and have characterized the discursive and epistemic assumptions of MRPI that emerges from CLT’s weak form. I have also contextualized the Canadian CLT policy context with which I am concerned in this study. The discursive parallel can be schematized as I conceptualize in Figure 2 with LC and SSD giving rise to standard and hybrid language practices respectively. These standard and hybrid language forms, as I will show in the next section, in turn give rise to a weak and strong CLT pedagogy responsible for MRPI that emerges from CLT’s weak form.

Figure 2: MRPI’s Emergence from a Discursive Parallel between LC and SSD and Weak and Strong CLT



In what follows, I bring to the fore the under-theorized epistemic assumptions of the neoliberal view of meritocracy to argue that the neoliberal discourse of LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in LIE policy through weak CLT pedagogic precepts that give rise to MRPI. This allows me to situate weak and strong CLT in relation to LC and SSD prior to examining the extent to which LC or SSD manifest in Canadian CLT policy of FSL.

## **2.4 Language-In-Education Policy as a Political Platform Through Which to Control Discourse**

Establishing that weak CLT in LIE policy emerges as the hegemonic neoliberal discourse of LC that limits the discursive possibilities of language learners to a priori language structures requires first establishing that LIE policies at the national level provide a political platform through which communicative (linguistic and semiotic) behaviours of speakers can be controlled (Shohamy 2009). Policy in this sense is understood in the first instance as the place where linguistics and politics meet (Spolsky 2004). Through this union, express language change and regulation can be achieved by imposing a governing body of law on a given society or social group that delineate the linguistic norms, ideas and practices to whom a given LIE policy applies (Johnson 2013; Spolsky 2004; Lo Bianco 1987).

In this context, language specialists and teachers, according to Lo Bianco (1987), proliferate what is deemed the correct use of language to be instituted and accepted within the delineated social group. This confirms Phillipson's attack on pedagogical strategies and materials that hegemonize alternate language forms. It is with this latter function of language policy that prescribes the teaching and learning of language that I am interested in here and to which I refer as language-in-education (LIE) policy.

### **2.4.1 Delineating Policy as Discourse**

Moreover, accepting that LIE policies can control the bounds of meaning of linguistic exchanges within a given social group crucially depends on a Foucauldian view of policy that internalizes social reality through discourse that is epistemically constrained. Specifically, policy as discourse is premised on the view that policy texts are produced and interpreted to serve the interest of a dominant social group in a given society. In this view, because policies are where language meets political economy, they are themselves political acts, that put 'textual interventions into practice' (Ball 1994: 19 cited in Gale 1999: 354). These interventions occupy the production and interpretation of policy texts that are at once catalysts and products of policies. This is because meanings themselves are not simply products of



language. For this to be the case, we would be committing to a structuralist view of discourse that presupposes a priori language structures whose meanings subsist outside of social contexts.

Rather, germane to the concept of policy qua discourse, is Foucault's post-structuralist conceptualization of language that constitutes within it, social reality and social instances where discourses take place. In so doing, discourse materializes relations of power (Olssen et al: 67), by 'privileg[ing] certain ideas, topics and subjects and exclude[ing] others' (Ball 2008: 5). This means that objects of knowledge, truths, social identities and realities that appear in discourse (Fairclough 1992; Ball 2013) conceal those which are not presented through for instance the order, combinations, articulations and exclusion of words (Ball 2006: 48). It follows that as social agents, 'we do not speak discourse', though 'discourse [has the ability to] speak us (Ball 2013: 20).

In this view, the production of discourses that include policies, are determined by the 'grammar' of discursive practices (Offe 1984: 37 cited in Gale 1999: 401). These constitute 'a system of anonymous, historical rules' which manifest power (Foucault 1972: 117 cited in Fairclough 1992: 57), meaning that the production of policy is not just attributable to a few powerful political actors (Bacchi 2000: 52). Rather, the production of discourses is made intertextually, wherein meanings and messages are made, produced and distributed, according to past discourses. In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault states,

'discourse is already based on an "already said"; and that this already said is not merely a phrase that has been already spoken, or a text that has been written, but a "never said", an incorporeal discourse, a voice as silent as a breath, a writing that is merely the hollow of its own mark' (1974: 25 cited in Ball 2013: 20).

In fact, it is the interpretation aspect of (past) texts that determine the bounds of meaning in the production and distribution of new texts (qua discourses). 'Procedures' (Fairclough 1992: 51) and 'specifics' (Gale 1999: 400) of policy production dictate the ways in which policies produce and reproduce control through what can be said, when and by whom. These include definitions of what constitutes reasonable/ unreasonable discourse, disciplinary boundaries (psychology, physics) and social rules on access to certain discursive practices (Fairclough 1992: 51). The discursive practices of dominant policy actors thus subsist by reproducing discourses which 'legitimate the interests of the dominant' and which exclude the interests of non-participants of discourse/ policy production (Gale 1999: 401).

This relation, however, assumes a linguistic determinism that is problematic for the view of hegemony that I espouse here. The reader might consider for instance, that for Foucault (1981), power is found in the ways in which discourse is appropriated (that are processes of discourse production) that is 'selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous formidable, materiality' (cited in Fairclough 1992: 51). Power is something to be seized, struggled for in discourse and is therefore entrenched within it. But this seizure or struggle, worries Fairclough (1992: 58), is a one-way relation. That is, once power is apprehended by a dominant social group the concept of struggle is maimed. This is because power is reducible to language structures in Foucault, that though internalize and contain within their grammars the social world and social possibilities, do not clearly permit or leave room for those not interested in 'struggling' to maintain domination – but those interested in transforming discourse and debasing domination (ibid).

On a more charitable reading of Foucault, we might construe power as a multi-dimensional notion that is not isolable in a particular discursive location or ascribable to dominant, say, social group (Pennycook 2001: 90). Foucault explicitly states, for instance, that 'power is not something that is acquired, seized or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations' (Foucault 1980a: 94 cited in Pennycook 2001: 90-91). However, as Fairclough maintains, though Foucault discusses resistance and struggle, the common thread in his work is that individuals in social groups are subjects to 'immovable systems of power' (Fairclough 1992: 57). The problem then is what Fairclough describes as a disconnect in Foucault between the idea of actual language use (practice) and a priori rules and systems that form language (structures). In reducing, as described above, the discursive production to pre-existing language structures, Foucault does not offer an exegesis for how language practice can counter extant power. Therefore, replacing the notion of power in Foucault's post-structuralism with the concept of hegemony is a much more worthy endeavor for my purposes here.

#### **2.4.2 Foucault's Episteme as Knowledge Frameworks that Inform Discourse**

Before elaborating the notion of hegemony and more specifically, hegemony as an epistemic problem in discourse, it is worth sharpening what we get from Foucault and where he goes wrong in his theory. What is key to retain from Foucault is that discourse manifests knowledge and that knowledge in turn is inseparable from power or interested discursive representations of social identities and relations.

Delineations of meaning in given statements are crucially dependent upon *episteme* or a regime or politics of truth in Foucault which offer tacit rules and norms for what is possible and how things are in the social world (Ball 2013: 21). This means, as Cameron (2013: 20) remarks, discourse provides a context for how to interpret meaning that is epistemically constrained. Discursive formations of specific disciplines produce objects of knowledge (i.e. what is knowable, by who and at what time). How we think, our beliefs, what we say and write and how we behave is not only informed by episteme but is organized by it (Ball 2013: 21). In this view, things (objects of knowledge, people, physical things and social contexts) do not have meaning outside of discourse.<sup>1</sup> This allows for the intelligibility of shared meanings in given social groups or k-communities.

### **2.4.3 Detrimental Post-Structuralism: Foucault's Rejection of Ideology**

Foucault, however, abstains from using the term ideology, and this I argue is to his detriment as the term serves as a useful conceptual stepping-stone to an understanding of hegemony as an enhanced view of ideology that allows for a dialectical view of discourse that both constitutes and is constitutive of the social world. This allows for creative discursive production able to disrupt extant power relations that are reproduced through discourse.

In rejecting the term, Foucault believes he is rejecting the Marxist distinction between ideology and knowledge, which he is. This is because in Marx' theorization of ideology, power is distinct from knowledge. Therefore, by subsuming the notion of ideology in his power-knowledge relation (Olssen et al. 2004: 27), Foucault dissolves the ideology- knowledge distinction in Marx (Olssen 2016: 137). This, however, does not absolve him from the linguistic determinism highlighted here.

### **2.4.4 The Marxist Notion of Ideology**

Briefly, the distinction stems from Marx's critique of capitalism whereby a two-tiered class system comprised of the bourgeois and lower classes subjugates the lower class by exploiting their labour, as a necessary condition of capitalism. Specifically, exploitation occurs in business owners and corporations, the middle and upper social tiers of society respectively, buying and selling human capital at the lowest price in order to capitalize and make a profit. Human capital here equated with exchange value is comprised of the lower classes of society who are paid, in accord with the exploitative premise, lower

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<sup>1</sup> I examine the epistemic implications of this constructivist view in chapter 3 wherein I elaborate a critical realist ontology.

than the cost of production of the commodity/ service (Anyon 2011: 5). The concept of ideology in Marx is a salient conceptual tool that signalizes how the ruling class of economic conditions at the same time determines the ruling social ideas of a society such that, 'The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force' (Marx & Engels 1970: 64).

The problem with Marx is that this argument is nested in a base-superstructure conceptual dichotomy wherein an ideological and political superstructure arises from material 'relations of production' (See Au 2006: 29 and Sarup 2012: 16). As Hill et al. (2012: 108) explain, relations of production extend through to all human activities that are incorporated within the superstructure and subsumed under culture and politics (or ideology and politics) and become both the product and conductor of the economic base. It is thus in this political and ideological dynamic that beliefs, opinions and worldviews affirm class positions and reconfirm them through cultural control (the doing of ideology through social practices and acts) of the dominating class. By extension, economic relations or the material base, become deterministic of social reality maintaining an inter-generational and continued reproduction of circumstances given already, given and transmitted from the past' (Marx 1952 cited in Anyon 2011: 10). On this account, ideology pre-exists action (See Ricento 2012: 103), leaving it open to Foucault's criticism that ideology is by consequence able to judge a discourse as true or false as opposed to being part and parcel of discourse as social practice (Olssen et al. 2004: 22). Therefore, though Foucault manages to re-construe language as constitutive of social power through socially constructed knowledge, his post-structuralist theory of discourse suffers from a dialectical inertia which, like Marx, traps agency in structural/ linguistic determinism (or alternatively fails to offer a clear way out).

### **2.5 Configuring the Epistemic Link: Understanding Hegemonies as Epistemic Problems and Counter-Hegemonies as Epistemic Struggles**

The view of hegemony I espouse here, following my argument in Angelo (2017), is understood as an extension of ideology that construes power as a two-way relation in discourse. To begin with, as in all ideologies, neoliberalism is disseminated through discourse that includes text, talk, email, policy, where dominant classes select and distribute knowledge (Pitsoe & Letseka 2013: 24) to produce 'relations of domination' (Thompson 1990: 7). This constitutes ideology or 'meaning in the service of power' (ibid). To expand the notion of episteme in discourse, ideological discourses and hegemonies for instance, are inflected with particular k-frameworks (ideas, interests, worldviews) that inform various groups' shared

beliefs. These shared beliefs are not simply social attitudes, stresses Van Dijk (2006: 116), but are fundamentally axiomatic in nature. As such, and as I emphasised in Angelo (2017) they constitute the expression of shared, goal-oriented beliefs and interests of a social group (Žižek 2012; Van Dijk 1998; Eagleton 1991).

Ideological discourses become hegemonic, however, when they define the limits of a discourse in the context of a shared objective or goal by excluding alternative possibilities and ideas (k-frameworks) (Kellner 1978 cited in Giroux 1984: 23). Hegemonies integrate the subordinated groups by persuading them or gaining their consent (Fairclough 1992: 92). This occurs through universal representations of meaning that legitimate knowledge, thereby transforming the collective will and legitimating power (See Code 1991). Universal representations of meaning allow for shared knowledge claims to be made in a given social group or k-community where specific delineations of meaning serve to assert, debate and apply concepts that affirm dominant social structure (See Potter cited in Tatman 2001: 133). These meanings legitimize (affirm true) ideologies when they present the world as 'natural' and as 'common-sense' and as impossible any other way (Taylor 2017; Fairclough 1992; Van Dijk 1998).

### **2.5.1 The Hegemonic Plight of Positivism**

Political discourse has been particularly effective in achieving hegemonic status by appeal to the natural sciences or positivist discourses that in their aim to develop a unified science in which the social sciences are modeled after the precepts and methods of the lower-level sciences (biology, physics, chemistry) aim to legitimate knowledge (Code 1991: 33).<sup>2</sup> Positivist discourses paradigmatically express the shared axiomatic goals of a social group and position subjects on the basis of science as opposed to tradition or convention offering an anonymity to the plight of positivism that hides individual differences (Haugaard 2006; Code 1991). This makes them epistemic problems that as Haugaard (2006) notes disambiguate meaning, thereby achieving a desired universalizing effect of ideologies on social groups that is difficult to deny.

Inter-connected theories and ideas, ways of being and talking are easily controlled within positivist discourse through the delineation of semantic parameters that determine what counts as legitimate knowledge (Tatman 2001: 141). Individuals who occupy positions of power within political institutions

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<sup>2</sup> Though as Haugaard (2006) notes and as I previously iterated in Angelo (2017), religion has also been effective to this end.

for instance, propagate the dominant social order because of the epistemic credibility they may have in proliferating these discourses. In North America, credible knowers as Tatman proclaims have too often constituted white, educated and middle-class influential members. After all, Code (1991: 158) recalls, science has always been a 'masculine enterprise'. A case in point, as Haugaard (2006: 60) retorts, is the justification of slavery that was once defended on the base that there were 'naturally-born' slaves. Likewise, patriarchy once justified the biological subordination of women to men.

What positivism gets us is what Taylor (2017: 65) calls a 'taken for granted' aspect of knowledge that need not be examined or questioned. This taken for granted aspect is what legitimates ideologies through 'buy-in' or consent to make them hegemonic (as opposed to products of negotiation or force – See Philipson 1992: 283). In forwarding in this way, however, thought as epistemically prior to action, positivism or nativism in turn affirms the Cartesian dyad and the 'autonomy of reason' (Code 1991: 7) where members of a given social group must satisfy their own categorization in pre-existing identity categories delineated by a priori discourses. In this sense, the exclusion of members of non-dominant social groups is categorical (Angelo 2020). Defined within universal categories such as man/ woman, gay/ straight, black/ white, native-speaker/ non-native speaker, the preclusion of occupying many categories across a myriad of spaces and altering or expanding pre-set categories is affirmed on a priori grounds (Angelo 2020). Hegemony and the legitimation of power is achieved in the reduction of diverse class relations into a universalized positivist epistemic framework that subsumes unique identities and social realities in the interest of universal categories and shared collective goals (Rucki 2011: 29 cited in Taylor 2017: 29 – See also Angelo 2020).

### **2.5.2 Counter-Hegemonies as Epistemic Struggles**

As I emphasized in Angelo (2017: 12), hegemonies, however, can be destabilized through the simultaneous co-existence of alternate discourses and social forms that can weaken 'hierarchies and exclusions related to the dominant representations of the real' (Icaza 2012 cited in Icaza & Vázquez 2013: 685). This allows knowledge monopolies to become knowledge wars, where alternate discourses (worldviews communicated through language and semiotics) can emerge as counter-hegemonic discourses able to question and recreate discourse. Epistemic struggles are achieved when multiple members of a k-community, use subaltern discourses to defy the individual categorization of identities in the interest of dominant social structure (Tatman 2001: 141-142 cited in Angelo 2020).

In this way, counter-hegemonies require that multiple members come together to interrupt and change the existing ideology through ‘action’ or ‘microevolutions’ that lead to ‘rippling spheres of influence’ (Code 1991 cited in Tatman 2001: 141-142). Deconstructing and reconstructing categorical limitations by collectively refusing to speak or act within the epistemic confines of the hegemonic discourse is to ‘refuse epistemic oppression’ by creating new epistemic parameters from within which to affirm and confirm knowledge in discourse (Code 1991: 218). The continued and sustained re-ambiguation of meaning in this sense disrupts hegemonic fixity allowing alternate social realities and identities to emerge with the prospect of social change (Fairclough 1992, 2001).

## **2.6 The Manifestation of Language Commodification in Weak CLT Policy Precepts**

LC’s need to standardize language categorically propagates the disambiguation of meaning through an innate cognitive capacity of language learning that legitimates control over its speakers through mastery of a priori language forms ‘that can be objectively measured’ and assessed (Kubota 2016b: 469). ‘Standardized scripts which mimic socially conventionalized interactions’ and activities in the real world (Cameron 2001 cited in Duchêne & Heller 2012: 12) sustain the meritocratic ideal in weak CLT language learning contexts that promise boundaryless careers in the age of post-capitalism. Except for the discourse of this ideal better serves the interests of some at the expense others. Those who take advantage of the neoliberal view of meritocracy are discursively hegemonized by the ‘grammatization’ of a shared political goal – except for, again, the ideas of ‘demos’ and ‘ethnos’ have been replaced by individualism and equal opportunity (See Ricento 2015: 100). We saw this in a weak CLT pedagogy that subscribes to discrete language and a priori language structures to be reaffirmed through monolingual language use.

### **2.6.1 Establishing Monolingualism as Meritocratic**

This legitimation of power, specifically, is exemplified in my main claim that monolingualism is meritocratic. For instance, while the promise of meritocracy yields equal opportunity for all, as I highlighted in Angelo (2017) the problem is in the qualification of ‘ability’ (Apple 2004: 19) that construes the learner as an ‘an island, an active, independent subject, uninfluenced by social forces.’ (Collinson 1992: 181 cited in Angelo 2020). The separation of learner ability from sociocultural context (ibid), confirms the hegemonic culprit here as epistemic: the universal capacity to meet the NS standard defers to a biological and hence positivist justification for imposing a universal standard of language (and success). I have articulated this in monolingualism’s cognitivist epistemic commitments.

It is herein that the discourse of LC inevitably manifests in the form of weak CLT policy precepts in virtue of its shared commitments to monolingualism and inherent cognitive theories of learning (Angelo 2020). Equal competition is possible under the meritocratic guise in that which the commodification of knowledge and skills promises to get: productive capacity and economic gain, irrespective of race, class, background, ethnicity or geographical locale that is solely determined by one's innate ability to succeed that depends on 'hard work' (Littler 2013; Castro 2010) and 'pulling up one's bootstraps' (Ahlquist 2011: 13). As I submitted in Angelo (2017: 15), the qualifying characteristics of meritocracy – individuality and equal opportunity are conflated, requiring congruency between 'success' and 'ability' that presupposes the objective capacity to meet universal standards of success (See also Moore 2012: 85).

The new social Darwinism, whose natural selection acts as the 'ultimate arbiter of innate intelligence and success' (Levy 2009: 365), consequently creates a tension between objective learning standards and diverse learning styles and sociocultural needs of students (Moore 2012: 85 – See also Angelo 2020). This has been at the crux of my concern with the examination of MRPI here. In this context, not only does meritocracy defer to biological predispositions and hence to a positivist grounding of universal standards, but meritocracy's cognitivism epistemically justifies and renders common-sense, the subordination of PS identifies that speak multiple languages and come from multiple corners of the world with multiple and mixed identities, world-views and ideas. The reaffirmation of a priori language structures simultaneously reaffirms dominant social structure that subordinates, in the view of LC, alternative non-monolingual forms of language and hence non-monolingual identities.

The naturalization of PS language learner identities in this way, propels linguistic homogeneity and by extension sociocultural stringency in the name of economic gain. Here the hegemonic discourse of LC not only manifests in the form of weak CLT policy precepts but in doing so, reduces language learners to commodities to be bought and sold in a global labour market, thereby confirming the tension between shifting identities and post-capitalism articulated in the introduction of this work. This is the source of the problem in MRPI. Identities are compromised in their subsumption into diverse class relations corroborating the meritocratic myth (See Bowles & Gintis 1976; Barry 2001 cited in Levy 2009; McNamee & Miller 2013). Indeed, meritocracy is not politically neutral, not value free and not culture free. It breeds social inequality, reifies class relation and exemplifies racist and sexist discourses (Kincheloe 2008; Kincheloe et al. 2011 cited in Angelo 2020). Finally, the argument that monolingualism is meritocratic epistemically grounds my second argument for Phillipson's epistemic ignorance, establishing that a discursive and epistemic examination could forge a link between monolingualism as a



hegemonic discourse, meritocracy, language pedagogy and counter-hegemonic language learning contexts.

### **2.6.2 The Counter-Hegemonic Discourse of Sociolinguistic Superdiversity as a Strong CLT Pedagogy**

I have argued that the neoliberal discourse of LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in LIE weak CLT policy precepts in virtue of their shared monolingual discursive commitments and cognitive epistemic underpinnings. This leaves us in consideration of the paradoxical discourse of SSD with which this enquiry began as (a) a counter-hegemonic discourse in weak CLT and hence MRPI language learning contexts that (b) shares the discursive and epistemic goals of a strong CLT pedagogy. To the extent that a strong CLT pedagogy commits to an emergent discursive framework, I would argue here that it is compatible with the multilingualism of an SSD neoliberal discourse. This debases the rigidity and grammatization of LC in weak CLT, destabilizing its power as a hegemonic discourse that reduces social identities and relations to a priori universal categories that serve the interest of a neoliberal elite. SSD assumes what Pennycook and Makoni (2007) call the 'disinvention' of language that rejects, rules, forms and the inherent notion of language as a closed system. These qualities of an emergent language that reflect, I argued above, a competing neoliberal discourse valued in the less formal corners of economic exchange and that is developed as a by-product of the meritocratic ideal can combat the monolingual, cognitivist assumptions of weak CLT responsible for MRPI.

Moreover, the discursive assumptions of SSD presuppose a dialectical, praxis-based approach to language learning that favours the social over the cognitive – constructivism over positivism. For this reason, I would argue that SCT could serve as a basis for a strong CLT pedagogy that rejects both monolingualism and positivism (cognitivism) as its discursive and epistemic underpinnings. I also think that SCT need not be separate from critical, context-appropriate and post-method pedagogies. To the extent that these reject the monolingual tenets and inherent epistemic implications for language learners at the core of MRPI, then I would argue that the language of these pedagogies can resist imperializing and hegemonizing discourses of neoliberalism and the need to perform the universal standard for the entrepreneurial citizen. For this reason, I would extend my argument to ascribe the neoliberal discourse of SSD to a strong CLT pedagogy. Neat, one-to-one relations are not the goal of this ascription. Rather in line with the CLT spectrum presented in section 2.3 that is on a sliding scale, strong CLT, SCT and SSD can occupy the same, always shifting, praxis-based domain. I return to this in chapter 5.

## **2.7 Summary of Chapter 2**

A critical review of the literature has helped me to refine my understanding of the context of this research in relation to these RQs outlined in chapter 1. By drawing discursive and epistemic links between meritocracy and current prescribed language pedagogy, I was able to argue that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD. Implicit in this thesis was the claim that the neoliberal discourse of LC manifests as a hegemonic discourse in current prescribed CLT curricula by appeal to meritocracy through monolingual language standards whose cognitivist epistemic commitments naturalize and render true the subjugation of PS identities in globalized language learning contexts. Establishing this claim allowed me to directly address the criticism in weak CLT I call MRPI, a tension between PS language learner identities and monolingual or 'methodized' pedagogies and argued that the discourse of LC was at the epistemic root of the problem. In delineating the conceptual bounds of policy as discourse, I was able to delineate the concept of hegemony drawn on here as a two-way relation that extends the notion of ideology in discourse to a two-way epistemic struggle. In this view discursive interruptions from multiple members of non-dominant groups can challenge existing k-frameworks whose discursive meanings serve power, allowing the consideration of an SSD neoliberal discourse to serve as a counter-hegemony in MRPI language learning contexts that can be ascribed to weak CLT policy precepts. Hence thus far I have addressed my first two questions of this research enquiry by seeking to examine:

RQ1: In what ways are the parallel discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT discursively and epistemically connected?

RQ2: In what ways do the discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD relate to MRPI?

It follows from my main argument here that the critical assessment of neoliberal discourses in current CLT prescribed policy must take into account how the micro social order of policy production is liaised to a macro political economic context to uncover ideology in discourse. Therefore, in the next chapter I conceptualize and outline a research design that combines critical corpus-based research (CBR) with critical discourse analysis (CDA) to uncover neoliberal discourses in current Canadian CLT prescribed pedagogy, the context of my own teaching practice. This constitutes my main research question in this research enquiry that can be stated as follows:

RQ3: To what extent do Canadian CLT curricula commit to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse?

# **Chapter 3: Research Design**

## **3. Introduction to Chapter 3**

This chapter outlines the research design used for this study that sought to assess neoliberal discourses in current Canadian FSL policy. Thus, I lay out and justify a novel research design that conceptualizes a critical corpus-based approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) that aligns with the goals of PALx. The methodological underpinnings and analytical procedures that I lay out in this chapter are transdisciplinary in nature and are premised on a pragmatic and morally inclined research program that rejects ‘passive, external and monological research methods’ (Kincheloe et al. 2011: 168), in favour of an approach that lends itself to ‘human flourishing’ (Sayer 2009). This constitutes a transformative aspect of critical social research (Sayer 2009; Steinberg & Kincheloe 2010) that allows us to get out from under circumstances where we are ‘trapped [in] unequal relations of power’ (Pennycook 1999: 335).

This chapter thus begins by reviewing the research questions wherein I identify a prescriptive aim that seeks to link the micro social order of policy discourse to macro political structure. I lay out a critical realist (CR) onto-epistemic stance that allows the researcher’s explanatory reasons for social injustice found in discourse to act as causes (Sayer 2004). This serves as a grounding for my defense of a two-part critical analysis of policy that deploys on the one hand a CDA of modality and evaluation and on the other, a critical approach to semantic preference (SP) in corpus-based research (CBR). While the former is grounded in a CR ontology, the latter is not inherently critical. Therefore, I conceptualize a critical approach to SP which extends the analysis of syntagmatically related words in a corpus beyond their immediate lexical vicinity to consider retroductively derived macro political discourses.

Then, I outline the sequence of analytical procedures for the critical corpus-based CDA employed in this thesis to reveal neoliberal discourses in Canadian CLT curricula. I describe the corpus under study and justify the use of WordSmith Tools (Scott 2016) software for the computerized derivation of keywords ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ and their top 40 verb collocates from which the two-part critical analysis – one of SP and one of CDA, springs. Together, I argue, the critical SP of ‘teachers’ in the collocational presence of its top 4 verb collocates with the CDA of modality and evaluation for the top 4 modal verbs for ‘students’, can reveal the extent to which Canadian FSL curricula commit to weak or strong CLT and hence to an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse with consequences for PS identities. This chapter ends with a discussion on pragmatic validity as quality criteria for critical morally-oriented social research.

### **3.1 Outline and Review of the Research Questions**

In Chapter 2 I drew discursive and epistemic links between parallel sets of discourses to argue that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD. By problematizing hegemonies as epistemic problems and counter-hegemonies as epistemic struggles that delineate the social world through discourse, I was able to establish that the meritocratic discourse of LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT precepts in virtue of its monolingual language standards and positivist epistemic commitments. This allowed me to attribute a long-standing criticism of weak CLT called the method-related problem of identity (MRPI), a tension between monolingual language standards and post-structuralist (PS) language learner identities that are produced within an inseparable from language to the neoliberal discourse of LC (Angelo 2020). Moreover, establishing the inseparability of discourses from their politically inflected k-frameworks allowed me to posit the mixed and hybrid language forms of SSD as a counter-hegemonic discourse that can manifest in LIE policy through a strong CLT, praxis-based pedagogy. The two arguments established, reflect the first two research questions of this enquiry that can be summarized as follows:

RQ1: In what ways are the parallel discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT discursively and epistemically connected?

RQ2: In what ways do the discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD relate to the method-related problem of identity (MRPI), a tension between monolingual language standards and post-structuralist language learner identities in CLT?

The conclusions posited here that addressed RQ1 and RQ2 served two aims in this thesis. First, the argument that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogical manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD in LIE policy served as an essential conceptual and theoretical foundation for the main objective of this study that seeks to assess neoliberal discourses in current Canadian CLT policy. Second, the claim that MRPI emerges as a result of LC, highlights the ramifications of detecting a weak CLT pedagogy in current LIE policy. Therefore, the research question that the remainder of this thesis will be concerned with is the following:

RQ3: To what extent do Canadian CLT curricula commit to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD discourse?

In contextualizing the nature of the research aim, it is my contention here that any examination in this context, of the relation between language pedagogy and the wider political context is fundamentally prescriptive. To the extent, for instance, that policy texts disseminate political ideology, which as established in the previous chapter, they do, then a rigorous analysis of policy, according to Fischer (1998) must exude political normativity. This is especially the case in Wodak's view, if it is to explain 'how discourse does ideological work' (Wodak 1996: 17 cited in Luke 2002: 102). Finally, such an analysis has the task, according to Fairclough (2012: 1), of both explaining the consequences of capitalism and normatively critiquing it on the basis that human flourishing which should be achievable under any political economic regime, is hindered by the latter analysis. Such analytic hindrances by political structures, for instance, include inequality in wealth and opportunity (ibid) and for my purposes here access to symbolic and material resources associated with PS identities in Canadian CLT LIE policy. Therefore, the following two research questions represent critical sub-questions of RQ3 which together sought to assess neoliberal discourses in current Canadian CLT policy of FSL.

RQ3.A: In what way do the discourse topic(s) invoked by the critical semantic preference of teachers prescribe a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

RQ3.B: In what way does the discursive construction of student identities as they relate to modal verbs elucidate a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

Presenting the research questions in this way allows for a more specific and narrow approach to the analysis of policy to which more concrete aims can be ascribed. Moreover, while the rest of this chapter is concerned with outlining and justifying the methodological underpinnings and analytical procedures of each sub-question, in the discussion of the analysis I turn back to discuss how the sub-questions and the diverging analytic approaches to each serve to illuminate the over-arching research question. The overall theme in this chapter is the disruption of positivist research programs to text analysis in favour of a morally-oriented research design that fits the research aims.

### **3.2 A Critical Realist Onto-Epistemic Stance**

As previously stated, this study is about assessing neoliberal discourses in current Canadian FSL curricula that prescribe a CLT pedagogy. In light of the aims, the theoretical approach informing the methodology of this two-fold study is grounded in a critical realist (CR) ontology. The analyst who works from within a CR ontological stance, does not only seek to describe, but to draw connections and to explain, on

normative grounds, how social practices (events and activities) are (contingently) caused by social structures (Fairclough 2005: 923) and whether and to what extent these consequences live up to the 'values [...] of a just and decent society' (Fairclough 2013: 178).

In this view, inherent in discourse is a 'material-semiotic' ontology (Jessop 2004) that dissolves the distinction between agency and structure thereby surpassing both the Marxist and Foucauldian structuralism of the previous chapter, on dialectical grounds. This assumes an analytical separability but dialectical unity between discourse and social practices that include social relations but that extend to objects, material elements, activities, values and culture (Fairclough 2001: 1). Causal connections are still drawn; however this occurs between discourse as a concrete material event and abstract social structures, i.e., political, legal, educational, postulated by the CR analyst who aims to assess the reality of a given social group within a pre-set social structure (Fairclough 2013: 178). In this context, the ontological primacy of material and abstract reality in CR that is mediated by discourse does not yield absolute, unambiguous truth, but what Sayer (2004: 7-8) calls 'epistemic gain' on pragmatic grounds.

In this context, pragmatically motivated accounts of causation that link the micro social order of a discursive event with the macro political structure posit retroductive explanations on the part of the CR researcher who works backwards from already-identified social problems to try to identify what causal powers work together to yield certain concrete social events (Sayer 2004: 11). Specifically, social structures (abstract entities) constitute a series of possibilities for the material world, of which only some specific possibilities are actualized or seized by discourse (Fairclough 2011: 120). In a given macro political context – as in the neoliberal context with which I am concerned here – the analysis of Canadian LIE policy documents constitutes concrete social events (qua texts) that are pre-structured by neoliberalism. An analysis of the relation between them will seek to explain 'generative mechanisms' (Jessop 2003: 189) of sustained ideologies (neoliberal discourses) within a CLT policy context (See Fairclough 2012: 1).

But the relation is not one way. In this sense, CR espouses the 'linguistic turn' in social science research that challenges the notion that language is a simple means of communication (Phillips & Oswick 2012: 439 cited in Mautner 2016: 11). It is grounded in an understanding of language (text and talk) as 'action' (Austin 1962 and Searle 1969 cited in Mautner 2016: 11), rejecting what Cameron (1995: 15) construes as the false bifurcation of language and society. Through this lens, the linguistic turn, it can be argued, was paralleled in applied linguistics by the concept of communicative competence (CC) (Hymes 1972;

Canale & Swain 1980; Lyons 1996) whereby language acquisition was re-focused in terms of a socially-situated approach to linguistic competence that rejected the NS/NNS distinction that divided linguistic competence from linguistic performance, outlined in the previous chapter (Chomsky cited in Shohamy 1996: 138 – See also Lyons 1996).

Understood as such, the parallel dichotomies between NS and NNS standard on the one hand and society and language on the other are structuralist reifications of positivism, that fail to link ‘applied linguistic concerns to central social and political problems of inequality, discrimination and difference’ (Pennycook 2010: 16.2). This means that the production of knowledge in CR is not contingent on foundationalist epistemics, whereby claims to knowledge (and hence truth) ‘in themselves require no further justification by any other terms or propositions’ (Moore 2007: 28). While foundationalism would argue emerges in Marx’s economic determinism through a positivist view of language that ‘mirrors’ a unitary unambiguous reality (Mautner 2016: 62), in post-structuralism, it appears in Foucault’s critical retort that fails to ‘liquidate’ the subject (Peters & Humes 2003: 111). This is indicative of a continuity between positivism and post-structuralism that emerges in their shared structuralist commitment

The structuralist consequence, for instance, that traps agency is in the explanatory precepts that both paradigms share. While positivists draw on regularities as essential features of causation that we see in the lower-level sciences (Sayer 2004) (as in every time my pen drops I can assert that it abides by the law of gravity), it leaves subjective experience and conditional circumstances (i.e. that are not generalizable) outside the realm of legitimate knowledge and hence outside of discourse (See Fairclough et al. 2002). Constructivists (post-structuralists), however, reject this type of causal explanation, positing interpretivism (i.e. thick subjective descriptions) of the meaning of texts to account for knowledge that can only be known through discourse (Fairclough et al. 2002: 2). Where the latter yields to the structuralist program is in the assumption that because the causal explanations of positivism do not capture the subjective experience of marginalized individuals, causality does not exist (Fairclough et al. 2002: 3).

It is the constructivist’s lack of an account of discourse as action that further traps the marginalized into their subordinated positions. This is prominently evidenced in feminist standpoint theory that though axiologizes subjective knowledge, equally axiologizes all subjective knowledge (See Moore 2007). On the other hand positivist analyses in quantitative approaches yield a ‘point-of-viewless viewpoint’



(MacKinnon 1983: 638) that manifest in policy studies in survey research, cost-benefit analyses and statistical models (Putt & Springer 1989 and Sylvia et al. 1991 cited in Fischer 1998: 3). While MacKinnon leaves her own radical constructivist view outside the criticism, what is key to note here, is that these competing 'paradigms' compromise explanations in the methodolatry of conducting research based on how we know at the expense of what there. It is in this sense that they are jointly responsible for subordinating individual agency to objective causal laws that are beyond actual language use.

But policy as I established earlier, cannot be a product of the ontologically 'disengaged' truth of either epistemology that 'reiterates its determinations' (MacKinnon 1983: 638). Rather, it is a 'filter, showing us merely one of the many possible representations of the world around us' (Mautner 2016: 62). In this view, CR's retroductive explanatory approach explicitly retains an aspect of constructivism as evidenced in its dual commitment to CC and the linguistic turn, however defies the structuralist account of the relation between agency and structure by ascribing causative power in discourse that is both shaped by and that shapes material and abstract social reality. It is this pre-structural analysis that constitutes for the critical realist, a precondition for emancipation (Fairclough 1995 cited in Fairclough 2005: 923).

Transformational change from within CR, more specifically, stems from the causal effects of the interpretation of discourse that is inseparable from the analyst's causal explanation (Sayer 2004: 12). This constitutes explanatory critique that posits there is no point in identifying causal antecedents of ideology in discourse without being able to offer 'the standpoint of a better life' (Sayer 1997: 477). In this sense, the causative effects of text interpretation can have material consequences in the (re) production of discourse (See Sayer 2004; Fairclough 2011). This occurs through texts' effects on our beliefs, attitudes and experiences that in turn effect our actions in the material world that includes the production of new discourses (Fairclough 2011: 122). This corroborates the view of discourse as social practice, elaborated in the previous chapter.

Therefore, to acknowledge that discourse is both material-semiotic and causative, is to acknowledge that human agency can redescribe the nature of the relation, thereby evading unwanted determinants and replacing them by more equity-inclined renditions of the social world (See Bhaskar 1989: 163-164 cited in Sayer 2004: 15). This is the ontological contribution of a construal of discourse as both material and semiotic and the reason for which discourse cannot be 'take for granted' in social practices. 'It must be established through analysis' (Fairclough 2001: 1).

### **3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Within CR, critical discourse analysis (CDA) exemplifies the concept of retroduction making it a well-suited approach to the analysis of Canadian FSL policy which seeks to uncover the extent to which policy producers commit to neoliberal discourses. A main concern of CDA has been the ideological effects of texts in maintaining structural power in discourse (Fairclough 2011: 124 – See also Van Dijk 1993; Fairclough 1995, 2013). In line with both PALx and CR, CDA is a problem-oriented, inter/anti-disciplinary research program (Fairclough 2003; Van Dijk 1993; Mulderrig 2011b) that places conceptual primacy on the necessary conceptual tools required to address specific problems under investigation (Mouzelis 1995: 9 cited in Weiss & Wodak 2003: 7).

The transdisciplinary aim is informed by a specific topic, in this case the manifestation of competing neoliberal discourses in CLT prescribed policy from which theoretical and methodological tools are developed (See Mulderrig 2011a: 48). Moreover, CDA is crucially premised on the notion of ‘criticality’, which by virtue of espousing CR’s material semiotic view of discourse at once distinguishes it from alternative non-critical text-analytic methods and accounts for diverging methodological approaches to CDA (Weiss & Wodak 2003). Established methods for doing CDA include Van Dijk’ socio-cognitive model and Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) which both draw on sociocognition as well as Fairclough’s 3-tiered model that combines Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) with the Foucauldian notion of ‘orders of discourse’ (Meyer 2001: 15). What they all share in common is the concept of retroduction in operationalizing analytic procedures.

### **3.3.1 Fairclough’s CDA**

In this thesis I deployed Fairclough’s tripartite methodological approach to CDA to address RQ3.B, the second subquestion of RQ3 which sought to examine the discursive construction of student identities as they relate to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula. That is, Fairclough’s CDA reflects the conceptual trifecta of a CR ontology described in the previous section, namely that texts as concrete social events and abstract social structures are mediated by discourse practices. In this view, discourse practices, specifically, are the ‘organizing principle’ between texts as concrete social events and social practices (macro social structures) as abstract discourse (Fairclough 2011: 120). Though these are analytically separable for the purposes of analysis, their interdependence in social reality as described above is salient.

Social practices, for instance, can constitute both the whole of a k-community (society) or an institutional domain. In this context, material-semiotic social practices have textual or discursive

(mediating) aspects that signalize dominant, marginal and contested 'networks' of meaning-making (See Fairclough 2001: 2). These 'orders of discourse' are a relatively stable set of social practices that, constrained by material-semiotic conditions for producing and interpreting text, delineate ways of controlling (selecting, excluding, including) structural possibilities that are retained over time (Fairclough 2005: 925; Fairclough 2011: 120). This is where hegemonies arise and can be challenged. Orders of discourse thus occupy a crucial aspect of Fairclough's analysis (Fairclough 2001: 2). Orders of discourse comprise discourses, genres and styles or otherwise, ways of representing (for instance, through legal, educational or political discourses), ways of acting (in a given say professional teaching context) and ways of being (i.e. a good student or good teacher) (See also Fairclough et al. 2002: 8). These categories delimit linguistic and hence social possibilities because they constitute members of a social group's discursive resources for meaning-making (Fairclough 2011: 120). Thus, they determine dominant meanings and ideas of social relations within a given institutional policy setting that can be ideological, as in the Canadian CLT policy context with which I was concerned here (See Fairclough 2001: 2).

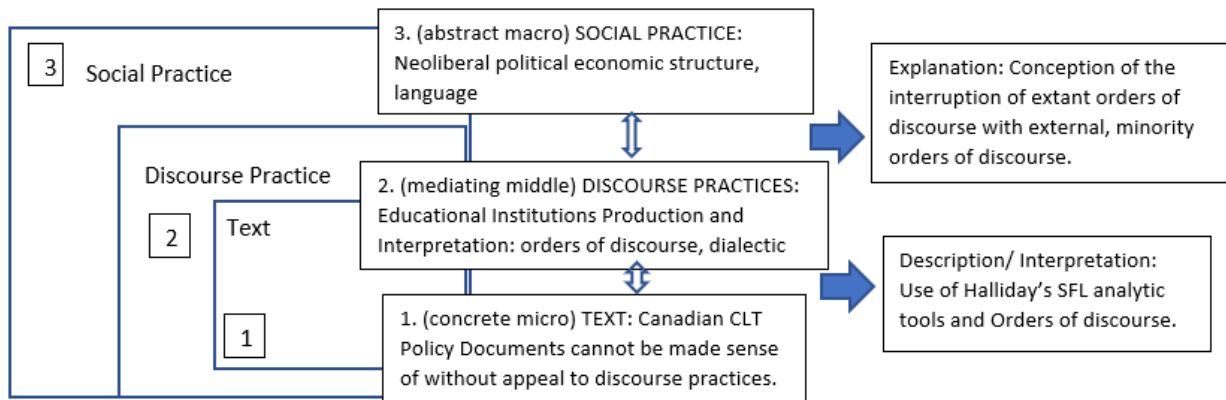
### **3.3.2 Method and Levels of Analysis**

Any CDA analysis construes an instance of language as a 'communicative event' that is analyzed within all three dimensions of discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 68). This analysis begins at the textual level and 'shunts' back and forth between macro conditions of text production and text interpretation (Luke 2002: 101- See also Janks 1997). The intimate connection between text qua discursive event and orders of discourse is evidenced in the inevitability of the latter in contextualizing the former. Text producers according to Fairclough (1995: 133) leave 'cues' in a text that can be revealed through textual analysis. Analysis at the second level is interpretative in the sense that it calls on the researcher to explain how texts are produced and interpreted and how they are related to orders of discourse (Titscher et al. 2000: 150). This requires making systematic links to 'speech acts, coherence and intertextuality' (Blommaert & Bulcean 2000: 448-449). It is herein that a concrete communicative event is linked to macro social structures. This is because orders of discourse are both structures and practice – they are shaped by and shape the macro social order (See Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 72).

This leads to the explanatory aspect and third tier of the analysis that is explicitly concerned with relations of power and hegemony. This occurs through an explanation of how the communicative event under study, i.e. Canadian CLT policy, sustains, contests or offers alternative views to the dominant

ideas, worldviews and beliefs of a given k-community (See Fairclough 2001: 2). My own adaptation of Fairclough’s tripartite model can be schematized as follows:

Figure 3: Fairclough’s Tripartite Analytic Model



As Janks (1997: 329) notes, the appeal of Fairclough’s approach is in the flexibility of the methodology that has no ‘fixed’ entry points but rather allows the analyst to systematically examine links, patterns and inconsistencies that are ‘described, interpreted and explained’. Nevertheless, this analysis was largely an exercise in the interpretation stage of CDA in that it analyzes particular ways of constructing identities in discourse (See Angelo 2020). Normative and emancipatory possibilities that emerged from the analysis are examined in the discussion section in chapter 5.

### **3.3.3 Addressing Bias in CDA**

It must be acknowledged that any CDA analysis is a revisionary exercise that postulates the non-inevitability of any truth claims its analysis might yield. As a result certain analytic/interpretative practices are favoured over others and the decision and execution of interpretative methods serve as ‘burdensome’ to the analyst who contra mere descriptive studies, must justify his/her choices to avoid an ‘anything goes’ research program (Budde 1997 cited in Mautner 2010: 163 – See also Angelo 2016b: 19). Indeed, Widdowson (1998: 137) prominently refers to CDA’s multidisciplinary program as an ‘ad hoc bricolage which takes from theory whatever concept comes usefully to hand’. The criticism stems from the degree to which objective criteria of relevance characterized by ‘stability of method’ can explicitly account for the ‘shunting back and forth’ between the micro analysis of texts and the macro structures of institution and power (Widdowson 2004: 160).

But the ‘categorical’ presence of bias cannot be grounds for academic dismissal, nor can it serve as a legitimate methodological criterion for what constitutes ‘good’ or ‘bad’ research (Mautner 2010: 162), otherwise foundationalist studies in policy research, linguistics and education would be all be obsolete. Rather, as Mautner (2010: 162) states, it is time we stop ‘being anxious and apologetic about embracing normative approaches.’ This project therefore is unapologetically biased. For this reason, I adopt a ‘more rigorous, more relentlessly self-critical and more diligent approach’ to this investigation by subjugating myself to explicit transparency and to the scrutiny of the readers and evaluators of this work (Budde 1997: 11 cited in Mautner 2010: 162). Nevertheless, it is my contention here that the complete deletion of objective categories of research would be ill-founded on CR grounds. Therefore, to partially mitigate this criticism, the study began with a corpus-based approach, as a ‘principled’ means of entering the data and narrowing the study (Mulderigg 2015: 452), from which a two-part critical analysis of policy, one of CDA and one of SP could be deployed.

### **3.4 Defining Corpus-Based Research**

This study that analyzed a slice of Canadian CLT policy through a two-part critical analysis, crucially began with CBR. CBR can be understood in the first instance as a methodological continuum between inductive and deductive approaches to the analysis of text (McEnery & Gabrielatos 2006: 36) that have the capacity to inform under-examined and emerging ways to describe language in use (McEnery & Hardie 2012:1). While deductive approaches to CBR are generally understood as methodologies that examine a body of text in order to accept or reject an a priori hypothesis about language use, inductive or corpus-driven research argues instead that theories and hypotheses about language can only be drawn a posteriori to linguistic analysis (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 6). For my purposes here, I refer to CBR as a methodology but understand that deductive and inductive approaches, to the extent that they are not mutually exclusive, inform one another in CBR (McEnery & Gabrielatos 2006: 36).

According to Biber et al. (1998: 4), as a methodology, CBR has four essential characteristics for the analysis of naturally-occurring text: (a) it is empirical, (b) it is used to analyze a large and principled assembly of texts, written or transcribed (See Baker 2006: 17) called a ‘corpus’, (c) it is computer-based – it uses automatic and interactive techniques and (d) it draws on both quantitative and qualitative techniques (See also Angelo 2016b: 13). While all four features are mutually inclusive in the production of ‘data-oriented’ analyses of how language is actually used (Tognini-Bonelli 2001), CBR’s fundamentally empirical facet emerges in the scientific or ‘quasi-positivist’ tenet (see Kutter 2018) that boasts the

capacity to draw generalizations and conclusions about language use in a given communicative context from the observation of 'authentic data' (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 2).

In this context, this means that principled and relatively large groupings of texts which comprise a corpus raises a question pertaining to the extent to which a corpus reflects a single communicative context as in a (single) text (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 2). The repetitive and co-selective patterning of lexical, syntactic and semantic fragments across the corpus thus remain a partial view of any corpus analysis (ibid). The methodological difference and analytical advantage of CBR over single text analyses is in the 'vertical scanning of repeated patterns' as opposed to a standard horizontal reading of a single text (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 3). The scanning of electronic corpora for 'typical' lexical, syntactic and semantic patterning characteristically occurs through computer-assisted technologies that carry out 'statistical' and 'distributional' analyses (ibid). This yields in quantitative terms, high reliability and external validity of the data in the amelioration of subjective bias on the part of the researcher that allows for computer's capacity to replicate the same analytic techniques to yield identical results (Biber 2015: 197).

#### **3.4.1 Keywords and Collocates as a 'Springboard' to CDA**

Identifying statistically salient keywords and their collocates constitute the main analytic tools in CBR. Specifically, the electronic identification of highly salient, frequency-based keywords serves as a 'principled' and 'automated' entry point to the analysis of text (Mulderigg 2015: 452). Deriving keywords requires comparison with a reference corpus that can reveal, 'a quality words may have in a given text or set of texts, suggesting that they are important, they reflect what the text is really about' (Scott & Tribble 2006: 73). In this sense, keywords can bring to the fore important themes in a study corpus (Scott & Tribble 2006; Hunter & Smith 2012). This begins with the selection of 'open-class' words, as in nouns, adjectives and verbs, or 'closed-class' grammatical words such as prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns (and, the, he) by the researcher on a priori or a posteriori grounds (Baker 2006; Groom 2010).

The salience of studying keywords of Canadian CLT curricula in the context of a neoliberal political economy can be traced back to Williams (1986) who argues that certain keywords in policy texts can reveal political ideological struggles (cited in Holborow 2012: 35). Ideological significance is indicated when 'in certain words tones and rhythms meanings are offered, felt for, tested, confirmed, asserted, qualified, changed' (ibid). However, keywords themselves cannot indicate their own meaning in a set of texts (Hunston 2008). CBR, therefore, works from the premise that the meaning of a word is not 'inherent' but, 'instantial' and therefore cannot be understood independently of their lexical

environment (ibid). As Firth (1957: 11) prominently stated: ‘You shall know a word from the company it keeps’ (cited in Stubbs 1993: 14). Hence, agrees Stubbs (2001: 45) ‘[key]words should be studied not in isolation, but in collocations’.

Collocational analyses can be defined as list of words that co-occur with a given node or keyword (say within 3, 4 or 5 words) (Hunston 2002; Stubbs 2001). Therefore, while they are useful because they contextualize a given keyword by examining its linguistic context (Hunston 2002: 39; Scott & Tribble 2006: 33), for my purposes here, the salience of collocations has been articulated in their ability to reveal discourses (Hunston 2002: 100). For instance, we might consider that, following Sinclair, there are four types of collocational analysis that range from less to more abstract in meaning (Stubbs 2013; Partington 2004). This occurs through concordance analysis which allows for the interpretation of keywords and their collocates in a corpus (Hunston 2002: 39).

### **3.4.2 Sinclair’s Collocational Hierarchy**

Specifically, by listing every instance of a node in use, i.e. in their respective phrases and sentences, automated concordance lines indicate co-occurring lexical patterns of a node word in domain- and genre specific texts through collocation, colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody (Hunston 2002; Partington 2004 cited in McEnery et al. 2006; Baker 2006). Collocation, for instance, examines the immediate lexical vicinity of a node word, i.e. lexes that come before and after a keyword under study and colligations grammatically qualify types of relations between a node word and its co-occurring lexical neighbor by honing in on syntagmatic features such as a preposition or a verb (See Hunston 2002: 151).

The third and fourth types of collocational analysis extend beyond syntax to deduce meaning of a node word in its sentential or phraseological context (Hunston 2002: 151). These collocational analytic procedures constitute semantic preference (SP) and semantic prosody (SP’) (also called discourse prosody by Stubbs). While SP and SP’ share the notion of deriving a ‘discourse topic’ or semantic set that is determined by the relation of a node word to a (thematically) consistent series of co-occurring words, SP’ carries affective meaning that is not present in SP (Baker 2006: 87; Louw 2000 cited in McEnery et al. 2006: 148). Baker (2006: 87) provides a paradigmatic example of SP’ in the description of refugees as ‘victims’ or ‘criminals’ whereas SP would carry no such connotation. Construing Sinclair’s collocational hierarchy in this way allows us to begin the analytic shift from linguistic form to (more abstract) discourse meaning (Stubbs 2002: 225 cited in McEnery et al. 2006: 83 - See also Angelo 2018: 7).

### **3.4.3 Highlighting the Methodological ‘Synergy’ Between CBR and CDA**

Despite an increased level of abstractness in Sinclair’s collocational hierarchy, a prevalent criticism of CBR argues the interpretation of text from a first-person (analyst) perspective cannot be conflated with the identification of textual patterning (See also Gabrielatos 2009). Indeed, as both Widdowson and Baker concede, the worry is that quantification and statistical analyses of corpora cannot address questions relating to production and interpretation and more concerning perhaps is their (in)capacity to address specific questions a researcher brings to the study of text (cited in Thornbury 2010: 276). Corpus analysis says Widdowson (2004: 124-126), cannot ‘account for context’ and contextual factors cannot be derived from ‘co-textual’ ones in the study of machine-readable mass texts (cited in Thornbury 2010: 276 – See also Angelo 2018: 7).

Thus, consensus in current literature is that combining CBR with CDA offers a ‘synergistic’) quality to the analysis of text that allows for a first-person retroductive account of how micro linguistic referents are linked to macro political contexts and hence discourses (Gabrielatos et al. 2008; Gabrielatos & Duguid 2014). It is in this sense, that keywords and collocates, it has been widely argued can serve as a ‘springboard’ to CDA that though enhance the epistemic reach of a given study, keep descriptive and prescriptive analyses of text separate (Gabrielatos 2008; Gabrielatos & Duguid 2014).

For my purposes here, while I retained the latter approach to address the second subquestion of RQ3, which sought to assess how the discursive construction of student identities as they relate to modal verb collocates elucidate a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula, for the first subquestion of RQ3, I conceptualized and subsumed both descriptive and critical (retroductive) analyses of text within one type of collocational analysis in CBR. I elaborate this novel approach in section 3.5 below.

A number of studies, for instance, examine the link between CDA and CBR (Fairclough 2000; Orpin 2005; Hardt-Mautner 1995; Gabrielatos & Baker 2008; Baker et al. 2008; Mulderrig 2006, 2015; Narty & Mwinlaaru 2019). However, none to my knowledge explicitly apply a retroductive methodological component into CBR. This is because, CBR is an inherently descriptive approach to the analysis of language that has in recent years, proved a beneficial tool to CDA in that it provides a quantitative grounding of linguistic analysis that moves ‘beyond intuitive interpretation’ (Piper 2000: 520). Hardt-Mautner (1995: 19), more specifically, describes the merits of combining CBR and CDA that can ‘enhance’ concordance analyses by ‘open[ing] a window into larger-scale [macro] discourse processes’.



As Orpin (2005: 38-39) notes, two key considerations for any researcher wishing to combine the approaches constitute determining firstly, which aspect of CDA can best be served by CBR, and secondly, deciding on a point of entry into the data. Regarding the former, aspects of CDA best served by CBR, in line with the pragmatic aims of CDA will depend on a given research question under study (Meyer 2001: 20). To this end and regarding the latter point, a wide range of corpus-based CDA studies have in recent years effectively pressed keywords (Mulderigg 2006, 2014; Fairclough 2000), collocates (Salama 2011) and semantic preference and prosody (Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker 2008) into the service of CDA, illustrating the methodological 'synergy' between the two approaches that complement the epistemic limits of each.

In this regard, it is also important to note that CBR studies have on their own been successful in drawing politically salient observations from corpus data. The works of Piper (2000), Partington (2003), Mautner (2007) and Baker (2014) are paradigmatic here. While for instance Piper (2000) examines the discourse of lifelong learning through 'individuals' and 'people', Partington (2003) assesses the language of the White House through metaphor. Similarly, Mautner (2007) conducts a linguistic analysis of stereotypical accounts of age and ageing while Baker (2014) examines gender through corpus-based techniques.

These studies constitute CBR approaches to discourse analysis (DA) that though espouse a post-structuralist view of discourse (Baker 2006: 5), do not apply an explicitly retroductive or transformative (critical) methodological component (See Wodak & Meyer 2001: 21) that fundamentally (though not exclusively) distinguish CDA from other DA studies. Nevertheless, the distinction between DA and CDA remains one that is blurred and best conceived as on a continuum that ranges from more descriptive on one end to more critical or prescriptive on the other (Nartey & Mwinlaaru 2019: 6).

### **3.5 Toward a Critical Corpus-Based Approach**

Moreover, while these studies have been successful in using inductive and/or deductive CBR methods to link frequently (co)occurring words to macro-political discourses, what I wish to propose here is a critical corpus-based approach to CDA that allows the researcher to enter the research on more subjective grounds by operationalizing a retroductive approach to CBR and SP more specifically. This means the researcher's reasons as causes, in critical realist terms, would allow for the ascription of causal antecedents in discourse to be attributed to macro political discourse. This, novel retroductive methodological step, would in line with corpus-based CDA studies stem from the identification of

statistically salient keywords and their co-occurring words from which to classify meaning categories of SP as causally grounded in macro-political discourse.

In this light, I addressed the first subquestion of RQ3, which sought to examine how the discourse topic(s) invoked by the SP of teachers prescribe a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula. I focused on SP as the third most abstract collocational analysis in Sinclair's hierarchy because as I argue below, it further highlights the critical potential of CBR to move beyond inductive and deductive reasoning by espousing retroduction within its descriptivist approach.

This allowed me to conceptualize a critical approach to SP through which RQ3.A could be examined through a more critical lens and without deferring to CDA. Thus, I inserted a critical methodological component into the derivation of semantic sets in SP, which calls on the researcher to justify the selection of meaning categories that determine the relation between a node word and its collocates on retroductive grounds. The value of conceptualizing such an approach though began with an attempt to mitigate descriptive and positivist explanations of our relationship to language and hence to the social world, extended to the possibility of accessing and examining multiple 'levels' and 'layers' of social reality (See Scott 2007 and Kincheloe 2004a, 2004b). I reflect more on this in chapter 5.

### **3.5.1 Qualifying SP on the Inductive-Deductive Continuum**

The reader might consider for instance that SP occupies a privileged position on the inductive-deductive continuum in that it extends the analytic scope of collocations and colligations by building an ideational and conceptual rapport 'not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words' (Stubbs 2001: 65). SP, however, as a methodology is not inherently critical. This is because the justification of a key methodological aspect of SP which calls on the researcher to derive semantic sets or thematically similar topics between a series of node collocates is largely a positivist endeavor that remains within the epistemic reasoning of induction and deduction. In other words, the inductive-deductive spectrum characterizes CBR on this broader level of collocational analysis.

Below, drawing on the recent work of Hunston (2008) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), I illustrate inductive and deductively-justified semantic sets at work in SP prior to proposing, in line with CR, a retroductive defense of semantic sets that politically ground the intuitive and subjective nature of their derivation.

### **3.5.2 The Intuitive and Subjective Nature of Semantic Sets**

The intuitive and subjective nature of semantic sets is generally accepted in the literature (Bednarek 2008; Philip 2013; Stubbs 2009). ‘Discourse topics’ for instance, asserts Stubbs (2009: 125), can only be derived ‘intuitively’ by the researcher as they constitute ‘a subjective view from the inside’. These constitute levels and grades of SP that in turn determine their scope. This is confirmed by Bednarek (2008: 122) who states, ‘[L]abels that are assigned to the semantic subsets to which collocates belong (e.g. ‘force/ strength/ energy’, ‘strong emotion’ etc.) are necessarily the analyst’s – it is s/he who decides how to interpret, categorize, and classify the collocates semantically.’ In this regard, Philip (2013) calls for a re-evaluation between SP and the keyword in context (KWIC) or concordance function that elaborates terms in their phrasal and sentential (collocational) context that elicits researcher interpretation. While Philip’s (2013) worry is with the automated semantic tagging of large numbers of collocates that has become common practice in SP, she points to a much wider program in the research that hinders critical meaning in the subjective derivation of semantic sets.

Philip (2013: 244), for instance, is right to pay homage to the recent never-before seen results from large-scale collocational studies that have emerged from automated software programs and that add meta-data to collocations through annotation (i.e. the ascription of word-types, as in adjective, noun, adverb). The recent work of Rayson (2008), Baker et al. (2008), Baker et al. (2013) and Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) need to be signalled here. This automated practice, however, notes Philip, has effectively shifted the analytic responsibility from the domain of the researcher to that of the computer (ibid). Her main argument is that while automated collocation software can serve as a ‘aid’ to the analysis of SP, it cannot serve as a ‘substitute’ for it (ibid). In other words, a computer cannot elicit SP. Such an analysis requires a ‘reconnexion’ between analyst and text that cannot be replaced by automation. This problem I would argue signals the under-problematized fallacy of ascribing the limited organizational principles of induction and deduction, or the two-way interplay between observation and generalizability to the subjective process that constitutes deriving discourse topics. The recent work of Hunston (2008) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) is paradigmatic.

### **3.5.3 Hunston’s Inductive Approach to SP**

From an inductive approach, Hunston’s phraseological work extends collocational analysis to multi-word studies. Hunston for instance ascribes semantic sets to syntactic sequences to demonstrate the typical and atypical use of certain lexical and grammar phrases (which she in turn prescribes as a beneficial

pedagogical learning tools for language learners- See also Partington 1998 cited in Bednarek 2008:124). Examples of this kind of SP are indicated for instance in the node 'bite' that satisfies the dual syntactic pattern of verb + noun as in 'Adam bit the apple' and verb into noun as in 'when I bite into these eggs' or 'mistake' which tends to share the preposition 'for' as in 'don't mistake my kindness for softness' that fall under the category of verb patterns that mean to 'give one thing and receive another' (Francis et al. 1996: 367 cited in Hunston 2008: 288).

Though Hunston's phraseologies may be construed as colligations in virtue of their lexico-grammatical focus, I would argue that they are, in a sense, also weak forms of SP. The reader will consider, for instance, that colligations and SP within CBR are ordinarily construed as two separate forms of analysis defined on the one hand by grammatical features and on the other by semantic co-occurrence. However, seen on a continuum, I would argue that colligations and SP are not epistemically different in kind and are therefore closely interrelated. They both depend on observation on the part of the researcher whereby the main difference between the two is the level of abstraction in characterizing the relation between a node word and its co-occurring word (i.e. directly observable in the former, slight abstraction in the derivation of a meaning category in the latter). Understood as such, colligations, though categorically separate from SP, in a sense, can be viewed as weak forms of the latter because they commit to meaning categories (semantic sets) that generally refer the language they instantiate (i.e. prepositions, verb/noun sequences).

For instance, according to Groom (2010), the distinction between SP and semantic prosody (SP') is in Stubbs' distinction between 'sequence' and 'order' or inductive and deductive reasoning in CBR. SP' on the one hand can be understood to presuppose SP in that it denotes a text producer's attitude or evaluative judgment about the content being described (Hunston & Thompson 2000: 5 cited Partington 2004: 131; Louw 1993 cited in Sinclair 2004: 34). Thus, as an extra step of abstraction in the collocational hierarchy, I would argue, it exemplifies a strong form of SP. While both SP and SP' occupy more abstract collocational analyses that call on concordance lines to illuminate how context and co-text determine the meaning of a node (Hunston 2008; Philip 2013; Stubbs 2009), Sinclair (2004: 34) insists on a semantics/ pragmatics distinction to decipher the two.

A firm distinction, however, in this way is not useful for us here precisely because it propagates a distinction between CC and communicative performance with which this thesis is concerned (i.e. in terms of linguistic versus pragmatic competence) (See also Hunston 2008). This is important because

while SP (including Hunston's phraseology) has been concerned with identifying variation from which generalizations about language can be made, this focus notes Partington (2003) centers on product-oriented and not process oriented language –a distinction that is salient both in language learning as well as in the analysis of meaning. For both domains the stakes are in assuming a priori language structures on text production and interpretation the ramifications of which were discussed in detail in chapter 2. But as we know, meaning can also emerge from hybrid and spontaneous instantiations of language (pace SSD) and not only within the discursive confines of a closed linguistic system (pace LC).

This is where, through commitment to 'levels' of SP (Stubbs 2013), SP I would argue, has a more normative potential that can be realized through the more critical methodological tool of retroduction. In his article *Sequence and Order: A Neo-Firthian Linguistic Semantics*, Stubbs highlights the divide between inductive and deductive reasoning that characterizes the corpus-driven and corpus-based approach discussed above, in order to replace these with what he believes to be a parallel distinction in Firth (1959) between 'order' and 'sequence'. In the reconsideration of Sinclair's collocational hierarchy, Stubbs (2013) observes that 'the features move from those which are objectively observable – and therefore identifiable [with software] – to those which require the subjective interpretation of the analyst. We move from sequence to order' (Stubbs 2013: 10). This is evidenced in the description of generalizations within CBR that ground explanations in the 'empirical' that can be observed through sense perception and the 'rationalist' that fit with introspection (Stubbs 2013: 16). Stubbs, thus characterizes the paradigm-based nature of CBR, which I would argue carries the potential to expand the derivation of semantic sets to refer to macro-discourses.

#### **3.5.4 Deduction and Critical Potential in Baker and Gabrielatos' Derivation of Semantic Sets**

A paradigmatic example of the ascription of deductive categories to semantic sets in the deployment of SP is in the work of Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) and Baker et al. (2008) who both analyze UK newspapers to uncover the discursive construction of RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants). Specifically, in their corpus-based CDA they draw on SP to categorize, semantically, the analysis of collocates for these words. While they give due diligence to the 'overlapping' but distinctive natures of SP and SP' by attributing evaluative judgement to the latter that does not belong to the former (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008: 12), intuition in the derivation of semantic sets in SP is quickly traded in for CDA-based 'topoi' or deductively derived categories that despite a rigorous characterization are thereafter not mentioned again (See Wodak 2001, Jäger 2001 and Žagar 2010). For instance, the CDA-

based discourse topic of 'return/ repatriation' was associated with collocates 'back, refuse, returned, sent' while 'legality' emerged from grouping collocates 'caught, detained, smuggled' (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008: 21).

What Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) effectively manage to do (though it is unclear how) is to attribute the possibility of SP and SP' to illuminate macro-discourses at play in a given genre or discourse-type. While this constitutes another example a corpus-based approach to CDA, what I would like to suggest here, is a more politically-infused SP that derives macro political discourses through retroduction. Such a methodological step would, as in corpus-based CDA, have the benefit of extending the explanatory potential of micro semantic categories (liberty, sheer, quantity) determined by large numbers of collocates and computer-elicited syntactic patterns, on the subjective grounds of the researcher.

### **3.5.5 Extending the Scope of Discourse Topics in SP: Moving Toward the 'Critical' Through Retroduction**

SP, construed as such, would be able to account for a wide range of discourse topics that range from the micro internal referents of language to macro politically informed discourses. This requires re-qualifying the intuitive categorization of collocations into semantic sets by the researcher as a retroductive endeavor that need not be justified within the inductive and deductive landscape. This does not mean rejecting induction and deduction – as these are necessary components of the interpretation of text in that they indispensably inform generalization – or the extent to which a phenomenon occurs in a given context (see Sayer 2004: 11; c.f. Kincheloe 2003: 168). What I am proposing is the extension of the legitimating criteria of inductive and deductive reasoning upheld by 'the limit question' of internal and external validity – a question to which I return both at the end of this chapter and in chapter 5 (See Lather 1993: 674). While in positivism, inductive and deductive reasoning work together to yield legitimate knowledge, (albeit unequally as in the above examples), they are constrained by the degree to which (a) observations are representative of a given reality (credibility) and (b) the extent to which they can be applied to other contexts (generalizability) (see Kincheloe 2003: 168 and Trochim 2020). Retroduction on the other hand downplays positivist criteria for legitimate knowledge by placing a 'double hermeneutic' at the forefront of researcher analysis that, as the reader will recall, at once both describes and changes social phenomena through discourse (Sayer 2004: 12).

What we get from retroductive reasoning for the derivation of discourse sets is the ability to produce the reality of a macro political discourse as the cause of certain meanings whereby describing them in

their prescriptive contexts is a first step to emancipation. To remain within the inductive/ deductive paradigm is effectively to propagate discourse as ‘inconsequential’. I suspect this is a starting point in the realm of PALx and critical pedagogy from which to address Mackinnon’s (1982) argument that postulates, albeit in Ring’s (1987: 469) words, that ‘objectivity is a self-fulfilling prophecy, of which objectification is the goal’. All I have done here in inserting a critical aspect into SP is I hope, to have ‘question[ed] the universality imperative itself’ within the methodology (ibid).

In the preceding section I argued in favour of a critical SP that is able to justify macro political categories in the subjective interpretation of semantic sets from a series of shared node collocates in domain- and genre-specific texts. The purpose of this defense was to subsume descriptive and analytic methodological aspects in an otherwise descriptive methodology that constitutes the collocational analysis of SP. I did so by laying out a CR onto-epistemic stance at the outset of this chapter from which I elaborated CDA and more specifically Fairclough’s approach to CDA. By rigorously unmasking the central epistemic and ontological assumptions of CR as it relates to our understanding of the social world through discourse, I was able to exemplify CR’s characteristic concept of retroduction that underlies CDA and that distinguishes it from other non-critical approaches to discourse analysis. In this way, I was able to extend and apply retroduction to the collocational analysis of SP. I argued that SP constitutes a privileged position on the inductive – deductive continuum that defines Sinclair’s collocational hierarchy and CBR writ large, in that it relies on researcher subjectivity and intuition from which meaning categories that semantically link collocations and their cooccurring words are derived. While SP and CBR more broadly were never meant to serve as critical approaches to the analysis of text, understanding the positivist limits of this methodological aspect allowed me to stretch the methodology to include retroductively-derived macro semantic sets from which to link meaning categories of language use to macro political context. Conceptualizing a critical SP in this way allowed me to reconceptualize the critical corpus-based aspect I employed in the critical corpus-based CDA this study. In what follows, I describe the data set used and outline the analytic procedures I followed that began with a keyword analysis of ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ and their collocates.

### **3.6 Analytic Procedures**

As stated at the outset, this study began with a keyword analysis of ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ and their collocates, from which a two-part critical analysis jointly assessed the extent to which current Canadian FSL policy commits to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse.

For instance, the reader will recall that the two-part critical analysis corresponds to the following two subquestions of RQ3 whose analytical procedures will be addressed, in this section, in order:

RQ3.A: In what way do the discourse topic(s) invoked by the critical semantic preference of teachers prescribe a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

RQ3.B: In what way does the discursive construction of student identities as they relate to modal verbs elucidate a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

Pertaining to RQ3.A, I described how I carried out a critical SP of teachers that effectively subsumes descriptive and prescriptive aspects of policy analysis in what is otherwise a descriptive methodological approach. Pertaining to RQ3.B, I described the analytical techniques used to for a corpus-based CDA that maintains a methodological divide between descriptive and prescriptive interpretations of text. Nevertheless, both critical analyses depended on a keyword and collocational analysis of the corpus under study using electronic software. Therefore, in this section, I describe the corpus and justify the software used to derive keywords ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ and their verb collocates from which the two-part critical analysis emerged. Then, I describe in detail the analysis I carried out to address my main research question, prior to discussing validity in this research design. Interpretations of the findings are elaborated in the next chapter.

### **3.6.1 Nature and Scope of the Corpus**

This study drew on CBR as an entrypoint from which a two-part critical analysis of policy was deployed to address each of the subquestions of RQ3. Therefore, the corpus-based approach of this study required a computerized data set. The study corpus comprised the following four Canadian FSL policy texts (See also Angelo 2018):

- (1) *Working with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in the Canadian Context (Council of Ministries of Education Canada 2010)*
- (2) *Ontario FSL Curriculum 9-12 (Ontario Ministry of Education 2014)*
- (3) *Ontario FSL Curriculum 1-8 (Ontario Ministry of Education 2013a)*
- (4) *A Framework for Ontario FSL (Ontario Ministry of Education 2013b)*

A chief concern of CBR is the size and composition of a corpus. This constitutes the notion of representativeness (Biber 2015: 195 – See also Angelo 2016b: 14). With respect to composition, Leech



(1991: 27) argues that representativeness of a corpus is achieved 'when the findings based on its contents can be generalized to a larger hypothetical corpus' (cited in Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 57). Implicitly, therefore, representativeness is a matter of 'belief' than of 'fact' (McEnery et al. 2006: 21). Nevertheless, germane to the concept of representativeness are questions regarding 'context' (See Berber-Sardinha 2004: 12) or the ability of a corpus to address research design and a given research question (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2015: 111-112).

In this context, the specified policy documents were selected in virtue of their ability to frame the discussion about FSL language pedagogy both at the federal (document 1) and provincial levels (documents 2, 3 and 4) and both in their curricular prescriptions (documents 2 and 3) as well as the underpinning theoretical framework in the provincial context (document 4). With respect to size of the corpus, because a key facet of the analytical procedure of CBR is to devise patterns (of frequency and irregularity) from the specialized corpus that can be designed by the analyst against a reference or general corpus, the proportion of the former text in relation to the latter for some theorists is salient (Biber 1993; Hunston 2002; Berber-Sardinha 2004; Scott 2006; Scott & Tribble 2006).

For instance, the reference corpus is meant to furnish a paradigmatic instance of general language in terms of structure and linguistic variability. To this extent, it is meant to yield a reliable source of comparison from which generalizations about the language under study can be drawn. While it is generally agreed upon that this constitutes a much larger corpus from the one under study, the point of contention is in the question 'how much bigger.' For the purposes of this study wherein I compare the study corpus against the reference corpus, I adopt Berber-Sardinha's (2004) suggestion that a corpus be at least one fifth of the size of the reference corpus. A smaller ratio between the two corpora risk threatening the number of reliable keywords a keyword analysis might yield in a CBR.

Moreover, the BNC baby is divided three 1-million-word sub-categories of written English and one 1-million-word sub-category of spoken English (Burnard 2009). In this regard, many corpus-linguists prefer to focus on genre-specific (written or spoken) aspects of a reference corpus in their analyses (See Baker 2010, Leech 2002). While recent research confirms that a genre-specific reference corpus can yield different results in terms of keywords, according to Scott (2006: 11) this suggests that the 'aboutness' of texts can be multiple and diverging. Nevertheless, the reader should be aware that in this study, I did not distinguish between written and spoken aspects of the BNC baby in carrying out the CBR aspect of

the research. It is with these considerations in mind that I applied the four-text study of 400 000 words against the British National Corpus (BNC) baby of four million words.

Finally, there are a number of software programs for carrying out CBR that include for instance, Mike Scott's WordSmith Tools (2012); Barlow's MonoConc Pro (2000) and Anthony's AntConc (2012) (cited in Anthony 2013). However, personal correspondence with Mike Scott as well as the intuitive nature of WordSmith Tools 7.0 software led me to elect the use of this program over others for this study.

### **3.6.2 Isolating 'Teachers' and 'Students' and their Verb Collocates as Statistically Salient**

The purpose of analyzing the data set using concordance software was to statistically derive 'teachers' and 'students' and their verb collocates as the basis of the two-part critical analysis outlined in the previous sections. In identifying 'teachers' and 'students' as statistically salient and as secondary to intuition there was an aspect of not taking these social agents for granted as the main operationalizing agents of CLT. There are two points to be made here. Firstly, in this view, following the tenets of CR that the way in which key agents in discourse are described, prescribe the constraints within which they can operate within a discourse. This means that in the CLT policy under study, 'teachers' and 'students' operationalize the pedagogy as it was intended by policy producers (which of course might manifest differently in the language learning classroom if and when teachers and students understand the agency they have in effecting change through discourse).

Second, initial conceptualization and support for the approach can be attributed to Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) and Baker et al. (2008) who studied the discursive representation of Islam in British newspapers through the word Muslim. For instance, while I addressed the discursive representation of identities for the node 'students' in the CDA aspect of the study, the node 'teachers' was isolated to carry out the critical SP conceptualized above. In this view, the principle of isolating 'entities, states or processes' that can 'clearly be identified' in a study (See Gabrielatos & Baker 2008: 7) provides explicit quantitative salience as opposed to mere qualitative import (See Baker et al. 2013: 260).

In terms of deriving the keywords, there are two types of statistical tests that bypass the threat of keywords being haphazard. The first widely accepted method is the statistical significance measure, represented by 'log-likelihood' and 'p-value' or BIC scores and the second, offers an 'effect-size' or 'relative-frequency' measure through a 'log-ratio'. While both types of statistical scores appear by default in subject headings of WordSmith Tools upon automated calculation of keywords and their

collocates, the latter, constitutes what Hardie (2014) deems to be an overlooked aspect of the statistical measure of keywords. For instance, though 'log-likelihood' and 'p-value' have for a long time been considered standard measures of 'keyness' across concordance software platforms (Scott 1997, 2007, 2016), their focus is on the frequency of a word in a study corpus versus the frequency of the word in relation to the number of words in each corpus (Scott 2010). On the other hand, the log-ratio, claims Hardie (2014), is able to tell us how big the difference in frequency of a keyword is, in a study corpus versus its reference corpus counterpart. In this keyword analysis I adopted the 'effect-size' statistical test measured by Hardie's (2014) conceptualization of log-ratio. In addition to satisfying the intuitive need to account for size difference and import ('effect-size' ratio), the log-ratio offers a much smaller and easier to understand number (ibid). This makes the calculation and 'keyness' score more transparent and accessible for non-statistical experts.

Simply, the way log-ratio is calculated is by determining relative frequency of the keyword, or absolute frequency divided by the size of the corpus for both the study and reference corpus relative to the keyword under study (Hardie 2014). The system then divides one relative frequency into the other to determine how many times bigger the frequency is in the study corpus. This ratio then is converted to a single numeric value, which comprises the 'binary log' whose number of points represents a doubling of the ratio (ibid). Thus, a log-ratio of say, 1, 2 or 3 represents a magnitude of 4, 8 or 16 times bigger than the relative frequency of the keyword under study in the reference corpus (ibid).

Next, carrying out both critical analyses of policy text for each of the subquestions of RQ3, depended on the derivation of collocates for each of the keywords 'teachers' and 'students' that would yield on the one hand a critical SP of teachers and on the other serve as a springboard to the CDA of students. Therefore, the top 40 verb collocates for each key node were extracted to include ordinary verb collocates in the simple present tense as well as modal finites. This constitutes one of two ways to analyze keywords in the literature that constitutes a functional approach to categorizing keywords through collocational analysis (Baker 2004). The second functionally classifies collocational words of a selected few keywords. While the first of these is able to reduce an extended keywords list by identifying wider thematic ideas from which to categorize keywords (See Hunter 2009: 98 and Baker 2004: 252), the latter focuses on the communicative function of collocates of a select few keywords that directly relate to the words that denote the objects or agents directly under study (See Gabrielatos & Baker: 13; Baker et al. 2013: 260). While both combine computer iteration with intuition and therefore fall within the corpus-based analytic spectre, it was the latter approach that I deployed here.

Moreover, while Stubbs (2009: 117-119), for instance, suggests around 20 collocates is a good number to study, this is based on inductive generalizability for the researcher – a methodological limit to which I did not constrain myself in this study. Instead, the number 40 was selected because I was initially unsure about the quantity and nature of verb collocates to be analyzed for each key node. For this reason, I also isolated modal verbs for both keywords though I would later decide to analyze only the top 4 modal verbs for ‘students’ and focus on the top 4 verb collocates for ‘teachers’. In other words the decision to limit the top 4 verb collocates of the key agentive noun ‘teachers’ to the critical SP analysis while reserving the top 4 modal verbs that appeared in the top 40 verb collocates of ‘students’ for the CDA aspect of the analysis was iterative. Limiting the verb collocates for both the critical SP and CDA aspects of the research allowed for a more qualitative and in-depth examination of the semantic and syntagmatic context of specific instantiations for a keyword and its co-occurring words, which I elaborate below.

Moreover, I elected to set the symmetry of collocations using WordSmith Tools at 5 words on either side of the key node. There are a number of statistical tests confirming various word orders of collocates as they relate to a node word. These include Z-Scores, log-likelihood, frequency lists and mutual information (MI) scores that calculate various algorithms from varied prioritization criteria for each statistic. According to Baker (2006: 102) the choice of a given statistical relationship over another depends on word-types the researcher is interested in. While high-frequency closed-class (‘function’) words are best derived through a simple frequency-based list, low-frequency open-class (‘content’) words might best be analyzed in order of MI or Z-score), all of them take frequency into account in conjunction with and to varying degrees ‘joint probability’ (MI score) and ‘standard deviations’ between observed and expected co-occurrences (i.e. Z-score) (See Baker 2006 and Martínez 2008). My focus on ‘content’ words ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ led me to elect a simple frequency-based list in this regard.

### **3.6.3 Conceptualizing a Critical SP for ‘Teachers’**

Having described the corpus-based methods and tools, in this section I outline the analytical procedures for each subquestion for RQ3 in order. To begin, I deployed a critical SP of ‘teachers’, prior to deploying a separate CDA of ‘students’. In addressing the first subquestion, this study assumed that determining the behaviour of verb collocates in the immediate presence of the node ‘teachers’ would illuminate the critical SP of ‘teachers’ and of the nature of CLT prescribed. Having presented the top 40 verb collocates for the key node ‘teachers’ I decided that a more effective way of analyzing these was needed that

would allow me to carry out a more qualitative analysis on a select few nodes. Motivation for the analytic approach stemmed from the need to consider macro-context in individual instantiations of verb collocates that linked their functional meaning to the overall meaning of 'teachers' in the set of texts as a whole.

While in a traditional (non-critical) approach to SP classifying collocates into micro semantic sets constitutes a simple task that relates relatively synonymous words into shared semantic fields, i.e. words associated with quantities: large, small, enormous, etc. (See Stubbs 2001 cited in Partington 2004: 145), or in the study of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM) across UK newspapers, collocates associated with legality as in 'sneaking', 'passports', 'struggle' (See Baker et al. 2008), in the derivation of macro discourses the classification of collocates, I would argue, depends on a much more abstract conceptualization of meaning. This merits a fine-grained analysis of the functional role of each instantiation within the discourse and how it ultimately defines the keyword under study (i.e. 'teachers') with which it co-occurs. In light of this consideration, I eventually decided to limit the verb collocates derived for teachers to a select few (four to be specific), as this would allow the collocates to be functionally classified, not under a micro discourse topic as those described above, but under macro-discourses where each instantiation could be scrupulously interpreted for meaning not only within its co-textual environment but in the contextual structure of the text as a whole.

Through this lens, a chief consideration for conceptualizing analytic steps of the critical SP herein described, constituted the ascription of macro (critical) semantic sets that construct the political context of neoliberal and hence CLT discourses. While theoretically this constituted inserting a 'critical' or retroductive component into the methodology, in operationalizing retroduction, I was concerned with designing an analytic procedure that allowed for the a priori or deductive identification of discourse topics or semantic sets that would be reflective of the policy context under study. This consideration aligns with the nature of SP as domain and genre-specific, yet stretches the explanatory bound of how language relates to macro social structures in retroductive ways, conceived by the researcher.

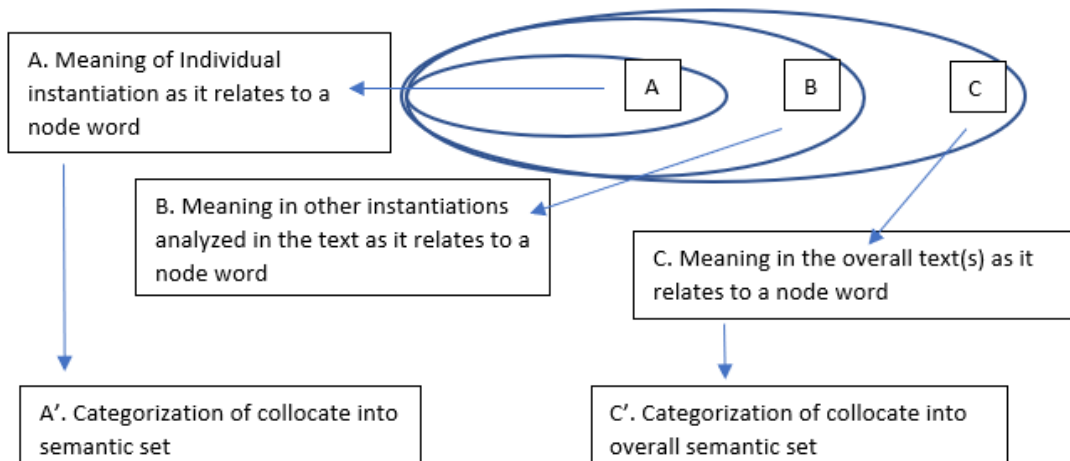
More specifically and with regards to the overarching research question of RQ3 which seeks to assess neoliberal discourses in Canadian FSL policy through a commitment to weak or strong CLT pedagogy, I decided that the (retroductive) ascription of the following 3 categories to the analysis of the key agentive noun 'teachers' was the most effective and direct way to address the question: weak CLT-oriented, strong CLT-oriented and ambiguous/miscellaneous. While the former two semantic sets were

characterized by weak- or strong CLT activity types through TBL, the third category was reserved for verb collocates whose SP was either unclear in the suggestion of a language task, or not suggestive at all of a task-based activity-type within the scope of CLT. For this meaning category I was concerned with broader pedagogic aims as in general literacy, critical thinking, well-being and environmental and mathematical education that may underscore all subjects in current education policy.

A related concern in carrying out the analysis, pertained to an inductive/ deductive preoccupation with 'distribution, frequency and regularity' (Sayer 2004: 11). That is, at the core of a descriptive SP is a methodological tendency to focus on large numbers of collocates that generally result in the ascription of multiple semantic sets of given node word. Again, this is a by-product of micro discourse topics that are devoid of critical meaning. The analysis of a critical SP of 'teachers' and its top 4 verb collocates, in this view, would allow for an in-depth qualitative examination of select instantiations.

Therefore, I decided on an in-depth analysis of 20 consecutive instantiations for each of the verb collocates in their semantic contexts. These randomly selected 20-line sequences (or concordance lines) that contextualized each of the verb collocates were transcribed into their own table in the Appendix and then classified according to the three macro discourse topics listed above. Then the cumulative categorization of each verb collocate as it co-occurred with 'teachers' to inform its meaning was classified under the same semantic sets to determine, in a quantitative manner, the overall SP of teachers. Hence, the categorization of collocates for 'teachers' occurred at two levels: one instancial and one overall. The instancial level constituted the first level of analysis while the overall sprung from the third level of analysis. The following schematic as I have conceptualized it in Figure 4, illuminates the analytic steps that begin with individual categorizations of sentential and phrasal instantiations into semantic sets (A), followed by a check for consistency related to other categorizations of the same node (B). Finally, an overall categorization of the set of phrasal and sentence-level instantiations of a node word as it relates to a co-occurring word can be achieved to determine the overall SP of the key node under study.

Figure 4: Critical Conceptualization of SP



The first step of the analysis (A) was characterized by a close reading of each concordance line (See Baker 2006: 86). These are presented through concordance software that instantiate node words in their lexical and sentential contexts within a corpus (Hunston 2002: 39). Concordances in WordSmith Tools 7.0 can be ordered through a simultaneous 3-level sorting system that simultaneously orders concordances through for instance file order, paragraph number and alphabetical ordering of number of words to the left (L1, L2 Lx) or to the right (R1, R2, Rx) of a node word (Scott 2010). For the purposes of this analysis, I retained the default L1/R1/R1 sorting pattern throughout. Then, I manually analyzed 20 consecutive lines of each of the 4 verb collocates from various, randomly selected points. This number, however, is flexible and depends on the research aims and scope of a given study. As such, it is in line with a pragmatically based analysis where no concrete probabilistic representation of instances exists. Rather, the criterion of reasonable (relative) consistency in the expression of a topic or idea as it may relate to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy was what I was looking for here. In this way, I classified the function of each instantiation of the verb collocate in one of the 3 categories of weak CLT, strong CLT or ambiguous/ miscellaneous. This depended in accord with PPP of TBL in the nature of language tasks prescribed that either pre-specified a given language structure, allowed language structures to emerge as a result of interaction or satisfied an alternate pedagogical goal that was outside the scope of CLT.

In the second step of the analysis (B), the meaning of an individual instantiation was linked to the meaning of other instances of the verb collocate as it co-occurred with teacher. This step is both conditional and contingent. It is conditional in that it draws on data from other instantiations from which to compare meaning and it is contingent (pragmatic) in that it depends on the nature of interpretive links the researcher is interested in making. In this step potential patterns of thematic

consistency are examined both in relation to other instantiations as well as to the meaning of other verb collocates for the node under study that may or may not express the same SP for teachers. This step is important in considering more ambiguous statements whose contexts merited further analysis prior to being classified in one of the three semantic sets. This is thus a flexible step but one that becomes gradationally more important as a greater number of instantiations are analyzed and classified into semantic sets.

Finally, the third step (C) is qualified by quantification in that it played a role in the decision regarding the overall SP for 'teachers' in the lexical environments of its top 4 verb collocates. In this third and final step verb collocates were re-categorized in terms of their overall SP for 'teachers' allowing the two-tiered categorization of collocates to occur at levels A' and C' respectively.

### **3.6.4 Modality and Evaluation in CDA: Critical Tools for Interpreting 'Student' Identities in Discourse**

In the second critical analysis which constituted the CDA aspect of the research, I employed the identification tools of modality and evaluation, as put forth by Fairclough (1992, 2003). These CDA analytic tools extend meaning to reveal what text producers commit themselves to in terms of what is affirmed, necessary and true in a discourse (modality) as well as in terms of values – desirability, undesirability, good and bad (evaluation) (Fairclough 2003: 164). Specifically, the reader will recall that Fairclough draws a distinction in his model of CDA between three types of meaning in genres, discourses and styles that represent ways of acting, ways of representing and ways of being (See Fairclough 2003: 27). These constitute the action, representation and identification commitments of a text that as was previously highlighted are analytically separate but dialectically related. Therefore, they exist simultaneously in and across texts (ibid).

Modality, however, according to Fairclough (1992: 158) does not always or clearly constitute a 'categorical' assertion (i.e. something is or is not black or white). Rather it adheres to grades of 'affinity' according to Hodge and Kress (1988: 123 cited in Fairclough 1992: 158). These are characterized by a crucial (but perhaps fuzzy) distinction between epistemic and deontic modalized forms characterized on the one hand by levels of (epistemic) truth and on the other levels of (deontic) necessity (Fairclough 2003: 170). Deciphering between the two in CDA and therefore in the analysis I carried out, depended on Hallidayan Speech Functions or more specifically exchange types that in turn distinguish between knowledge exchanges and activity types (Fairclough 2003: 167). While the former is expressed through declarative, imperative or interrogative statements that ascertain the degree to which a k-claim is being



made, indicated for instance by modal adverbs such ‘certainly’, ‘possibly’, and ‘probably’, the latter is determined by a text producer’s commitment to obligation, duty or necessity that constructs the subject (here students) vis à vis an action or activity type (language task) (See Fairclough 2003: 193 and Palmer 1986: 121 cited in Badran 2009: 103).

Moreover, deontic modality is intimately connected with evaluative statements that are realized through relational processes and that allow for the interpretation of axiological claims about what constitutes ‘good’ and ‘desirable’ students in policy (Fairclough 2003: 172). In this analysis I identified both epistemic and deontic modality from which interpretations of evaluation for what constitute good or desirable students were made for each modal finite as it grammatically co-occurred with students to construct ideology in Canadian CLT policy discourse.

Finally, as Badran (2009: 196) reminds us, this multifarious analysis cannot represent a one-to-one relation between policy discourse and modal statements. Rather, analytic criteria for each modal statement assessed (a) the nature and extent of epistemic commitments of text producers (mainly) through categorical generalisations about social reality (truth) and what there is; (b) the nature and extent of moral statements that position social actors within discursively delineated social reality and specific social actions and finally (c) how epistemic and deontic commitments of text producers work to construct desirable qualities of ‘good’ students (See Thomas 2005: 13-14). This inevitably placed my own subjective and hence pragmatic (critical) interpretation of discourse at the center of every analytic step that considered the context of a modal in its linguistic and (macro-socio) extralinguistic context.

### **3.7 Validity in a Critical Corpus-Based Approach to CDA**

The research design outlined here stretches the limits of knowledge in foundationalist terms by critically examining and recalibrating the onto-epistemic assumptions of policy research to accommodate a critically-oriented and normatively-inclined research program. By extending the methodology of CBR to include a retroductive explanatory aspect, I inserted a critical component into a non-critical analysis of text. Questioning and engaging critically with received methodologies in this sense, constitutes a central tenet of emancipatory research (Kincheloe 2004a, 2004b). Emancipatory research, in the way that I have employed it here follows the work of critical pedagogues who share in the methodological aim of political applied linguists wishing to unmask and to reveal the ideological and political assumptions of ‘passive, external, monological research methods’ of positivism that ‘detract’ from critical exposure through neutral appeals (Kincheloe et al. 2011). The justification of knowledge, in this sense, extends

beyond the synergy offered by the (non-critical) corpus-based CDA, that though adds a critical component to the methodological sequence, preserves the inductive-deductive continuum of CBR wherein internal and external validity, as positivist criteria for legitimate knowledge, reside (See Kincheloe 2003).

In conceptualizing a critical SP, I engaged in a kind of epistemic disturbance that blurs the lines between internal and external validity or the empirical correlates for inductive and deductive reasoning on which positivist knowledge is grounded. Through a critical lens, the justification of knowledge based on criteria of observation (induction) and generalizability (deduction) defers to a decontextualized Cartesian dualism to characterize our relation to the social world that depends on 'scientific' and linear causal explanations (Kincheloe 2004b: 40).

As a critical social researcher, however, I took it upon myself to engage critically with competing onto-epistemic theories to understand the k-frameworks that inform current policy research. The normative dimension of this study forced me to engage in philosophical inquiry into the inner-workings of taken-for granted research paradigms. Following Kincheloe (2004a: 13-15), this type of epistemological understanding 'better-equipped' me to draw upon and to develop 'alternate modes of reasoning' that emancipate the researcher from received and prespecified research programs. This was the value of extending retroductive explanations to a non-critical research program. It is these alternate modes or reasoning that have the potential to destabilize 'elite privilege' and elite ways of knowing that keep marginalized groups marginalized (ibid).

These epistemological exercises and decisions through the critical lens are one with 'high quality research' (Kincheloe 2004a: 12). They demand a more rigorous understanding of the powers at play in knowledge production, how they are sustained by philosophical/ empirical distinctions and how they are dismantled by merging and embedding them within each other (Kincheloe 2004a: 15). In this research design, positivism's internal and external validity were stretched and distorted in the conceptualization of a critical SP to now include new and multiple levels of social reality that legitimate researcher subjectivity and intuition. This allows for the possibility of alternate discourses to emerge in the CLT policy under study that cannot be detected by monological foundationalist approaches to text analysis. From this perspective, the justification of critically-inclined and transformative knowledge produced by a critical corpus-based CDA was motivated by morality and justified by pragmatism. I elaborate and reflect more on validity in chapter 5.

### **3.8 Summary of Chapter 3**

In this chapter I outlined and justified the research design for a critical corpus-based CDA that sought to examine the extent to which current Canadian FSL policy commits to competing neoliberal discourse of LC and SSD though weak and strong CLT policy precepts. I laid out a CR ontology that defies law-like explanations of the lower-level sciences in explaining the relation between language and society through the concept of retroduction that allows the researcher to ascribe political reasons as causes of social injustice found in language. While this allowed me to justify a CDA of current policy research, I extended the retroductive premise of CDA and inherently CR, to one aspect of CBR, which in turn allowed me to conceptualize a critical approach to the analysis of SP that interrupts the inductive-deductive continuum on which the production of knowledge in CBR is based. Finally, I argued in favour of retaining a computerised keyword and collocational analysis as a 'principled' entrypoint to the two-part critical analysis I described here. Entering the data in this way, would allow me to isolate the keywords 'teachers' and 'students' and their highest co-occurring verbs as both statistically salient and as indispensable quantitative data from which to carry out critical corpus-based CDA.

# **Chapter 4: Findings of the Critical Corpus Based CDA**

## **4. Introduction to Chapter 4**

This chapter presents the findings of a critical corpus-based CDA that aims to assess the extent to which Canadian FSL policy commits to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse. We have seen in the previous chapter that CBR through a keyword and collocational analysis of ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ serves as a useful entrypoint to the two-part critical analysis of current Canadian policy. This chapter, therefore, is divided into two parts. The analytic approach begins by deploying a keyword and collocational analysis to the four-text corpus. I discuss the statistical salience of ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ as the key social agents that ‘operationalize’ or carry out the CLT pedagogy in the prescribed policy context and present the findings of the collocational analysis which isolated the top 4 verb collocates for ‘teachers’ and the top 4 modal verb collocates for ‘students’.

The second part of this chapter provides evidence from the two-part critical examination of Canadian FSL policy through ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ and their verb collocates. I discuss the results of a critical SP of ‘teachers’ and of a modal CDA of ‘students’ as they relate to verb collocates derived through the CBR aspect of the analysis. The critical analysis of SP assumes that syntagmatically related words of the top 4 verb collocates of the key node ‘teachers’ can reveal a semantic commitment to a macro discourse topic that constitutes the shared semantic feature of co-occurring words. The results of the critical SP are discussed prior to presenting the findings of the CDA of modal verbs for the node ‘students’, which assessed statements of truth and necessity that may reflect a weak or strong CLT and hence an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse.

The discussion of the critical findings of this chapter is premised on the conceptual and methodological distinction between weak and strong CLT pedagogy and LC and SSD neoliberal discourse established in chapter 2. The reader will recall that a weak CLT pedagogy that prescribes the teaching of language structures prior to social interaction was grounded in an LC neoliberal discourse that allows language learners to capitalize on NS competence – on meritocratic grounds. On the other hand, a strong CLT ascribed to the emergent language forms of an SSD discourse does not depend on the teacher ‘teaching’ the context of language use prior to social interaction. In chapter 2 I argued that while the former neoliberal discourse gives rise to the method-related problem of identity (MRPI) for PS language learners, the latter can serve as a counter-hegemonic discourse in these language learning contexts. The

consequences for PS language learner identities that emerge from the results will be elaborated in chapter 5.

#### **4.1 Keyword Analysis of ‘Teachers’ and ‘Students’**

To begin, results of the keyword analysis which compared two-frequency-based wordlists one from the 4 million -word BNC baby reference corpus and one from the 400 000-word study corpus, will be presented. As explained in the methodology chapter, deriving keywords and their collocates depends on applying statistical tests to confirm quantitative salience. Specifically, the reader will recall that keywords are words which are detected by computer software (in this case WordSmith Tools 7.0) to be ‘unusually frequent’, with frequency being determined in relation to a reference corpus (Scott 1997: 236). As indicated in chapter 3, I opted to measure statistical salience of the keywords ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ in terms of ‘log-ratio’. Therefore, prior to laying out these findings, it is important to outline how the keyword list was derived.

To derive the keyword list, PDF documents of the chosen policy texts, and XML documents of the BNC baby were converted to text files in order to be processed by WordSmith Tools 7.0. Separate word lists were then created for both the study corpus and the reference corpus using the WordSmith’s Wordlist function. Subsequently, the Keyword function allowed for the comparison of the two wordlists from which a list of 300 keywords emerged. Because 2 out of the 4 policy documents under study have bilingual content (i.e., Ontario Ministry of Education 2014 and Ontario Ministry of Education 2013a), containing mostly English but also French pedagogic prescriptions pertaining to the teaching of FSL in the Canadian context, the initial keyword list contained a mixture of open- and closed-class French and English words. Thus I went through the initial keyword list and ‘zapped’ or deleted unwanted (French) words and symbols (some numbers) as well as English closed-class (grammatical) words.

The following table, Table 1, indicates the statistical salience of the nodes ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ by log-ratio. Representing 13 keywords that included ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ was arbitrarily chosen as I could immediately identify my target nodes (i.e. ‘teachers’ and ‘students’) in this list of ‘cleaned’ keywords. Again, because the keyword analysis was primarily meant to offer a ‘principled’ entrypoint to the critical and qualitative aspects of the analysis, focusing on this snippet of 13 keywords was merely meant to illustrate the statistical salience of ‘teachers’ and ‘students’, by log-ratio (column 8) which constituted my main concern in this study. Being transparent about the derivation of keywords would

allow me to subsequently focus on ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ as the main keywords for the remainder of the study.

Table 1: Top Key Words in the Canadian CLT Study Corpus

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N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	Rc. %	BIC	Log_L	Log_R
42	INTERACTING	170	0.04%	3	13		693.55	708.83	6.96
43	TEACHERS	2,228	0.54%	4	172		9,266.38	9,281.66	6.95
44	EDITING	103	0.03%	2	8		413.56	428.84	6.94
45	STUDENTS	3,476	0.85%	4	274		14,436.86	14,452.14	6.92
46	DRAFTS	101	0.02%	2	8		404.45	419.73	6.91
47	PRONOUNS	158	0.04%	2	13		638.91	654.19	6.85
48	PROGRAMS	258	0.06%	4	22		1,049.16	1,064.44	6.80
49	EXPRESSIONS	879	0.21%	3	76		3,606.14	3,621.42	6.78
50	ORGANIZE	161	0.04%	4	14		647.64	662.92	6.77
51	INTONATION	128	0.03%	2	12		507.61	522.89	6.67
52	TEXTS	1,347	0.33%	3	128		5,479.19	5,494.47	6.65
53	TEACHER	1,957	0.48%	4	187		7,962.56	7,977.84	6.64
54	CONVENTIONS	732	0.18%	3	70		2,968.51	2,983.79	6.64

The first column in the above table specifies the indicated keyword. The second and third column represent the number of instantiations and the corollary (minute) percentages the instantiations represent across the 4-text corpus. The fourth, fifth and sixth columns represent the number of texts the keyword was present in, the number of occurrences and the reflective percentage in the reference corpus. Finally, the last three columns represent the 3 statistical analyses of ‘keyness’, namely, BIC, log-likelihood and log-ratio, elaborated in the previous chapter.

In this regard, the reader will notice that though ‘teacher’ (line 53) and ‘teachers’ (line 43) both appeared in the list, I did not ‘lemmatize’ or subsume the former into the latter (or vice versa) for analysis (See Hunston 2002: 18). This is because I was interested in classifying the keyword (‘teachers’) through its collocates. While lemmatizing allows the analyst to simplify a keyword list, in the analysis of collocates this is not always a beneficial route as various lemmas of the same word can collocate with different words-types (verbs, adjectives, adverbs) giving the node a different meaning (Stubbs 2002: 27-28 cited in Baker 2004: 355).

In terms of quantitative salience, ‘teachers’ had 2 228 occurrences, present across all 4 policy texts, while ‘students’ ranked higher with 3 476 total occurrences. This sum can be juxtaposed to ‘teachers’ appearing 172 times in the reference corpus with ‘students’ reflecting 274 instantiations in the same

corpus. More specifically, the notion of dispersion is salient in CBR because it denotes the extent to which the frequency-based occurrence or co-occurrence of a node word is evenly or unevenly distributed across a set of texts (Gries 2008, 2021; Baker 2010). While debate in the literature centers on competing measures of dispersion as well as context of application in CBR (See Gries 2021), it is a useful tool in establishing the extent to which a node word is evenly distributed or expresses ‘burstiness’ across a set of texts (See Church and Gale 1995 cited in Gries 2021: 64). As Baker (2010: 28) notes, though not all corpus linguists consider dispersion in their analysis, a ‘dispersion check’ can offer more rigorous results.

Wordsmith Tools provides both a graphic ‘dispersion plot’ that indicates occurrences in the individual and overall texts and Juliard’s D measure of dispersion offered in numerical value between 0 and 1 (Oaks 1998 cited in Scott 2019). Scores closest to 1 indicate relatively even distribution whereas scores closer to 0.1 suggest uneven or ‘bursty’ occurrences across the corpus (Katz 1996 cited in Scott 2019). In this context, both ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ suggested a relatively even dispersion across texts.

‘Teachers’ had an overall D measure of 0.96 with dispersion in individual policy texts ranging from 0.95 in Ontario Ministry of Education (2013a), 0.95 in Ontario Ministry of Education (2014), 0.74 in Ontario Ministry of Education (2013b) and 0.65 in Ministries of Education Canada (2010). Similarly, ‘students’ had an overall dispersion score of 0.92 with scores in individual texts ranging from 0.89 in Ontario Ministry of Education (2013a), 0.92 in Ontario Ministry of Education (2014), 0.83 in Ontario Ministry of Education (2013b) and 0.65 in Ministries of Education Canada (2010).

The hierarchy of the keywords are determined by log-ratio scores in the 7<sup>th</sup> column. As noted in Chapter 3, alternate statistical tests of log-likelihood and BIC (columns 6 and 7, respectively) would have yielded an alternate ordering of keywords across the four policy texts. This would have placed ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ higher in the ordering of keywords by those statistical standards. Nevertheless, in terms of understanding the ‘effect-size’ statistic, the table indicates that ‘teachers’ had a log-ratio of 6.95 while the log-ratio of ‘students’ was lower at 6.92. In these terms, both nodes can be understood as being at least 64 times more likely to appear in study corpus than in the reference corpus.

#### **4.2 Extracting Verb Collocates of Key Nodes ‘Teachers’ and ‘Students’**

Having established the keywords ‘teachers’ and ‘students’ as statistically salient, in the second phase of the analysis, I was concerned with extracting top verb collocates for each of the key nodes with an eye to analyzing on the one hand their functional role in elucidating a weak or strong CLT pedagogy through

SP and on the other their ideational role in constructing student identities through CDA. To address both aspects of the research that would yield on the one hand, a critical analysis of SP and on the other that would serve as a springboard to CDA, the top 40 verb collocates for each key node were extracted to include ordinary verb collocates in the simple present tense as well as modal finites. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the derivation of collocates for both 'teachers' and 'students' was frequency-based. Therefore, my prime consideration in deriving the initial list of lexical 'neighbours' for each of the keywords was the number of times a lexical item co-occurred with the keyword in question. In this regard, each collocational analysis was carried out separately.

According to Scott (2010), another main consideration when deriving collocates is the setting of 'collocation horizons' or the number of words the Concord function in WordSmith identifies to the left and to the right of a given node word. I retained the default setting for this function at 5L/5R, or 5 words to the left and 5 words to the right for each keyword. Moreover, for a collocation to appear I set the settings to 10 minimum co-occurrences in at least 2 out of the 4 policy texts. While this does not guarantee an equal dispersion of collocates as it may indicate 'burstiness' in 50% of the corpus, Baker (2010: 27) notes these are still worth investigating despite not being representative of an entire corpus.

Using the Concordance function, individual lists of collocates were derived for each of the nodes 'teachers' and 'students'. The initial lists yielded under 200 words. From this, it was easy to 'clean' the collocational lists from all lexical items that did not constitute verbs in the simple present or modal auxiliaries. Because this study was motivated by pragmatic aims, designing a meaningful study was in large part iterative. Therefore, while I listed the top 40 verb collocates for each 'teachers' and 'students', I identified the top 4 verb collocates for teachers, namely, *encourage, model, suggest direct*, and the top 4 modal verb collocates for 'students', namely, *will, need, should, must*, from which I could carry out the two-part critical analysis designed to jointly address RQ3. The following table, Table 2, is indicative of the collocational findings described here.

Table 2: Top 40 Verb Collocates for Keywords 'Teachers' and 'Students'



<u>Keywords in Canadian CLT Policy</u>	<u>Top 40 Verb Collocates by Frequency</u>	<u>Top 4 Modal Verb Collocates</u>	<u>Top 4 Ordinary Verb Collocates</u>
Students	<i>Will, encourage, suggest, help, identify, direct, develop, listen, provide, communicate, have, learn, support, need, remind, create, understand, discuss, work, model, research, should, read, make, ensure, draw, practice, engage, express, guide, build, speak, reflect, apply, review, take, must, record, enable, give</i>	<i>Will, need, should, must</i>	
Teachers	<i>Encourage, model, suggest, direct, listen, help, provide, identify, review, introduce, remind, demonstrate, work, discuss, need, support, draw, create, develop, ensure, promote, make, should, guide, research, read, instruct, co-construct, recognize, highlight, understand, record, must, refer, plan, will, consider, look, explain, select</i>		<i>Encourage, model, suggest, direct</i>

Here we can see that collocational analysis fundamentally boasts the capacity to attribute to certain keyword or keyword groupings (lexical bundles) under study an initial ‘decontextualized listing’ of repeated words that keep its company (Philip 2013: 244). But a mere list of frequently co-occurring words that ‘stare you in the face just as it is’ (Firth 1957: 14 cited in Philip 2013: 244) still does not tell us much about the ideology or the discourse itself of a given set of texts. Therefore, in the remainder of the study I was concerned with carrying out consecutive critical analyses to examine the critical SP of ‘teachers’ and the CDA of modality and evaluation for ‘students’ in order to address the main research question.

**4.3 A Critical SP of ‘Teachers’: Assessing the Verb Collocates *Encourage, Model, Suggest, Direct***

In this section, I lay out results from the first phase of the two-part critical approach. I will describe the findings of the critical SP of ‘teachers’ as it relates to its top four verb collocates derived in previous section through concordance software. As previously stated in the methodology chapter, a critical collocational analysis of SP for the node ‘teachers’ assumed that an analysis of the functional role of each verb collocate as it related to ‘teachers’ could reveal the nature of CLT prescribed by current Canadian FSL policy. In this context, as mentioned in chapter 3 I retained the default L1/R1/R1 sorting pattern throughout the analysis that ordered the key node ‘teachers’ in the presences of a given collocate through the alphabetical ordering of words to the left (L1) and then to the right of the

collocational occurrence (R1/R1). This means that concordance lines were not randomized and therefore the sets of concordance lines analyzed are not necessarily representative of the set of texts as whole. Rather, in line with the overall theme of this thesis, the analysis of a set of concordance lines represented a snippet of the current Canadian FSL policy under study. The data revealed a critical SP of teachers as it collocates with *encourage*, *model*, *suggest*, and *direct*, appears to suggest a weak CLT and hence an LC neoliberal discourse in current Canadian CLT policy.

#### **4.3.1 Teachers + Encourage**

The critical analysis of the SP of ‘teachers’ as it collocates with *encourage* revealed an SP for a weak CLT pedagogy in current Canadian policy documents that places a priori language structures at the center of language tasks. Specifically, *encourage* constituted the highest recurring verb collocate for ‘teachers’ with 516 co-occurrences out of 2 247 occurrences of ‘teachers’. Looking at line 400 to 419, the 20 concordance lines randomly derived, it was evident that a noun + verb syntactic pattern occurred within the context of ‘Instructional tip’ that appeared in most instances to the direct left of the node. This indicated the functional role of *encourage* which consistently appeared to the right of ‘teachers’ was directly dependent on the prescription of policy producers for a specific language task at hand. This is evidenced in the following table, Table 3, of 20 concordance lines for ‘teachers’ as it collocates with ‘encourage’.

Table 3: Concordance lines for Teachers + Encourage

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N	Concordance	Set...	Sent...	#	#	#	...	File
400	voix peut-elle clarifier le sens des mots?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to make note of	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
401	ou provocant dans une chanson?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use verbs followed	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
402	des proverbes de différents pays?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to expand their	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
403	est la plus efficace? Pourquoi?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to discuss which form	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
404	utiliser pour trouver le sens d'un mot?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use word walls to	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
405	referring to personal opinions (their own and others'). (2) <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use the appropriate	...	S	7	05	0	5	05 fsl18-2013curr.bt
406	le travail que tu auras fait pendant la semaine". (2) <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to agree or disagree	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
407	of view expressed by providing evidence from the text. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use negative	...	S	4	02	0	2	02 fsl18-2013curr.bt
408	de planifier tes futures présentations?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to employ frequently	...	S	9	07	0	7	07 fsl18-2013curr.bt
409	l'apprentissage de ces nouveaux mots?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to create word webs	...	S	2	03	0	0	03 fsl18-2013curr.bt
410	d'être bilingue ou unilingue?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use adverbs	...	S	8	03	0	6	03 fsl912curr2014.bt
411	publicité afin d'appuyer ton message?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use various	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
412	, share ideas, and consider alternative viewpoints. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to observe the body	...	S	9	07	0	7	07 fsl912curr2014.bt
413	discussion enrichit-il tes contributions?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use formulaic	...	S	1	03	0	9	03 fsl912curr2014.bt
414	aux questions suite à la lecture?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to record in a reader's	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
415	est le but de la publicité en général?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use temporal	...	S	8	03	0	6	03 fsl912curr2014.bt
416	commercials to cause listeners to react emotionally. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use complex	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
417	un endroit précis dans ta communauté?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use prepositions	...	S	.	0.	0.	..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
418	these words and structures in their presentations. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to use the imparfait	...	S	1	03	0	9	03 fsl912curr2014.bt
419	pour bien raconter une blague?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can encourage students to construct and	...	S	6	04	0	4	04 fsl912curr2014.bt

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters timeline filenames source text notes

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The reader will recall that classification into one of three categories for each of the 20 concordance lines where *encourage* co-occurred with 'teachers' was a key criterion for determining the overall SP of 'teachers'. Thus, the full transcription of lines 400 to 419 into a chart in Appendix 1 was followed by the carefully classification of each concordance line into one of the three pre-set macro-categories of 'weak CLT', 'strong CLT' and 'miscellaneous'. The data showed that *encourage* in the lexical environment of 'teachers' alludes to all three semantic sets with a predominant commitment in 12 out of the 20 concordance lines, to weak CLT pedagogy. This means that in the majority of lines examined, monolingual language standards were present through pre-set language structures suggested by the teacher, that students are in turn expected to produce. The following three excerpts comprising lines 401, 411 and 418 are indicative.

Line 401: Teachers can **encourage** students to use verbs followed by prepositions, such as "penser à", "croire à/en", "rêver de", "décider de", "agir sur", when evaluating the information presented in a podcast (e.g., "Cela me fait penser à...", "J'ai décidé de...").

Line 411: Teachers can **encourage** students to use various question structures (e.g., subject-verb inversion, intonation) when conducting an interview.

*Line 418: (2) Teachers can **encourage** students to use the imparfait when describing memories and experiences (e.g., “Quand j’étais jeune, je croyais que...”).*

Data in the above excerpts revealed teachers *encourage* the explicit use of verbs in conjunction with a preposition (line 401), a subject-verb inversion (line 411) as well as the imparfait (line 418), in contriving pre-specified language structures to be satisfied in the carrying out of a given language task, namely assessing a podcast, conducting an interview or in the simple recounting of the past. This is in line with a weak CLT pedagogy and PPP lesson plans that depends on the presentation of a priori language structures prior to social interaction in the language learning context where students practice and produce the given language form.

In this context, weak CLT, as elaborated in chapter 2 is contrary to a process-oriented or strong CLT syllabus that might focus, notes Ellis (2003: 31) – not on the content of what is learned but in the nature of how it is learned (cited in Angelo 2018: 11). Seen in this way what is pre-specified for the successful completion of a language task is the determining factor for classification. A process pedagogy of unpredictable communicative exchanges cannot for instance depend on ‘preselected content specifications’ (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 144). In this view, we might recognize a strong CLT pedagogy in the pedagogic role of the teacher, who ‘abstains’ from prescribing language structures for the successful completion of a given language task or communicative exchange in the language policy (See Angelo 2018: 11). Assessing the potential for a strong CLT in this sense, meant looking for both consistent and inconsistent patterns of meaning. The results indicated that 3 instances out of the 20 are potentially strong-CLT oriented. The following concordance line is paradigmatic:

*Line 419: Teachers can **encourage** students to construct and practise a variety of phrases that they can use when participating in exchanges.*

While it was difficult to ignore the potential for this language task to take on a strong CLT form by deploying for instance, multiple languages and language forms in communicative exchanges with peers and teachers, the context of the policy (looking beyond mere concordance lines) suggested a monolingual consistency in the pre-specification of language tasks above. This is because it is conceivable that students who speak the same languages (i.e. Arabic or Greek) in globalized language learning spaces where multiple languages are employed outside the language learning classroom, ask each other for interpretive support across languages. No such prescription was evidenced here.

Moreover, ambiguous/ miscellaneous instances of the use of *encourage* in the collocational vicinity of ‘teachers’ appeared in 5 out of the 20 concordance lines analyzed. The following excerpt emphasizes metacognition in reading.

*Line 414: Teachers can encourage students to record in a reader’s notebook the reading strategies they have tried, evaluate the effectiveness of these strategies, and plan new strategies based on this evaluation.*

In examining line 414, it is worth noting that proficiency in reading can mean many things that do not necessarily depend on the use of a single language in a closed-system way. For instance, the recognition and understanding of words and overall text cohesion, or the capacity to use alternate resources to gain understanding (peers, dictionaries, online apps) can easily draw on other languages to help students understand. Therefore, the data in this case revealed a miscellaneous pedagogic commitment that cannot clearly be delineated as either weak or strongly oriented on the CLT spectrum. This confirmed the presence of all three categories in the analysis of concordance lines which contained ‘teachers’ in the collocational environment of *encourage*. The predominant presence of pre-specified language structures that included verb conjugation and syntactic forms suggested that the functional meaning of *encourage* has a general SP for a weak CLT pedagogy.

#### **4.3.2 Teachers + Model**

A product-oriented, weak CLT syllabus based on grammatical/ structural content was also ostensibly present in the analysis of the SP for teachers as it collocated with *model* in the set of policy texts under study. *Model* constituted the second most frequent collocation of ‘teachers’ with 346 occurrences out of 2 247 total ‘teacher’ instantiations. In looking at the overall syntactic patterns of their co-occurrence, the data revealed that in 20 out of the 20 concordance lines examined, *model* appeared to the right of ‘teachers’ suggesting, as in the analysis of *encourage*, ‘teachers’ as assigners of language tasks and students as recipients of those tasks. This is consistent with a weak CLT pedagogy that assumes PPP lesson plans within monolingual language constraints. Results of the data discussed here, are from an analysis of concordance lines 57 to 76, as indicated in the following table, Table 4.

Table 4: Concordance Lines for Teachers + Model

N	Concordance	Set...	W...	Sent	Sent...	...	File
		#	#	Pos.	...	...	
57	increases in fluency, accuracy, and complexity over time. <b>Teachers</b> should also model a variety of strategies that	...	4...5	04...3)	3	3	fs1912curr2014.
58	, and "faire de" when talking about favourite pastimes. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of past tenses when	...	1...9	01...7)	7	7	fs1912curr2014.
59	'tu' et 'vous' dans une correspondance?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can model the difference between "tu" and	...	5...8	05...6)	6	6	fs1912curr2014.
60	goûts des membres de ta famille?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model basic verbs and expressions to help	...	0...2	0)...0)	0	0	fs1912curr2014.
61	students to use these pronouns in their interactions. (3) <b>Teachers</b> can model through dialogue the use of personal	...	3...4	03...2)	2	2	fs1912curr2014.
62	ta voix pour appuyer ton message?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model and encourage students to practise	...	7...0	07...8)	8	8	fs1912curr2014.
63	style d'apprentissage en écriture?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model the correct use of past tenses to	...	9...3	09...1)	1	1	fs1912curr2014.
64	formel et informel au téléphone?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of appropriate gestures with	...	3...6	03...4)	4	4	fs1912curr2014.
65	tes idées à propos du texte?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model how to use a T-chart or a Venn	...	2...9	02...7)	7	7	fs1912curr2014.
66	s'il vous plaît", "Expliquez ce que vous voulez dire"). (2) <b>Teachers</b> can model a series of responses using positive	...	3...0	03...8)	8	8	fs1912curr2014.
67	organize information before writing their first draft. (3) <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of conditional sentences	...	2...3	02...1)	1	1	fs1912curr2014.
68	, "Je tiens beaucoup à vous", "Faites attention à eux!"). (3) <b>Teachers</b> can model how to structure a sentence	...	3...7	03...5)	5	5	fs1912curr2014.
69	, such as "aujourd'hui", "après les cours", and "le soir". (2) <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of verbs (e.g., "comprendre",	...	3...7	03...5)	5	5	fs1912curr2014.
70	à la piscine"), "jouer", "aimer", "faire", "écouter", and "lire". <b>Teachers</b> also can model the use of time indicators for	...	3...4	03...2)	2	2	fs1912curr2014.
71	d'informations peut-on en retirer?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of checklists and organizers	...	1...	0 1...)	1	1	fs18-2013curr.
72	de la ponctuation dans la lecture?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model fluent reading by reading aloud to the	...	7...9	07...7)	7	7	fs1912curr2014.
73	trouver un emploi à temps partiel?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of the futur simple and futur	...	3...8	03...6)	6	6	fs1912curr2014.
74	à quelqu'un de clarifier son message?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can model the use of the conditionnel présent to	...	3...6	03...4)	4	4	fs1912curr2014.
75	l'emphase pour divertir les autres?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can model the pronunciation and appropriate	...	3...7	03...5)	5	5	fs1912curr2014.
76	, "plusieurs fois par jour", "Je suis toujours connecté"). (2) <b>Teachers</b> can model how to appropriately accept and	...	3...6	03...4)	4	4	fs1912curr2014.

More specifically, 16 out of the 20 concordance lines examined suggested an overall SP for a weak-CLT oriented pedagogy (See Appendix 2). The following concordance lines are indicative:

*Line 73: Teachers can **model** the use of the future simple and futur proche to articulate future plans and goals.*

*Line 67: Teachers can **model** the use of conditional sentences using "si" with the imparfait, followed by the conditionnel présent, to describe possibilities (e.g., "Si les comédiens savaient..., ils pourraient...", "Si j'avais un million de dollars, je t'achèterais...").*

In the above examples, both lines 67 and 73 demonstrate the subordination of language structures to a communicative function. The explicit suggestion that 'teachers' pre-specify the future proche (line 73) as well as the conditional with the imparfait (line 67) indicated the preselection of content in terms of grammar and language structure (the 'what') followed by the 'presentation' of these structures in a given communicative context by the teacher. This type of modeling, though not explicitly outlined as a task itself, assumes the 'correct' appropriation of the language structure under study through a given language task to be assessed for fluency and accuracy.

Moreover, according to Prabhu (1987: 5) for instance, the notion that ‘teachers act as teachers and learners act as learners’ relies on ‘what’ will be learned (See Kumaravadivelu 1993 cited in Ellis 2003: 31- See also Angelo 2018: 11). This confirms the role of teachers as decisive in CLT. While teachers facilitate communicative exchanges in the language learning context through language tasks as well as through the selection and organization of language resources and activities, the degree to which learners play an active role in decisions regarding content and instructional material varies on the methodological scale (See Breen & Candlin cited in Ellis 2003: 32). Specifically, the reader will recall that it is the grammatical/ structural context of activities that I have identified as the limiting culprit in an MRPI/ weak CLT product-oriented syllabus.

Language structures, however, can also extend to the notion of pronunciation. Evaluative notions of pronunciation that elevate certain forms of speaking while denigrating others have for a long time fallen under linguicism’s umbrella. As elaborated in chapter 2, linguistic imperialism offers the promise of global careers should one be able to speak like a ‘Parisian’ despite growing up in Québec or lose a cockney accent in favour of a more standard English to increase hireability. This follows from the discussion on Phillipson who identifies monolingualism at the crux of political ideology but fails to attribute meritocracy to it. The following expanded concordance line for *model* in the collocational environment in ‘teacher’ is paradigmatic.

*Line 75: Teachers can **model** the pronunciation and appropriate use of French expressions encountered in various texts so that students can use them without hesitation in daily communications.*

Imposing correct pronunciation on multilingual language learners with globalized histories is to conceivably threaten the PS identities of the speakers of an SSD discourse. This kind of linguistic subordination that contradicts the discursively contingent identities of language learners, as we also saw in chapter 2 threatens the participation of language learners in language tasks. In this sense, the pronunciation constraint falls under the category of a weak CLT pedagogy.

In the set of concordance lines for *model* studied, a series of ambiguous statements were also found to be present. This was the case where the functional use of *model* as it collocates with ‘teachers’, was not sufficiently suggestive of a weak-or strong- CLT oriented pedagogy. The following examples are indicative:

Line 57: Teachers should also **model** a variety of strategies that students can use for requesting clarification and assistance when they have difficulty understanding.

Line 65: Teachers can **model** how to use a T-chart or a Venn diagram as a tool for comparing aspects of two texts (e.g., characters, facts/ information, plot elements).

In line 57 for instance, while the skill itself of requesting clarification is beyond the scope of any given pedagogy (as it is presupposed by all of them), the element of a language task can conceivably emerge in the linguistic nature of the clarificatory request. For instance, whether and to what extent students can lean on each other, not only by asking peers but by potentially doing so in alternate, multiple languages is unclear. A multi-lingual request of this kind would satisfy a strong CLT pedagogy, allowing students to sharpen their knowledge of a new language (French) through their extant linguistic competence, i.e., mother tongue or alternate, (mixed) preferred language. Once the concordance line was further expanded to include the entire paragraph within which the concordance line occurred, the possibility for a strong CLT was blocked as the sentence directly preceding line 57 reads: 'Teachers should encourage students to develop their self-expression in and spontaneous use of French, eliciting talk that increases in fluency, accuracy and complexity over time' (Ministry of Education 2014). In other words, the requirement for (NS) fluency, was found to nullify the possibility of building linguistic competence through a multilingual discourse, characteristic of a strong CLT/ SSD discourse.

Moreover, findings from line 65 showed a pedagogical affinity for developing logic and the organization of ideas through T-charts and Venn diagrams, for instance. While in this concordance there is no linguistic specification (i.e. which language to use or how), it is reasonable to assume, in a charitable light, that such a task can lend itself to the mixing and switching of languages (and accents for that matter) of a strong CLT. This would require the explicit prescription for language mixing, switching and translating. There were no instances of *model* in the lexical presence of 'teachers' that suggested such a strong-CLT oriented pedagogy.

Grammatically-based language and pre-set language structures dominated the concordance lines analyzed for *model* as it collocates with 'teachers'. Moreover, the lack of/ minimal descriptions of strong CLT oriented language tasks and activities that offer the possibility for language learners to engage in multilingual and mother-tongue discourse were explicitly lacking. Together these findings revealed that 'teachers' in the collocational environment of *model* have a strong SP for a weak CLT/ LC neoliberal discourse.



### 4.3.3 Teachers + Suggest

Data from the critical collocational analysis of *suggest* as it co-occurs with ‘teachers’ further indicated a clear SP for a weak CLT and hence LC neoliberal discourse with some ambiguous classifications of the co-occurrences. ‘Suggest’ collocated with ‘teachers’ 328 times out of 2 241 instances of ‘teachers’ across the policy texts with all listed instantiations appearing to the right of the node word. The following 20 concordances in Table 5, ranging from lines 278 to 297 are indicative.

Table 5: Concordance lines for Teachers + *Suggest*

N	Concordance	...	Sent	Para	...	File	
		#	#	#	...		
278	develop their ability to understand texts from other cultures, <b>teachers</b> can suggest that, before reading, students find out	.S	.8	0	0.6	0	fsI912curr2014.
279	but s d'écriture lors de la prochaine tâche? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students share with peers how	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI912curr2014.
280	(p. ex., mots apparentés, faux amis)? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use the futur proche (e.	.S	.5	0	0.3	0	fsI912curr2014.
281	d'un enregistrement? Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students monitor their own	.S	.5	0	0.3	0	fsI912curr2014.
282	dans la discussion sur cette fête? Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use possessive	.S	.9	0	0.7	0	fsI18-2013curr.bt
283	used in commercials as a strategy to convince listeners. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students listen for the use of	.S	.3	0	0.1	0	fsI912curr2014.
284	est très simple, cependant personne n'y a pensé). (2) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use affirmative and	.S	.2	0	0.0	0	fsI912curr2014.
285	sentiments au sujet de cette oeuvre d'art? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use the impératif as a	.S	.2	0	0.0	0	fsI18-2013curr.bt
286	te servir dans la vie de tous les jours? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use a checklist to	.S	.7	0	0.5	0	fsI18-2013curr.bt
287	et des symboles pour créer un emblème? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest students use reflexive verbs to	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI18-2013curr.bt
288	t'aide-t-elle à réviser tes propres textes? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students keep a writer's	.S	.4	0	0.2	0	fsI18-2013curr.bt
289	de classe pour expliquer ton point de vue? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use a graphic	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI18-2013curr.bt
290	du message par l'auditoire visé? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use the appropriate	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI18-2013curr.bt
291	voire compréhension d'un discours? Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students monitor their own	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI912curr2014.
292	connaissance sur un sujet personnel, je peux...?). (2) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use indirect discourse	.S	.6	0	0.4	0	fsI912curr2014.
293	materials that outline effective presentation skills. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest students use sentence starters such	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI18-2013curr.bt
294	à souligner quand vous lisez un article? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that, when students make	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI912curr2014.
295	les outils que vous utilisez pour y arriver? Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use conjunctions	.S	...	0	0...	0.	fsI912curr2014.
296	pays voudrais-tu voyager? Pourquoi? Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use appropriate	.S	.5	0	0.3	0	fsI912curr2014.
297	chose qui a eu lieu dans le passé? Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students use "jouer à", "jouer	.S	.0	0	0.8	0	fsI912curr2014.
298	incorporer dans ta présentation? Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can suggest that students describe greeting	.S	.7	0	0.5	0	fsI912curr2014.

The indication of ‘instructional tip’ in the immediate lexical environment of collocates ‘teachers’ and ‘suggest’ designated the synonymous function of *suggest* alongside ‘model’ and ‘encourage’ that places the teacher at the assigning end of weak CLT language tasks. More specifically, the following expanded excerpts illustrated the nature of suggestions being made by teachers, as they relate to the teacher + verb syntactic pattern suggestive of PPP lesson plans:

Line 284: Teachers can **suggest** that students use affirmative and negative infinitives following impersonal expressions (e.g., “Il est important d’être bilingue au Canada parce que...”, “Il est nécessaire de se protéger contre les rayons du soleil, car...”, “Il est préférable de ne pas conduire trop vite, étant donné que...” ) to express their arguments forcefully.

Line 292: Teachers can **suggest** that students use indirect discourse with verbs such as “affirmer”, “constater”, and “ajouter” in the past and present when reflecting on and explaining the usefulness of learning strategies (e.g., “J’affirme que...”, “Salma a constaté que...”).

The pre-emptive requirement to deploy negative infinitives (line 284) as well as indirect discourses + past or present tense (line 292) as an explicit requirement for the successful carrying out of a language task as in expressing ‘forceful’ arguments (line 284) or reflecting on learning strategies (line 292) each merited a weak CLT classification for SP. As Kumaravadivelu (2006: 145) confirms and as I reiterate here, there is little pertaining to ‘unpredictability’ and spontaneity required for a strong CLT pedagogy to flourish in the stated communicative interactions. In this regard, the argumentative example in line 284, stressing the import of ‘bilingualism’ in Canada, for instance, was particularly interesting as it reminds us of the paradoxical discourses at the heart of neoliberalism characterized by additive monolingualism, or weak CLT, on the one hand and hybrid multi-plurilingualism, or strong CLT on the other. Nevertheless, results of the 20-line analysis revealed no instances of a concordance line being classified as strong-CLT oriented (See Appendix 3).

It is worth signalling pedagogic ambiguity that was shown in the following concordance lines. The pedagogic content highlighted here extends beyond CLT to include critical thinking and self assessment strategies:

Line 286: Teachers can **suggest** that students use a checklist to monitor their use of different speaking strategies.

Line 278: To help students develop their ability to understand texts from other cultures, teachers can **suggest** that, before reading, students find out about the writer and the circumstances in which the text was written and that they pay attention to illustrations for clues about the text and the culture that produced it.

While line 286 was indicative of the latter self-assessment strategies which are beyond the scope of this study, line 278 was shown to develop an interesting strand of critical thinking in language learners that asks students to act as researchers in examining the macro context that informs a given language task. To the extent for instance, that culture and dominating worldviews are being assessed in the production of a given (French) text is in itself a relevant task in terms of developing the skill of linking language to society in language learners.

Nevertheless, the SP of teachers as it collocated with 'model' confirmed an affinity for a weak CLT oriented pedagogy and hence an LC discourse through the SP of teachers. Despite highlighting the import of bilingualism in the Canadian language learning context, the concordance lines under study revealed weak CLT policy precepts through language tasks that preselected language structures. This general pattern was not offset by the classification of 7 concordance lines as pedagogically ambiguous.

#### **4.3.4 Teachers + 'Direct'**

The final verb collocate evaluated in the SP for 'teachers' was the node 'direct' which co-occurred with 'teachers' a total of 145 times out of 2 247 instances of 'teachers' in the corpus. Because this constituted the final verb collocate under study which would contribute to the overall SP of 'teachers', I was a little more selective in the series of concordance lines to be examined. Specifically, while I initially decided to expose an analysis for concordance lines 1 to 19, through by-eye scanning I decided to search for counter-examples that might offset the thus-far weak CLT dominating semantic sets of the verbs *encourage*, *model*, *suggest*, examined. Concordance lines 14 to 33, *prima facie* yielded this kind of pedagogical ambivalence. Table 6 is indicative of the concordance lines analyzed.

Table 6: Concordance lines for Teacher + *Direct*

C:\Users\Ria Angelo\Desktop\WORDSMITH\_THESIS\_FILES\_ANGELO\Wordsmith Concord Files\_THESIS\Teachers\_DIRECT\_THESIS.cnc

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance	V	#	File
14	peux-tu partager cette information?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use various familiar	.S	..0 0.8 0 8	08 fsl912curr2014.bt
15	naturel ou parfois forcé?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to the agreement	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
16	tu écris peut affecter ce que tu écris?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use a variety of sentence	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
17	un compterendu d'événements?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use the personal	.S	..8 0.6 0 6	06 fsl912curr2014.bt
18	une lettre au lieu d'un courriel?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use the appropriate	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl18-2013curr.bt
19	ton expérience scientifique?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to the use of the	.S	..0 0.8 0 8	08 fsl18-2013curr.bt
20	plus profonde des deux oeuvres?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to the use of	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
21	, as they speak about their interests and hobbies. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use verbs such as	.S	..8 0.6 0 6	06 fsl912curr2014.bt
22	et les traditions entre les cultures?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to listen to a French song	.S	..1 0.9 0 9	09 fsl912curr2014.bt
23	racontés dans un texte audio?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use a learning log to	.S	..5 0.3 0 3	03 fsl18-2013curr.bt
24	trouve cet endroit merveilleux! Qu'en penses-tu?". (2) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to how the	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
25	une entrevue pour un poste?" Instructional tips: (1) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to indicators of	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
26	pour l'événement communautaire?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to select an organizational	.S	..7 0.5 0 5	05 fsl18-2013curr.bt
27	newspapers, including information from headlines. (2) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to the use of the	.S	..6 0.4 0 4	04 fsl912curr2014.bt
28	pendant une expérience scientifique?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to complex	.S	..1 0.9 0 9	09 fsl18-2013curr.bt
29	des images pour mieux comprendre?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to chart how the use of	.S	..7 0.5 0 5	05 fsl912curr2014.bt
30	ce refrain que tu as trouvés efficaces?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to listen for examples of	.S	..6 0.4 0 4	04 fsl18-2013curr.bt
31	un budget de réalisation d'un projet?" Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students to use the futur antérieur in	.S	1... 0... 0..	0. fsl912curr2014.bt
32	de quelques mots dans le reportage." Instructional tip: <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to the use of	.S	..7 0.5 0 5	05 fsl912curr2014.bt
33	quand...", "Je voudrais que l'auteur examine..."). (3) <b>Teachers</b> can direct students' attention to various	.S	..3 0.1 0 1	01 fsl912curr2014.bt

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters timeline filenames source text notes

T S Help

Results from the 20-line analysis revealed 14 concordance lines classified under a weak CLT semantic set, followed by 3 each for strong CLT and miscellaneous classifications respectively (See Appendix 4). In this context, 3 instantiations of *direct* did not satisfy inclusion of the node word into a strong CLT semantic set but did classify its function in the description of language tasks that were found to hold strong CLT potential. The following 2 instantiations are indicative:

*Line 14: Teachers can **direct** students to use various familiar adjectives and adverbs to describe people, places, and objects.*

*Line 30: Teachers can **direct** students to listen for examples of how speakers enhance their message through the effective use of intonation, expression, and tone of voice.*

Because languages are not only in words but in various semiotics (gestures, movements, intonations, expressions), line 30 indicates a semantic affinity for strong CLT. This is because the worldviews and hence cultures of k-communities can manifest in these semiotic terms. Exposing students to varied ways various social groups use language to express their ideas and beliefs by allowing students themselves to use their mother-tongues and preferred discourses in the language learning context counteracts the limiting possibilities of MRPI caused by product-based language tasks in CLT. This notion underpins the

classification of line 14 as strong-CLT oriented as well. Liberating and emergent tasks that allow PS identities to thrive in the language learning context, necessarily depend on ‘open-ended sets of choices that offer a context for discourse rather than the discourse itself, where the explicit exclusion of grammar must be evident’ (Kumaravadivelu 2006 cited in Angelo 2018: 11). This was the value of starting with potential counterexamples to dominant weak-CLT instantiations of *direct*.

As we saw in the examined instantiations for the verb collocates, *encourage, model, suggest*, such liberating tasks with the explicit exclusion of grammar were not sufficiently present to allow for an overall SP of teachers to be strong-CLT based. The verb collocate *direct* was no exception with 13 weak CLT instantial categorizations. Finally, a more in-depth examination of ambiguous/ miscellaneous pedagogic functions of *direct* was trumped by the impertinence of 2 instantiations of *direct* in this context. This indicated an LC neoliberal discourse dominated the critical SP for ‘teachers’ in Canadian FSL policy documents.

In the next section, I present the findings of a CDA of the modal finites *will, need, should, must*, as they collocate with the key node ‘students’. The purpose of this second critical analysis is to allow for the possibility of alternate discourses to emerge that may or may not confirm the data presented in the critical of SP of ‘teachers’ that suggested a weak CLT and hence LC discourse in Canadian CLT curricula.

#### **4.4 A CDA of Modality and Evaluation: Assessing the Discursive Construction of ‘Students’**

In this section, I will present and analyze data from a CDA of ‘students’ as it collocated with modal finites *will, need, should, must*. The following analysis followed Fairclough’s tripartite framework outlined in chapter 3 that begins with a descriptive analysis of text, followed by an interpretation of orders of discourse. In this analysis I identify both epistemic and deontic modality from which interpretations of evaluation for what constitute good or desirable students are made for each modal finite as it grammatically co-occurred with students to construct ideology in Canadian CLT policy discourse. This inevitably placed my own subjective and hence pragmatic (critical) interpretation of discourse at the center of every analytic step that considered the context of a modal in its linguistic and (macro-socio) extralinguistic context.

##### **4.4.1 Modal Finite Will**

In the analysis of the modal finite *will* which co-occurred with the node ‘students’ there were at least two contexts of declarative (imperative) statements that delineated the discursive construction of student identities in the CLT policy context under study. The first constituted the modal operative ‘will’ that expressed necessity and obligation on the part of students to satisfy grade-level standards from 1 to 12 pertaining to the four language skills (reading, writing, listening, speaking) across all programs. The following example is indicative of discourse producers imposing a general grade-level imperative that pertains to speaking, immediately followed by ‘teacher prompts’ which constitute French expressions teachers can use to elicit responses and communicative exchanges in French from language learners.

### Example 1

*By the end of Grade 8, students will:*

*B1.1 Using Oral Communication Strategies: identify a range of speaking strategies and use them appropriately to express themselves clearly and coherently in French for various purposes and to a variety of audiences (e.g., alter volume and tone to engage audience; use dramatic pauses to create suspense; use terminology and vocabulary specific to the subject and audience).*

*Teacher prompts : “Quelle importance aura le ton de ta voix et ton expression faciale lors d’un reportage ?” “Pourquoi faut-il adapter ta voix, ton débit et ton expression quand tu fais un jeu de rôle pour un auditoire spécifique?” “Dans quelle mesure le vocabulaire que tu choisis aura-t-il un impact sur la compréhension du message par l’auditoire visé ?”*

*Instructional tip: Teachers can suggest that students use the appropriate past tenses when recounting a current event or personal experience. (Ontario Ministry of Education 2013a: 303).*

In terms of epistemic modality, policy producers here affirm and claim true a weak CLT oriented pedagogy as legitimate knowledge, in turn convincing text interpreters to accept the same conception of reality (See Chilton 2004 cited in Hart 2011: 187). This is evidenced in the declarative statement that affirms the truth of deploying pre-selected language structures (the past tenses above) for carrying out language tasks. Here text producers position themselves as givers of social reality and therefore text readers (interpreters) as receivers of that reality (Thomas 2005: 13). The notion of realism vs *irrealis* is significant in affirming legitimate knowledge and that which is not deemed ‘real’ or within the preferred scope of what there is that is discursively delineated (Fairclough 2003: 199 – See also Hart 2011: 188). For instance, while grade-level expectation in B1.1 outlines potentially open-ended possibilities for developing linguistic (speaking) competence through TBL, the instructional tip outlines the constraint of

grammatical pre-selection. Therefore, the modal expression here is strategic in the way in which it confirms certain knowledge as a given, over other possibilities for what there is or might be (Hart 2011: 188). There is no hedging (appear, edging toward, for instance – see Van Dijk 2005: 94) rendering the declarative of high epistemic commitment in the delineation of possibility.

In terms of permissibility, the modal auxiliary *will* expresses a high moral imperative on students to be introduced to strategies (in reading, writing, listening, speaking) that are ‘modelled’ (presented) by teachers and in turn again exemplified (through practice and production) by students through various language tasks. This is evidenced in the following example:

#### Excerpt 2

*The examples of language learning strategies in the specific expectations for each strand (A1.1, A2.1, B1.1, B2.1, C1.1, C1.4, D2.1, D2.2, and D2.3) are not grade specific, but students’ use of such strategies will become more complex as they progress through the grades. Students will be introduced to these strategies through teacher modelling, and they will have multiple opportunities to practise their use in a variety of contexts (Ontario Ministry of Education 2013a; Ontario Ministry of Education 2014).*

This excerpt positions students as recipients of language tasks that they in turn have to satisfy as ‘good’ students. That is, deontic claims about policy at the same time serve as evaluative statements for what constitute desirable qualities for students (See also Angelo 2018). The discursive construction of ‘good’ students is delineated within the epistemic and deontic bounds of PPP lesson plans that is realized through the modal verb *will*. *Will* in this context expresses a high level of intensity marking the evaluative judgments of policy producers that ascribe a high level of value to the carrying out of grammatically based language tasks in the Canadian CLT language learning context.

#### **4.4.2 Modal Finite Need**

The discourse constructed around modal finite *need* revealed that *need* is embedded almost entirely within a series of declarative statements with some statements that are evaluative about ‘students’. Student identities are for the most part found to be constructed within a monolingual discourse of a weak CLT pedagogy. This is evidenced in the following excerpt that forges a direct link between ‘comprehensible input’ and ‘successful’ language acquisition.

#### Excerpt 1

*To reach their potential, students need to hear, see, use, and reuse French in meaningful yet developmentally appropriate contexts. One of the key terms in second-language learning is “comprehensible input”. It is the teacher’s responsibility to provide comprehensible input, ensuring that the messages that students receive are understandable. Making the input relevant – to the learner, the context, the situation – is one way of doing this. Repetition and recycling are also integral to making input comprehensible. Effective comprehensible input must be slightly challenging in order to provide the scaffolding students need to be able to begin “producing” – that is, speaking and writing – French in an authentic way. In order to go beyond receptive skills, students need to use and negotiate the input they receive by conversing in authentic situations. (Ontario Ministry of Education 2013a: 9)*

The discourse on ‘comprehensible input’, or input that is understandable to a language learner despite not understanding say, every aspect expressed of speech (Krashen 1981, 2013) brings to the fore Blommaert’s (2005: 35) concern in CDA pertaining to ‘constraints on discourse’ that require that we look ‘outside’ of language as well as within it. In this view, the discourse highlights how student identities are not being constructed that can be construed as (im)possible and hence (im)permissible, thereby diminishing their value in CLT policy and hence the language learning classroom.

For instance, the discursive bounds of reality are delineated through ‘seeing, hearing, using and reusing’ that is premised on receipt of comprehensible input by the student from the teacher. This statement is of high epistemic authority and expresses a strong commitment to truth. While I do not wish to contest the value of comprehensible input in L2 learning, just as I do not contest the necessary aspect of repeated (to an extent) and long-term exposure to French for its successful acquisition, what I am contesting is the requirement that language output must be monolingual and thus must follow the rules of grammar. This constitutes a discourse of permissibility. Categorical claims about the production of language in ‘authentic’ ways problematizes the notion of monolingualism, characterized in chapter 2 as a meritocratic discourse. If authentic in the production of discourse means emulating grammar structures in social contexts presented and exemplified by the teacher, then this is what it is to treat languages as closed systems that claim true existing social structures. This is the positivist enterprise at the core of MRPI.

Evaluatively, without an explicit prescription for what constitutes ‘authentic’ or ‘real’ language for students in French that places their own conceptions of language use and reality at the forefront of language production, counter-hegemonic discourses cannot emerge. Hybrid discourses and their



speakers that define SSD bring with them various accents, modes of speaking and ways of combining language for effective communication that do not subordinate the communicative message to the structure of language but vice versa, subordinate grammar to meaning. Placing emphasis and hence salience on monolingual discourse practices positions language learners, as emphasized in chapter 2, against the NS standard with no other subject position to take up (Norton 2000). Thus, the 'good' student here represses their own identity by subsuming their discursive repertoire into the universalized language structures of a monolingual discourse.

A fundamental source of the problem of MRPI in language learning emerges in the following excerpt of the modal auxiliary *need* that constructs students as obligatory discipline-specific thinkers.

#### Excerpt 2

*As this vision for adolescent literacy suggests, literacy involves a range of critical-thinking skills and is essential for learning across the curriculum. Students need to learn to think, express, and reflect in discipline-specific ways. Teachers support them in this learning by not only addressing the curriculum expectations but also considering, and purposefully teaching students about, the literacy demands of the particular subject area. Literacy, inquiry skills, and numeracy are critical to students' success in all subjects of the curriculum, and in all areas of their lives (Ontario Ministry of Education 2014: 48).*

A prominent discourse of discipline-specific thinking places an epistemic imperative on students through modal *need*, to think in positivist, universalizing ways. Thinking in discipline-specific ways rejects the interconnectedness of some aspects of life with others. Just as experiences, backgrounds and future goals are deeply entrenched (created through or shunned) through the discourse that we produce in given communicative interactions and just as political economy is not separate from languages and language learning, such should be the view that discipline-specific thinking forwards the view of language as a 'reflection' of reality and not as part and parcel of it. This is the etiological crux of a non-critical applied linguistics that has dominated the discipline for the last century. Here victims of linguistic oppression are positioned to proliferate their own subordination through the reproduction of limiting language practices. This is the crux of MRPI.

Evaluatively, to abstain from inter-disciplinary thought is to propagate, positivist epistemics in the Canadian K to 12 language learning context. This is how policy producers and privileged members of a k-community retain their power through policy discourse by positing the non-critical (non-political)

acceptance of neutral and objective discourse. Possibilities for emancipation must look at various ways for looking at a given topic irrespective of discipline. Such prescriptions from modality are not present here as reader knowledge is not elicited, through interrogation say, or a declarative statement that uses hedging devices to express less certainty. These forms of commitment that construe French as a closed system evaluate the language learner in the Canadian CLT context as a monolingual entity that is permitted to bring only some aspects of his or her discursive identity into the language learning context. This is tantamount to a weak CLT discourse.

In the final excerpt examined which constructed student identities in the lexical environment of *need*, the imperative for developing broader (undefined) skills in the age of globalization was revealed. In this excerpt epistemic and deontic certitude precludes the clear presence of an alternate, multilingual discourse.

### Excerpt 3

*In addition to learning about the specifics of saving, spending, borrowing, and investing, students need to develop broader skills in problem solving, inquiry, decision making, critical thinking, and critical literacy related to financial issues, so that they can analyse and manage the risks that accompany various financial choices. They also need to develop an understanding of world economic forces and the effects of those forces at the local, national, and global level. In order to make wise choices, they will need to understand how such forces affect their own and their families' economic and financial circumstances [...].*

*In the FSL program, students have multiple opportunities to investigate and study financial literacy concepts in relation to the texts explored in class. Students can build their understanding of personal financial planning by participating in role play of interactions in the local community, such as buying and selling goods or engaging in personal financial transactions (Ontario Ministry of Education 2013a: 43-44).*

What is permissible within a CLT discourse and neoliberal macro context here is delineated by policy producers in the (moral) requirement for proficiency in carrying out transactions, as a truism that is ascertained through unambiguous declaratives, realized by the modal *need* in the first paragraph. However, the kinds of language required for successfully carrying out these language tasks in real neoliberal contexts are not exemplified. Instead, we can see an explicit pedagogic link in the integration of financial literacy activated through TBL that is realized in the modal finite 'can', as a lower epistemic

commitment on the part of policy producers that confirms the possibility for role play in simulated economic exchanges in the language learning context.

The ambiguity in delineating what is possible springs from the second modal *need* that ascertains the reality of ‘world economic forces’ and how these affect students’ own financial circumstances. As I have established before, an SSD discourse that rivals LC successfully constructs an alternate discourse for alternate capitalizing contexts as in the Sydney fruit market and restaurants, cafés and malls where patrons employ hybrid languages to carry out economic transactions successfully (ordering a beer, buying a ‘cauli’ in half Australian English and half Arabic). Here how the proficient use of language as a closed monolingual system can benefit students in the neoliberal context is construed as ‘good’ while alternate discourses for effective communicative (transactional) exchanges are not acknowledged and hence not evaluated at all.

#### **4.4.3 Modal Finite ‘Should’**

An analysis of the modal finite ‘should’ reveals a discourse of absence that limits the linguistic possibilities for PS language learners to the monolingual discourse of a weak CLT and hence of an LC. This can be inferred from the following excerpt which alludes to the possibility of an emancipatory (SSD) discourse however qualifies the linguistic constraint within a monolingual language system.

##### Excerpt 1

*Students should be given opportunities to produce interactive writing, different types of creative writing, and writing that addresses topics that are of interest to them and that reflects their capacity for independent critical thought. Writing activities that are meaningful to students and that challenge them to think creatively about topics and concerns of interest to them will lead to a fuller and more lasting command of the essential skills of writing.* (Ontario Ministry of Education 2014: 24-25).

The modal *should* expresses a high degree of epistemic possibility for students to produce ‘interactive’ and ‘creative’ language (through writing for instance). While the first conjunct requires that topics be of interest to students, the second elicits a metacognitive aspect for independent critical thought. In CLT-based language learning where MRPI is always a risk, ‘interactive’ and ‘creative’ ways of producing language (writing, speaking, acting) must not only allow for, but explicitly suggest ways in which SSD discourses can be constructed through emancipatory language tasks. This presupposes and thus

requires that teachers themselves *model, encourage, suggest and direct*, as we saw in the analysis of a critical SP, not only monolingual ways to interact (and hence to learn a language) but multilingual and multimodal ways of doing language that promotes at the forefront the inclusion of PS language learner identities. Such a directive is not present in the discourse, suggesting the discursive hegemony of a weak CLT and hence of LC.

Moreover, the moral *should* in the policy excerpt explicitly prescribes a high level of obligation that normatively 'predicts' how discourse is to be deployed in the language learning context. When teachers model their own ways of being and knowing by highlighting alternate discourses, this in itself has the potential to emancipate students by positioning them as speakers of other languages, cultures and experiences. No such permission is granted. Moreover, whether a given topic is of interest to a language learner must be determined by the learner themselves who constructs his or her own identity through discourse, and which may or may not draw on hybrid ways of mixing and switching languages in counter-normative ways. Once again, excluding the discourse from the text has the affect of influencing what language users 'can accomplish in language long before they open their mouths' (Blommaert 2005: 35). Students are constructed within a discourse of absence that fails to acknowledge their SSD identities.

#### **4.4.4 Modal Finite Must**

Finally, the last excerpt under study yielded contradictory discourses of both a weak and strong CLT pedagogy. For instance, in the following excerpt, we can see that while on the one hand the discourse constructs students as monolingual language learners it seeks at the same to 'integrate thematically and situationally' aspects of their identity through their interests and needs.

##### **Excerpt 1**

*This educational approach is also integrative, which is to say that the learning activities proposed to students integrate language and culture and concentrate on tasks that students must perform individually or in groups. The ultimate goal of such activities is to integrate the development of linguistic and intercultural competencies within the same student task.*

*In that sense, the educational approach is also thematic or situational. It must draw upon themes that reflect students' interests and needs in terms of the skills and knowledge to be acquired to develop competencies, while helping them make connections with the skills and knowledge in their current*

*repertoire and the frames of reference they have with their native language and culture (Lussier & Lebrun-Brossard, 2009) (CMEC 2010: 14).*

The above discourse oscillates between student interests and needs and the development of linguistic and intercultural competence that fail to integrate the former into the latter. For instance, we might construe interests and needs as identity-based, i.e. as dependent on past experiences, backgrounds and future goals that are produced through language. This is juxtaposed to intercultural competence which we might also construe as additive bilingualism or the explicit separation/ division of world views, beliefs, ways of being and knowing that are partly expressed through language. The bifurcation emerges from the separation, established in chapter 2 of language from culture which is achieved through a priori language structures which pre-define language speakers through the discourse available in given communicative exchange.

This kind of bifurcation requires careful consideration. The discourse this constructs around student identities is of a monolingual nature, precisely to the extent that as has been established in both the SP of teacher and the CDA of students, it pre-selects language structures and tasks that suppress linguistic unpredictability thereby prohibiting multi-pluri-translingual approaches to tasks. Here, what students *must* perform, morally, are the various stages of the PPP lesson plan that treats languages and cultures as separate, distinct entities. The result of the construction of student identities in this way is that languages, ways of being, cultures, ways of knowing which students bring with them to globalized learning spaces as in the Canadian context under study here, are left on the outside of weak-CLT oriented language policy.

#### **4.5 Summary of Chapter 4**

In this chapter I presented the findings of a critical corpus-based CDA that aimed to assess the extent to which current Canadian CLT policy commits to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse. This constituted a two-part critical analysis that deployed on the one hand a critical analysis of SP and on the other, a CDA of modality and evaluation. The results of the former seem to suggest that ‘teachers’ in the collocational presence of *encourage, model, suggest, direct* has a strong SP for a weak CLT language pedagogy. Similarly, a CDA of modal auxiliaries *will, should, must, need*, appeared to construct the identities of students from within monolingual language constraints reflective of a weak CLT pedagogy and hence of an LC neoliberal discourse.

Both critical analyses emerged from a computerized keyword and collocational analysis that identified 'students' and 'teachers' and their most frequent co-occurring verbs as statistically salient. This chapter was also premised on the notion that two critical analyses, one from the perspective of 'teachers' and one from 'students' could highlight alternate discourses in policy. In the following chapter, I revisit my main aims and research questions presented at the outset of this study. I discuss the findings of the critical corpus-based CDA deployed here and present my thesis. Implications of the findings are assessed, limitations of this research are addressed, and recommendations are made for future research.

# **Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion**

## **5. Introduction to Chapter 5**

In this chapter I revisit the main aims and research questions of this thesis that were outlined in chapter 1. I then outline my main analytic findings that emerged from the critical corpus-based CDA carried out in Chapter 4. I lay out my thesis and discuss the findings as they relate to the philosophical arguments made in chapter 2 and the emancipatory aims outlined in chapter 3. More specifically, I assess the theoretical and methodological contributions of this study. Through a theoretical lens, I reflect on the epistemic source of SSD to assess its potential as a counter-hegemonic discourse in MRPI language learning contexts. Then, I link the methodological contributions of this study to the inherent concept of pragmatic validity that justifies knowledge in terms of a critical conception of ‘complexity and rigour’ in critical education research writ large (Kincheloe 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005). I delineate and reflect on the limitations of this study and suggest directions this thesis opens for future research.

### **5.1 Research Questions and the Main Findings of this Study**

In this section, I review my research questions (RQs) and summarize the findings. This study aimed to assess the extent to which current Canadian FSL policy commits to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD neoliberal discourse. This aim was presented in chapter 1 as one of three RQs that constituted the focus of this study. The main aim to assess neoliberal discourses in current Canadian CLT policy was itself premised on two preceding RQs that emerged in the literature review (Chapter 2). In what follows, I review each of these RQs and the related findings prior to discussing the contribution of this thesis to current literature.

#### **5.1.1 Research Question 1**

RQ1: In what ways are the parallel discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT discursively and epistemically connected?

The findings of RQ1 indicated that weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of language commodification (LC) and sociolinguistic superdiversity (SSD). The conclusion can be summarized, in short, as follows:

RQ1/A: Weak and strong CLT constitute pedagogic manifestations of the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD in LIE policy in virtue of their shared discursive and epistemic commitments (Angelo 2020).

While a weak and hence LC neoliberal discourse is grounded in monolingual orientations to language and learning and positivist epistemic assumptions, a strong CLT and hence an SSD discourse is multi-/ plurilingual and hence constructivist in nature. In line with current research in political applied linguistics (PALx) that posits the inseparability of discourses from their politically-inflected k- frameworks this was not a surprising finding. The crux of the philosophical argument was based on the claim that the neoliberal discourse of LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts while SSD can serve as a counter-hegemony in these contexts. Specifically, I argued on discursive and epistemic grounds that LC legitimates native-speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) a priori identity categories in weak CLT policy by appeal to meritocracy, neoliberalism's principal organizing concept. This served as a foregrounding to the identification of a social problem in language from which the pragmatic impetus of this study emerged. This constituted the significant finding of RQ2, which I review next.

### **5.1.2 Research Question 2**

RQ2: In what ways do the discursive and epistemic links between LC and SSD relate to the method-related problem of identity (MRPI), a tension between monolingual language standards and post-structuralist language learner identities in weak CLT?

That is, the finding of RQ2 indicated a direct link between the method-related problem of identity (MRPI) in weak CLT policy contexts and the neoliberal discourse of LC. Applying a macro political context to a micro social problem, allowed me to highlight aspects of discourse that may serve to reproduce social inequality in language learning through MRPI which as I established in chapter 2, emerges as a result of a weak CLT pedagogy. The finding of RQ2 can be summarized as follows:

RQ2/A: The neoliberal discourse of LC emerges as a hegemonic discourse in weak CLT policy precepts responsible for MRPI, while SSD can serve as a counter-hegemony in MRPI language learning contexts (Angelo 2020).



The main finding of RQ2, as in RQ1 is not shocking. Rather, it re-iterates and confirms the worry not only of political applied linguistics, but of critical pedagogues and critical social researchers writ large, who, as highlighted in Chapter 2, question the taken-for-granted relationship between inequality of opportunity and neoliberal education systems which are draped in the language of ‘neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’. These social mechanisms of positivism as I further stressed in Chapter 2, forward the interest of dominant social classes leaving those without power, to construct their identities in a priori terms.

From this view, establishing the link between neoliberalism and MRPI on epistemic and discursive grounds was integral to highlighting a social problem from which a critical examination of language in the Canadian FSL policy context could ensue. Specifically, as I highlighted in chapter 3 where I elaborated and justified the methodology of this study, and as I re-emphasize here following Sayer (2009: 782), ‘identify[ing] suffering [...] can hardly help implying a critical stance’. Moreover, critical stances as we saw, are pragmatically and morally-inclined. While the pragmatic aspect justified the deployment of necessary conceptual and methodological tools to address a given social problem (pace Mouzelis 1995) as in MRPI here, it is not inseparable from the moral goal of emancipation. This constituted what I have referred to following Bhaskar as the redescription of ‘unwanted determinants’ which pragmatism allows for (See Sayer 2009: 774). Finally, the moral impetus was grounded in a critical realist (CR) onto-epistemic stance which allowed for the retroductive (re)description of neoliberal political determinants as causes of MRPI and of weak CLT language learning contexts.

Establishing the finding of RQ2 was crucially revelatory of the need to examine the extent to which actual CLT policy contexts lend themselves to MRPI language learning contexts in the teaching and learning of additional languages. Thus, the theoretical findings of RQ1 and RQ2 served to ground the examination of RQ3 which sought to assess the extent to which Canadian CLT policy of FSL, the context of my own teaching, breeds MRPI. This led to the main finding of this study which emerged from RQ3.

### **5.1.3 Research Question 3**

**RQ3:** To what extent do Canadian CLT curricula commit to a weak or strong CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC or SSD discourse?

The main argument of this thesis is that aspects of current Canadian CLT policy seem to suggest a weak CLT-oriented pedagogy. This thesis emerged from the findings of RQ3 that can be stated as follows:

RQ3/A: The slice of Canadian CLT policy under study showed a commitment to a weak CLT-oriented pedagogy that is suggestive of an LC hegemonic discourse.

By extension, this also means that the Canadian FSL policy examined in this study may lend itself to MRPI language learning contexts that limit post-structuralist (PS) language learner identities in globalized urban spaces. More specifically, this main conclusion was drawn through the analytic amalgamation of the two sub-questions that delineated a two-part critical analysis, one of a critical semantic preference (SP) of the key node 'teachers' and the other of a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of 'students'. The questions can be re-stated as follows:

RQ3.A: In what way do the discourse topic(s) invoked by the critical semantic preference of teachers prescribe a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

RQ3.B: In what way does the discursive construction of student identities as they relate to modal verbs elucidate a weak or strong CLT pedagogy in Canadian FSL curricula?

The main thesis of this study, therefore, emerges from the joint results of each of these subquestions, which together assessed the extent to which Canadian CLT commits to neoliberal discourses. These findings can be answered in short, as follows:

RQ3.A/A: The critical SP of 'teachers' seems to suggest an LC discourse in certain aspects of current Canadian FSL curricula through the prescription of weak-CLT oriented language tasks that teachers assign and that students satisfy.

RQ3.B/A: The CDA of modality constructed student identities from within what appears to be a monolingual and hence an LC hegemonic discourse suggesting a weak CLT pedagogy that reduces language learners to NS/NNS standards.

## **5.2 Contribution of the Thesis to the Field of Knowledge**

My main thesis, that Canadian CLT policy commits to some aspects of weak CLT pedagogy that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts, emerged from the identification and elucidation of the macro social problem of meritocracy and how it epistemically and discursively relates the competing neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD to weak and strong CLT in LIE policy. While my main thesis constitutes the main

argument and hence fundamental finding of this study, this study offers two more original contributions to current research – one theoretical and one methodological.

### **5.2.1 Situating the Theoretical Contribution of this Thesis**

This study constitutes what is, to my knowledge, the first comprehensive examination of how the discursive and epistemic assumptions of the parallel sets of discourses of LC and SSD and weak and strong CLT relate to the discursive and epistemic assumptions of neoliberalism's meritocratic ideal. This thesis also demonstrates how in turn, this relation hinders or liberates PS identities in language learning in LIE policy contexts. That is, as I indicated at the outset, identifying the threat of MRPI in CLT language learning contexts is not new. What is new, is the epistemic problematization of meritocracy that links the neoliberal discourses of LC and SSD to weak strong CLT in LIE policy. This builds on recent research that already distinguishes, epistemically, between socially-vested linguistic theory and one that is mentally derived in the literature on multi-pluri-trans-lingualism (García & Lin 2017; Vogel & García 2019; Wei 2017 – See also De Costa et al. 2017).

Moreover, what it means to say that Canadian FSL policy commits to a weak CLT pedagogy that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts is, following from RQ2/A, at the same time to suggest that an SSD discourse can serve as emancipatory in these constraining learning contexts. This emerged from the claim that strong CLT manifests an SSD neoliberal discourse, as a by-product and not as a direct result of meritocracy. This was because while LC's monolingual discursive commitments mobilize equal opportunity by maximizing economic gain based on individual (linguistic) merit, SSD does not in itself yield economic capital on meritocratic grounds and therefore in any direct neoliberal sense. And so the argument goes, when one masters a language with high exchange value (English or French for instance) and in the NS sense, one gains access to magnet economies – their high paying jobs in their transnational corporations (Google, Airbus, Citigroup). SSD on the other hand, instantiates the less formal communicative exchanges between individuals in globalized spaces where a range of languages are deployed in mixed and unpredictable ways. Two ideas emerge here. The first pertains to SSD as a linguistic breeding ground that in promoting individual capital is said to comply with a neoliberal program (Kubota 2016a; Flores 2013).

#### **5.2.1.1 Addressing Kubota's Argument from Paradigm Replacement**

The argument from paradigm replacement, specifically, corroborates Widdowson's worry pertaining to a 'hypocritical' applied linguistics that replaces one paradigm in applied linguistics, with another. Largely developed in Kubota (2016a), the argument from paradigm replacement negates the possibility of SSD to serve as a counter-hegemonic discourse, stating that because SSD emerges from the principle of mobility for economic gain, then it must also derive from the principle of individual accountability that legitimates hegemonic discourses in language learning. Individual accountability, however, as I have emphasized elsewhere (See Angelo 2020) presupposes a universal standard of success, to which we are accountable (i.e. monolingualism) that is not present in SSD. Specifically, Kubota argues that plurilingualism can in fact serve to subsume individual difference, as an essential skill in a globalized market (ibid). To support her claim she refers to Flores' (2013) critical examination of a document by the Council of Europe that he claims 'support[s] learning across borders (via various linguistic repertoires), respect for linguistic diversity, language rights, freedom of expression and democratic citizenship' (paraphrased by Kubota 2016a: 486). Kubota thus argues that to accept that SSD emerges as a direct neoliberal discourse is essentially to replace one neoliberal paradigm (monolingualism) with another (translingualism). The alleged replacement, however, is both unwarranted and morally irresponsible and therefore cannot be sustained for two reasons.

Firstly, as far as Flores is concerned, a necessary endeavor in the critical dismantling of neoliberalism is not possible I would argue, without satisfying Littler's axiom outlined in Chapter 2 that imposes on theorists across the disciplines an examination first and foremost of meritocracy in a given neoliberal (policy) context – which Flores does not do and of which there is no mention in his paper. Secondly, the degree to which SSD is neoliberal requires qualification. That is, having critically examined Canadian CLT policy in the Ontario context that follows to an extent the COE's CLT prescription, and having established (albeit tentatively) the non-plurilingual policy context of a weak CLT that reproduces meritocratic ideology, I stand by the claim that SSD can serve as a transformative discourse from which emancipation can occur. This is because SSD as an indirect result of meritocracy emerges, as a more direct result of another force, one which is bottom-up and not top-down – but that shares the premise of the (inevitable) denationalization of the state (See Calhoun 2002: 885).

This constitutes a form of democratic cosmopolitanism (DC), that takes as its starting point that democracy, 'imposed from above' is a contradiction in terms (Calhoun 2002: 875). A cosmopolitan democracy that truly empowers people from below unites individuals – not through universalist unity but through 'the actual conditions of [people's] lives' (ibid). This means that what unites individuals to

create solidarity in DC is more than the abstract ‘common denominators’ of global citizenship, institutional affiliation (religion for instance) and legal status (Calhoun 2002: 878). Here, we begin to see a shift from political belonging and hence categorical identity that is imposed – to political belonging and self-proclaimed identity that is self-governed. This is because the border crossings in DC occur on a micro scale not only between countries but between people that at the same time, cross a wide range of social interactions delineated by a plurality of discourses and within layers of multiple abstract and local communities (ibid). This makes them fundamentally moral and no longer (exclusively) free-market affairs whose morality is delineated by political economy. It is in these moral contexts that I would argue, SSD discourses as counter-hegemonies can thrive to create, as I stated in chapter 2, micro-revolutions, with the promise of social change.

#### **5.2.1.2 Toward a Democratic Cosmopolitanism as the Political Source of SSD**

Indeed, the crux of the argument from paradigm replacements, is premised on the explicit rejection of the possibility of DC as a self-determining antidote to the neoliberal ideal. Accepting the preclusion of DC in this sense, requires accepting that there is no point at which SSD ceases to be ‘subaltern’ – a possibility that Canagarajah (2017: 19) outright rejects. Indeed, Kubota fails to distinguish between capital and democratic forms of cosmopolitanism when she states that ‘the ideal neoliberal subject is cosmopolitan’ (Kubota 2016a: 487). While I do not contest that valuing individual accountability in climbing the opportunistic ladder of meritocracy might view SSD instrumentally – as furthering free-market capital (which it does in an indirect way as I submitted in chapter 2), allowing for the possibility of DC is to defer to alternate forms of social binding that vary morally, from more economically or instrumentally-driven to more intrinsically or ‘inherently’ bound (See Calhoun 2002: 886). Once we understand that both neoliberalism (qua capitalist cosmopolitanism) and (democratic) cosmopolitanism are two ends of a continuum that dictates a moral stance – or what we owe each other in a globalized society then we can begin to accept that SSD operates out of a very different political context that comes from underneath rather than on top. This makes its source very different from that of LC thereby negating the argument from paradigm replacements.

Both Calhoun and Kubota, however, are skeptical of DC. While for Calhoun the problem appears to be in the moral stratification of both domains, Kubota presupposes a type of cognitivism in her criticism (See Angelo 2020). Initially, Calhoun (2002: 887) seems to both reject and adopt DC. For instance, while he begins by arguing that, ‘Cosmopolitanism is neither responsible for capitalism [...] nor an adequate

defense of it', he later admits that its prosperity depends on a discursive 'disentanglement' from neoliberalism that recognizes various (extra-economic) starting points and motivations from which social groupings emerge (Calhoun 2002: 892). These alternate social bindings he claims, are what result in closing the gap between social inequalities and the unequal distribution of resources (capital) neoliberalism breeds (ibid).

Indeed, Calhoun (2002: 893) recognizes the trap of regenerating the discursive conditions of neoliberalism that aim to offer solutions by 'overcoming difference', rather than finding ways to connect various moral solidarities. He emphasizes, '[b]ut cosmopolitanism without the strengthening of a local democracy is bound to be a very elite affair.' Here the stakes for instance of not integrating a local cosmopolitan democracy as the (moral) basis of SSD- delineated social exchanges in language learning is found in the continued reproduction of the neoliberal discourse of LC that legitimates and renders common-sense the subordination of PS language learner identities in the interest of dominant social groups. Indeed, Calhoun warns against mere 'rational -critical discourse' meta-theorized from above that though aims for social justice remains complicit in the neoliberal ideal (ibid).

This is precisely where Kubota errs in her skepticism of SSD as a transformative discourse. Kubota for instance is guilty of rational critical-discourse theorizing when she argues by example that in higher education research, the topic of translanguaging/ SSD has been commodified to earn income for eager socially-just academics. Again, this constitutes top-down social binding that in maintaining a rationalist (a priori) facet cannot replace an essential aspect of transformation – praxis in the doing of discourse. For this reason, as I have argued elsewhere, Kubota assumes a cognitivist (rationalist) position in her critique –for which reason, I contend following Blommaert (2016) that 'such criticisms are of no material importance' (See Angelo 2020). This leads to my second original contribution here that comprises the conceptualization of a critical approach to SP in CBR and the more general emancipatory research program herein deployed.

### **5.2.2 Situating the Methodological Contribution of this Thesis**

While I demonstrated in chapter 3 that CBR has been successful in drawing politically salient observations from the identification of statistically salient keywords and their collocates, this is, as far as I know, the first of its kind retroductive approach to CBR. The conceptualization and carrying out of a critical SP in this sense, subsumes descriptive and prescriptive analyses of text, extending CBR's capacity to reveal political and ideological discourses by allowing the researcher's reasons to ground the

ascription of macro political discourses as causal antecedents to social injustice that is propagated through discourse. The novel approach I put forth here, also extends CBR's methodological scope beyond serving as a 'springboard' to CDA to now allowing retroduction to be part and parcel of it.

In this sense, inserting a critical aspect directly into CBR methods, as I have done here, may be understood as changing the defining aspect of CBR, whose legitimation of knowledge claims and knowledge production depend upon the joint premises of observation and transferability. What I want to sharpen here are the notions of 'rigour and complexity' (Kincheloe 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005) that justify pragmatic validity on justice-oriented grounds and what this means for the methodological contribution of this thesis.

To begin, what it means to reject positivist paradigms of knowledge, as I have in the defense of a critical SP, requires a brief consideration of internal and external validity or otherwise, the extent to which knowledge produced is deemed 'trustworthy' or 'true' based on (a) the extent to which researcher observations can be deemed accurate descriptions of reality and (b) the extent to which results are generalizable (i.e. applied to other contexts) (See Kincheloe 2003: 168 and Trochim 2020). We might in this sense construe induction and deduction whose theoretical expansion was required in the conceptualization of a critical SP as the methodological bounds of reason within which knowledge is produced while internal and external validity are their criterion-based correlates for justifying results. This is important to mark here as the grounds on which I defend the k-claims produced through a critical SP (and of a CDA for that matter) extend beyond the justification of knowledge through sense perception (observation) which can in turn be confirmed through theory (generalizability).

The way, however, macro social structure (neoliberalism) mobilizes dominance (meritocracy) into layers and levels of social life through political economic discourses (that was the matter of this thesis) cannot directly be confirmed in this way. Specifically, pragmatic validity, as I stated in chapter 3, constitutes 'imminent critique' (Kincheloe 2003: 186) that at the same time changes the conditions of possibility by evading determinism. Pragmatic validity or 'catalytic validity' as Pennycook (2001: 162) construes it, following Guba and Lincoln (1989), is dependent on whether and to what extent transformative action has actually been achieved through research (Lynch 1996: 65 cited in Pennycook 2001: 162).

It is thus an activity of critical educational research (CER) and its inherent critical pedagogies (CP) from which the justification of knowledge itself is in the researcher's explanations. Where CP is the inflection of political economic ideology across the spectres and conditions of teaching and learning (Giroux 1984;

Giroux & Giroux 2008; Apple 1993, 2001), CER can be understood as the process by which we get there. In this sense, 'making sense' of a given phenomenon or macro social problem, calls on the researcher to question the procedures of received methodologies (Kincheloe 2005) which are complicit in the reproduction of pre-determined social possibilities through discourse (pace MacKinnon 1983). Through this lens, the critical researcher who aims to explain a macro political problem (as in how meritocracy fares in language learning), must go beyond 'passive methods' to access unanalyzed assumptions (Kincheloe et al. 2011: 169).

### **5.2.2.1 Conceptualizing Kincheloe's Bricolage**

This constitutes the work of the 'bricoleur', an analogical term meant to compare alternate ways of knowing to knowledge that is borne from the scientific paradigm (Markham 2018). The bricoleur specifically, sabotages the construction of knowledge on linear and received grounds by negating finality and by recognizing that the process of inquiry is part of a larger, more complex web of steps toward social transformation (Kincheloe 2004a: 6). Therefore, instead of studying aspects of language separately that might cumulatively satisfy a Cartesian/ positivist research paradigm, the bricoleur looks for unexplored modes of thought that reveal the underlying structures that shape the social world (Kincheloe 2004b: 40). This is why causality and hence explanation, in the conceptualization of a critical SP had to be reconsidered through the CR lens to include reasons as causes.

The way causality works, according to Kincheloe (2005) is that it is a derivative of 'complexity' – a theoretical appendage of social, political, epistemological and ontological situatedness that positions the object of study and the researcher in complex webs of context. This is how bricoleurs are able to remove dominant control over subjugated groups (Kincheloe 2005: 344) – a process which begins by dissociating 'rigour' in CER from monological and received methodological programs by dissociating it from the 'degree of fidelity to the unquestioned steps of the research process as criteria for "true reality"' (Kincheloe 2005: 341- See also Kincheloe 2004a: 9-10).

To be sure, Kincheloe (2004a: 8) reminds us that concepts and constructs, insofar as they are 'human constructions [...] exert a profound impact on modes of perception and human action itself'. Philosophy in this sense is the key criterion of rigour. Rigour in the critical pedagogue's program, means, in line with PALx, 'philosophical research' that gets to the bottom of ontological and epistemological questions that inform research inquiry (Kincheloe 2004a: 9). Rigor and hence the legitimacy of knowledge claims is not a product of positivist research devoid of subjective 'distortion' (Kincheloe 2003: 161). Re- construing



the onto-epistemic stance from which positivist research emerges as a dialectic, reconstrues the process of knowledge construction as creative, and its results as tentative (Kincheloe 2004c: 94). The dialectic between the researcher, the object of research and the (contingent) underlying powers at work are reflected in the multiple entry points and explanatory oscillation between text and macro context afforded by the critical researcher who reframes reality as a 'productive' activity and not a 'reproductive' one (Gadamer 1989 cited in Kincheloe 2004c: 95).

It is in this sense that the critical pedagogue understands that at the core of diverging epistemological views are competing views of the world that arise from a multitude of analytic methods and interpretations. This shifting view of truth can be many other ways (See Kincheloe 2004a: 12). This was the value of being reflexive in my approach. Being methodologically transparent, in a step-by-step manner, acknowledged, through rigour and complexity, that my own methods and findings have equal status with potentially equally valid, alternate readings (interpretations) of the policy texts under study here (Burr 1995: 180-181 cited in Lombardo 2009: 88). This is not only why the results of the critical SP here can be deemed valid, but it is also how we know in CDA, 'on theoretical grounds, that our perspective is the "correct" one' (Mainqueneau & O'Regan 2006: 233). While Mainqueneau and O'Regan are CDA cynics (and I would argue cynics of any critical analysis of text, *simpliciter*) who insist that such a defense is impossible, I corroborate their claim to the extent that paradigm-based theories, in the context of what I have indicated above, cannot offer such a guarantee in the explanation of how the political infiltrates local discourse. The deficit, to be clear has to be on the part of positivism and not CR – at least in the context of justice-oriented research aims.

#### **5.2.2.2 Qualifying Rigour and Complexity in the Bricolage**

Hence, I understand complexity as the (theoretical) onto-epistemic assumptions of how macro political structures penetrate our everyday lives through discourse, and rigour as the (methodological) means by which we get there. Once again this is not to suggest the deletion of positivism's premise of an objective reality. Following CR, critical researchers recognize and acknowledge the existence of *onta* (things) that exist independently of whether or not episteme can detect them. (This also means that in certain contexts positivist research programs that may seek to measure or observe contexts independent of human interaction and agency may be very well merited or deserved). Rather, in the complex web of interrelations between and within the political, epistemological, ontological and social (Kincheloe 2005: 336), the bricoleur enters into the research process, with the concepts of 'construction' (what there is)

and 'reconstruction' (what there ought to be) to 'tinker' with extant methods, offer a 'contextual diagnosis' and 'readjust' methodology to suit the given research aims (Kincheloe 2005: 225).

In this way, the bricolage is a form of methodological rigour in itself. Rigour is about methodological process and process is a philosophical state, says Kincheloe (2004a: 10). To drive the point further, I would argue here that onto-epistemic pre-examinations are in effect preconditions to understanding both the ethics and politics of research inquiry (c.f. Kincheloe 2005: 336). This was the value of arguing for the inseparability of epistemics from discourse that served as a foregrounding to understanding the political, i.e., neoliberal context from within which the bounds of discourse are delineated through the concept of meritocracy in CLT policy. In turn, the onto-epistemic view of CR allowed for explanatory critique to commence transformation (social change) through both a critical SP and CDA. It is these 'epistemological decisions', as I highlighted in chapter 3, that produce 'high quality research' (rigour) (Kincheloe 2004a: 13). Hence in this view, what is valid is what is emancipatorily projected through rigour and complexity of the bricoleur.

I hope thus to have contributed to the methodological aim of the bricoleur, the critical pedagogue, the critical policy analyst and the political applied linguist who look for questions, in the way I have outlined here, where others have found answers. I have done so in two ways. First, in a more narrow sense, my methodological contribution emerged the conceptualization of a critical SP. In the process of tinkering, I negotiated with the methodology, rejected a procedural approach to knowledge construction and reconstructed a critical approach able to help CDA in revealing the hegemonic discourse of a weak CLT in current Canadian CLT policy. Finally, though this work would still comprise a critical approach to educational policy research without the reconceptualization of SP in critical terms (through the employment of CDA), the proposed critical SP I put forth and deployed here, hopefully opens doors to new avenues of research. At the very least I hope it is exemplary of what it means to challenge the notion of validity and explanation in CBR (paradigm-based) methods in the way I have highlighted here.

### **5.2.2.3 Questioning the Neoliberal Research Agenda**

Secondly and in extension, the overall critical approach to this thesis through which I lodged an interdisciplinary program combining philosophy, PALx, critical education and political economy, I hope has contributed to the general questioning of a neoliberal research agenda in a wider sense that underpins CER, PALx and CP through what Kincheloe (2008) calls 'crypto-positivism'.

This is evidenced as I have argued elsewhere in the commodification of knowledge that equivocates between ‘real’ (Apple 2001: 409) and ‘evidenced-based’ research (Levin & Greenwood 2011: 34; Luke & Hogan 2013: 172 – See also Angelo 2020). These neoliberal research programs exclude ‘complexity, context and power’ and therefore ‘multiple modes of research design’ (rigour) (Kincheloe 2008: 2). Instead, short-term scientific research comprised of ‘randomized field trials’ (Luke & Hogan 2006: 172), ‘clinical trials and controlled comparisons’ (Yates 2004: 24) are privileged over long-term, longitudinal studies to satisfy quick policy ‘output’ able to compete with the speed at which the techno-driven economy moves (Yates 2004 cited in Blackmore 2014: 500).

Specifically, ‘edu-capitalist’ (policy) research has managed to amalgamate the academic world with the principles of neoliberalism, where now money-hungry bureaucrats are delineating the bounds of science (Blackmore 2014) to create a ‘policy for science’ rather than a ‘science for policy’ (Lather 2004: 19). Departmental and hence discipline-specific competitions from which the allocation of corporate funding and resources is easily distributed and research output ‘ranked’ (Levin & Greenwood 2011: 34 – See also Kincheloe 2008) has revived the ‘old’ effort, pace Lather (2004), to reduce the social sciences (that includes education policy research) to the methods and tenets of the lower-level sciences. Maintaining the ‘rationality of the disciplines’ in this regime means economics does not ask for the help of anthropology to substantiate their findings (Levin & Greenwood 2011: 34), leaving the ‘soft’ (social) sciences on the outside of funding budgets designed primarily for ‘defense, space and medical research’ (Greenberg 2001 cited in Lather 2004: 22). According to Yates (2004: 24), ‘[o]nly such research is deemed “valid” or “proven” and only such research is taken account of when panels are commissioned to review research in particular areas of education to identify what is “known” and “not known”’.<sup>3</sup>

In order to exude political normativity, however, policy research as I emphasized in chapter 3, must include all social actors across and within multiple social spaces that occupy the contexts of (language) learning in a neoliberal era into the process of ‘technical advisor or policy planner’ (Bacchi 2000: 49). Nevertheless, through the disciplinary lens of neoliberalism, qualitative, discourse analytic and ethnographic research is considered suspicious and highly biased at best (Luke & Hogan 2013: 172), eliminating completely ‘the close study of pedagogy, classroom face to face teaching’ and intricate observations of the space where teaching and learning actually takes place (ibid).

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<sup>3</sup> This type of policy research was explicitly evidenced in Mr. George Bush’s 2001 Education Reform (See Luke 2003; Giroux 2011; Lather 2004; Luke & Hogan 2013).

Maintaining disciplinary bounds and teaching to the methods and tenets of the lower level sciences that is required in the maintenance of disciplinary purity in K to 12 Canadian FSL classrooms, not only prepares language learners to be observers of a neoliberal research agenda, but implicitly, maintains the disciplinary divides responsible for a cognitive SLA. I hope to have contributed to the literature on PALx, CER and CP research by exercising my own agency at every step of this multi-dimensional critical policy analysis. This was the value of an interdisciplinary, denaturalizing and complex approach that blurred disciplinary bounds and discourses to ‘challenge the categories that organize our existence’ (Baez & Boyles 2002: 45 cited in Lather 2004: 22). This is what Marshall (1997: 3) means I suspect, when she reminds us quoting Lorde (1984) that in the critical analysis of policy, ‘the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house’. It is in this, wider methodological sense that I hope this thesis also contributes to current research.

### **5.3 Implications of the Findings for Canadian FSL Policy and Practice**

The main finding of this study that detected aspects of weak CLT policy precepts in current Canadian FSL policy, may suggest a commitment to the neoliberal discourse of LC over SSD. By extension, the slice of policy under study seems to adhere to a limiting language pedagogy that subordinates PS language learner identities to NS standards of French over alternate, preferred and mixed language forms students might bring with them to the language learning context. This pedagogic preference that forwards a ‘neutral’ and ‘objective’ syllabus over partial, situated and context-specific approaches to language learning has implications for both policy and practice.

In terms of language policy in the Canadian FSL context, the findings of this study may imply that the rules and forms of grammar delineate the bounds of language learning within a monolingual orientation that limits the discursive repertoires of language learners to the neoliberal discourse of LC. By extension, current policy may legitimate the learning of languages in meritocratic terms, allowing those with the most access to resources, and those that can, to climb the meritocratic ladder and compete for the global high-paying jobs native-speakerism promises. This also means that current Canadian FSL policy might not recognize and encourage the flourishing of multi-pluri- and trans-lingual identities in globalized language learning contexts where both teachers and students alike bring with them a wide range of cultural and symbolic capital that go beyond the rules and bounds of language.

Therefore, the multilingual turn in SLA, that claims to reject the positivist paradigms and cognitivist orientations of language acquisition in the age of globalization may not be adopted in the Canadian

policy context and therefore, may not allow linguistic room for an SSD discourse to delineate the bounds of social exchanges in the FSL language learning context. This is worrisome for the practice of FSL teaching and learning in both Canadian and other CLT language learning contexts where languages are learned in superdiverse urban spaces. The prescription of aspects of a weak CLT pedagogy that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts, further implies the need to implement a strong CLT pedagogy and hence SSD discourse as an emancipatory antidote that recognizes the lived experiences and social backgrounds expressed through the linguistic diversity of our students.

Indeed, I would argue here that understanding the findings of this research in terms of the inseparability of weak and strong CLT from LC and SSD, shines a light on a moral dilemma for language teachers who on the one hand have a moral obligation to develop LC in their students, so as to heighten access to high-paying transnational corporations, yet on the other hand they will understand the complexity and ethical implications of MRPI on PS language learner identities and the DC required for its countenance. Accepting this implication on a practical level, can begin the bottom-up discursive movement that can lead to social (and policy) change.

This is especially pertinent in the context of urban inner-city schools across Canada and in downtown Toronto, my own teaching context, wherein the recent influx of Syrian, Afghan and Greek immigrants anastasizes the urgency of MRPI in globalized CLT language learning contexts. What causes and what serves as bottom-up justifications for social binding in this context must extend beyond the top-down neoliberal common denominators Calhoun warns us against for the prevalence of DC. Here, an assortment of beginning- and end-point motives that derive directly from the particularistic and pluralistic local social contexts in L2 learning, I suspect, will require a contingent oscillation between neoliberally-grounded and DC-based discourses that both acknowledge 'pre-political' (Calhoun 2002) (a priori) identity categories and at the same time provide language learners with justice-based reasons to 'control their own lives in solidarity' (Steinberg & Kincheloe 2010: 143). What the moral stratification of both domains looks like both in policy and in practice is beyond the scope of this study.

#### **5.4 Limitations of the Research**

As mentioned, in this thesis I analyzed a snippet of Canadian FSL policy discourse, and the results of this analysis are both tentative and contingent. The materials and tools selected to carry out the research together with my own interpretation of the results gave rise to the thesis of this study. For instance, other policy contexts across Canada that include FSL policies from other provinces as well as the focus

on other social actors in policy texts may have yielded very deferent results from those that I have presented here. How Canadian K to 12 FSL policy for instance constructs identities and delineates pedagogy in relation to principals, parents and other administrators who play a role in the language learning process of students of FSL can also conceivably yield diverging results.

Similarly, my focus on English node words and concordances in WordSmith excluded French lexis and syntax that might have also suggested, in a multilingual analysis the presence of an alternate discourse than the one that I have posited here delineated by a weak CLT pedagogy. Nevertheless, I have furnished many examples from the Canadian FSL context, both in English and in Ontario and in relation to teachers and students that support my thesis here.

In terms methodology, it is important to note that the isolation of a minimum number of keywords and their collocates was based on what Groom (2010: 50) identifies as a ‘principled’ and ‘useful’ selection of keywords for further examination. Because a principled approach usually defers to academic precedence and what is generally understood as epistemically ‘acceptable’ within a given (disciplinary) paradigm, some may have a quibble with what may be perceived as the limited use of statistical data from which to derive more ‘rigorous’ results. Again, the notion of rigour on which this research is premised, questions received frameworks and paradigms that legitimate the production of knowledge in more ‘certain’ terms. While a certain degree of objectivity thus guided the study, I opted for a CR onto-epistemic stance that recognizes objective and subjective truths as part and parcel of a dialectic reality between concrete and abstract materials that are mediated by social agents and discourse.

The dialectics of discourse that underscored the CR of this study at the same time imposed a self-reflexive aspect in the defense and carrying out of the two-part critical analysis (Wodak 2001 cited in Mulderrig 2006: 22). In revealing the steps of my analysis I justified an equally complex and equally rigorous research program that allowed me to disrupt a non-critical aspect of CBR – SP, and replace it with retroductive explanations to justify the subjective interpretation of macro semantic sets by the researcher and how this informs the instantiated uses of keywords in a corpus. This alteration represented just one way teacher researchers qua bricoleurs can disrupt extant research programs for justice-oriented results (Kincheloe 2003).

### **5.5 Recommendations for Future Research**

The issues raised in this study suggest three areas for future research. First, as I have emphasized elsewhere, assessing neoliberal discourses and hence MRPI language learning contexts in both CLT

policy and practice requires deploying a wide range of critical policy and ethnographic monitoring to uncover the nature of politically inflected discursive spaces that extend beyond top-down LC and SSD discourses (Angelo 2020). Moreover, future research that focuses on PS language learner identities through the lens of PALx must venture further into the more philosophical domain of morality to strengthen the link between strong CLT and SSD discourses in CLT language learning contexts. This will help to better understand the possibility of social solidarities that are formed on extra-economic grounds in morally compromised contexts to counter the hegemonizing and ideological discourses of LC. The advancement of emancipatorily-oriented interdisciplinary studies that effectively lead to social change through strong CLT language learning discourses able to challenge the morality of meritocracy, can only be enhanced by such inquiries in both policy and in praxis. Continually challenging the production of knowledge that is paradigm-based and internally/externally validated and extending its analytic scope to encompass pragmatically valid knowledge will push forward the continued scrutiny of meritocracy as the cloaked 'empire' who continues to 'strike back' through false claims to 'neutrality' and 'equal opportunity' in L2 education (Ahlquist 2011).

Secondly, this type of intellectual inquiry can illuminate on recent advancements in SCT, whose own praxis-based epistemic assumptions in language learning is a necessary tool to undercutting the subordination and minimization of PS identities whose pasts, presents and futures are jeopardized in an economically constrained pedagogical context. Specifically, future research on the shared epistemic and discursive underpinnings of SCT as a strong CLT pedagogy and in relation to SSD can build on the way in which SCT values the subordination of grammar to meaning instead of universally employing language in generalizable contexts (Lantolf & Johnson 2007: 881). This requires the reconsideration of Prabhu's (1987) rejection of a strong CLT pedagogy in relation to the neoliberal discourses and their pedagogic consequences herein described. The appropriation of language in the L2 context in this sense consists of 'transforming and internalizing', i.e. assigning significance to events and to ideas based on socio-cultural histories that inform the ways in which social agents engage in, and are motivated by a task to achieve a given communicative goal (See Lantolf & Thorne 2007: 143; Swain et al. 2011: 67).

This assumes the continued dissolution of disciplinary bounds that marries the moral plight of the bricoleur and hence of the critical pedagogue and the critical policy analyst with that of the PALx researcher to further build on recent studies that have begun to track counter-hegemonic language practices across a wide range of L2 contexts (See Wei & García 2013; Creese & Blackledge 2011; García & Kleyn 2016; Lin 2012). These studies demonstrate the interruption of 'linguistic purism' (Lin 2006) by

both teachers and students that use and produce emergent grammar through translingual and multimodal hybridity in classroom communicative interactions (Canagarajah 2013 cited in Angelo 2020).

Finally, as I stated above, transformation is necessarily a praxis-based endeavor that captures the transformative limitation that theorists and analysts (albeit morally inclined) exhibit in their quasi-rational critical analyses. This includes the domain of research in Critical Language Awareness (CLA) that aims to integrate the historical, social and political studies of language in the L2 learning context in a way that renders transparent its ideological assumptions (See Fairclough 1998; Clark & Ivanic 1999; Kumaravadivelu 1999). To the extent that these analyses remain outside of the everyday contexts and communicative interactions of language learning on the ground, then they will continue to serve only as a beginning point to transformation. Such is the prime limitation of this study as well. Therefore, it is crucial to marry theory with practice in order to maximally exercise the promise of transformative discourses in language leaning spaces. Only in this way can transformative LIE policies begin to delineate and prescribe alternate, non-hegemonizing discourses for language learners in globalized CLT policy contexts. This requires the ongoing bottom-up struggle and methodological negotiation of teachers 'as intellectuals' (Giroux 2002) and 'as researchers' (Kincheloe 2003) that can redefine education in more democratic terms (Giroux & McLaren 1989).

## **5.6 Conclusion**

This thesis argued that Canadian FSL curricula seems to commit to a weak CLT pedagogy and hence to an LC neoliberal discourse that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts. This thesis offered a three-way contribution to current research. First, it constituted a first of its kind philosophical examination of discourses and their inseparability from underlying k-frameworks that are politically inflected. Specifically, the epistemic problematization of meritocracy that gives rise to a discursive paradox between LC and SSD in a neoliberal political economy was found to manifest in the parallel pedagogic discourses of weak and strong CLT. This in turn problematized MRPI that emerges from CLT's weak form as a product of a neoliberal ideology that is epistemically and discursively grounded in the discourse of LC. Next, in order to assess the extent to which Canadian FSL policy, that advocates a CLT pedagogy might commit to a weak or strong CLT and hence to and LC or SSD discourse, I deployed a critical corpus-based CDA. While an initial keyword analysis delimited the focus of the study, the conceptualization and defense of a critical approach to SP as a critical examination of keywords and their collocates allowed for the examination of the meaning of a node word in both the context of its immediate lexical environment



informed by macro semantic sets and hence macro political discourses. Second, the conceptualization and carrying out of a critical SP, therefore, extended the argument lodged in the third chapter of this study that forwarded the claim, following Baker and Gabrielatos, that collocations can serve as a springboard to CDA – to now collocations themselves detecting ideology in discourse. Finally, a CDA of the node ‘students’ confirmed the findings of the critical SP of ‘teachers’ to conclude that aspects of current Canadian CLT policy seem to commit to a weak CLT-oriented pedagogy and hence to an LC neoliberal discourse that gives rise to MRPI language learning contexts. I outlined the theoretical and methodological contribution of this thesis. I defended the pragmatic validity of the methodology herein deployed that extends beyond the rational bounds of positivism and its paradigms to defend alternate ways of knowing that are morally inclined. I examined the implications of this study on policy and practice. I suggested a praxis-based pedagogy and research program to both assess and counter-act MRPI language learning contexts. A strong CLT/ SSD discourse that places the teacher at the forefront of knowledge construction and negotiation can serve as the basis for praxis -based transformation in the classroom.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1

Semantic Sets/ Discourse Topics for 'Teachers' + 'Encourage'

Examination of Concordance lines 400 to 419

Line #	Weak CLT (PPP lessons)	Strong CLT	Ambivalent/ Miscellaneous
400			<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to make note of differences in word order between French and their first language when reading aloud.</i>
401	<i>*Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use verbs followed by prepositions, such as "penser à", "croire à/en", "rêver de", "décider de", "agir sur", when evaluating the information presented in a podcast (e.g., "Cela me fait penser à...", "J'ai décidé de...").</i>		
402			<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to expand their knowledge of French proverbs by taking note of such expressions whenever they are listening to oral texts, whether in conversations with peers or when listening to television or radio programs.</i>
403			<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to discuss which form of writing they find most difficult and why.</i>
404			<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use word walls to identify synonyms for commonly used words.</i>
405	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use the appropriate form of verbs in the past, present, and future when</i>		

	<i>discussing family traditions or celebrations.</i>		
406	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to agree or disagree with peers, using expressions such as “de même”, “même si”, “quand même”, “pourtant”, “cependant”, “toutefois”, “tandis que”, “néanmoins”, “par contre”, “malgré”, “au lieu de”, “contrairement à” (e.g., “Contrairement à ce que tu as dit tout à l’heure, je crois que le comité de la graduation fait du bon travail parce que...”).</i>		
407	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use negative constructions (e.g., “ne...pas”, “ne...rien”, “ne...jamais”, “ne...plus”) when describing the messages and points of view in media texts.</i>		
408	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to employ frequently used adverbs (e.g., “bien”, “vite”, “lentement”, “souvent”) when commenting on their use of speaking strategies.</i>		
409		<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to create word webs that include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs related to topics of personal interest.</i>	
410	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use adverbs persuasively (e.g., “énormément”, “extrêmement”, “évidemment”) to reinforce arguments about the importance of speaking more than one language.</i>		
411	<i>*Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use various question structures (e.g., subject-verb inversion, intonation) when conducting an interview.</i>		

412		<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to observe the body language used by peers during interactions in order to enhance their own comprehension.</i>	
413	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use formulaic expressions such as “selon moi”, “autrement dit”, “en effet”, “n’en parlons pas!” and “laisse-moi réfléchir” to introduce thoughts in a discussion.</i>		
414			<i>*Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to record in a reader’s notebook the reading strategies they have tried, evaluate the effectiveness of these strategies, and plan new strategies based on this evaluation.</i>
415	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use temporal prepositions (e.g., “pendant”, “depuis”, “dans”, “il y a”) and corresponding verb tenses to express the sequence of events when making a public service announcement.</i>		
416	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use complex sentences with connecting words such as “parce que”, “car”, “donc”, “de plus”, “en effet” when discussing the messages heard in texts.</i>		
417	<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use prepositions and conjunctions such as “vers”, “à droit”, “à gauche”, “tout droit”, “pendant” when giving or asking for directions.</i>		
418	<i>*Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to use the imparfait when describing memories and experiences (e.g., “Quand j’étais jeune, je croyais que...”).</i>		

419		<i>Teachers can <u>encourage</u> students to construct and practise a variety of phrases that they can use when participating in exchanges.</i>	
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\*Examples used in the text

## Appendix 2

### Semantic Sets/ Discourse Topics for 'Teachers' + Model'

#### Examination of Concordance lines 57-76

Line #	Weak CLT (PPP lessons)	Strong CLT	Ambiguous/ Miscellaneous
57			<i>*Teachers should also <u>model</u> a variety of strategies that students can use for requesting clarification and assistance when they have difficulty understanding.</i>
58	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of past tenses when discussing events that occurred at different points in the past and can encourage students to practise using these tenses when discussing past environmental issues and how they have been addressed.</i>		
59	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the difference between "tu" and "vous" and encourage students to use them appropriately.</i>		
60	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> basic verbs and expressions to help students to introduce themselves (e.g., "Je m'appelle...", "J'ai...ans", "J'habite...") and descriptive words to describe their environment (e.g., "grand" "immense", "vaste").</i>		
61	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> through dialogue the use of personal object pronouns (e.g., "Vous m'écoutez? Oui, on t'écoute", "Vous me comprenez? Non, on ne te comprend pas") and can encourage students to practise using these pronouns when answering questions.</i>		
62	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> and encourage students to practise appropriate pace and intonation of sentences with various pronominal verbs (e.g., "Je me réveille tôt. Tu te réveilles tard", "Je me suis couché tôt. Tu t'es couché tard", "Quand je me dépêche, tu prends ton temps", "Quand tu te reposais, j'ai fait du sport", "Mais on s'adore, on se comprend!", "Nous nous appelions régulièrement</i>		

	<i>pour nous dire nos emplois du temps”, “Dépêchez-vous!”, “Calme-toi cher ami!”).</i>		
63	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the correct use of past tenses to describe historical events and can encourage students to use these tenses appropriately when describing events in a biography.</i>		
64	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of appropriate gestures with specific expressions (e.g., “Je prends ça et je le mets ici, comme ça!”, “Ne fais pas ça!”, “C’est bien!”, “Oh non! Il l’a laissé tomber”).</i>		
65			<i>*Teachers can <u>model</u> how to use a T-chart or a Venn diagram as a tool for comparing aspects of two texts (e.g., characters, facts/information, plot elements).</i>
66	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> a series of responses using positive and negative constructions to indicate agreement or disagreement (e.g., “Je suis d’accord avec toi”, “Il n’est pas de ton avis”) and doubt (e.g., “Je ne suis pas sûr”, “C’est vrai?”), and can encourage students to use these constructions in their discussions.</i>		
67	<i>*Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of conditional sentences using “si” with the imparfait, followed by the conditionnel présent, to describe possibilities (e.g., “Si les comédiens savaient..., ils pourraient...”, “Si j’avais un million de dollars, je t’achèterais...”).</i>		
68	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> how to structure a sentence describing two past actions, one of which happened before the other (e.g., “J’ai vu le film dont tu m’avais parlé”) and can encourage students to practise this construction.</i>		
69	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of verbs (e.g., “comprendre”, “répéter”, “expliquer”, “s’excuser”, “vouloir”, “dire”) in various situations, as well as</i>		



	<i>the regular and negative impératif (e.g., “Restons ici, ne sortons pas!).</i>		
70	<i>Teachers also can <u>model</u> the use of time indicators for describing daily activities, such as “aujourd’hui”, “après les cours”, and “le soir”.</i>		
71			<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of checklists and organizers that use questions to guide comprehension and identify key vocabulary and main ideas.</i>
72			<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> fluent reading by reading aloud to the students for at least five minutes daily, choosing texts that can help build students’ background knowledge and expose them to new vocabulary.</i>
73	<i>*Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of the futur simple and futur proche to articulate future plans and goals.</i>		
74	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> the use of the conditionnel présent to demonstrate how to politely ask for clarification (e.g., “Pourriez-vous répéter s’il vous plaît?”, “Pourrais-tu m’expliquer ce que tu as dit?”).</i>		
75	<i>*Teachers can <u>model</u> the pronunciation and appropriate use of French expressions encountered in various texts so that students can use them without hesitation in daily communications.</i>		
76	<i>Teachers can <u>model</u> how to appropriately accept and decline invitations (e.g., “Je viens avec plaisir”, “J’ai déjà quelque chose de prévu”, “Tu peux compter sur moi”), and can encourage students to use these forms.</i>		

\*Examples used in the text

### Appendix 3

#### Semantic Sets/ Discourse Topics for 'Teachers' + 'Suggest'

#### Examination of Concordance lines 278-297

Line #	Weak CLT (PPP lessons)	Strong CLT	Ambiguous/ Miscellaneous
278			<i>*To help students develop their ability to understand texts from other cultures, teachers can <u>suggest</u> that, before reading, students find out about the writer and the circumstances in which the text was written and that they pay attention to illustrations for clues about the text and the culture that produced it.</i>
279			<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students share with peers how they revised a first draft to strengthen content and style, and that they create a list of tips to be used in peer editing, including the kind of assistance and advice that they feel would specifically benefit them.</i>
280	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use the futur proche (e.g., "Je vais entendre", "Il va dire", "Elles vont chanter") when predicting ideas before listening to an oral text.</i>		
281			<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students monitor their own learning and thought processes by asking themselves what-if questions (e.g., "Que faire si le dialogue n'est pas clair? Si le dialogue n'était pas clair, je pourrais l'écouter plusieurs fois").</i>
282	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use possessive pronouns and adjectives when discussing personal opinions, and the verbs</i>		

	<i>“pouvoir” and “vouloir” to express possibilities and desires.</i>		
283	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students listen for the use of informal expressions in a conversation between friends (e.g., “T’es là?”, “p’tit dèje”, “J’ai pas bien dormi cette nuit” for “Es-tu là?”, “petit déjeuner”, “Je n’ai pas bien dormi cette nuit”).</i>		
284	<i>*Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use affirmative and negative infinitives following impersonal expressions (e.g., “Il est important d’être bilingue au Canada parce que...”, “Il est nécessaire de se protéger contre les rayons du soleil, car...”, “Il est préférable de ne pas conduire trop vite, étant donné que...” ) to express their arguments forcefully.</i>		
285	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use the impératif as a means of persuasion (e.g., “Écoutez bien”, “Regardez”, “N’oubliez pas”).</i>		
286			<i>*Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use a checklist to monitor their use of different speaking strategies.</i>
287	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> students use reflexive verbs to describe daily routines (e.g., “Je me lève”, “Tu te brosses les dents chaque jour après les repas”, “Elle s’habille à 7h30”, “Nous nous asseyons dans la classe à midi pour dîner”, “Vous vous couchez à 20h30”).</i>		
288			<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students keep a writer’s notebook to plan and record their next steps for writing.</i>
289			<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use a graphic organizer such as an inquiry chart to help them formulate questions during an interview, debate, or group discussion.</i>

290	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use the appropriate past tenses when recounting a current event or personal experience.</i>		
291			<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students monitor their own listening and thought processes by asking themselves what-if questions and reflecting on the answers (e.g., “Que faire si le locuteur utilisait presque uniquement des mots et des expressions que je ne connais pas? Je pourrais essayer de comprendre le sens général”).</i>
292	<i>*Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use indirect discourse with verbs such as “affirmer”, “constater”, and “ajouter” in the past and present when reflecting on and explaining the usefulness of learning strategies (e.g., “J’affirme que...”, “Salma a constaté que...”).</i>		
293	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> students use sentence starters such as “Je pense que...”, “Selon moi...”, “Je crois que...”, “Cela me fait penser à...” when role-playing a historical figure.</i>		
294	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that, when students make suggestions to peers regarding their work, they use the conditionnel présent with the infinitif (e.g., “Sur votre affiche, j’aimerais voir plus de couleur..., vous devriez développer le message..., et on pourrait ajouter des détails...”).</i>		
295	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use conjunctions followed by the indicatif (e.g., “de telle sorte que”, “au point que”, “de manière que”, “si bien que”) when explaining the consequences of choosing certain reading strategies.</i>		

296	<i>Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use appropriate prepositions when referring to things located in specific countries and cities (e.g., “au Sénégal”, “en France”, “à Monaco”, “à Marrakech”, “au Laos”, “au Cambodge”).</i>		
297	Teachers can <u>suggest</u> that students use “jouer à”, “jouer de”, and “faire de” when talking about favourite pastimes.		

\*Examples used in the text

## Appendix 4

### Semantic Sets/ Discourse Topics for 'Teachers' + 'Direct'

#### Examination of Concordance lines 14-33

Line #	Weak CLT (PPP lessons)	Strong CLT	Ambiguous/ Miscellaneous
14		<i>*Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use various familiar adjectives and adverbs to describe people, places, and objects.</i>	
15	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students' attention to the agreement of the past participle in gender and number with the noun it modifies (e.g., "L'élève montre à son professeur son travail achevé", "Les paroles entendues lors du procès ont choqué beaucoup de personnes", "Le directeur a aussitôt ouvert la lettre remise", "Avertie par ses amis, elle a réagi rapidement").</i>		
16	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use a variety of sentence types (e.g., declarative, exclamatory, interrogative) and the appropriate past, present, and future tenses of familiar verbs when writing for different purposes and audiences.</i>		
17	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use the personal pronoun "on" when writing to thank a guest speaker on behalf of the school community.</i>		
18	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use the appropriate tenses of familiar irregular verbs</i>		

	<i>(e.g., “partir”, “sortir”, “venir”, “vouloir”, “devoir”) in a narrative.</i>		
19	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to the use of the infinitif as a form of the impératif in directions.</i>		
20	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to the use of different past tenses (passé composé, imparfait, plus-que-parfait, passé simple) in fiction and non-fiction texts and how they help to establish different tones or levels of formality.</i>		
21	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use verbs such as “pouvoir”, “vouloir”, “devoir” followed by the infinitif when giving advice or directions (e.g., “Tu dois savoir que les salles de classe sont généralement numérotées; les numéros commencent souvent par le même chiffre que l’étage”).</i>		
22			<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to listen to a French song from Europe to extract the message, interpret information, and discuss the general ideas with peers (e.g., “Après avoir entendu la chanson ‘Famille heureuse’ par Les Négresses Vertes, en dyade, discutez le pour et le contre d’une famille nombreuse”).</i>
23			<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use a learning log to record and consolidate information presented in an audio text.</i>
24	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to how the pronunciation of the ending of the past</i>		

	<p><i>participle of an irregular verb that follows a direct object pronoun can reveal meaning (e.g., in the sentence “En rangeant ses affaires, il a aperçu ses vieux disques et ses notes de musique, il les a mises dans son sac”, the pronunciation of the past participle “mises” shows that he took his music notes, not the discs).</i></p>		
25	<p><i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to indicators of language register in a dialogue, and can encourage students to discuss them, using the plus-que-parfait and conditionnel passé in conditional sentences that begin with “si” (e.g., “Si c’était mon grand-père, je modifierais...”, “Si j’avais parlé avec ma grand-mère, j’aurais changé...”).</i></p>		
26			<p><i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to select an organizational tool to help them plan a media text.</i></p>
27	<p><i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to the use of the infinitif passé after the preposition “après” (e.g., “Après avoir consulté le site de la Jeune Chambre de commerce de la Mauricie, j’ai réalisé que le français est une langue des affaires”).</i></p>		
28	<p><i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to complex sentences using connecting words (e.g., “parce que”, “car”, “donc”, “en effet”, “ainsi”, “de plus”, “ensuite”, “puis”) in persuasive texts.</i></p>		



29		<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to chart how the use of words and expressions changes according to the target audience of different oral texts.</i>	
30		<i>*Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to listen for examples of how speakers enhance their message through the effective use of intonation, expression, and tone of voice.</i>	
31	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students to use the futur antérieur in their webcasts on budgeting to describe an action that will have happened in the future (e.g., “On me paiera pour le travail que j’aurai fait pendant l’été”, “Aussitôt qu’on aura terminé nos études secondaires, on pourra organiser un voyage intéressant”).</i>		
32	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to the use of relative pronouns such as “dont” or “où” in advertisements (e.g., “Les pièces des téléphones portables dont vous n’avez pas besoin peuvent être récupérées et ainsi venir enrichir le stock de pièces de rechange”).</i>		
33	<i>Teachers can <u>direct</u> students’ attention to various expressions used to compare or contrast (e.g., “comme”, “tel”, “pareil à”, “semblable à”, “ressembler à”, “sembler”).</i>		

\*Examples used in the text