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**WORKING PAPER 4**  
**WORKPACKAGE 2**



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### 1. Introduction: Focus of WP2

DYLAN's Workpackage 2 is devoted to studying relationships between language practices, policies, and representations in selected contexts of the EU institutions. An overriding question of particular interest for WP 2 is how EU institutions relate (multi- and/or mono-lingual) internal and external communication to each other. Here, the main focus implies studying:

- what are the conditions and motivations for differing language choice in different EU-institutional milieus, and
- what are the micro language-motivations and macro language-ideologies shaping the multilingual communication within/between and outside of EU institutions.

WP 2 includes three partner institutions, i.e.: Universität Duisburg-Essen (UDE, Duisburg, Germany), Univerza v Ljubljani (UNILJ, Ljubljana, Slovenia), and Lancaster University (LANCS, Lancaster, UK), each of which is responsible for the following team-specific research tasks:

Task 2.1. (UDE): Examines the compatibility and incompatibility between modes of internal and external communication of EU institutions and the spread of different patterns of mono- and multilingualism resulting from different forms/channels of that communication;

Task 2.2. (UNILJ): Investigates – via the example of Slovenian language in and beyond the enlarged EU institutions – how language policies in favour of multilingualism depend on the political will to promote 'lesser-used' languages in EU institutional contexts

Task 2.3. (LANCS): Examines how ideologies and conceptions of multilingualism are shaped and implemented by the EU institutions in their language- and multilingualism-related policies and everyday linguistic practices

## **2. WP2, EU Institutional Change, and the Notions of Creativity and Innovation**

WP2 approaches EU institutions at the time of their ongoing transformation due to the EU Constitutional Process taking place since the early 2000s. The aim of that process has been to reform EU institutions in the wake of the 2004 and 2007 EU Enlargements in order to allow for more efficiency within the institutional bodies representing the current 27 EU member states. Ratified by the end of 2009 (i.e. towards the end of our current period of reporting), the so called Lisbon or Reform Treaty presents a culmination of the Constitutional Process. That treaty is supposed to introduce further far-reaching changes to the structures and functioning of the key EU institutions as well as to provide them with increased democratic accountability. The latter is to be achieved by, inter alia, the development of new forms of relations and communication between European citizens, EU Member states and the EU supranational polity.

WP2 hence approaches EU institutions at in the period of their not only ongoing but also accelerating institutional transformation. In this context, WP2 focuses on the EU institutions as a dynamic and ever changing object of study and as a multilevel system of institutionalised governance characterised by the increasing number of different channels and modes of multilingual communication. Whereas we are mainly concerned with the multilingual aspects of communication within and between EU institutions at the supranational level, WP2 partners also look closely at the processes of 'communicating Europe' (also via diverse multilingualism-related policies) from the supranational to national level. In so doing we are willing to assess not only if the European supranational polity remains multilingual (and to what extent) but also scrutinise how the transfer of policies and other regulations between different levels of EU governance takes place in a multilingual manner, thus spreading EU-specific visions, conceptions and ideologies of multilingualism.

As we are dealing with an extremely lively institutional organism (characterised by the constant change of modes and patterns of communication) and approach it from a multilevel perspective (recognising the increasingly complex character of communication at and between the supranational and the national levels), we observe and study EU institutions via the analytical concept of 'institutional change'. The latter is understood in WP2 (cf. Working Paper 4 by LANCS, for further details) as a multilevel transformation of an organisational and institutional system which entails accelerated dynamics at both structural

and communicative levels of that system. Thus, institutional change not only pertains to the structural dynamics of physical spaces, institutional structures, and hierarchies but also penetrates into the communicative dynamics of human and social contexts of a system and of its related different modes and set-ups of communication. Hence, our analyses not only look at the (written or spoken) multilingual communication as part of the communicative dynamics, but also necessarily embed it in the changing structural (external and internal) contexts of the EU institutions and the broader EU-ropo. Otherwise, salient communicative changes would not be explainable.

It is from the perspective of 'institutional change' that WP2 approaches the concepts of 'creativity' and 'innovation' (assigned as guiding analytical concepts of the reported period of research). Those two concepts are hence treated in WP2 as meta-interpretative notions supporting the assessment if the social actors' individual and collectivised responses to institutional change – at both structural and communicative levels – can be treated as novel (and thus creative or innovative), re-creative (by reviving earlier 'historical' forms and types of institutional practices) or avoidant (by refusing to follow new structural and communicative patterns; cf. Wodak and Fairclough, 2010). Such assessment, however, takes place only with regard to the findings which are results of research performed along the research questions and methodologies taken on board earlier on.

### **3. Creativity and Innovation in Recent Findings of WP2**

As evidenced by recent research in all RTs of WP2 (cf. our Working Papers 4), ideological positions are salient in all of the studied types of multilingual communication. On the one hand, our research discovers a set of language ideologies which are guiding communication within different EU institutions at the supranational level. Here, we can observe institutionally specific ideologies such as expression of national standpoints at the EP (cf. results by LANCS and UDE) or internal institutional efficiency at the CEC (cf. results by LANCS). In all studied EU-institutional contexts those ideologies are well grounded with key institutional actors effectively socialised into language regimes based on those ideologies. Also, those ideologies are not only macro-ideas about how multilingualism in EU institutions should function (e.g. as expressed in language regulations, etc.) but are also traceable at the micro-level within the individual linguistic and cross-linguistic practices studied at length in WP2. On the other hand, the complex nature of communication between the supranational EU institutions and the national political bodies (cf. results by

UDE and UNILJ) also displays a range of related ideological positions. For example, the communication between the CEC and the German Bundestag seems to be impaired especially through the strong convictions at the national end of the spectrum. Within the latter, the overriding monolingual principle of using national languages as expression of national identity (something which is to some extent followed in the EP, cf. above) seems very detrimental to the efficiency of the communication between the supranational and the national level. Whereas in the Slovenian context (cf. results by UNILJ) we also observe a number of nationally-specific ideologies such as promoting one's language in national and supranational contexts, those ideologies are, unlike the German context, clearly advantageous to strengthening the multilingual transfer of ideas from national to the supranational context.

Thus, while at the supranational level the degrees of creativity and innovation in creating ideological positions with regard to multilingual communication are rather limited – i.e. the discovered ideologies have been salient in the studied context for quite a while – a more differentiated picture emerges at the national level. There we observe, on the one hand, a very limited degree of creativity and innovation in some contexts (German Bundestag recalling well-known ideas of monolingualism in national spaces). On the other hand, in some contexts (e.g. Slovenia), we encounter a set of novel and thus creative and innovative 'positive' language ideologies in the Slovenian context where the visions of internationalising national language in a multilingual world become ever more widespread.

Accordingly, our recent findings also point to the fact that in all of the studied EU-institutional and national contexts of multilingual communication, there exist different degrees of creativity and innovation in shaping responses to the ongoing institutional change. Whereas at the supranational level we observe quite different, institutionally-specific responses to the growing multilingualism (cf. findings on EP and CEC by LANCS) it must be re-emphasised that those responses do not depend as much on the actors immediately shaping the multilingual communication; quite in contrast, they they depend on the actual (open/democratic vs. public/administrative) character of the respective institutions. A somewhat different situation occurs in the communication between the supranational and the national levels, where, as we have seen (cf. findings by UDE and UNILJ) significantly different degrees of creativity and innovation exist. In the German context (cf. results by UDE) we find a rather limited degree of creativity and innovation. The latter results in the fact that, instead of opting for any form of a multilingual consensus, Bundestag

members respond to the increased use of English by the CEC with another nationally motivated form of monolingualism (aimed at 'defending' German 'at least' in the national contexts). A significantly different situation occurs in Slovenia where the degree of creativity and innovation is rather high. As we have seen (cf. results by UNILJ), all salient forces of the Slovenian political scene recognise the need for embedding their national language into international and supranational contexts. Thus, they do not perceive growing multilingualism of Europe as a 'threat' to their 'national' language but as a chance to internationalise their language and to promote it, also (or especially) to the outside of the national milieu.

Finally, our findings on the salience of ideological positions and creative and innovative responses to institutional change also reveal an immense complexity of multilingual communication at both national and supranational levels. As we have seen, whether in the context of the key EU institutions (EP and CEC, cf. results by UDE and LANCS) or within the supranational-to-national contacts (cf. results by UNILJ and UDE), multilingual communication and multilingual practices are always highly dependent on both immediate and broader contexts of their production and reception. There we encounter an array of pre-existent language ideologies and other ideas related to the form and shape of multilingual communication. This communication is hence not only shaped in response to macro institutional change (at the supranational level) or socio-political transformation (in the national contexts) but also in response to the 'deep-seated dispositions' (Bourdieu) and other attitudes to language choice which impinge on the studied micro contexts. It is within those attitudes and ideas that many institutionally- and context-specific ideologies are nested and negotiated by the social and political actors involved in 'communicating Europe' at both national and supranational level.

## 1. Reminder of research task - *Forschungsaufgabe*

Laut Annex I - "Description of Work" (05 May 2009) lautet die Forschungsaufgabe der Universität Duisburg-Essen: "Analysis of how the choice of working monolingualism (internal communication) can progressively penetrate into the entire community (external communication) and affect the other languages and language use" (p.59).

Das Team der Universität Duisburg-Essen untersucht hierfür wie die drei Arbeitssprachen Deutsch, Englisch und Französisch in den Institutionen der EU für die interne und externe Kommunikation gebraucht werden und welche Auswirkung der überproportional häufige Gebrauch einer Arbeitssprache hat. Besonderes Interesse gilt hierbei der Frage, welche Faktoren dafür verantwortlich sind, dass sich eine Arbeitssprache (Englisch) in immer mehr internen Kommunikationssituationen durchsetzt. Daran anschließend gehen wir der Frage nach inwieweit die Sprachpraxis innerhalb der EU-Institutionen in die Mitgliedsländer hineinwirkt und Auswirkungen zeigt auf die Sprachpraktiken der dortigen politischen Akteure, dies wird beispielhaft am deutschen Bundestag untersucht.

## 2. Introduction - *Einleitung*

Bei jeder von uns durchgeführten Beobachtung, Erhebung und Untersuchung zeigt sich die zentrale Herausforderung der EU. Die Institutionen der EU müssen mit 23 Arbeitssprachen effektiv arbeiten und gleichzeitig die Gleichberechtigung all ihrer Mitgliedstaaten gewährleisten. In diesem Spannungsfeld beschreibt Van Parijs richtig Vielsprachigkeit als ein Nebenprodukt des Strebens nach politischer Gerechtigkeit und Gleichberechtigung innerhalb der EU (vgl. Van Parijs 2008:37). Demnach ist der Erhalt der Mehrsprachigkeit kein intrinsischer Wert, sondern eine notwendige Folge des praktizierten Staatenverbundes von 27 souveränen Staaten mit 23 Amtssprachen.

Die Praxis der EU-Institutionen zeigt naturgemäß, dass nicht in jeder Situation



jede Sprache gleichberechtigt genutzt werden kann, auch wenn de facto alle Sprachen gleichberechtigt sind. Hier setzt nun unsere Forschung an, die Auswahl und der Gebrauch einer bestimmten Sprache befördert immer auch die Position dieser Sprechergruppe. Sprachpraxis und sprachliche Produkte beinhalten verschiedene Formen von "Macht" (Bourdieu 2005:99ff). Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es sinnvoll Entwicklungen aufzuzeigen, die den Gebrauch einer Sprache begünstigen. Wobei klar ist, dass für den erfolgreichen Kommunikationsprozess bei internen Arbeitsabläufen in den Institutionen der EU pragmatische Sprachregelungen unverzichtbar sind. Unsere vorherigen Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, dass Englisch im Zuge der EU-Erweiterung zur dominierenden Arbeitssprache in den EU-Institutionen wurde (vgl. Working Paper 3, Februar 2009). So bestätigte sich de Swaans Vorhersage von 2001: „The more languages, the more English“ (de Swann 2001: 144). Auch wenn sich diese Entwicklung beobachten lässt, bleibt es für den politischen Frieden innerhalb der EU und die Außendarstellung der EU unabdingbare Voraussetzung weiterhin die sprachliche Vielfalt zu fördern und zu erhalten. Hierbei wurden bereits zahlreiche kreative Ideen umgesetzt. Da überrascht es, dass zum europäischen Jahr der Kreativität und Innovation (2009) besonders die Sachgebiete Mathematik, Technik und Naturwissenschaften als Motor von Innovation und Kreativität gesehen werden und als besonders förderungswürdig gelten (vgl. Amtsblatt der Europäischen Union L 384 / 115 vom 24.12.2008, S.2). Gerade die kulturelle Diversität Europas und die darin beinhaltete Sprachenvielfalt kann zu kreativen und vielseitigen Lösungen führen und damit innovative Antworten geben auf die Anforderungen einer globalisierten Wissensgesellschaft.

In den Untersuchungen zum vorliegenden ‚Working Paper‘ haben wir einige Schnittpunkte externer und interner Kommunikation analysiert, um mögliche externe Effekte des internen ‚Monolingualismus‘ aufzeigen zu können. Bei besagten Schnittstellen handelt sich a) um die Kommunikation zwischen der Kommission und dem deutschen Bundestag, b) Sprachwahl von EU-Parlamentariern in Plenarsitzungen und c) Auftritte der EU-Kommissare im EU-Parlament.

### **3. Analysis - Untersuchungsbereich**

Um einen Einblick zu erhalten, inwieweit die dominante Stellung des Englischen als EU-Arbeitssprache, Auswirkung zeigt auf die externen Kommunikationsabläufe der EU-Institutionen, wurden folgende Erhebungen durchgeführt.

- a) Schriftliche Befragung von Abgeordneten des Deutschen Bundestags in Bezug auf ihre Erfahrung bei der Arbeit mit EU-Dokumenten im Bundestag.
- b) Beobachtung per Webstream von Plenar- und Ausschusssitzungen des EP in Bezug auf die Sprachwahl der EU-Parlamentarier.
- c) Beobachtung per Webstream von Auftritten der Kommissare im EP.

Alle vorgestellten Untersuchungsgegenstände wurden mit Methoden der qualitativen und quantitativen empirischen Sozialforschung (Schnell; Hill; Esser 2005) erarbeitet und ausgewertet. Sprachbeiträge von Parlamentariern und Kommissaren wurden mittels quantifizierender Inhaltsanalyse, Fragebögen von deutschen Abgeordneten mittels qualifizierter Inhaltsanalyse analysiert. Die Inhaltsanalyse stellt einen Ansatz empirischer, methodisch kontrollierter Auswertung auch größerer Text- oder Sprachcorpora dar, wobei das Material, in seinen Kommunikationszusammenhang eingebettet wird (Mayring 2000).

Ausgangspunkt für die Befragung deutscher Abgeordneter war die Tatsache, dass es Beschwerden aus dem Bundestag gab, über die bestehende Übersetzungspraxis der Kommission in Bezug auf die Zusammenarbeit mit den nationalen Parlamenten. Im Zeitraum März-Mai 2009 wurden 39 Fragebögen per Mail an deutsche Abgeordnete aller im Bundestag vertretenen Fraktionen versandt. 21 Abgeordnete beantworteten den Fragebogen. Mit zwei Abgeordneten konnte am Rande von Wahlkampfveranstaltungen kurze Gespräche geführt werden. Die Ergebnisse der Befragung wurden anonymisiert und sind unter Punkt 4.1. nachzulesen.

Die beobachteten Plenar- und Ausschusssitzungen wurden in der Regel vollverdolmetscht. Für die Beobachtungen interessant waren die Sprecher, die trotz zur Verfügung stehender Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten nicht in ihrer Muttersprache (Muttersprache wurde hier gleichgesetzt mit der zugelassenen EU-Amtsprache der jeweiligen Nationalität des Sprechers) sprachen. Die Auswertung erfolgte für Plenarsitzungen in der Zeit vom 1.3.2009-30.5.2009 und für Ausschusssitzungen in der Zeit vom 01.04.09-30.04.09. Folgende Ausschüsse wurden beobachtet:

- Petitionsausschuss
- Ausschuss für internationalen Handel
- Ausschuss für auswärtige Angelegenheiten
- Ausschuss für die Rechte der Frau und die Gleichstellung der Geschlechter
- Unterausschuss Menschenrechte

- Ausschuss für Binnenmarkt und Verbraucherschutz

Bisher wurden 600 Wortbeiträge zusammengestellt und nach folgendem Schema analysiert:

Beispiel: Plenarsitzung am 5. März 2009

<b>Sprecher</b>	<b>Zeit</b>	<b>Nationalität</b>	<b>gewählte Sprache</b>	<b>Anlass</b>	<b>Bemerkung</b>
Hans-Gerd Pöttering / Parlamentsvorsitz	17.05.08	deutsch	EN	Ansprache an das Parlament / Aufruf zur Trauerminute	spricht in fast allen weiteren Wortbeiträgen Deutsch

Die Ergebnisse der Auswertung finden sich unter Punkt 4.2.

Im Zeitraum vom 1.09.2008-1.10.2009 wurden alle Wortbeiträge von EU-Kommissaren im europäischen Parlament per Webstream beobachtet und im Hinblick auf die Sprachwahl der Kommissare ausgewertet. Nachfolgende Tabelle bildet die Grundlage der quantifizierenden Analyse.

<b>Name und Nationalität Kommissar/in</b>	<b>Anzahl Redebeiträge insgesamt</b>	<b>Datum Redebeitrag</b>	<b>Sprache des Beitrags</b>
Barroso Portugiese	36	15-09-09	FN
		07-10-09	EN
		16-09-09	PT
		15-07-09	EN
		24-03-09	FN
		25-03-09	FN
		11-03-09	FN
		11-03-09	FN
		14-01-09	FN
		16-12-08	FN
		03-12-08	FN
		21-10-08	FN
Wallström / Schwedin	39 Beiträge, alle Englisch	07-10-09	EN
		06-05-09	EN
		22-04-09	EN
		10-03-09	EN
		13-01-09	EN
		16-12-08	EN
		03-12-08	EN
		19-11-08	EN
Verheugen Deutscher	49 Beiträge, alle Deutsch	23-04-09	
		23-04-09	DE

		01-04-09	DE
		24-03-09	DE
		24-03-09	DE
		23-03-09	DE
		11-03-09	DE
		10-03-09	DE
		04-02-09	DE

Dies ist die erste Seite der Tabelle, die insgesamt alle 27 Kommissare erfasst. Die Ergebnisse der Auszählung finden sich unter Punkt 4.2.

## **4. Results - Ergebnisse**

### **4.1 Fallstudie Deutscher Bundestag**

Die Antworten der Abgeordneten aus der E-Mail Befragung decken sich mit bereits vorliegenden Informationen über die Unzufriedenheit der Abgeordneten mit der Übersetzungspraxis der Kommission. Interessant ist die Tatsache, dass sich Abgeordnete aller Fraktionen über die bestehende Übersetzungspraxis der Kommission beschweren. Ist es sonst eher das bürgerlich-konservative Lager, das sich um die deutsche Sprache sorgt, so fühlen sich in diesem Fall Abgeordnete fraktionsübergreifend durch englische Dokumente von der Kommission gestört. Nachfolgend werden die Hauptkritikpunkte der Abgeordneten zusammenfassend dargestellt:

- Die EU-Kommission trifft die Entscheidung über die Übersetzung nach rein schematischen und formalen Kriterien. Die politische Bedeutung und der tatsächliche Bedarf der Dokumente werden außer Acht gelassen.
- Die Vorgabe für die Nichtübersetzung von technischen Anhängen (vgl. SEK (2006) 1498/4 endg.) führt dazu, dass zu viele Dokumente als Anhänge deklariert werden und dem deutschen Parlament nur in Englisch (vereinzelt auch in Französisch) vorliegen.
- Aufgrund fehlender Übersetzung sieht sich der Bundestag bei 65 Dokumenten (Stand April 2009) nicht in der Lage, über sie zu beraten.
- Die Abgeordneten verlangen, dass Anhänge, die politisch wichtige Information enthalten (Politikfolgeabschätzungen, Finanzberichte, Finanzbögen, Monitoringberichte) übersetzt werden, damit die Zusammenarbeit mit der Kommission transparent und offen erfolgen kann.
- Die Abgeordneten befürchten ein Demokratiedefizit, welches durch nicht vorhandene Übersetzung und damit einhergehende mangelnde Transparenz entstehen könnte.

Hierzu muss ergänzt werden, die Geschäftsordnung der Kommission regelt genau, welche Dokumente den nationalen Parlamenten in ihren Sprachen zur Verfügung gestellt werden müssen, d.h. nur ein kleiner Teil von Dokumenten erreicht die Parlamente in Englisch. Die Beschwerden über englische Dokumente zeigen zum einen, dass es für deutsche Abgeordnete nicht selbstverständlich ist, Dokumente in Englisch zu bearbeiten und zum anderen, dass sie sich in ihrer nationalen parlamentarischen Souveränität gestört fühlen, wenn sie Dokumente der EU in Englisch erreichen.

Abschließend kann festgehalten werden, dass die Dominanz von Englisch als Hauptarbeitssprache in den EU-Institutionen sich auf die Arbeit des deutschen Parlaments auswirkt. Die Beschwerden der deutschen Fraktionen über zahlreiche englische EU-Dokumente haben bislang bei der Kommission keine Beachtung gefunden.

#### **4.2. Beobachtung von Plenar- und Ausschusssitzungen des EU-Parlaments**

Das EU-Parlament wurde als Beobachtungsort gewählt, da dort die Idee des vielsprachigen Europas naturgemäß am nachhaltigsten umgesetzt wird. Auch wenn alle Plenarsitzungen in alle Amtssprachen gedolmetscht werden, so ist es für die tägliche Arbeit der Parlamentarier unabdingbar eine der Arbeitssprachen der EU zu beherrschen. Unsere Beobachtungen sollten Aufschluss geben darüber, inwieweit der Gebrauch der Arbeitssprachen in der internen Kommunikation die Abgeordneten auch bei ihren Redebeiträgen im Parlament beeinflussen. Die drei Aspekte, welche für die Sprachauswahl der Parlamentarier entscheidend sind hat Sue Wright richtigerweise wie folgt beschrieben: „first, the need to safeguard the symbolic equality of member states within the Union; second, the need for members of the parliament to be effective; third, the need for all citizens to be able to understand what is being debated and decided in their name“ (Wright 2007:161). So erklärt sich, weshalb die meisten Parlamentarier in ihren Redebeiträgen im Parlament ihre nationale Amtssprache nutzen. Dies war in 88,4 % der untersuchten 600 Wortbeiträge der Fall. Dennoch gibt es Abgeordnete, die trotz der Möglichkeit zur Übersetzung nicht ihre Muttersprache wählen, dies war in 11,6 % der Redebeiträge der Fall. Wählten die Abgeordneten nicht ihre Muttersprache, sprachen sie Englisch (dies zählt nur für Wortbeiträge der Parlamentarier, bei den Kommissaren ergibt sich ein anderes Bild; vgl. unten). Am häufigsten wählten Abgeordnete der neuen Mitgliedsländer Englisch als Sprache für ihren Redebeitrag (in dieser Reihenfolge: Bulgarien, Rumänien, Estland, Ungarn, Niederlande, Schweden, Polen). Eine Erklärung hierfür könnte sein, dass die

Sprachen der neuen Mitgliedsländer besonders häufig mittels Relais-Dolmetschung übersetzt werden, sprechen die Parlamentarier dieser Sprachgruppen direkt Englisch, können sie sicher sein, dass ihr Beitrag nur einmal übersetzt wird und wichtige Informationen authentisch weitergegeben werden. Ein weiterer Grund ist sicherlich, dies bestätigen auch Interviews (vgl. Wright 2007), dass die Parlamentarier der osteuropäischen Mitgliedsländer in Ausschusssitzungen und Arbeitsgruppen besonders häufig ohne Übersetzung auskommen müssen und sie deshalb daran gewöhnt sind Englisch (selten auch Französisch) zu sprechen.

### 4.3 Auftritte der Kommissare im europäischen Parlament

Insgesamt wurden 996 Wortbeiträge von allen 27 EU-Kommissare ausgewertet. Die quantitative Analyse zeigt hierbei folgendes Bild:

<b>Sprache</b>	<b>Anzahl Wortbeiträge</b>	<b>Anteile in % (einfaches Kontingenzmaß)</b>
<b>Englisch</b>	557	55,92
<b>Französisch</b>	167	16,67
<b>Italienisch</b>	61	6,1
<b>Tschechisch</b>	57	5,7
<b>Griechisch</b>	55	5,5
<b>Deutsch</b>	52	5,22
<b>Spanisch</b>	44	4,58
<b>Portugiesisch</b>	2	0,2
<b>Rumänisch</b>	2	0,2

Diese Zusammensetzung lässt sich folgendermaßen erklären: 18 von 27 Kommissaren sprechen vor dem Parlament Englisch, hier entsteht der Eindruck, dass Englisch für die Kommission eine sehr wichtige Sprache ist. Teilweise sprechen Kommissare konsequent nur ihre Muttersprache, dadurch erklären sich die hohen Prozentanteile für Tschechisch, Griechisch, Spanisch, Italienisch und Deutsch. Deutsch wird nur vom deutschen Kommissar und in Ausnahmefällen (2) von der österreichischen Kommissarin gesprochen. Der Kommissionspräsident spricht besonders häufig Französisch, ist aber einer der wenigen, die in ihrer Sprachauswahl variieren (zusammen mit der österreichischen Kommissarin Ferrero-Waldner).

## **5. Comparative analysis of multilingual and monolingual situations - Vergleich von mehrsprachigen und einsprachigen Situationen**

Für diesen Vergleich bieten sich die zuvor dargestellten Redebeiträge der Kommissare im Parlament an. Betrachtet man beispielsweise den tschechischen Kommissar, der konsequent nur Tschechisch spricht, so spricht er nie eine für die Kommission übliche Arbeitssprache. Es entsteht der Eindruck des persönlichen Monolingualismus. Dies wiederum führt dazu, dass die Institution, für die der Kommissar spricht in ihrer Außendarstellung multilingual erscheint, da nicht all ihre Repräsentanten eine Sprache sprechen. Das Beispiel der Kommissare zeigt zudem, dass nur vier Kommissare mehr als eine Sprache vor dem Parlament nutzen. Gerade diese persönliche Multilingualität verschafft aber der Institution eine wirklich mehrsprachige Außendarstellung.

## **6. Conclusion - Schlußfolgerung**

Ziel des Dylan-Projektes ist es aufzuzeigen, unter welchen Bedingungen die Sprachenvielfalt in Europa einen Vorteil und nicht ein Hindernis darstellt. Unsere Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Sprachenvielfalt im Parlament weitaus ausgeprägter ist als in der Kommission. Alle drei vorgestellten Untersuchungen zeigen, dass Englisch im Sprachgefüge der Union eine Sonderstellung einnimmt. Bestätigt wird die häufig geäußerte Vermutung (vgl. Ammon 2006), dass Vertreter der kleineren Sprachgemeinschaften eher bereit sind Englisch als Hauptarbeitssprache zu akzeptieren. Dies wird besonders daran deutlich, dass kein Vertreter der größeren Sprachgemeinschaften (DE; EN; ES; FN; IT;) bereit ist als Parlamentarier oder als Kommissar auf seine Sprache zu verzichten.

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## 1. Reminder of research task

The UNILJ team examines the compatibility between language policies in favour of multilingualism and political will to promote lesser used languages in EU institutions. By analysing mental representations of political actors involved in the EU and national language policies, we challenge the notions of creativity and innovation, mostly focusing on the scientifically neutral concept of change: we try to establish how political will to promote lesser used languages is affected by socio-political change after the EU Enlargement. Thus we can assess the limits of EU multilingualism and evaluate how it penetrates and affects a lesser used language speaking community. All this information brings us a step closer towards achieving the global objectives of the DYLAN project, i.e. to identify the conditions under which Europe's linguistic diversity can be an asset rather than a drawback, as well as analyse the language and communication problems of a community speaking a lesser used language.

## 2. Introduction

As EU language policies in favour of multilingualism have already been documented, we have currently centred our research on political will. This concept, marked by high ambiguity stemming both from "the usefulness of vagueness in the political arena and from the intentional and potential nature of political will" (Post et al. 2008: 2), can be defined as "the desire to act on the part of those holding power" (Beckmann, Byers 2005: 4) or "a sufficient set of political actors with a common understanding of a particular problem on the public agenda [which] genuinely intends to support a commonly perceived, potentially effective policy solution" (Post et al. 2008: 5).

The UNILJ team focuses on Slovene language as a case study for lesser used languages. Our analysis so far has shown that at least in the more backstage communication of the EU institutions, language policies in favour of multilingualism and political will ensuring the *de facto* use of Slovene are not always compatible. In our current research, we have widened our scope to political institutions of Member States, considering them as national extensions

of the EU institutions since they are actively involved in their construction. We focused on political parties, one of the actors in building political will that can "influence the number of relevant actors and the distribution of preferences" (Post et al. 2008: 8) as well as block a policy initiative. Their part is also important in political will campaigns, "communication programs aimed at generating political support in the hopes of achieving the passage and implementation of particular policies" (Post et al. 2008: 9).

To assess the parties' declared political will, we analysed their programs, important for the party-internal development of propaganda, political advertising and political control (Wodak, de Cillia 2006: 711). Party values, ideology and goals are defined in them along with the main characteristics differentiating them from their rivals. They are aimed at a wide range of recipients (e.g. party members, possible voters, media), so they have to be detailed and mobilising enough to gain voter support, but at the same time as abstract and politically correct as possible to avoid losing them. Unlike the rest of the election campaign, programs include parties' attitudes toward all current issues, not just the most prominent ones, so they usually discuss linguistic questions, albeit briefly or indirectly (e.g. multiculturalism can imply multilingualism), which are otherwise not important political subjects.

The analysis of political programs reveals how EU language policies affect the political will to promote Slovene language, other languages and multilingualism in Slovenia, i.e. how political parties deal with socio-political change as they try to balance between the traditional protectionist concept of Slovene language as a basis of national identity (cf. Working Paper 2) and multilingualism promoted by the EU, while trying to gain and keep support. Two key dimensions of DYLAN research framework are addressed: representations of multilingualism and linguistic diversity and language policies (in terms of political parties as one of policy co-constructors). The EU institutional linguistic environment is partly described from an external perspective and finally, the analysis of political discourse explores how the political public perceives EU multilingualism and which ideas and ideologies, created in public spheres, are then transmitted back to national publics.

### **3. Analysis**

Our analysis focuses on the period from the first parliamentary elections in independent Slovenia in 1992 to the last elections in 2008. Particularly important are the last two parliamentary terms. During 2000-2004, the EU accession negotiations were the most intense. After 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004, Slovenia

was a full EU member which marks the 2004-2008 period. 14 parties and 38 documents were analysed:<sup>3</sup>

- DeSUS 94:** *Program stranke*. 1<sup>st</sup> congress. Maribor, 29 September 1994.
- DeSUS 02:** *Program DeSUS*. 5<sup>th</sup> congress. Postojna, 22-23 April 2002.
- DeSUS 05:** *Program DeSUS*. 6<sup>th</sup> congress. Ljubljana, 20 May 2005.
- KDS 08:** *Program KDS – Krščansko demokratske stranke*.
- KSS 07:** *Krščanski socialisti Slovenije: Osnovni program stranke*.
- LDS 94:** *Programski dokumenti*. Bled, 12 March 1994.
- LDS 00:** *Program LDS 2000. Volitve 2000: Volilni programi slovenskih političnih strank*. Ljubljana: FDV, Inštitut za družbene vede, Center za politološke raziskave, 2000.
- LDS 04:** *Skupaj spreminjamo Slovenijo: Program Liberalne demokracije Slovenije za obdobje 2004–2008*.
- LDS 07:** *Za svobodo posameznika, za blaginjo vseh: Manifest Liberalne demokracije Slovenije*. 9<sup>th</sup> congress, January 2007.
- LDS 08:** *Prihodnost je v dobrih ljudeh in mladih očeh: Program Liberalne demokracije Slovenije za obdobje 2008–2012*.
- Lipa 08:** *Program politične stranke LIPA*.
- NSi 00:** *Program stranke Nova Slovenija – Krščanska ljudska stranka (NSi)*.
- NSi 08a:** *Cilji 2008–2012*.
- NSi 08b:** *Programska izhodišča*.
- SD 95:** *Socialdemokratski program za Slovenijo*. Slovenj Gradec, 26 November 1995.
- SD 00:** *Program SD 2000. Volitve 2000: Volilni programi slovenskih političnih strank*. Ljubljana: FDV, Inštitut za družbene vede, Center za politološke raziskave, 2000.
- SD 08:** *Slovenija v vrhu sveta: Program socialnih demokratov*.
- SDS 93:** Janša, Janez: *Socialdemokrati in Slovenska stvarnost*. 3<sup>rd</sup> congress, 15 May 1993.
- SDS 99a:** *Čas je za Slovenijo: Politični program Socialdemokratske stranke Slovenije*. 5<sup>th</sup> congress, 8 May 1999.
- SDS 99b:** *Resolucija o varovanju slovenskega jezika*. 1<sup>st</sup> conference. Maribor, 9 September 1999.
- SDS 00:** *Program SDS 2000. Volitve 2000: Volilni programi slovenskih političnih strank*. Ljubljana: FDV, Inštitut za družbene vede, Center za politološke raziskave, 2000.
- SDS 08:** *Program*.
- SKD 94:** *Za Slovenijo: Program SKD*.
- SLS 94:** *Program slovenske ljudske stranke*.
- SLS + SKD 00:** *Program SLS + SKD SLOVENSKA LJUDSKA STRANKA*. 23 March 2000.
- SLS 04:** *Ohranimo Slovenijo! Volilni program Slovenske ljudske stranke*. September 2004.
- SLS 07:** *Program Slovenske ljudske stranke in resolucije*. 17 November 2007.
- SLS 08:** *Volilni program Slovenske ljudske stranke SLS*. Ljubljana, August 2008.
- SMS 00:** *Smernice in izhodišča delovanja Stranke mladih Slovenije – SMS*. Ljubljana, 4 July 2000.
- SMS 04:** *Program Stranke mladih Slovenije*. Nova Gorica, 2004.
- SNS 91:** *Okvirni program Slovenske nacionalne stranke*. Ljubljana, 16 March 1991.
- SNS 00:** *Program Slovenske nacionalne stranke*. 6<sup>th</sup> congress, 23 September 2000.
- SNS 08a:** *Aktualizirana programska izhodišča Slovenske nacionalne stranke pred volitvami v DZ RS 2008*. Brdo pri Kranju, 21 May 2005.
- SNS 08b:** Prijatelj, Srečko, 2008: *Odstranitev dvojezične table v vasi Lokev: Izjava za javnost*, 20 February 2008.
- SSN 08:** *Program za razvoj Slovenije*. 10 July 2008.
- ZARES 08a:** *Zares pripravljeni na izzive!: Za nov razvojni dogovor, za novo politiko!: Predlog programskega dokumenta Zares – nova politika*. Ljubljana, 12 June 2008.
- ZARES 08b:** *Zares pripravljeni na izzive!: Za nov razvojni dogovor, za novo politiko!: Programski dokument stranke Zares*. Kranjska Gora, 6<sup>th</sup> December 2008.
- ZARES 08c:** *Volilni program 2008–2012*.

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<sup>3</sup> In continuation, only abbreviations are used when referring to each document.

## 4. Results

Although linguistic issues are usually minor subjects in the programs, there is an obvious difference between liberal and conservative parties.<sup>4</sup> An overview of document contents gives a varied list of key topics of discourse, regarding both Slovene and other languages. The results are somewhat blurred by the inaccessibility of non-current texts, but the main trends are clear.

**Table 1: Language-related topics in political programs**

Topic	Liberal parties				Conservative parties			
	1992-2000	2000-2004	2004-2008	2008-	1992-2000	2000-2004	2004-2008	2008-
Slovene language as key to national identity	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3
Slovene minorities abroad	2	1	3	3	1	2	1	4
Italian and Hungarian minority rights	2	1	1	2	1	1		3
International university exchanges	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	2
Multiculturalism, tolerance	2	1	3	3				1
Emergent minorities in Slovenia (ex Yugoslavia)		1	1	2				
Romany rights	1	1	1	2			1	
Immigrant and refugee integration	1			2				1
Foreign language learning		2	2	1				
Foreign languages at universities				1				
Threats to Slovene language			1	1		1		4
Patriotism	1			1		1		3
Development of Slovene language				1	1	2	1	3
Intolerance towards minorities, foreigners and other languages					1	1		2
Legislation on Slovene language			1					5
Dictionaries, textbooks and IT in Slovene			2	3			1	4
Slovene language at universities								3
Slovene language in the EU			1	1				4
Slovene minority in Croatia								3

Table 1 shows language-related topics that are common to all political programs (rights of Italian and Hungarian minority in Slovenia or attention given to Slovene minorities living abroad), while more liberal/conservative-specific issues will be discussed in continuation. Other, mostly minor, non-parliamentary parties not included in the table (Lipa, KSS) give general, semantically empty statements. Programs of the parliamentary pensioners' party DeSUS are also short and superficial, only resorting to more emotional discourse in the paragraph on Slovenes abroad.

<sup>4</sup> Since the distinction between liberal/conservative or left/right-winged parties is mostly political and ideological, the terms in this report are used with reference to their linguistic opinions.

## **Liberal parties: multiculturalism and minority languages**

Liberal parties are outward-oriented, supporting multiculturalism and minority languages of officially recognized Italian and Hungarian minorities as well as of emerging language communities in Slovenia which so far haven't had specific formal rights.

**Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS)**,<sup>5</sup> the main governmental party until 2004-2008 when it was in the opposition, has been gradually losing support after 2000, but each of its extensive political programs is more detailed and ideological. LDS 94 program supports integration of Yugoslav refugees, which was an important issue in that period. In LDS 00, foreign language learning at all educational levels is promoted for the first time. A minor objective, not mentioned in subsequent programs, is clearer Slovene language in bureaucratic use. In LDS 04, the EU-accession is praised as Slovene language is now at home in Brussels and citizens have the right to communicate with EU institutions in Slovene, which should develop sufficiently with proper education, book accessibility and care for media language. The need to learn two foreign languages is specified, presumably following EU guidelines (cf. Presidency Conclusions, Barcelona European Council 15 and 16 March 2002). Slovenia in LDS 08 is defined by multiculturalism, so special care is to be given to culture production in Slovene and languages of minority groups, including Romanies and emerging ethnic communities. Proficiency in two foreign languages has an emphasis on neighbouring languages and the dispute regarding language use at universities is addressed: to increase the country's competitive position as well as to develop the scientific use of Slovene, LDS 08 abstractly suggests parallel use of both Slovene and foreign languages.

The **Social Democrats (SD)** have been in the government in all terms except 2004-2008. Much attention in their not very elaborate programs is given to ethical issues and historical authority figures. Already in SD 95, a part of their vision is "SLOVENIA of Slovene language and culture, multicultural and multinational, in unison with other European and world languages and cultures". In SD 00, minorities in Slovenia are supported along with Romanies and activities of non-autochthonous minorities clubs, but linguistic issues are otherwise not addressed. SD 08 still advocates multiculturalism, but globalisation is seen as a threat to smaller languages to which internet and further European connecting could be a solution.

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<sup>5</sup> Party names and all citations from their programs have been translated into English by the authors of this Working Paper.

**ZARES** was established in 2007 and entered the government in 2008. In three extensive versions of its program, Slovene language as key to national identity is mentioned briefly but the only suggested measure for its support is the publication of a modern monolingual Slovene dictionary. Multiculturalism and other languages, particularly those of former Yugoslav immigrants and Romanies, are discussed much more; in defending the international orientation of universities, even the English term "joint degree" is used.

The **Party of the Young (SMS)** was a parliamentary party only in 2000-2004. The short SMS 00 guidelines express doubts about EU accession and the preservation of Slovene identity in it. SMS 04 program is much more specific, perceiving globalisation and multiculturalism as enrichments of national identity. The rights for minorities in Slovenia, including the Romanies and immigrants from former Yugoslavia, are demanded. Foreign language learning should be encouraged in adult education as well as through training subsidies in companies while status of Slovene language can be self-regulated by cultural politics and measures such as subsidies for electronic mono- and bilingual dictionaries.

### **Conservative parties: protectionism**

Conservative parties emphasize the importance of Slovene language and culture as key elements of Slovene national identity, threatened by globalisation. As they discuss dangers and negative phenomena more than liberal parties, they also use different ideological discourse elements, such as negative opinion words or implied arguments, more frequently.

**New Slovenia – Christian People's Party (NSi)**, supported by Slovene Catholic Church, was founded in 2000. Following a brief premiership in 2000, it was in opposition in 2000-2004 and in the government in 2004-2008. Its language attitudes are marked by purism and ideological expressions. In the short, initial NSi 00 program, central notions are nationality, Christian values and patriotism. Curricula of Slovene as a school subject should be revised to make it more popular. NSi 08a is much more extensive with a detailed chapter on Slovene language, proving familiarity with the subject since the former director of the Sector for Slovene language at the Ministry of Culture is a member of NSi. Slovene language needs to be protected while other languages, frequently used and often more respected in business and universities, should be restricted. Slovene citizens are responsible for the threatening dominance of other languages along with representatives who are giving up their right to use Slovene in EU institutions. EU membership is particularly dangerous, so Slovenia should be more actively involved in the EU

language policies. National legislation should be improved and more strictly implemented. Slovene language should develop in all spheres and gain importance at universities. More Slovene language learning materials, textbooks, courses and on-line applications should be available. The necessity of foreign language learning is acknowledged briefly, but immediately followed by the importance of Slovene traditions and cultural environment. In NSi 08b, foreign movies dubbing is also suggested along with the need to monitor Slovene language use in EU institutions and support Slovenes abroad, particularly in Croatia.

Also based on Christian values is the non-parliamentary **Christian Democratic Party (KDS)**, established in 2008. In KDS 08 it argues that all Slovenes should be guaranteed the right to use their mother tongue in all public matters, but Slovene language is threatened by Slovene officials who choose not to use it in EU institutions – a statement directly copied from NSi 08a. The law on public use of Slovene language should be adopted and enforced. However, it is not explained why the current law is inadequate or why Slovene language should be developed especially in IT, entrepreneurship and tourism. Slovenia should recognize its emigrants as an equal part of the nation and acknowledge its minority in Croatia.

**Slovene People's Party (SLS)** merged with Slovene Christian Democrats (SKD) in 2000 and was a part of the government coalition until 2008, losing support in each term. Its programs are marked by ideological discourse elements and its attitude is extremely protectionist, considering language to be the foundation of Slovenehood and crucial for Slovene future. The short SLS 94 supports internationalisation of universities, while SKD 94 strives for a "pretty, genuine, simple and intelligible language in public spheres". EU should show understanding for small nations. The program of united parties SLS + SKD 00 also combines their programs, demanding reciprocal care for national minorities in Slovenia, but again more attention is given to Slovenes abroad and suggestions such as homeland education. In SLS 04, protectionism is clearer as Slovenes are obliged to protect and develop their language. Some basic publications such as dictionaries are still missing, but Slovene science and teaching should be internationally open. Again, Slovenes abroad are discussed extensively, while the need for an adequate educational concept for the Romanies is mentioned briefly. In the more radical SLS 07 and the very similar SLS 08, preservation of Slovenehood and Slovene language, threatened by globalisation, is the main goal which could be achieved by stricter implementation of existent legislation; the establishment of an ombudsman for Slovene language; subtitles for all, even minority group media; free media access for Slovenes abroad; official recognition of Slovene minority in Croatia;

and Slovene as the only language of university education. International orientation of universities is not mentioned.

**Slovene Nationalist Party (SNS)** has been in the parliament in all terms and always in the opposition. Surprisingly enough for a party which is defined by nationalism, linguistic issues are not addressed in its short programs. In SNS 91, opposition to foreigners is direct as they should be treated as external workforce and Slovene citizenship acquisition should be a difficult matter of honour. SNS 00 is marked by objection to EU-accession but university exchanges are supported and the scientifically disputable hypothesis of Slovenes and their language as descendants of the non-Slavic Venets is quoted. In SNS 08a, homeland education in schools and reciprocal treatment of minorities are discussed. But the most explicit objection to multilingualism is clear from the SNS 08b public statement by an SNS MP who removed a bilingual board from a road in Slovenia, in which the expansion of bilingual areas in Slovenia is considered unacceptable and the most intolerance is expressed towards the Croats.

The non-parliamentary **Party of Slovene Nation (SSN)**, established in 2007, explicitly opposes non-Slovenes in SSN 08, using many ideological discourse structures such as negative opinion words, implicit arguments or quotations from important historical documents. Their objective is to preserve the Slovene nation: "SSN does not approve of Slovenia becoming some sort of multicultural country and as Slovenes we are entitled to that. We do not wish to become a minority in our own country as was unfortunately too often the case with our ancestors in our national history". Slovene language is subject to great violence and it is the duty of Slovenia to protect it and enforce it in Europe and the world, so education should be exclusively in Slovene except in constitutionally defined exceptions and foreign languages studies. Italian and Hungarian minority in Slovenia should have reciprocal rights. Other minorities do not exist and foreign citizens should be integrated as quickly as possible. Particularly the number of male economic immigrants should be limited, since Slovenes present only 83% of Slovene population. Slovenes in neighbouring countries are the most endangered part of the nation, especially in Croatia, and emigrants should have their representatives in the Slovene parliament.

### **SDS: from protectionism to multiculturalism**

**Slovene Democratic Party (SDS)** has been in the opposition in all terms except 2004-2008. In its documents, language attitudes shifted from conservative protectionism to multiculturalism. Reasons for this are difficult to assess, especially since the 2004 program was not accessible. A plausible



explanation seems to be that in 2004-2008, SDS was in the government coalition with its president as the prime minister, thus having to support the EU values and standards. In SDS 93 employment of foreigners should be restricted and problems with neighbouring countries should be solved without unilateral yielding to different pressures. The more extensive SDS 99a has only a few language statements; special care should be paid to Slovene communication in education. But SDS 99b is a one-paragraph Resolution on Protection of Slovene Language, marked by protectionism and language purism. Slovene language is threatened by business use of other languages, foreign words, media and passive professional linguists, so adoption of protective legislation and the establishment of a Language Office are demanded. Ideological sharpness, apparent in the stated facts as well as in the opinion words used, is lost in SDS 00 in which care should still be given to Slovene language, but in the university education learning of global languages is already supported. In SDS 08, protectionism has given way to European heterogeneity and minorities in Slovenia: "We shall carefully preserve centuries-old borders of our ethnical and cultural identity, while at the same time preserve the European diversities in which we are united." Globalisation is a positive opportunity which removes linguistic borders and enables the spread of Slovene language. Internationally open universities and foreign language learning are also supported.

## **5. Conclusions**

Our current research in Task 2.2 gives a critical perspective on how EU language ideologies related to multilingualism are reflected by political will on an intra-national level. The study of Slovene political programs, which indirectly reveal the parties' political will, has shown that all parties have the will to promote Slovene language, but their attitudes towards multilingualism in general vary. In a lesser used language speaking community, EU multilingualism and promotion of lesser used languages are mostly understood as an argument and motivation for further development of its own language. The socio-political change after the EU-accession in 2004 forced the parties into creativity and innovation when combining the EU-promoted multilingualism with their political values and traditional Slovene concepts. Without the 2004 programs which were inaccessible, we can only assess what the linguistic opinions before and after the change were, but not at the very moment of it. In general, however, liberal parties support foreign language learning and other languages in Slovenia. The most EU-influenced appears to be LDS, explicitly promoting proficiency in two foreign languages. On the other

hand, conservative parties think Slovene language should be protected from external and internal threats even after the EU accession. They address politically mobilising issues, such as the Slovene-Croatian dispute in 2008, and comment on the use of Slovene language in EU institutions. But perhaps the most indicative of the EU influence is the case of SDS. Although it tends to the right side of political scale and its language attitudes were protectionist, its opinions shifted to multilingualism during the party's premiership in the first Slovene EU term.

It should be kept in mind that political parties are only one of the actors in the construction of political will. Implementation of their declared attitudes which would transform them to active language policies depends on different political, social and language factors and would thus require a broader analysis.

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## 1. Brief reminder of research tasks

Research Task 2.3 (Partner: LANCS) applies the so-called 'inside-outside perspective' and focuses on two types of analyses. On the one hand, we analyse inside and outside discourses – be it of EU institutional (e.g. policy) or external (e.g. media) character – to discover how the EU institutions define multilingualism, possible actions on multilingualism, as well as present their conceptions of multilingualism (cf. our working papers 1-3, for results so far). On the other hand, our work on the 'inside perspective' explores the diversity of dimensions and forms of multilingual communication at the key EU institutions. At the latter, we study in-depth – by means of extensive fieldwork and related analyses – 'everyday' multilingual practices in diverse EU-institutional contexts.

## 2. Introduction

### 2.1 Aims and Key Hypotheses of the Research

This working paper reports on the second strand of our research devoted to the 'inside' analysis of multilingual practices in selected EU institutions.

The main aim of the current analyses is to discover the patterns of language choice and code-switching in committees and meetings of selected EU institutions (cf. below). By so-doing, we explore different types of multilingual repertoires which are salient in the everyday work of these institutions and, if possible, trace the ideological underpinnings of actual multilingual practices. At the present stage, our main interest is focussed on the *micro-level interactive analysis of multilingual practices*. For the purpose of such analysis *multilingual practices are understood as instances of language behaviour observed in their 'natural' or typical/usual, i.e. EU institutional-organisational settings*.

At the studied EU institutions – i.e. the European Parliament (EP) and the

European Commission (CEC) – we observe different levels of multilingual communication incl. semi-official communication (at the EP) and internal ‘everyday’ communication (at the CEC). Allowing for those differences, the results of the following explorations do not aim to compare the patterns of language use at the studied institutions as much as to provide a broad perspective on how they practice multilingualism, and how forms of their multilingual communication are either similar or different. While we are aware that the analysed practices are only a strand of the totality of all practices and forms of communication conducted regularly at the studied institutions, we nevertheless aim to grasp as many instances of multilingual behaviour as possible: thus, we approach different types of micro-practices – within various types of communication – conducted in different spaces as well as in different institutions.

Drawing on our earlier research on language ideologies in discourses of/about the EU-institutional system, the current work approaches language ideological positions in EU institutions from a different perspective: it draws on our micro-level analysis of multilingual practices which are interpreted from the point of view of ‘types’ of multilingualism identified during the observations. The investigation is also supplemented by elements of the actual discourse analysis if ideologies were explicitly thematised and/or debated in the analysed interactions. The ‘types’ of language ideologies are based on our earlier research, where we were able to discover that linguistic repertoires in the EU institutions are not based solely on a dichotomy *between mono- and multilingualism* – but actually on a context-dependent *range of hybrid forms of language ideologies related to multilingualism*<sup>6</sup>

At the macro-level, we draw the line between our micro-level findings and those related to the socio-political context and the organisational-institutional change in the EU. We are interested in tracing the observed practices to the change in the EU institutions after the ‘big bang’ Enlargement of 2004. We are also investigating how the new, post-Enlargement institutional-organisational conditions have influenced the transformation of old and the development of new forms of multilingual practices. *The analysis of institutional change at the macro-level also allows linking our research to the interpretative concepts of ‘creativity’ and ‘innovation’.*

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. our Working Papers 1-3; cf. also Krzyżanowski (2009), Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2010), Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2010).

## 2.2 EU Institutions as the Object of Study

Our research focuses on two key EU institutions: the European Parliament (EP) and the European Commission (CEC). As assembly of directly-elected members of European political families, the EP is considered the Union's key political institution whose powers are set to increase further under the forthcoming Lisbon Treaty (Wodak 2009). On the other hand, the CEC is considered as Europe's supranational public administration which is not directly accountable to the EU citizenry. The character of those institutions also influences their degree of openness and accessibility: as a strictly political institution the EP remains (sufficiently) open to the broader public, whereas the CEC as a largely-administrative body is not easily accessible, at least in physical sense.

At the EP, our analysis focuses on key parliamentary committees in which we observe multilingual practices in semi-plenary institutional spaces open to the broad public (*frontstage*; cf. Wodak, 2009). Here, we focus on the following committees (in alphabetical order): *Committee on Constitutional Affairs* (AFCO, dealing with EU-internal and EU-institutional matters); *Committee on Foreign Affairs* (AFET, dealing with EU-external policy and the Union's foreign relations); *Committee on Justice and Civil Liberties* (LIBE, dealing with matters of justice and home affairs across the EU member states); and *Committee on Petitions* (PETI, dealing with petitions and complaints of EU citizens).

*Our analysis at the CEC has focussed on DG Translation (DGT), the Commission's largest Directorate General which provides translation services for all types of Commission's written communication. At the DGT, the observations have targeted 'internal' meetings at various hierarchical levels (from top-management, through directorates, and down to the level of departments and units) as examples of how multilingualism functions in closed institutional spaces, usually inaccessible to the broad public (backstage; Wodak 2009).*

## 2.3 Perspectives on "Creativity" and "Innovation" in Task 2.3.

Task 2.3 approaches '*creativity*' and '*innovation*' as different types of individual and collective actors' responses to various facets of institutional change. These responses are taking place in relation to two types of dynamics which, altogether, form institutional change:

- On the one hand, social actors respond to the *structural dynamics* which are

conditioned by transformations of 'physical spaces' and other contexts of communication.

- On the other, actors' responses are also constructed in relation to *communicative dynamics* which are triggered by transformations in social and human contexts of the institutions.

Whereas we approach institutional change as a process of recontextualisation of social, political and organisational structures and practices<sup>7</sup> we claim that transformations are always accelerated by, and constructed with reference to, *critical moments (liminality; Turner, 1995)* which imply a re-definition of social, political and organisational order (cf. Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2009).

*In our case such a critical 'nodal' (or liminal) moment is constituted by the 2004 Enlargement of the EU which not only profoundly changed the domestic structures of EU member states but also influenced the structural and communicative dynamics in Europe's supranational institutions (cf. our Working Paper 1).*

Thus, we consider EU Enlargement 2004 as a key moment of change in relation to which social actors acting in EU-institutions respond in/via their linguistic practices. *The variety and range of linguistic practices, and linguistic repertoires, will be identified as indicators of 'creativity' and 'innovation', thus different innovative responses to institutional change.*

### **3. Analysis**

#### **3.1 Methodology**

Our research links critical discourse analysis with ethnographic research on organisations (defined as 'critical ethnography' cf, Wodak, 2009; or 'discursive ethnography', cf. Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber, 2007; Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski, 2008). The work is conducted within the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach<sup>8</sup> and embraces several levels.

Currently, *participant observation* is the key method by means of which we

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kwon et. al. (2009), Muntigl, Weiss and Wodak (2000), Wodak (2000), Wodak and Iedema (1999), Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008).

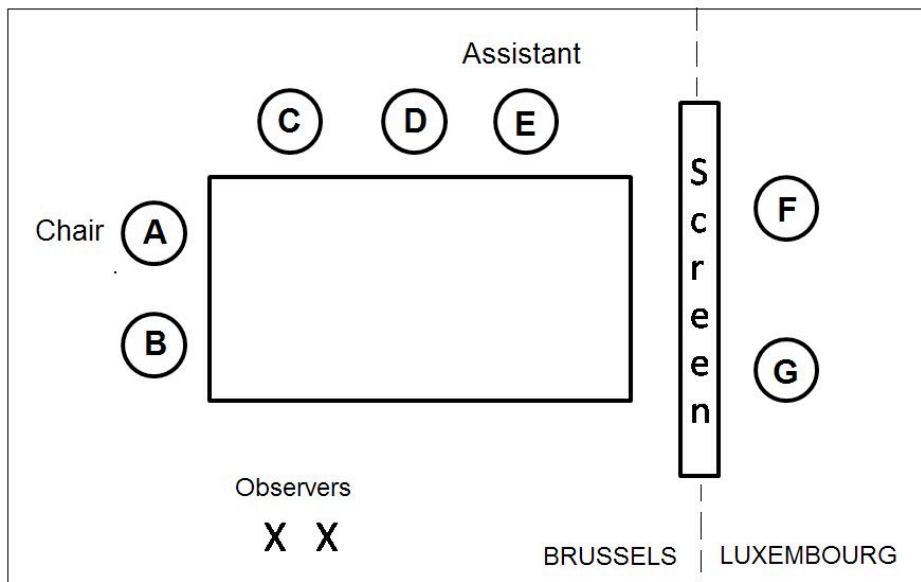
<sup>8</sup> For the most recent accounts, cf. Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2008), Reisigl and Wodak (2009), Wodak (2009)

have studied a range of linguistic practices at the EP and CEC. We understand *participant observation* as observing 'actions as they are performed in concrete settings' (Gobo, 2008:5) whereby 'the researcher establishes a direct relationship with the social actors (...) with the purpose of observing and describing their behaviour' (ibid.). Our observations took place along a set of pre-defined guidelines which are structured according to our research questions (cf. above). The guidelines include salient dimensions of linguistic interactions as:

- *Linguistic profiles (repertoires) of the meetings*: number and variety of languages used throughout the meetings;
- *Frequency of code switching*: convergence/divergence of switches with turn-taking, code-persistence over turns;
- *Topic-related vs. addressee-related language choice*
- *Language choice and code switching vs. degree of formality and informality*: e.g. variation between phases and stages of the meetings (before/during/after official proceedings), between different elements of physical spaces (e.g. front rows vs. back rows)
- *Thematisation of issues related to multilingualism and language use*: in relation to topics under discussion, to participants, to the flow/efficiency of communication.

All categories were carefully observed and documented in our field-notes. Each meeting was observed by at least two researchers, with one of them focussing on aspects of linguistic profiles of meetings and code switching and the other taking notes on the contexts of the observed practices. We also – whenever possible – took pictures of the observed meetings or drew sketches of the physical set-up of the room (cf. Figure 1).





**Figure 1:** Physical Set-up in Meeting EC-I/4

The subsequent analysis was implemented in two ways (cf. below). First, a general analysis of code-switching and language profiles was performed on the basis of quantification of data obtained from the observation notes. Here, we counted the number of turns and switches into particular languages as well as the absolute number of times a certain language was used. For each meeting we also produced a *multilingualism indicator*. This indicator is understood as a heuristic device which allows to quantify – in a general sense – the multilingual character of observed meetings (cf. Figure 2). The indicator is calculated by dividing the total number of turns by the total number of switches. Thus, the more language-switches there are in a meeting (a sign of increased multilingual activity), the lower the indicator will be, and contrary, the indicator will increase with the drop of the number of inter-lingual switches. For example - as outlined in 3.1. (below), meeting EC-I/9 had 209 turns and 63 language-switches in total. Therefore, its multilingualism indicator was calculated  $209:63 = 3.3$ .

$$M_{\text{multilingualism}}^{\text{Indicator}} = \frac{\text{Number of turns in a meeting}}{\text{Number of language-switches in a meeting}}$$

**Figure 2:** Calculation of Multilingualism Indicator

Secondly, we performed a *qualitative analysis* of transcripts of the meetings. Whereas the quantitative analysis allowed us to obtain 'the big picture', the qualitative analysis made deeper insight into actual interactions and their

linguistic/multilingual character possible (e.g. details of code-switching and turn-taking, the importance of participant-roles in defining the codes, interruptions, agenda-setting, politeness features, and so forth).

### 3.2 The Data

The analysed material stems from **26 meetings** observed in the period April-June 2009, with 4 meetings observed at the EP, and 22 at the CEC<sup>9</sup>. As far as we received permissions, observed meetings were audio-recorded and transcribed using a HIAT-based transcription convention (cf. Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2007: 115).

Most of the meetings at the EP lasted ca. 150 min, whereas at the CEC the average duration was of ca. 90 min. At the EP we observed the open-access committee meetings and at the CEC (DGT) we observed meetings of (mostly multilingual) administrative-organisational units and of (in most cases monolingual) language departments.

In order to complement the observations, we conducted a set of **nine semi-structured interviews** with key decision makers of the language services at the EP and CEC. These interviews have been transcribed and are currently treated as sources of information<sup>10</sup>.

### 3.3 Analysis

Below, we present an exemplary analysis of one of the meetings observed at the European Commission's DGT (cf. below for results from all observations). The meeting (EC-I/9) was of administrative-organisational nature and was conducted in a bilingual manner, i.e. in English and French. The meeting took place via video-conferencing (a standard mode of conducting meetings at DGT). Of the 13 participants, 10 (incl. the chair) were located in Brussels (BRU) (where we observed the meeting) and three participants were linked via videoconferencing from Luxembourg (LUX). The meeting took 73 minutes and was audio-recorded as well as fully transcribed.

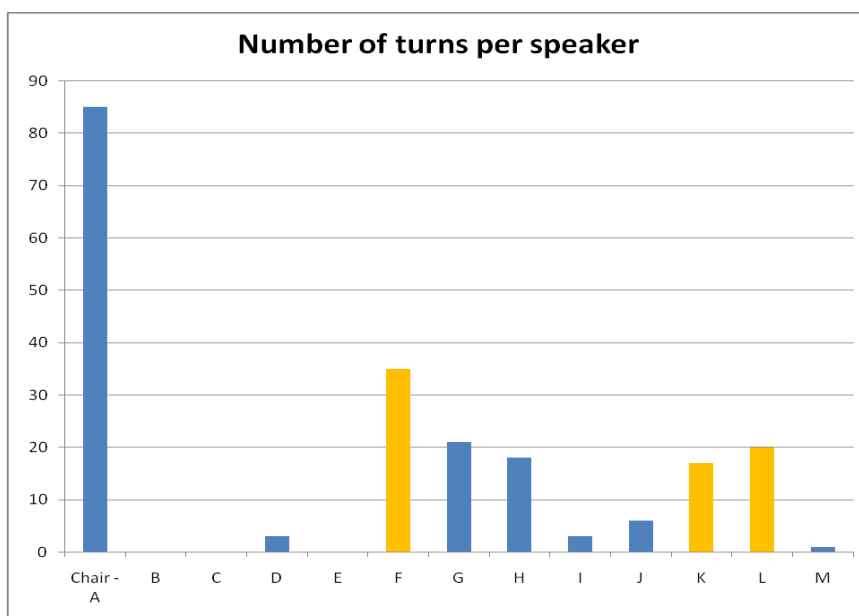
The quantitative analysis of the interactive profile of the meeting points to the

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<sup>9</sup> To supplement the current corpus, further meetings will be observed at the EP and other DGs of CEC in the fall of 2009.

<sup>10</sup> Their in-depth discourse analysis will follow in the next stages of our DYLAN research.

overarching role played by the *chair* and, outside the meeting, the *head* of the observed Unit. The chair took 85 out of altogether 209 turns, i.e. spoke for almost 40% of the meeting (cf. also Figure 3 and Table 1). The chair was followed by the second-senior participant (located in LUX) who took up 35 turns (16%), followed by other participants. The total number of turns for BRU and LUX participants was fairly equal with 107 turns taken up by LUX participants and 102 by those located in BRU (of which the chair took up the majority, i.e. 85 turns). Thus, although clearly less numerous than their BRU counterparts, LUX participants remained clearly more active in interactive and communicative terms. This situation is quite unusual since in almost all other videoconferenced meetings at the CEC the locations involving the chair were more active, with the video-conferenced group (most usually in LUX) remaining less active than their BRU colleagues.



**Figure 3:** Interactive Profile of Meeting EC-I/9  
(blue for speakers in BRU, yellow for speakers in LUX)

**Table 1:** Interactive Profile of the Meeting EC-I/9

NAME	TURNS
Chair – A	85
B	0
C	0
D	3
E	0
F	35
G	21
H	18

I	3
J	6
K	17
L	20
M	1
TOTAL	209

The meeting was conducted in English and French only (i.e. in a repertoire that is quite common for meetings of administrative-organisational Units of CEC and DGT). French slightly prevailed over English with the absolute numbers of FR uses at 107 and EN at 106. The number of switches worked correspondingly, with 35 switches into FR and 28 into EN (63 switches in total). Though the meeting was conducted in only two languages, its interactive profile (high number of turns) and its cross-linguistic repertoire (fairly large number of switches) produced a rather impressive multilingualism indicator of 3.3 (significantly lower than CEC average of 26.8).

The qualitative insights from the analysed meeting emphasise the leading role of the chair who was very active both in terms of number of turns taken and the decisive role in leading the code switching throughout the meeting. In Example 1, the chair initiated the code-switching (from EN into FR):

*Example 1:*

- 57 Chair: Ok any questions from you to the researchers whilst they're (↑) here (3.0)  
58 no (↑) *Henri*.  
59 K: *Oui* yes ((laughter)).  
60 Chair: *Tu n'as pas de questions parce on est suivis aujourd'hui par des chercheurs*  
61 *du err l'université de Lancaster qui vont qui vont écouter ce qu'on fait*  
62 *[niente] ok ok*.  
63 OTHER: You take this seat sir.  
64 Chair: Bart grab a seat.  
65 OTHER: Right thanks.  
66 Chair: So you just missed the introductions yes by [about our colleagues] from  
67 Lancaster University who are listening to us today to see how we deal with  
68 multilingualism

Performed in most cases by the chair, the code-switching took place in an addressee-related manner (cf. Example 1), i.e. the chair changed languages according to the addressed participants (who were clearly treated as speaking 'mainly' a specific language). Such a switch was usually indicated by a discourse marker (e.g. '*alors*' cf. Example 2) and in most cases took place in a

turn-internal way:

*Example 2:*

266 Chair: Yeah I've noted some more problems also with other applications like  
267 Outlook and things like that but this seems to be err a result of that so we  
268 have to all BEAR with the Informatics people on this one (.) ok I think we  
269 have exhausted this point (.) *alors Florentine a des mots for the [TOPIC]*  
270 *errm j'ai err [vu ton email.*  
271 L: *[Errm oui il y a des nouvelles.*  
272 Chair1: *J'ai err fait quelques err quelques changements linguistiques mais j'étais*  
273 *tellement err bogged down par par tous les préparations*

Finally, we note that (as usually at the CEC) no language ideologies were explicitly expressed during the meeting. The group was very well-accustomed to, and well-socialised into, the observed linguistic repertoire. That happened despite the fact that not all participants were fluent in both of the used languages and particularly not in FR.

#### **4. Comparative analysis of multilingual and monolingual situations**

Our analysis aims mainly at exploring authentic forms of multilingualism in the EU institutions, rather than illustrating a dichotomy/polarisation between 'ideal types' of mono- and multilingualism – both of which can be encountered very rarely in EU-institutional milieus.

#### **5. Results**

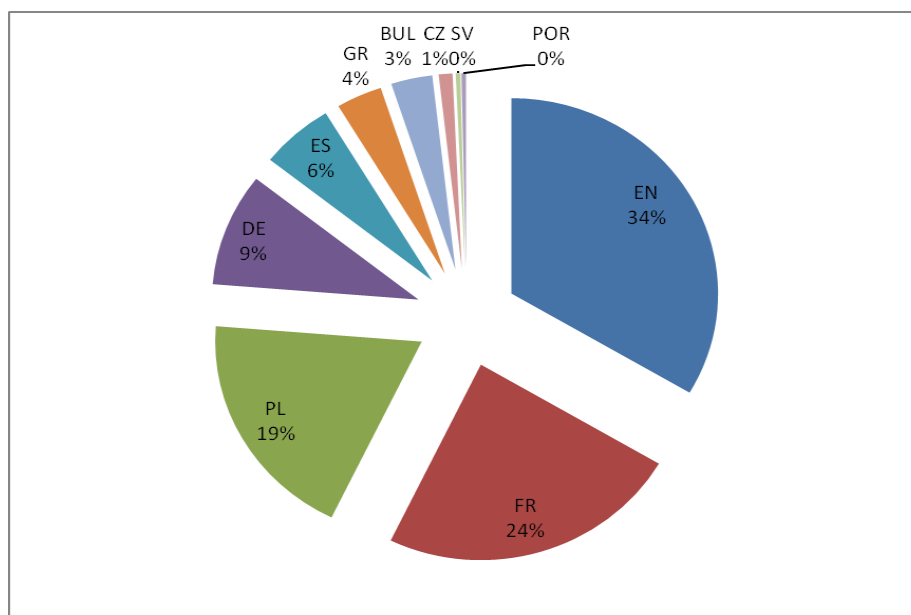
Our overall quantitative and qualitative analysis of multilingual practices in EP and CEC points to both similarities and differences between the linguistic repertoires of the two studied institutions.

English and French remain the 'big two' dominant internal languages of the EU institutions, with English clearly leading in both the EP and CEC (cf. Figures 4 and 5, below). In both institutions English was the main language used most frequently in the analysed interactions. French remained second in both institutions, though it was somewhat more prevalent in the CEC (27% compared to 24% at the EP), where English was also in a somewhat stronger position than at the EP (43% at the CEC compared to 34% at the EP).

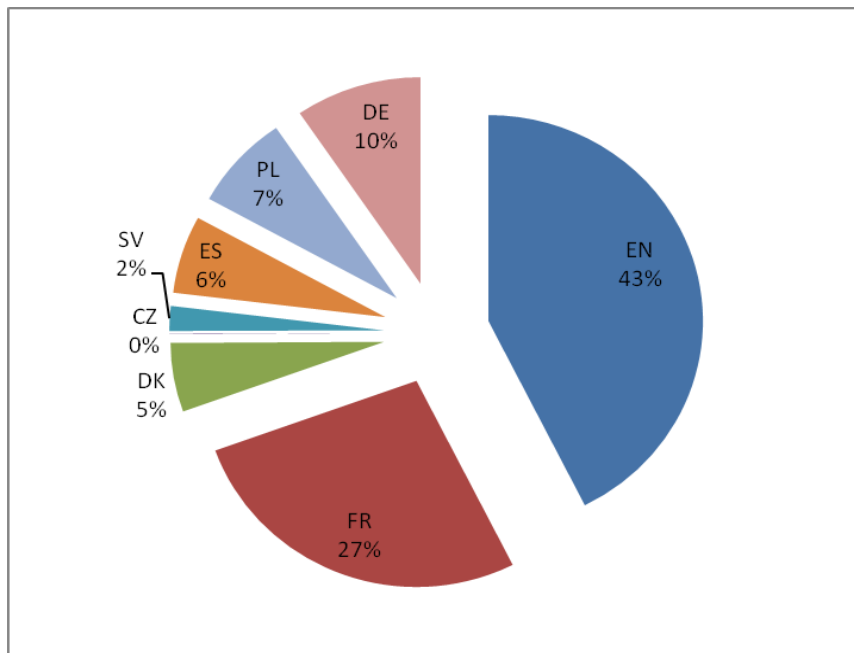
Further differences become visible in the in-depth analysis of internal linguistic

repertoires of the studied institutions: the competition for the third place takes place between a relatively new EU-official language (Polish) and the old official language (German). Whereas at the EP Polish clearly outnumbers the German in the observed interactions (19% PL vs. 9% DE), the situation is the opposite at the CEC where German retains its third place (10% DE vs. 7% PL). It is also important to observe the distance between the aforementioned 'big two' (EN and FR) and the third-place languages: whereas Polish at the EP (19%) is only a few points behind the second FR (24%), a more sizeable distance is noted at the CEC between the third German (10%) and the second French (27%). In both institutions the fourth place is taken by Spanish scoring equally 6% at both EP and CEC. The above findings may point to the fact that EP (as an open and political institution) remains more open to the new languages (notice the position of Polish), while it seems the EC still retains the old status quo (EN-FR-DE), though with signs of changes coming in and new languages also gaining ground.

As far as the *multilingualism indicators* are concerned, there are even more substantial differences: the observed EP meetings score the average multilingualism indicator of 1.6, whereas CEC meetings score indicators of ca. 26.8. Thus, we observe that not only types, but also levels of multilingualism differ at the two EU institutions. Moreover, despite being clearly more 'interactive', practices at the CEC are collectively less multilingual than those at the EP. However, it must be noted that at the individual level CEC participants (working in at least two languages) are far more multilingual than in most cases monolingual MEPs and other officials observed at the EP.



**Figure 4:** Overall Percentage of Languages Used at the EP



**Figure 5:** Overall Percentage of Languages Used at the CEC

Our micro-analysis of EP and CEC meetings also points to the *crucial role of the chairs* (or other leading participants) in defining the main languages of the meetings (Wodak 2000). At the EP, the leading position of chairs is mostly reflected statistically (since they speak more than other participants) whilst the participants usually tend to respond in their own (national) languages or – less frequently – in the language used. At the EC, the chairs define language choice at all stages of the meetings, and the participants follow this choice. However, it must be noted that at the EC the selection of languages in internal meetings consists of EN and FR (a much narrower choice than at the EP).

## 6. Conclusions

Our analyses which juxtapose the results of research conducted at EP and CEC show that both of those institutions adjust to the changing post-2004 Enlargement conditions, albeit in a different institutionally-specific way. However, *at the EP and CEC alike, adjustments can be observed in terms of both communicative and structural dynamics which underlie different facets of institutional change. These dynamics imply different types of actors' individual and collective – creative and innovative – responses to change.*

At the EP – where we observed official and public modes of communication – the communicative dynamics clearly provide an apparent (statistical) increase

of multilingual character of interactions due to the arrival of new languages and their speakers. Thus, the EP quite rapidly responds to the growing linguistic diversity of MEPs and other EP officials and gradually incorporates new languages into its linguistic repertoire at committee meetings (and in the plenary which uses similar language services, etc.). Structural transformations at the EP follow suit and are visible in creation of new spaces (e.g. new rooms housing more members and expanded interpretation services), or alteration of the old ones. Structural changes facilitate the increase of EP's overall multilingual repertoire.

At the CEC – where we looked at the everyday internal communication – the communicative dynamics are not, at least statistically, as rapid as at the EP. This is however understandable because of (a) the huge size of the CEC and its observed parts and (b) the fact that in its everyday internal communication the CEC does not rely on interpretation services. Moreover, new CEC officials are socialised into the existing forms of institutional linguistic habitus, rather than adjusting to the growing linguistic repertoire of the entire institution. The structural dynamics are also salient at the CEC (and particularly at the studied DGT). For example, the arrival of many officials from 'new' EU countries as of 2010 brought solidification (upon official agreements) of the bi-country system of work between Brussels and Luxembourg. This, in turn, impacts upon the communicative practices which in many cases rely on videoconferencing which deeply influences the interactive and linguistic repertoire of many practices.

In both cases the very character of the respective institutions has consequences: the EP, as a political institution which must remain open to the public, adjusts faster to its new linguistic diversity and by means of a strategy which follows the increasing portfolio of the Union's official languages. The CEC, however, as a public-administrative institution adjusts to the new situation somewhat slower and by means of negotiating its limited yet very efficient linguistic status quo with the increased internal linguistic diversity.

The main language ideologies are also different and guided by the character of the institutions. At the EP, where the key ideology is that of *expression of national standpoints* (at least in the studied semi-public and public contexts), multilingualism is in most cases driven by the MEPs' need to express their position from a national standpoint and thus in their national language (in order for such voices to be equally comprehensive to their national member-state constituencies). The CEC, on the other hand, is not (directly) responsible to the national audiences; thus its internal linguistic practices remain guided by



ideologies rooted in the principle of *internal institutional efficiency* and can be summarised as *a search for a common denominator*. However, it should be emphasised that the common denominator is established by the CEC's traditional *linguae francae*, i.e. French and English. Such institutionally-specific language ideologies not only define the macro-level (i.e. overall) linguistic repertoires of the EP and CEC, but also penetrate the micro-level linguistic practices. Within the latter, the micro-communicative motivations (e.g. of topic- or addressee-related code-switching) are far less salient than the patterns related to broader political- or efficiency-related inclinations.

Finally, it is very crucial that the differentiated pace of the institutions' adjustment to changing conditions cannot be treated as the ultimate indicator of their overall 'more' or 'less multilingual' character. Whereas the EP seems multilingual at first sight, it must be noted that it is such mostly due to the number of languages used therein on everyday basis (whereas most MEPs actually work in one language and are thus largely monolingual). On the contrary, whereas CEC seems less multilingual in general terms, each of its officials is de-facto multilingual (CEC officials are expected to be fluent in speech and writing in at least two official EU languages – in most cases EN and FR – when entering the service, they usually are not promoted if not adding at least one more language to their skills). Hence, the multilingualism in/of the EU institutions should be considered both individually and collectively, as should be the degrees of 'creativity' and 'innovation' in responding to the EU post-Enlargement organisational changes.

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