

Language Ideologies in Scientific Discourses on CLIL

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Key Points

1. Language Ideologies (in Scientific Discourses)
2. CLIL's Context of Birth
3. Scientific Discourses and Controversies on CLIL
4. Preliminary Results:
Discourse-Analysis of 'A Window on CLIL',
1st Chapter of *CLIL* (Coyle et al 2010)
5. Discussion

1. Language Ideologies (in Scientific Discourses)

Ideologies of Monolingualism



- 19th century: nationalist language ideologies
'one language/one (homogenous) people'
- (Language) education planned to fulfil economic integration (Weber 1976)
- Standard languages constructed with help of academics (Heller & McElhinny 2017; Bourdieu 1982)

Ideologies of Monolingualism



- ‘Monolingual mindset’ in research until 80s/90s:
 - ‘hegemonic preference’ for systematicity in language production (Jaspers & Verschueren 2011: 1157)
- Bilingualism = (cognitive) threat (Tabouret-Keller 2016)

THE 'MONOLINGUAL MINDSET' IN SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSES

*Has any **bilingual child** ever developed into a **great artist in speech, a poet or orator?** [...], the **brain effort** required to master two languages instead of one certainly diminishes the child's power of learning other things [...].*

(Jespersen 1976 [1922]: 148;
see Tabouret-Keller 2016 for other examples)

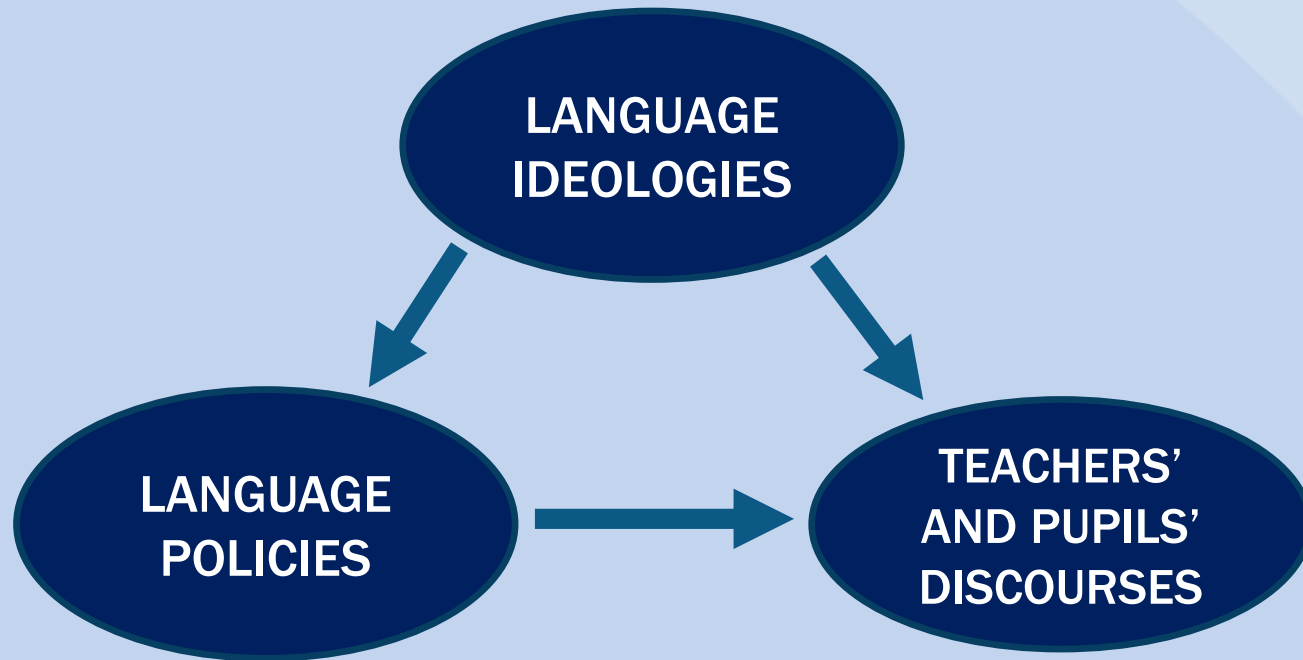


Ideologies of Multilingualism



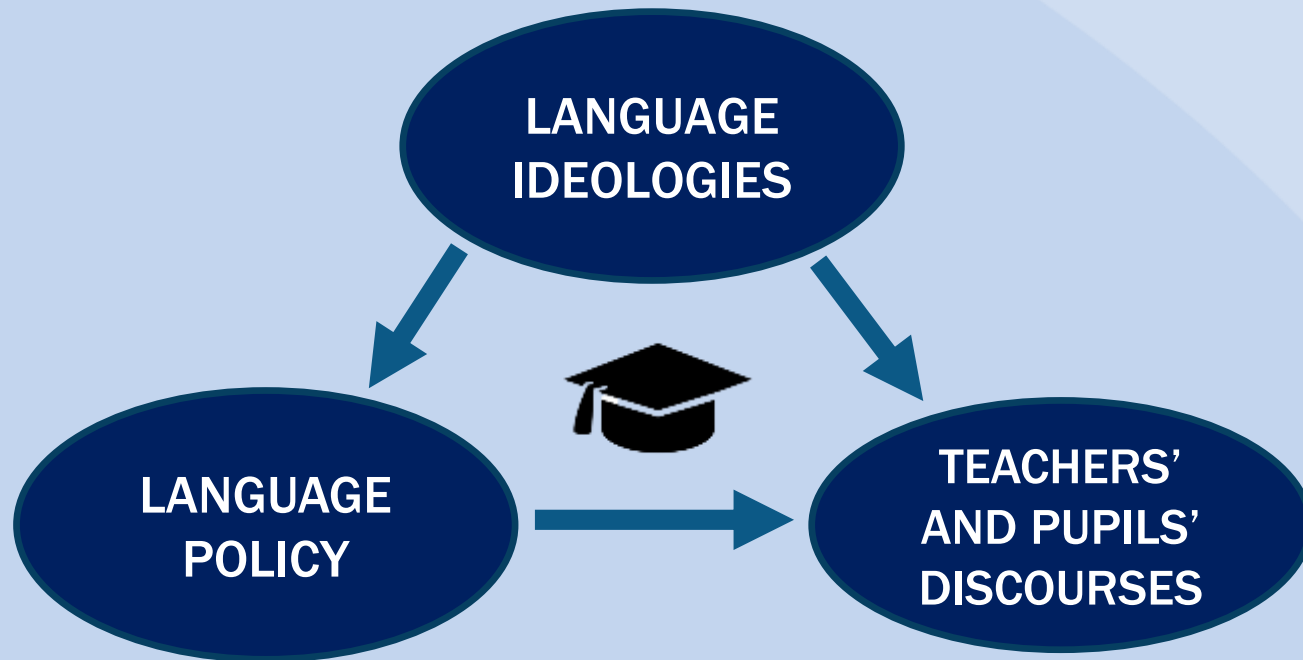
- Multilingualism → numerous benefits
- International institutions:
 - **‘Linguistic diversity’** → authoritative discourse (Sokolovska 2016; Duchêne 2008)
 - **‘Basic literacy’** → monolinguals sometimes labelled as ‘analphabetes’ of the 21th century (Hambye & Richards 2012)
 - **Multilingualism for a linguae francae** → convergence with current ideologies of monolingualism (Blommaert & Van Avermaet 2008)

Literature Review / Sociolinguistics



Pulinx, Van Avermaet, Agirdag (2017);
Shohamy & Spolsky (2000)

Poorly Studied

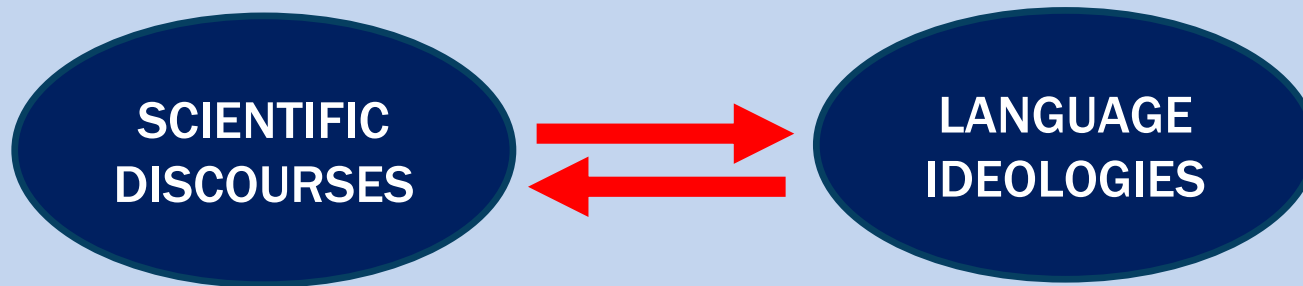


Exceptions:

- Baumann & Briggs (2003)
- Blommaert (1996)
- Heller & McElhinny (2017)
- Kuzar (2001)
- Silverstein (1996)

A Fundamental Question

WHY so few studies?



2. CLIL's Context of Birth

Grassroot Phenomenon > Top-down Process

Initiated by **parents & teachers** in 1990s (Dalton-Puffer 2011) // Canadian immersion (1960s)



Multilingualism & 'CLIL' in EU Discourses



1990s:

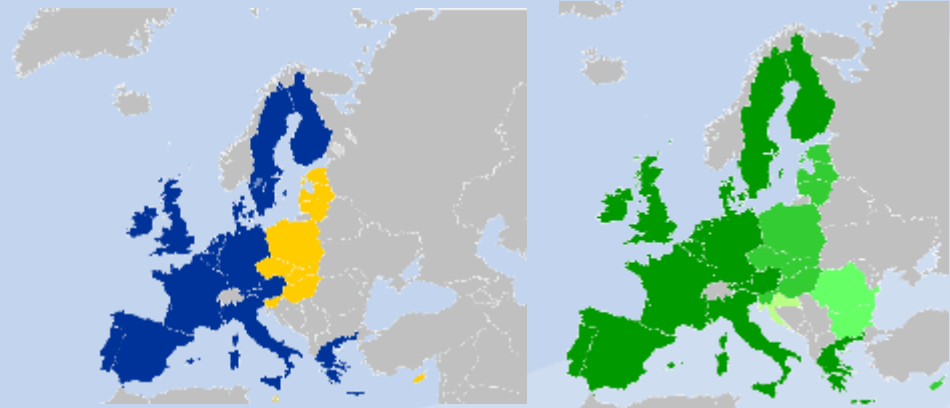
- **Multilingualism** became a **salient topic** on EU-agenda
- CLIL elaborated by **group of academics and think-tanks** appointed by EU (Dalton-Puffer et al 2014)

Historical Context



Political & economic contexts
in 1990s & 2000s (Krzyzanowski & Wodak 2011):

- Growing Euroscepticism
- Knowledge-Based Economy -> Lisbon Strategy
- EU Enlargements



White Paper on Education and Training



4th General Objective (EC 1995: 47):

Proficiency in three Community Languages

- 'proficiency in **two Community languages**' in addition to **one's mother tongue**'

White Paper on Education and Training (EC 1995)



- **Economic reasons:**
EU citizens to benefit from **Single-Market**
- **Political reasons:** ‘to build up the feeling of being **European**’, ‘**cultural wealth and diversity**’ // discourse of Council of Europe (Sokolovska 2016)
- **Cognitive reasons:** language learning ‘stimulates **intellectual agility**’ + proficiency in one’s mother tongue
- **Multilingualism for all:** ‘no longer possible to reserve proficiency in foreign languages **for an elite**’



3. Scientific Discourses & Controversies on CLIL

Literature Review on CLIL

Literature Review on CLIL

A plethora of **‘acritical’** research (Codó & Patiño-Santos 2017):

- Mostly **linguistic learning outcomes** (De Smet et al 2018)
- CLIL = a **‘success’** for language-learning (Dalton-Puffer 2011; Coyle et al 2010)

Conducted by **‘CLIL Advocates’**
(Cenoz et al 2013; Lasagabaster & Sierra 2010)

Scientific Controversies on CLIL & CLIL Research



CONTROVERSY 1: What is CLIL?

1. Definition

No consensus on what CLIL really is
(Bruton 2013 & 2015; Hüttner & Smit 2014)

- **‘Umbrella term’** -> ‘variety of practices’: language showers, family stays abroad, primary/secondary education... (e.g. typology of Mehisto et al 2008)
- **Use of L2** may vary
 - from 10% to 100% (Hüttner et al 2013)
 - from 90% to 10% (Marsh 2002 in Cenoz et al 2013)
- **> < Lack of coherence** hinders research & pedagogical initiatives (Cenoz et al 2013)

1. Different from Immersion?

CLIL would be **different** (Dalton-Puffer et al 2014):

1. supported by **EU language policy**
2. **International linguae francae** = main languages of instruction
3. **CLIL alongside foreign language classes**

> < Bruton (2015):

‘There seems to be **strong vested interests** in CLIL being different, **in political, academic, educational, and funding terms** (...)’

CONTROVERSY 2: Elitism

2. Elitism: Pupils' Profile

CLIL = tool for selection

(Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2013 ; Perez-Canado 2012)

- Andalusia (Bruton 2013)
- Germany (Rumlich 2014)
- French-speaking Belgium (Van Mensel et al 2019)

CLIL-pupils:

- higher socio-economic status
- often better level in CLIL-language before starting CLIL (Rumlich 2014)
- know they belong to a selective group (Rumlich 2014)

2. Elitism: Pupils' Segregation

French-speaking Belgium:

- Sharp increase since 1998

YET:

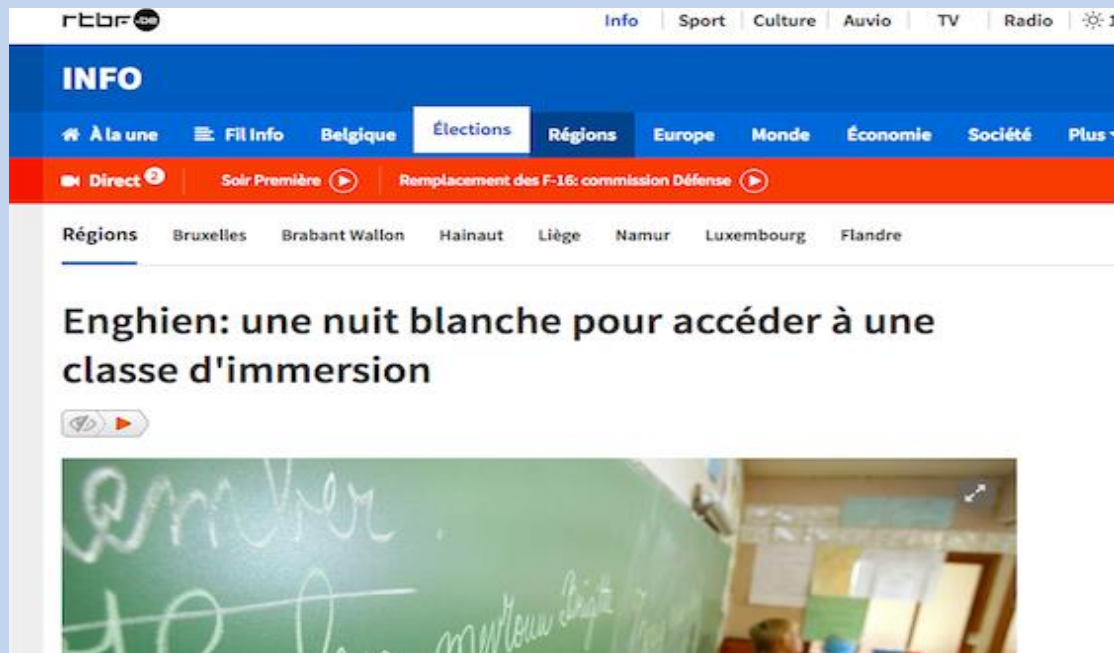
- CLIL-pupils = 3,9% of school population for secondary schools (Hilgsmann et al 2017)


(Flanders: no statistics available)

2. Elitism: School-Market

CLIL programs perceived as **prestigious**

- may increase school competition (Draelants et al 2011)
- reinforce social inequalities (Van Zanten 2014)





CONTROVERSY 3:

Methodological Shortcomings

3. Methodological Shortcomings

Omission of crucial variables (Perez-Canado 2012, Bruton 2013)

- Pupils' socio-economic status
- School status (i.e. private/public)

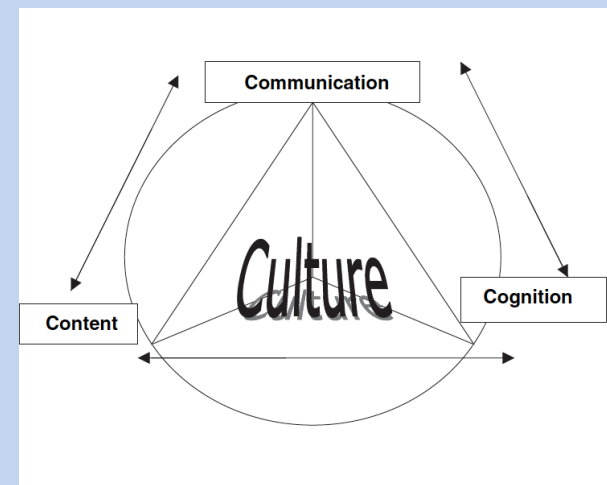
Paucity of empirical data (Cenoz et al 2013)

CONTROVERSY 4: Branding of the CLIL-Label in Scientific Discourses

4. Branding

‘**CLIL success**’: numerous benefits, often poorly documented or contested by recent research:

- e.g. **socio-affective benefits** (Hiligsmann et al 2017)
- e.g. **culture** (Lochtman 2021 ; Breidbach et al 2012)
- ABOVE ALL: **CLIL as a panacea for language acquisition**
> < **CLIL’s impact = minor** (UCLouvain/UNamur 2019)



4C's Model (Coyle 2007)

4. Branding

Promotional rhetoric:

- CLIL = constructed as ‘a brand’: ‘innovative’, ‘modern’, ‘efficient’... (Dalton-Puffer et al 2010)
- **Link with controversy 1: Acronyms**
 - ‘**CLIL**’ -> Content & Language Integrated **Learning**
 - ‘**AICLE**’ -> **Aprendizaje** Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras
 - ‘**EMILE**’ -> **Enseignement** d’une Matière par l’Intégration d’une Langue Etrangère

4. Branding

‘**Bandwagon-effect**’ (Cenoz et al 2013) =>
downplaying

- **Teachers’ issues** (hiring; training; command of CLIL-language; cooperation between content & language teachers... Hiligsmann et al 2017; Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, Smit, 2010)
- **Content acquisition** (Ruiz de Zarobe et al 2011)
- **Linguistic tensions in bilingual communities**
where two languages are already competing in the curriculum (Ruiz de Zarobe *et al* 2011)

CONTROVERSY 5: English

5. English

‘CLIL-advocates’:

- Additional language is **not only English** (Coyle et al 2010)
-> but see our discourse-analysis of Coyle et al 2010

CLIL to become ‘CEIL’?

- Suggested by Dalton-Puffer et al 2010 ; Dalton-Puffer 2011; Hüttner & Smit 2014
- Rationale: **English = ‘basic literacy’**
essential for **‘socio-economic success’** in 21th century
- **Frequent reference: Graddol (2006)**, published by British Council

5. English

Importance of context:

- E.g.: French-speaking Belgium:
 - **Dutch = main CLIL language** (Hilgsmann et al 2017)
 - **Dutch attracts the most ‘well-off’ pupils**
(Van Mensel et al 2019)

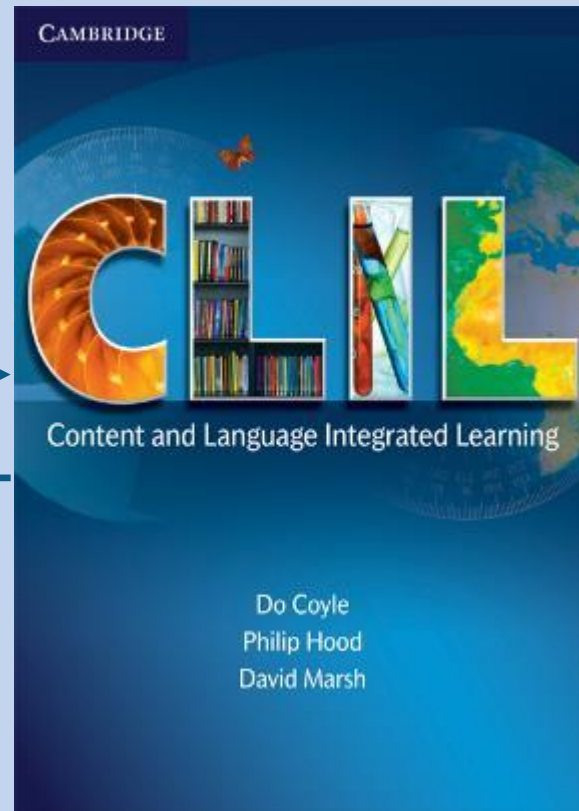
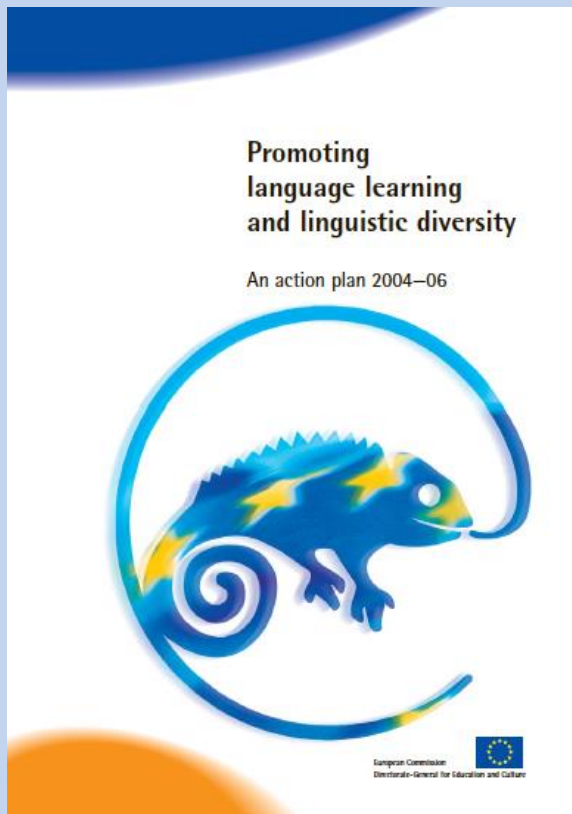
Promotion of English: CLIL has attracted **EFL-scholars**
(Cenoz et al 2013)



Preliminary Results

General Hypothesis: Language Ideologies

CLIL's promotion in key scientific discourses linked to its context of birth



Bruton (2013); Lorenzo (2007)

Question what is not questioned

*[...] most CLIL research is policy-driven research. While we do not want to question this, it is equally legitimate to look at CLIL from a completely different point of view, namely to consider CLIL as **an innovative approach** to language pedagogical practices **in line with modern research** about language learning and teaching [...].*

Van de Craen et al (2007): 70

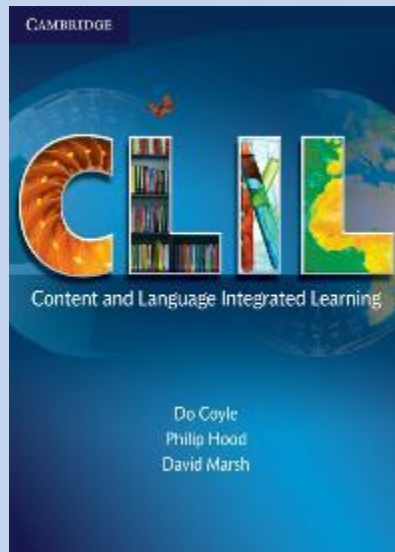
Research Questions

1. Which visions

- Language
- Education
- Citizenship ?

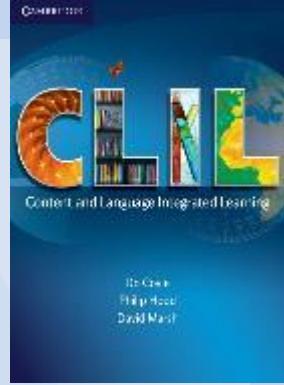
2. Through which discursive forms?

Discourse-Analysis of 'A Window on CLIL', 1st Chapter of 'CLIL'



Conditions of Production & Circulation

Publisher: Cambridge University Press (2010)



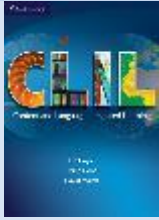
Authors:

- **Discursively recognised as prominent specialists:**
Coyle: ‘beacon’ (Perez-Canado 2012)
- **Coyle & Marsh: academic experts** for EU + Council of Europe
Hood: professor of modern languages (Nottingham)

Targeted Recipients:

- ‘subject and language **teachers** across sectors and age groups, **teacher trainers, administrators** and **researchers**’ (Coyle et al 2010: ix)

Conditions of Circulation



CLIL's definition of the approach **very often used** in the CLIL literature

- **1st Chapter 'A Window on CLIL': a dual-focused educational approach in which an **additional language** is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language. [...] **It is an innovative fusion of [content and language]**. (p. 1)**
- **[CLIL is] opened up for a broad range of learners, not only those from privileged or otherwise elite backgrounds.**
(p. 2)
- **+ different from immersion**

Lexicometric Analysis

40 first 'full words' (i.e. without grammatical words)

Rank (without stop words)	Rank (including stop words)	Word frequency	Word
1	6	133	language
2	9	79	learning
3	11	74	clil
4	22	36	educational
5	24	34	education
6	26	30	languages
7	28	29	teaching
8	30	27	content
9	37	21	countries
10	38	21	practice
11	40	20	change
12	44	19	need
13	46	18	different
14	51	17	english
15	52	16	additional
16	53	16	age
17	54	16	development
18	55	16	other
19	58	15	approach
20	62	15	world

40 first 'full words'

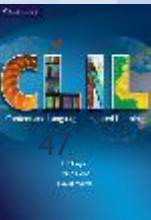
Rank (without stop words)	Rank (including stop words)	Word frequency	Word
21	64	14	methodologies
22	65	14	new
23	66	14	subject
24	68	13	example
25	69	13	knowledge
26	70	13	learner
27	71	13	learners
28	75	12	economic
29	76	11	european
30	78	11	instruction
31	80	10	classroom
32	81	10	experience
33	83	10	immersion
34	84	10	increasingly
35	85	10	means
36	86	10	only
37	87	10	people
38	88	10	years
39	89	9	children
40	90	9	form

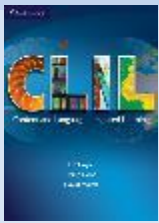
'COUNTRIES'

- Many **co-occurrences with other keywords** (economy, change...) -> **lingua franca**

*These major **countries** [Brazil, Russia, India, China] and their increasingly borderless **economic** global dependency means that communication and the **ability to use a lingua franca is becoming a prerequisite for individual success.***

(Coyle et al 2010: 8-9)





'CHANGE'

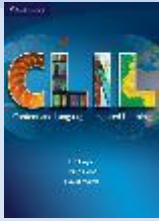
Most frequent co-occurrence with
'education/educational/educate' (14 co-occurrences)

- 8 co-occurrences with **concepts related to the knowledge society** (e.g., 'new technologies'...)
- most often with **deontic modality** (e.g. 'need', 'pressurize'...)
- -> **same linguistic forms & rationale as in EU-discourses** on Education & Knowledge Society (Cusso 2008: 46):

education -> to adapt/transform -> economic needs

- -> **old rhetoric move: necessity/change/adapt** (Fritsch 2007), also in World Bank discourses (Rist 2002)

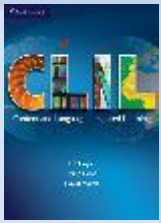
Cotexts & Co-Occurrences: 'CHANGE'



Socio-economic change is happening now at a faster pace overall than may have been experienced in the past.

*Although some **countries** have undergone **very rapid change** because of forms of specific **pressure**, **new technologies** are also bringing about **transformations** throughout the **world**. This means that **educational systems** also **need** to **adapt** even more swiftly than they have done in the past. (p. 10)*

Cotexts & Co-Occurrences: 'CHANGE'



*In the Knowledge Age, the two main strategies are of movement and unlimited resources, [...]. It is hardly surprising that such a seismic change in global culture **pressurizes** change within **educational systems**. (p. 5)*

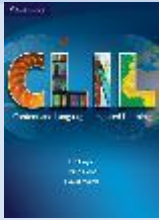
'ENGLISH': Cotexts & Co-Occurrences



Most frequent co-occurrence with

- 'Countries' (5)
- Concepts relating to (parts of the) **world** (8):
'world' / 'Africa' / 'Canada' / 'Nations' / 'Global arena'

'ENGLISH': Self-contradictory



*As we have previously pointed out, **CLIL is not exclusive to the promotion of English as a world language [...].***

*For example, some parts of the world such as **Australia** promote **LOTE (Languages Other Than English)**, where **CLIL vehicular languages** include Asian, European and heritage languages. [...]*

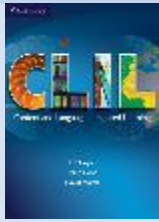
*However, we believe that **CLIL as a promoter of LOTE [Languages Other Than English]** has yet to reach its potential in the global arena and may not do so until after the saturation of English as the CLIL medium. (p. 9)*

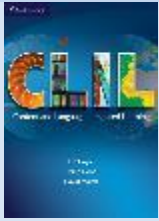
Argumentation

Argumentation (I): Themes

Arguments mainly **constructed around**

- **non educational keywords** (lexicometry)
- hence, **cover geopolitical & economic themes**





Argumentation (II): Types of Arguments

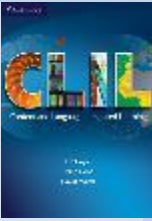
Most frequent type of arguments: analogies
(+examples)

- -> Compare emergence of CLIL with:
 - **European Construction** (pp. 8-9)
 - **Spreading of radio/fax/telephone in households** (p. 10)
 - **Climate Change** (p. 4)

*The **impact of globalization, like climate change, was being increasingly felt** in some parts of the world, especially in Europe during the period of **rapid integration** from 1990 to 2007. This impact highlighted **the need for better language and communication educational outcomes.***

- ...

Discussion



Interaction of Interdiscourse & Genre

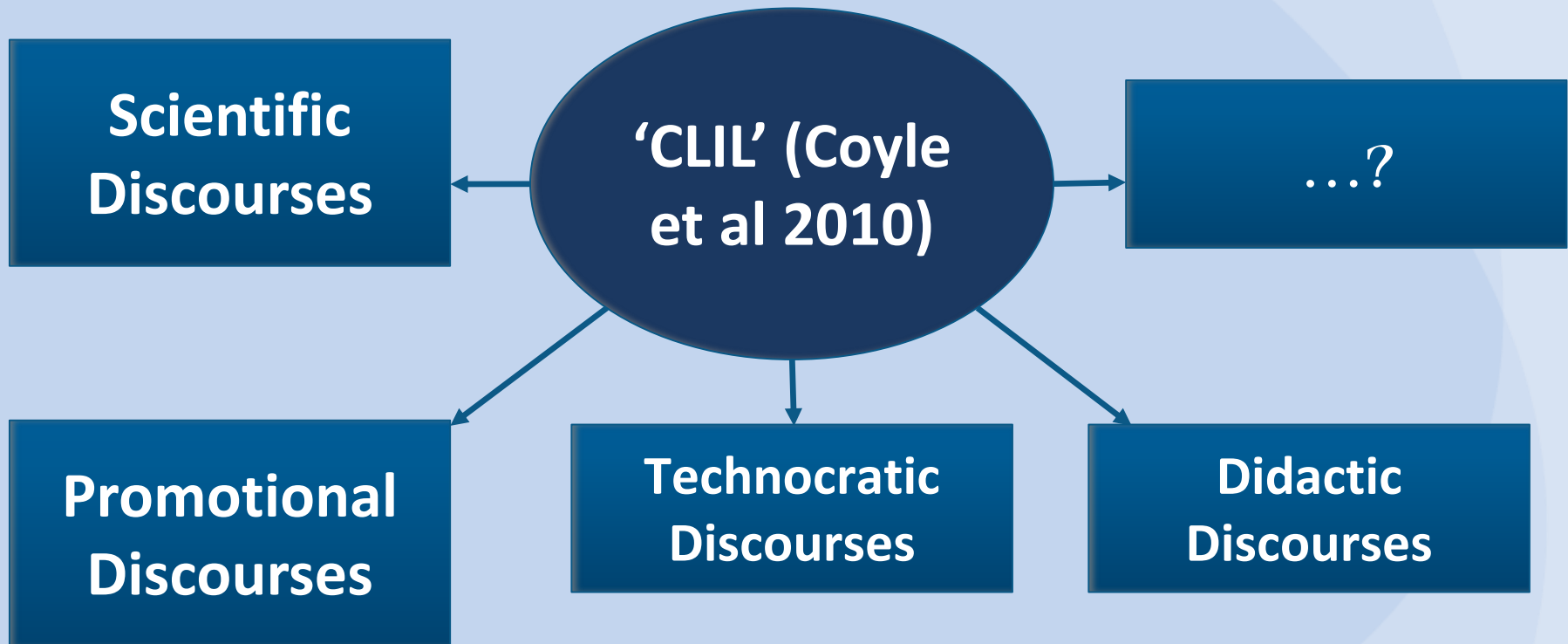
(I) Non-educational keywords

- -> **strong interdiscourse** with EU discourses (knowledge society)

(II) Hybrid genre?

- **Analogies more frequent** than scientific demonstrations
- **Deontic modalities prevail over epistemic modalities** (typical for scientific discourses ; Defays 2009)
- **Promotional lexicon:** to promote the CLIL-product ('holistic', 'success'...)

Hybrid Genre?



Why so few Studies on Language Ideologies in Scientific Discourses?

Not only sensitive to analyse colleagues' discourses

Epistemic power difficult to identify and analyse because it is supported by:

- a hybrid discursive system
- non-scientific rationalities/doxas (knowledge society...) that are common-sensical in academic realms too

Thank you!

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