

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY 7**

Citizens and governance in a knowledge based society
Call FP6-2004-Citizens-4

INTEGRATED PROJECT

DELIVERABLE 2.3: “WORKING PAPER 3”

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¹ **R** = Report, **P** = Prototype, **D** = Demonstrator, **O** = Other.

² **PU** = Public, **PP** = Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services), **RE** = Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services), **CO** = Confidential, only for the members of the consortium (including the Commission Services).



WORKING PAPER 3 WORKPACKAGE 2

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CONTENT TABLE DE MATIÈRES INHALT

INTRODUCTION	p.3
RUTH WODAK, WORKPACKAGE MANAGER	
.....	
RT2.1: UNIVERSITÄT DUISBURG-ESSEN	p.8
ULRICH AMMON (TEAM COORDINATOR) VERENA WIMMERS	
.....	
RT2.2: UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI	p.13
MARKO STABEJ (TEAM COORDINATOR) MOJCA STRITAR	
.....	
RT2.3: LANCASTER UNIVERSITY	p.22
MICHAL KRZYZANOWSKI RUTH WODAK (TEAM COORDINATOR)	

1. INTRODUCTION

The following report presents research undertaken within DYLAN's Work Package 2 (WP 2) devoted to ***multilingualism in EU-Institutions***. The report consists of three Working Papers which summarise the research of each WP 2 partner-institution between months 19 and 27 of the project (i.e. June - December 2008). In a concise manner, the working papers also relate the most recent findings to the overall research results achieved of the WP 2 tasks so far. In a set of introductory sections which precede the partner-specific working papers, the report outlines, *inter alia*, the key foci of the research within WP 2 as well its research results to date. This introduction also summarises the progress of the WP 2 research to date and points to the further pathways of our research on multilingualism in EU institutions.

2. WORKPACKAGE 2

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

- ▶ what are the conditions and motivations for the 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): Researches – on the example of Slovenian language in 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 practiced by the EU institutions in their language- and multilingualism-related policies and everyday linguistic practices

3. WORKPACKAGE 2 – RESEARCH FOCI AND KEY RESULTS SO FAR

Having focussed on diverse forms of interplay between internal and external modes of communication in EU institutions, Task 2.1 has so far undertaken a content analysis of interviews (internal communication) as well as of job advertisements (external communication). Within the former, Partner UDE has collected and analysed 32 face-to-face and telephone interviews with key officials (incl. decision-makers) in European Commission's and Parliament's translation and interpreting services. Within those interviews, researchers attempted to scrutinise the interviewees' experience-based attitudes towards mono- and multi-lingual EU-internal language practices, without however tape recording and analysing the micro-interactions and negotiations by phone. On the other hand, while examining over 200 job advertisements of key EU institutions and agencies, UDE researchers also looked at diverse types of language repertoires which are used in the job advertisements (i.e. which language skills are seen as essential/desirable in the researched material, and why).

The main results of research in Task 2.1 to date (see below, for details) point to the growing dominance of English, in both internal and external communication. This acts quasi-automatically to the detriment of French and German as the two languages who, previously occupying much more favourable positions, now need to make place for English as EU-institutions' lingua franca. However, unlike commonly suggested, UDE research points to the fact that the dominance of English is not fuelled by ideological positions as much as by practical pragmatic reasons underlying the choice of English as a vehicle of communication. At a more general level, research in Task 2.1 also points to the growing misalignment between the choice of mono- and multilingual modes of communication in EU institutions. Multilingualism is hence viewed – *inter alia* by the insider-experts interviewed by UDE researchers – as mainly an element of language ideology and political correctness dominant in the EU. Accordingly, monolingualism must be seen as a standard element of everyday practice and reality (although it is worth being noted that in these contexts English is mainly used by speakers who use it as a second language).

Task 2.2 has so far focussed on extensive case study devoted to the Slovenian language as an example of a lesser-used language in EU institutions. In the course of that research, Partner UNILJ has mainly undertaken a qualitative content analysis of interviews and questionnaires. Both the former and the latter were addressed at EU-institutional officials (11 interviews at the EU Commission and the Council of the EU, 21 questionnaires at the Council) and aimed to assess (a) the de-facto functioning of Slovenian language in large- and small-scale everyday practices of EU institutions, and (b) the institutionally-specific similarities and differences between the ways in which Slovenian is used and/or promoted in EU-institutional milieus.

As has been confirmed by the research in Task 2.2 to date, the EU institutions are characterised by the growing dichotomy between, on the one hand what UNILJ researchers define as 'indispensable languages', and, on the other hand, the 'symbolic languages'. Whereas using one of the former languages, understood mainly as the usual triangle of English-French-German, is indispensable to one's success in EU institutions, using the latter – including, inter alia, Slovenian – does not guarantee political and institutional success and takes place only for symbolic purposes (see also UDE observations on political correctness). Crucially, while UNILJ researchers point to the fact that political will – at the core of their forthcoming research (see below) – is absolutely indispensable in order to upgrade 'symbolic' languages to the status of 'indispensable' ones, one cannot miss the fact that such political will might reside in many power-political and historical aspects of EU integration (which, e.g., has so far prioritised, albeit not at once, the three languages nowadays coined as 'indispensable'). Further, UNILJ researchers also point to the fact that, as discovered in their interviews and questionnaires, languages like the Slovenian become lesser-used for mainly structural and organisational, rather than ideological reasons. Here, deficiencies in translation and interpreting services are key, as is the fact that other languages (mainly EN/FR/DE) are given clear preference by such services.

Finally, research in Task 2.3 has so far focussed on the in-depth critical analysis of discourses about EU institutions' multilingualism in Europe's national media and in EU-official language- and multilingualism-related policies. In the course of that research, LANCS researchers have, on the one hand, analysed a corpus of 495 press articles on languages and the 2004 EU Enlargement in such countries as Germany, France, Poland and the UK ('the outside perspective'). On the other hand, LANCS research has focussed on the extensive analysis of 22 key EU documents which, issued in the years 1997-2007 by different EU institutions, regulated multilingualism and related issues in the EU institutions themselves as well as within the area of EU member states ('the inside perspective'). Within their research so far, LANCS researchers have attempted to juxtapose and compare the 'outside' and 'inside' meanings and conceptions/definitions/visions of multilingualism in enlarging and transforming EU institutions.

Among the main results of research in Task 2.3 is the contention that the so-called '*hegemonic multilingualism*' (HM, see below for details) is prevalent in both EU-institutional (internal) and external visions of languages in the EU. Whereas in the

outside perspective HM tended to describe the inequality between different languages in EU-institutional settings (see above, for similar results in Tasks 2.1 and 2.2), research within the inside perspective pointed to how multilingualism has in fact become a salient part of a larger 'hegemonic' project of the 2000 EU Lisbon Strategy on European Knowledge-Based Economy. In both cases, however, HM points to the very ideological positions which, governing both language regimes within institutions and their internal/external perceptions, also reinforce the EU vs. Europe dichotomy which shows that conceptions and practices of multilingualism differ in the former and the latter. At the macro-level, such dichotomy – known from earlier discourses entangled in the process of European integration – also points to **the growing incompatibility between multilingualism in EU-ropo and EU institutions, thus showing a need for a coherent set of inside-outside multilingualism policies at both national and supranational level in Europe.**

Looking at the common ties between key results of research within Workpackage 2 so far, one cannot omit the fact that **different language ideologies are the most salient aspect of multilingualism in EU institutions.** Those ideologies include: (a) pragmatic monolingualism (mostly pertaining to English) which predisposes one language to others for pragmatic and/or practical reasons (see Task 2.1), (b) idealistic 'pure' multilingualism which makes the latter only an element of political correctness or assigns only symbolic status to lesser-used languages (see Task 2.1 and 2.2) and (c) the hegemonic multilingualism which, as a hybrid from between the previous two ideologies, imposes quasi-plurality in the use of languages in EU institutions (see Tasks 2.1-2.3) and which allows for multilingualism to become a tool in larger political and institutional projects and strategies (see Task 2.3). Whereas it is obvious that those ideologies take up different, context dependent forms (and thus are displayed differently in different discourses), their key common feature is the fact that they **all of these ideologies are based on (different) dichotomies and binary oppositions** (as ideologies inherently are). The former and the latter boil down to **macro dichotomies** between multilingualism in internal and in external communication or between policies and ideologies and de facto language practices (all tasks) as well as **micro-dichotomies** such as those residing in discourse (e.g. constructing discursive oppositions between the areas of EU institutions and of the broader EU-ropo of member states, as in Tasks 2.1 and 2.3) or related to different micro language practices (e.g. such as in context-dependent choices between 'indispensable' and 'symbolic' languages, Task 2.2).

4. PROGRESS AND RESEARCH PLANS IN WORKPACKAGE 2

With all of the research tasks successfully half-completed, WP 2 notes a satisfactory research progress at the midpoint of the duration of DYLAN project.

Having already extensively covered internal modes of communication initially prioritised in its research task (see above), Partner UDE currently moves towards extensive research of external modes of communication, particularly between EU institutions and EU member states.

Partner UNILJ, who has so far undertaken extensive research on language practices associated with Slovenian as an exemplary case of lesser-used language of EU institutions, now progressively moves to the exploration of how 'political will' to promote such languages is displayed in language policies and regulations.

Finally, having previously covered how multilingualism in EU institutions and broader Europe is defined and conceived/perceived in national public spheres of different EU countries as well as in EU-originating language- and multilingualism-related policies ('the outside perspective', see below), Partner LANCS now moves to ensuing fieldwork-based research on multilingual language practices and the process of policy making in the core EU institutions ('the inside perspective').

1. INTRODUCTION

Die Forschungsaufgabe der Universität Duisburg-Essen lautet: "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." Es wird demnach untersucht, ob für die interne Kommunikation in den EU-Institutionen überwiegend eine einzelne Sprache (Englisch) benutzt wird und ob diese Einsprachigkeit Auswirkungen hat auf den Sprachgebrauch in den Mitgliedsländern. Das Team der UDE untersucht hierfür die Sprachpraxis von Kommunikationssituationen innerhalb der EU-Institutionen und analysiert Einstellungen und Meinungen gegenüber der bestehenden Sprachpraxis. Darüber hinaus wird untersucht, inwieweit die sprachlichen Realitäten innerhalb der EU-Institutionen in die einzelnen Mitgliedstaaten hineinwirken und sich auf die Sprachpraktiken der politischen Akteure der einzelnen Mitgliedstaaten auswirken.

2. TYPE OF OBSERVABLES IN RELATION TO METHODOLOGY

Zentral für die Bearbeitung unserer Forschungsaufgaben sind Methoden der qualitativen und quantitativen empirischen Sozialforschung. Der Untersuchungsschwerpunkt lag bisher in der qualitativen Analyse von 32 mündlichen und telefonischen Interviews (inkl. 8 schriftlicher Antworten per Mail), die mit führenden Beamten der Sprachendienste und mit EU-Parlamentariern durchgeführt wurden. Bei den Interviews handelt es sich um Experteninterviews, d. h. die Befragten wurden nicht als Einzelfall, sondern als Repräsentanten einer spezifischen Gruppe befragt (Bogner u.a. 2005). Die Probanden wurden zu ihren Einstellungen und Ansichten zur bestehenden Sprachpraxis befragt. Die Interviewtexte wurden qualitativ, per Inhaltsanalyse, ausgewertet. Ziel dieser Auswertungstechnik ist es, dass Überindividuell-Gemeinsame der Aussagen herauszuarbeiten (Mayer 2008: 38-47, Kvale 1996: 64). Da es bei Experteninterviews um gemeinsam geteiltes Wissen geht, sind aufwendige Transkriptionen, wie sie für konversationsanalytische Auswertungen unvermeidlich sind, nicht notwendig (Meuser u. Nagel 1991: 445). Die Antworten aus den Interviews wurden auch mit Mitteln einfacher deskriptiver Statistik quantifiziert. Um weitere empirische Generalisierungen vornehmen zu können, wurden

Parlamentarier in Plenarsitzungen beobachtet und 200 Stellenanzeigen von EU-Agenturen ausgewertet.

3. KEY FINDINGS

3.1 ENGLISCH ALS VORHERRSCHENDE ARBEITSSPRACHE IN DEN EU-INSTITUTIONEN

Die Analyse unseres gesamten Datenmaterials zeigt eindeutig die absolute Dominanz des Englischen für alle internen Kommunikationssituationen in den EU-Institutionen. In den Interviews gaben alle 32 Befragten an, 70-90 % ihrer internen Kommunikation auf Englisch zu erledigen. Bei Sitzungen ohne Dolmetscher wird zu 90 %, so schätzen die Befragten, Englisch als Arbeitssprache gewählt. Alle befragten Abgeordneten beobachten einen zunehmenden Anstieg von Englisch als alleiniger Arbeitssprache. Der Gebrauch von Englisch geht zu Lasten der Arbeitssprache Französisch. Deutsch wird und wurde wenig genutzt. Diese Einschätzung der Interviewpartner deckt sich mit offiziellen Zahlen der Kommission (Generaldirektion Übersetzen, Broschüre Übersetzten und Mehrsprachigkeit, 2007). War im Jahr 1996 die Ausgangssprache aller übersetzten Dokumente in 45,7 % der Fälle Englisch, so lag der Prozentsatz im Jahr 2006 bei 72 %. Demgegenüber sank der Prozentsatz der französischen Ausgangsdokumente von 38 % (1996) auf 14,4 % (2006). Die befragten Beamten begründen ihre Sprachwahl und die gängige Sprachpraxis mit pragmatischen Argumenten. Die Sprachwahl orientiert sich demnach an den Sprachkenntnissen der Kommunikationspartner. Es wird Englisch gesprochen, weil dies die Sprache ist, die von allen verstanden wird. So wird Englisch zur vorherrschenden Lingua franca der Institutionen. Bezeichnenderweise gibt es in der EU-Sprachenpolitik keine Empfehlung oder Richtlinie für die Sprachwahl bei internen Kommunikationssituationen (vgl. Ammon 2007: 32).

Die befragten Abgeordneten wiesen darauf hin, dass im europäischen Parlament, auch wenn Vollverdolmetschung zur Verfügung steht, Englisch von Nicht-Muttersprachlern gesprochen wird. Eine stichprobenartige Überprüfung 15 verschiedener Plenarsitzungen bestätigt diese Aussage. In jeder Plenarsitzung gibt es zumindest einen Sprecher, der nicht in der Amtssprache seines Landes vorträgt und dafür Englisch wählt (aktuellstes Beispiel: Plenarsitzung am 18. Feb. 2009, Beiträge von Benita Ferrero Waldner und Javier Solana, oder Plenarsitzung am 19.02.2009 Beitrag von László Kovács).

3.2 SPRACHLICHE VIELFALT ALS SCHÜTZENSWERTES KULTURGUT DER EU

In Artikel 22 der Charta der Grundrechte der Europäischen Union wird die Achtung der sprachlichen Vielfalt als einer der demokratischen und kulturellen Pfeiler der Union

anerkannt. Die sprachliche Vielfalt wird als eigenständiges schützenswertes Kulturgut gesehen. Unsere 32 Interviewpartner teilen diese Auffassung. Sie wurden gefragt, inwieweit sie eine einzige Arbeitssprache befürworten würden. Bis auf zwei Abgeordnete aus den neuen Mitgliedsländern (Ungarn, Slowakei) lehnen alle Befragten eine einzige Arbeitssprache ab und sprechen sich vehement gegen Monolingualismus aus. Sie befürchten einen Demokratieverlust innerhalb der EU und die kulturelle Übermacht des Mitgliedslandes dessen Sprache alleinige Arbeitssprache ist.

3.3 MONOLINGUALE SPRACHPRAXIS VS. BEKENNTNIS ZUR SPRACHLICHEN VIELFALT

Unsere Analyse zeigt einen eklatanten Widerspruch zwischen der Sprachpraxis der Befragten und ihrer eigentlichen Einstellung zu bestehenden Sprachregelungen. Obwohl fast alle Befragten Englisch als alleinige Arbeitssprache ablehnen, findet ihre tägliche Arbeit zu einem weit überwiegenden Teil auf Englisch statt. Diese offensichtliche Diskrepanz zwischen geschilderter Realität und eigentlicher Einstellung gegenüber der Sprachenfrage ist eines unserer wichtigsten Ergebnisse aus den Interviews. Die geschilderte Dominanz des Englischen in allen internen Kommunikationssituationen lassen die geäußerten positiven Ansichten zur Sprachenvielfalt wie eine Wunschvorstellung erscheinen – eine beruhigende Ideologie – die zwar in den Überzeugungen der politischen Akteure absolut präsent ist, auf deren tägliche Arbeit jedoch keine Auswirkung hat.

3.4 DIE SUCHE NACH FAIREN UND EFFIZIENTEN SPRACHREGELUNGEN UND DIE AUSWIRKUNGEN INSTITUTIONELLER EINSPRACHIGKEIT

Aus verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen (Ökonomie, Soziologie, Linguistik) gibt es eine Reihe von Aufsätzen und Veröffentlichungen, die sich mit der zentralen Frage beschäftigen, wie ein faires und effizientes Sprachenregime für die EU aussehen könnte (vgl. Ammon 2006, de Swaan 2007, Gazzola 2006, Ginsburgh 2005, van Els 2005, Wright 2004). Hier kann nicht im einzelnen auf jeden Ansatz eingegangen werden, im folgenden werden exemplarisch zwei Aussagen kurz erörtert, welche direkte Berührungspunkte mit unseren Ergebnissen aufweisen. Theo van Els plädiert dafür, eine einzige Arbeitssprache (Englisch) für die interne Kommunikation in den Institutionen zuzulassen. Er hält dies für eine faire Lösung, weil es zur Entwicklung eines Euro-Englisch kommen werde, für das Großbritannien nicht den „gold standard“ vorgibt (van Els 2005: 276). Unsere Interviewpartner teilen diese Einschätzung nicht. Sie beschreiben, dass alle englischen Texte von englischen Muttersprachlern der Sprachendienste editiert werden. So wird der Entwicklung eines Euro-Englisch entgegengewirkt. Van Els geht weiterhin davon aus, dass der Gebrauch von Englisch als alleinige Arbeitssprache keine weitere Auswirkung auf die Mitgliedsländer und das Erlernen von Fremdsprachen in den Mitgliedsländern hat. Ulrich Ammon widerspricht dem und beschreibt einen möglichen weitreichenden Statusverlust für Deutsch und

Französisch, sollten diese ihre gegenwärtige Stellung in den EU-Institutionen verlieren (Ammon 2006: 329). Tatsächlich gibt es klare Hinweise darauf, dass die gegenwärtige Vorrangstellung des Englischen in den Institutionen in die Mitgliedsländer hineinwirkt. Dies wird zur Zeit in einer umfassenden weiteren Erhebung untersucht. Eine schriftliche Befragung von 60 Abgeordneten der nationalen Parlamente aus 15 Mitgliedsstaaten und Beamten der nationalen Regierungen, die für die Zusammenarbeit mit der EU-Kommission zuständig sind, soll zeigen, inwieweit Dokumente der EU-Kommission die Mitgliedsstaaten nur noch auf Englisch erreichen und wie dort mit englischen Dokumenten umgegangen wird. Es beschwerten sich beispielsweise deutsche Abgeordnete darüber, dass die Kommission wichtige Dokumente zunächst nur in Englisch vorlegt, sie aber gleichzeitig Mitteilungen verschickt in denen sie die Mitgliedsländer auffordert, das Erlernen von Fremdsprachen massiv zu fördern (vgl. Deutscher Bundestag 28.01.2008, Drucksache 16/7938 Beschlussempfehlung und Bericht). Die Kommunikation von EU-Institutionen mit den Mitgliedsländern stellt eine geeignete Schnittstelle dar, anhand derer die externen Effekte des internen Monolingualismus in den EU-Institutionen aufgezeigt werden können.

Ausschreibungen und Stellenanzeigen sind ebenfalls geeignet, um die Auswirkung interner institutioneller Einsprachigkeit aufzuzeigen.

Die Auswertung von 200 Stellenanzeigen (ausgeschrieben im Oktober 2008) von EU-Agenturen ergibt folgendes Bild: In 97,5 % der Stellenanzeige wurden hervorragende Englischkenntnisse in Wort und Schrift als Grundvoraussetzung für eine Einstellung genannt. Häufig genügt Englisch als alleinige Fremdsprache, obwohl der Sitz der Agentur in einem nicht englischsprachigen Land liegt. Dies scheint ein klares Signal für die jungen Bewerber der Mitgliedsländer zu sein, zwar ist es von Vorteil mehr als nur Englisch zu sprechen, Englisch selbst jedoch ist absolute Grundvoraussetzung und reicht unter Umständen als einzig beherrschte Fremdsprache der Bewerber aus.

4. CONCLUSION

Ziel des Dylan-Projektes ist es aufzuzeigen unter welchen Bedingungen die Sprachenvielfalt in Europa einen Vorteil und nicht ein Hindernis darstellt. Beziehen wir unsere Ergebnisse auf dieses übergeordnete Ziel, so müssen wir feststellen: Abstrakt gesehen stellt die europäische Sprachenvielfalt einen immensen Reichtum dar. Dies wird auch von allen Akteuren so bewertet. Dieser sprachliche Reichtum wird jedoch durch die sprachliche Praxis und ihre Zwänge beeinträchtigt. Ohne Zweifel ist Englisch die vorherrschende Sprache in den EU-Institutionen. Unsere momentanen Erhebungen werden zeigen, ob und wie diese Dominanz in die Mitgliedsländer hineinwirkt. Die so erzielten Resultate sollen als Grundlage dienen, um mögliche weitreichenden Konsequenzen einer einzigen Arbeitssprache für die Sprachenvielfalt aufzuzeigen und Empfehlungen auszusprechen, wie die weithin akzeptierten Werte der sprachlichen

Vielfalt mit der Notwendigkeit einer effizienten Kommunikation in Einklang gebracht werden können.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The main research task of our team is to examine the compatibility between language policies in favor of multilingualism and political will to promote lesser used languages. By assessing the actual linguistic practices, strategies and mental representations related to linguistic issues of Slovene representatives working in the EU institutions we obtained an inside perspective on the scope and limits of multilingualism within those institutions. With these findings we made a step closer towards 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, and we also detected some of the language problems typical for lesser used languages.

2. TYPE OF OBSERVABLES IN RELATION TO METHODOLOGY

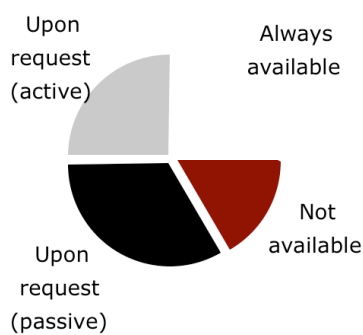
Our research focuses on Slovene language and the situation of its speakers in the EU institutions as a case study of lesser used languages. The conversation and discourse analysis of interviews with Slovene members of the EU Parliament and some representatives in the Council of the EU provided us with information about their language practices and strategies, their mental representations as well as the linguistic environment in which they operate and language policies implemented by the authorities. Based on these findings, we designed a written questionnaire with which we conducted a survey among Slovene civil servants (SCS) working within some of the Working Parties and Committees of the Council of the EU. We sent the questionnaire out via e-mail and received 21 answers, the analysis of which is presented in this Working Paper.

3. KEY FINDINGS

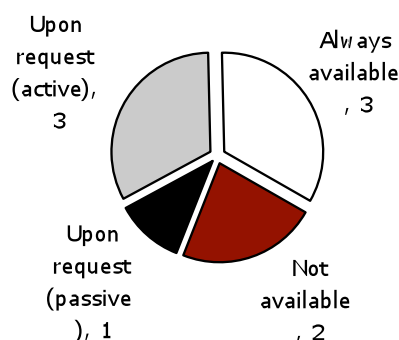
3.1. LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

In the Council, there are several regimes of interpretation for formal meetings. Less than a quarter of working groups have no available interpretation services. The situation is dynamic, for instance, during the Slovene EU presidency there was more passive interpretation available. There is no interpretation for informal contexts (informal meetings, dinners, situations in the hallways etc.).

Interpretation regimes (Working Parties)



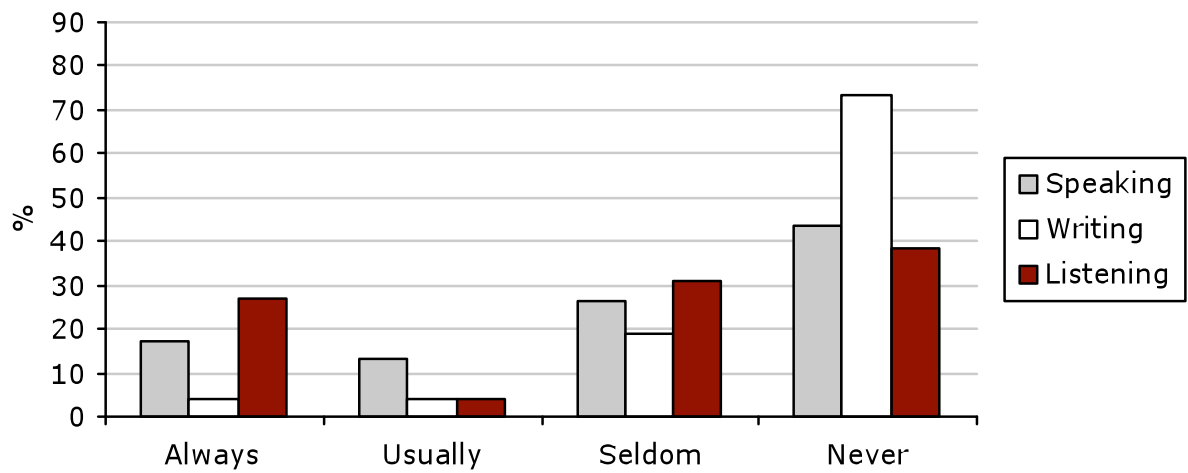
Interpretation regimes (Committees)



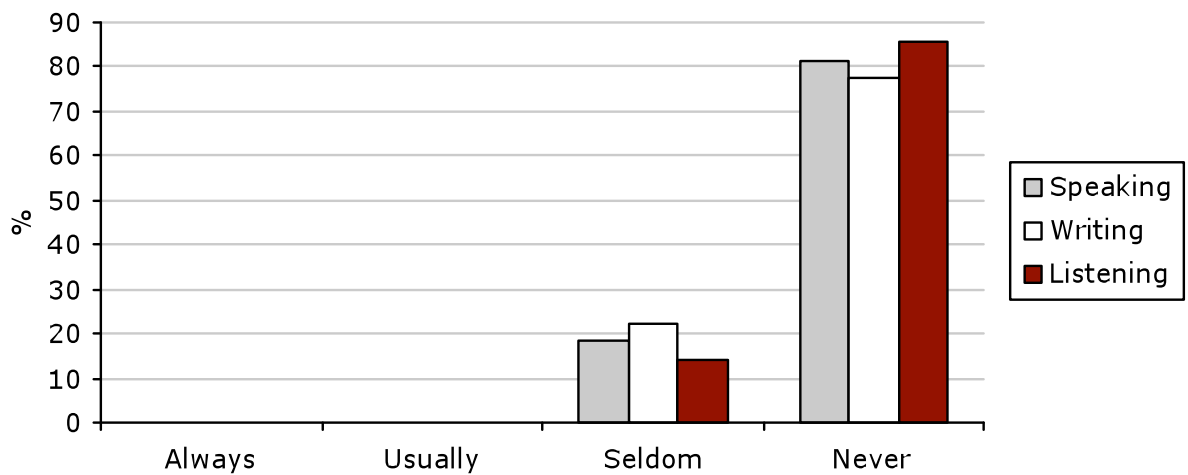
Despite the interpretation regimes, there are limited possibilities to use Slovene. In formal contexts, the SCS can speak and listen to Slovene more frequently than read or write in it. Chances of using it in informal situations are much lower; in more than 80% of cases it can never be used. Slovene is thus usually limited to higher levels: interpretation is available even during informal meetings if "the Slovene minister, who always wants to speak Slovene, is present."³

³ All quotations were written in Slovene by the SCS in their questionnaires and were translated into English by the UNILJ team.

Possibilities of using Slovene (formal contexts)

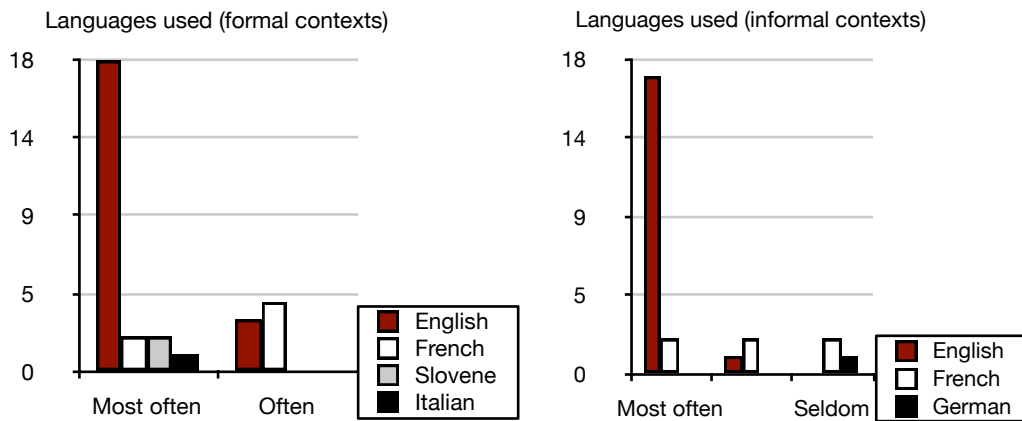


Possibilities of using Slovene (informal contexts)



3.2 LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

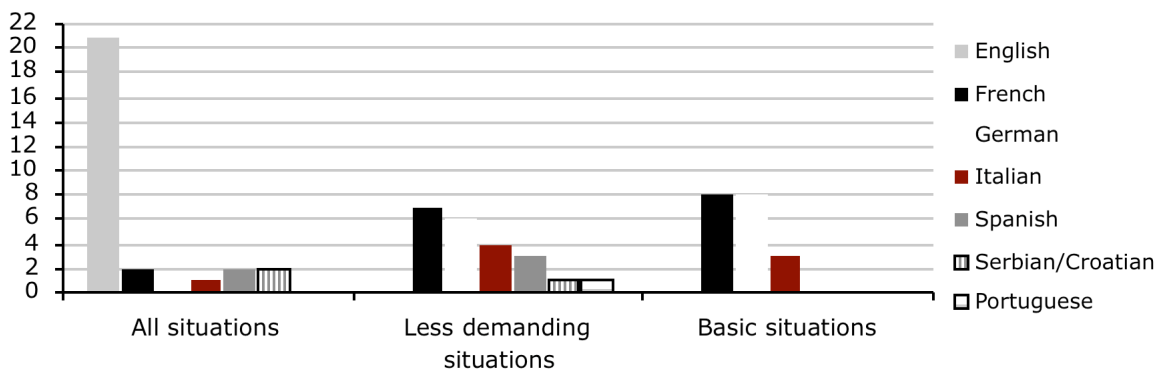
The most common language in the Council is English, used most often by almost all SCS. Other languages are much less frequent: French, Slovene and Italian in formal contexts and French and German in informal contexts.



English is also dominant in written documents the SCS receive while French, German, Slovene and other languages are used sporadically.

Since English is so prevalent, self-assessment of the SCS' language competence shows almost all think they know it well enough for all situations. Only some of the SCS speak French or German, usually in less demanding or basic situations. Some also speak other languages such as Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and with regard to Slovene history and geographical location, Serbian/Croatian. More than half of the SCS have already participated in a language course specifically for their work in the EU.

Language competence of the SCS



Half of the SCS haven't had problems because of the working languages used. Of the 7 people who did have them, 6 ascribed them to French: "I understood half of it but I couldn't check if I was right, I had to bluff; lesson – study French!" French is thus the biggest difficulty for the SCS, possibly related to the fact that in Slovene education system, English is the first foreign language and most students also learn German, while French is usually an elective subject. Indeed, 7 SCS learned French specifically for their work in the EU, whereas fewer SCS learned other languages for the same reason.

Language competence of other representatives

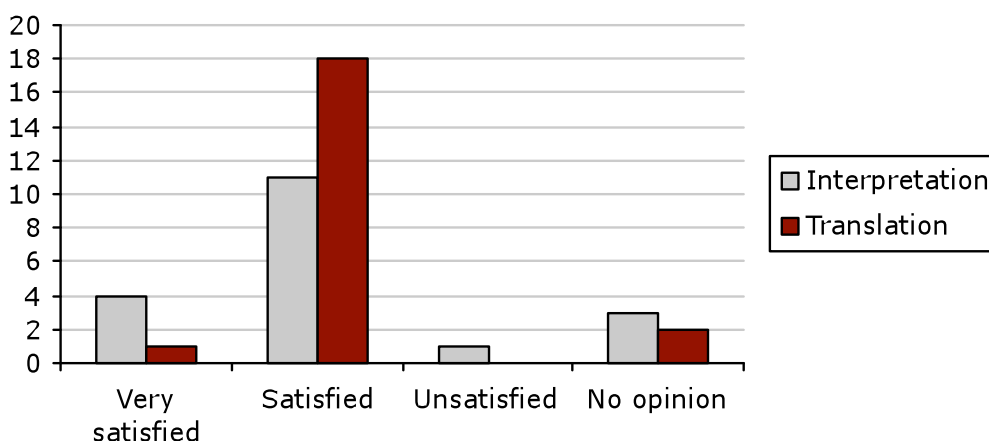
When giving their opinion on language competence of representatives from other member states, the SCS usually took only English into account along with French and German. This shows a possible influence of the EU working language system to the SCS' mental representations of which languages are worth knowing. Mostly they assessed other representatives' language competence as good or various. One SCS attributed the generally high level of competence to the fact that other nations have "a bigger critical mass from which they can select the candidates for jobs in international organizations." A quarter of the SCS thought language competence of other representatives was poor. The Scandinavians are supposed to have good competence while the representatives of Romance nations (France, Spain, Italy) and of some other member states (Britain, Greece) are on a lower level. Their most obvious problems are communication in general, terminology and pronunciation ("foreign accent").

3.3 MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS

Interpretation and translation

The majority of the SCS are satisfied with the quality of interpretation and translation services.

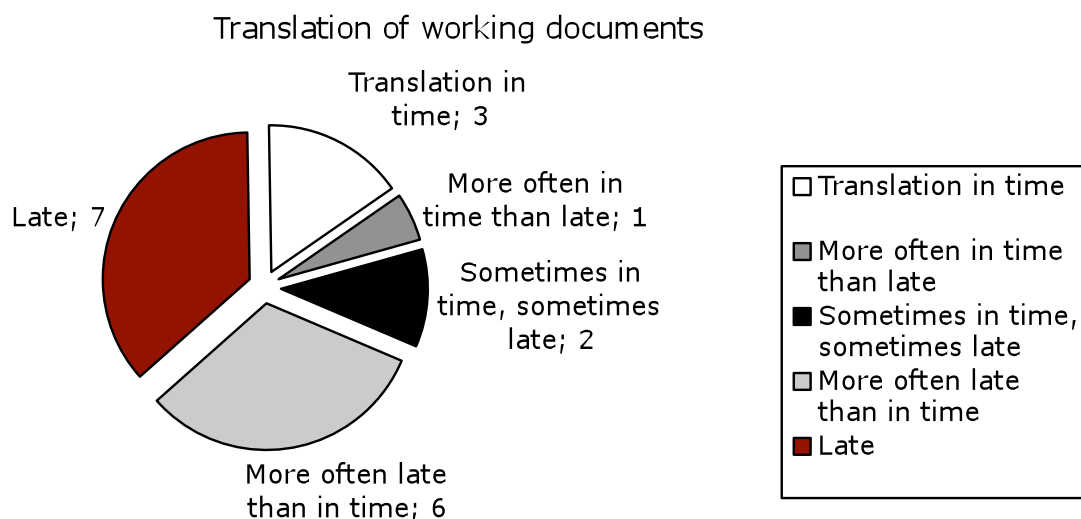
Satisfaction of the SCS with interpretation/translation



Despite the basic satisfaction, 10 SCS have already had problems caused by interpretation or translation – either due to unsatisfactory interpretation, technical reasons or difficulties with Slovene terminology. Still, these problems are regarded upon as acceptable. Of all the SCS that had problems, only one wasn't satisfied with

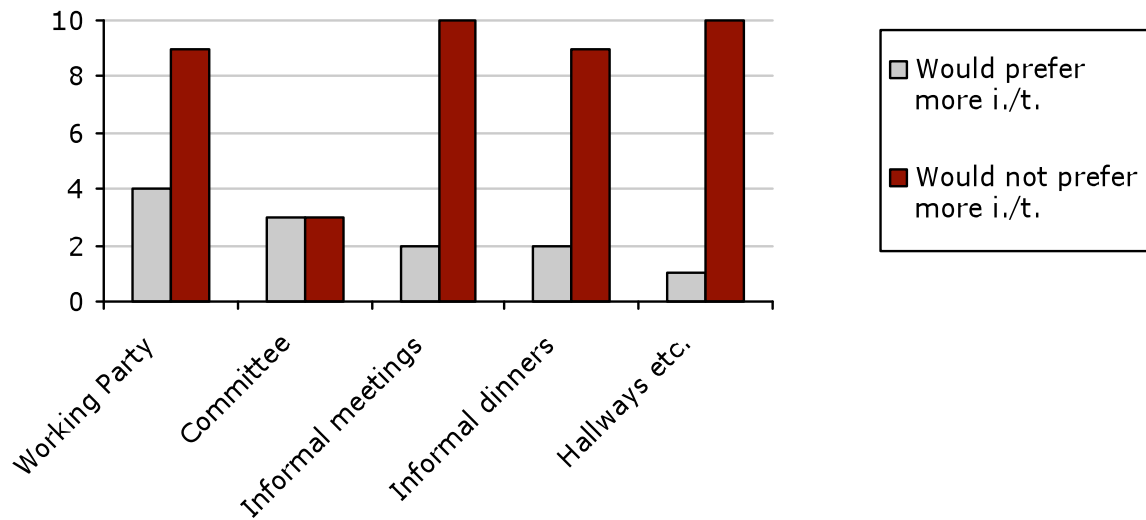
interpretation in general. Furthermore, one SCS thinks they are co-creators of Slovene terminology and an important link in the successful translation process because of their constant contact with their language, professional domain and current terminology.

A specific problem regarding translation of the EU documents is they are not received in time for the SCS to use them at work. According to a standard procedure, they are translated into all languages three times and all working versions are usually in English. Therefore, two thirds of the SCS mostly receive Slovene translations too late. They are aware of the impossibility to translate everything and they don't make negative remarks. They even claim it is useful to read English documents so they get the vocabulary they need in discussions. Thus, the SCS accept English as a working language for documents but they agree that Slovene translations are necessary for their colleagues in Slovenia.



Half of the SCS have already wished for more interpretation/translation in some contexts, but generally the majority is satisfied with its extent.

Extent of interpretation/translation



Limited use of Slovene

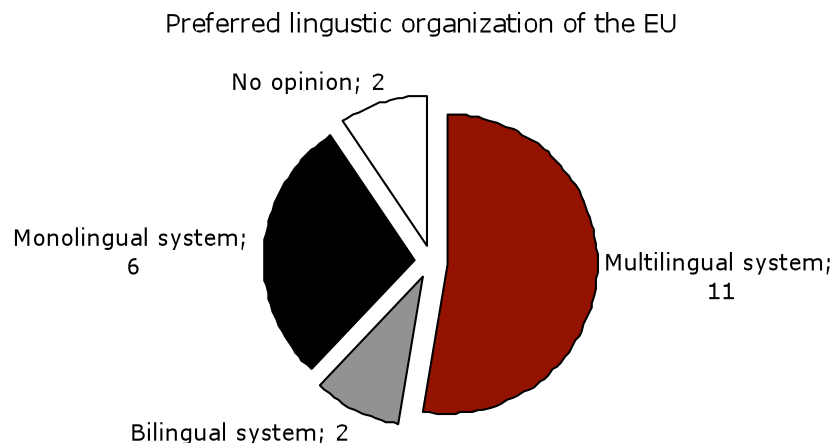
Considering the limited use of Slovene in the Council, there is a general discrepancy between the emotional and practical attitude among the SCS. To use Slovene is considered a "matter of principle and national pride", but mostly they cannot imagine working only in Slovene. They mention problems related to meetings with Slovene interpretation; some SCS claim it is more difficult to understand the interpretation than the original speaker and it is confusing to switch from English to Slovene. "For instance, if the meeting material is in English and also the majority of the discussion is in English, I have problems in presenting our viewpoints in Slovene." Another said "there are no realistic possibilities for efficient work in more national languages. We have to communicate in one language. But when it comes to speeches that are representative, everyone should speak his own language and a heterogeneous culture should be preserved." 4 SCS do not find the limited use of Slovene a problem, saying they are used to it. 13 SCS who think otherwise state functional (the difficulty of working in a foreign language, especially during negotiations) and political/symbolical reasons (the use of Slovene would be good for the image of the country and is mostly considered a political issue). Equal conditions for all nations are required: "More effort should be made (more interpreters) so that Slovene could be used at more formal meetings, the same as English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Greek etc."

18 SCS use Slovene whenever possible because it is a "matter of honor" and "colleagues from other member states think appreciatively about listening to Slovene." 2 representatives admitted they did not always choose Slovene when possible due to unsatisfactory interpretation or to allow for a faster and more efficient written communication.

Linguistic organization of the EU

Regardless of the SCS' experience with working languages, half of them disapprove of a potential official reduction of both the number and the use of official languages. They are in favor of the current multilingual system, considering it important for functional ("representatives who are experts but not fluent in other languages can participate as well"), political ("all member states are equal"), cultural/symbolical ("the cultural and language variety should be preserved") and even pedagogical reasons ("to practice languages and perhaps get motivation to learn new ones"). Fairness is also an important issue: "I think that representatives of 'big' nations (the English, German, French, Italian ...) could also learn languages of 'smaller' nations, especially Slavic ones." Native speakers have an advantage and "representatives who have interpretation are more active in the discussions." A more specific reason against only English is that "legal terminology in French in German is much more precise."

2 SCS are in favor of a bilingual organization of the EU with English and French as the working languages and 6 think a monolingual system should be implemented using only English (in one case Esperanto). Reasons for this are mostly financial, organizational and functional (working documents are in English; unsatisfactory interpretation; complications after new enlargements).



Perhaps the essential opinion of Slovene representatives is summed up by the SCS who said that personally she is in favor of a monolingual system because of practical and financial reasons. However, since she is from the Ministry of Culture, her official/professional opinion is that multilingualism in the Council should be preserved.

4. CONCLUSION

Our research has shown a basic discrepancy among the Slovene representatives in the Council of the EU: multilingualism and the use of Slovene have a symbolic value while linguistic practices are mostly monolingual. With regard to our RT, we can conclude that despite the language policies in favor of multilingualism the possibilities to use lesser used languages in the EU institutions are limited and the only really fully functional language is English.

In an adapted form, we used the same methodology when widening our target scope to official languages of some other EU member states. Upon a request by Slovene authorities, our conclusions were implemented in a user-friendly guide for the use of Slovene language in EU institutions (Marko Stabej, Mojca Stritar, Jordi Magrinya, Jerneja Lipičnik, Darja Erbič: *Slovenščina v institucijah EU: Kdaj, kako, zakaj?* (*Slovene in the EU institutions: When, how, why?*). Ljubljana: Government Office for European Affairs, 2009).

1. INTRODUCTION

The general aim of DYLAN's Research Task 2.3 is to "analyse documents in which European institutions describe multilingualism and possible actions on multilingualism". Accordingly, our Task focuses on how multilingualism-related language ideologies are produced within EU institutions and then communicated via diverse institutionally- and purpose-specific documents and texts. Task 2.3 also closely considers the ways in which what is communicated internally (within/between EU institutions) is further transmitted to the EU-external environment (of domestic spaces of EU-member states and beyond). Here, partner LANCS is eager to assess whether the recently-narrowing scope of multilingualism practised in the EU-institutions – displayed, *inter alia*, within the discrepancy between EU-working and EU-official languages studied in WP 2 as a whole (cf. below) – gradually penetrates into non-EU-institutional spaces of the member states (and, if so, in which way).

2. TYPE OF OBSERVABLES IN RELATION TO METHODOLOGY

The operationalisation of research aims of Task 2.3 is undertaken by means of an 'outside-inside perspective' which looks holistically at both external and internal communication flows in/of the EU institutions:

- ▶ *The outside perspective* looks at how multilingualism in/of the EU institutions is perceived in the European Public Sphere, or, more specifically, how it has been debated in the national public spheres of EU member states. Research in this perspective resulted in extensive analysis of the coverage of EU-Enlargement of May 2004 in the European Media. Whereas the overall analysis has covered 495 press-articles on EU enlargement from four countries (Germany, France, Poland and the UK), the in-depth examination was undertaken on a downsized corpus of 98 articles dealing directly with languages and multilingualism in EU institutions (cf. Pilot Study - Working Paper 1).

- ▶ *The inside perspective*, on the other hand, looks at definitions of, as well as arguments in favour or against, multilingualism and related notions in the key EU-documents of the last decade. That analysis – spanning over the years 1997-2007 when multilingualism very strongly entered EU language policies – has so far covered 22 key EU-documents (366 pages in total) analysed from an in-depth, qualitative perspective (cf. Working Paper 2).

All analyses undertaken within both 'outside' and 'inside' perspective have been guided by the overall methodological framework of Task 2.3, i.e. the Discourse-Historical Approach in Critical Discourse Analysis. This framework has led both general research design of our studies (at the macro level) as well as their analytical categories of the in-depth text-based analyses (at the micro level).

3. KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 THE 'OUTSIDE' PERSPECTIVE

Our research within *the 'outside' perspective* (pilot study on media analysis) points to the clear discrepancy which exists between, on the one hand, positive descriptions of languages/multilingualism as elements of the wider European (mainly cultural) space and, on the other hand, the rather negative perception of the increased multilingualism of/in the EU institutions (particularly after the 2004/07 EU Enlargement). Such '*Europe vs. EU discrepancy*' was reflected in the general picture of diverse language ideologies which were inscribed into several language-ideological debates. Within those language ideologies, the most salient one was that of the so-called *hegemonic multilingualism* (HM). Despite forging more than one language (but actually several languages, and therefore a form of multilingualism), that hybrid language ideology was very far from the actual multilingual stance that would allow for all languages of the EU member states to be fully represented in the EU institutions and their everyday functioning. On the contrary, while it was acknowledged within various displays of the HM that several languages of the broader EU should be given some symbolic status (i.e. as the Union's 'official languages'), it was persistently argued that only selected 'core' languages will (and should) remain the de-facto 'working languages' of the political organism of the EU institutions. At the level of discourse, HM was realised by diverse arguments such as those pertaining to the costs and inefficiency of the full multilingualism or to its imminent dangers ('Babel tower') which, unless coped with, will soon cause the EU-institutional system to come to halt or even collapse.

3.2 THE 'INSIDE' PERSPECTIVE

On the other hand, our recent research within *the 'inside' perspective* (extensive in-depth analysis of EU documents) points to the ways in which multilingualism and related notions (e.g. language learning and teaching, linguistic diversity, etc.) have become key tools in the implementation of the hegemonic project of the 2000 EU Lisbon Strategy (arguing in favour of creating a globally-competitive European Knowledge-Based Economy – or KBE - and placing language skills among KBE's main distinctive features). Our analysis reveals that it is only with the arrival of the Lisbon project that we encounter the immense acceleration within the EU-originating multilingualism- and language-related documents and activities. Topics pertaining to teaching and learning of languages (i.e. to the acquisition of language skills favoured by Lisbon), to multilingual character of the EU (incl. multilingual society and economy or the traditionally KBE-related issue of Lifelong Learning), or to the implementation of Lisbon itself, were among the most frequently debated issues. Likewise, our in-depth analysis of documents also reveals that arguments pertaining to, inter alia, the 'contribution' of linguistic diversity and language learning to European KBE (or to the implementation of Lisbon as such) or to the role of diverse language skills and competences (hence traditional KBE-related arguments) were indeed salient and dominated the analysed discourse. The latter also displayed typical 'hybridity' of discourses on Knowledge-Based Economy and was characterised by, inter alia, duality between (a) value-laden arguments (in favour of Europe's multilingualism, democracy, social Europe, etc.) and (b) KBE-related arguments (on globalisation, competition, etc.). Importantly, as revealed by the structural and in-depth analyses of our corpus, the majority of EU-originating language policies (initiated under Lisbon) concern areas of EU member states while largely ignoring the growing multilingual problems within EU institutions as such (cf. 'EU-Europe discrepancy', above).

3.3 SUMMARY: HEGEMONIC MULTILINGUALISM IN/OF THE EU INSTITUTIONS

Summing up, our research within both 'outside' and 'inside' perspective points to the fundamental role of *hegemonic multilingualism* (HM). On the one hand, viewed from the outside perspective (by EU member states and their national public spheres), HM is a language ideology which describes (and sustains) inequality between different languages in EU-institutional settings. On the other hand, re-/produced inside the EU institutions, HM points to how multilingualism becomes a very prominent tool in a hegemonic project of the 2000 EU Lisbon Strategy on European Knowledge Based Economy (KBE) and Society. Salient within both 'outside' and 'inside' perspective, key features of HM include:

- a. *Ideological Foundation* – HM is either an overt language ideology or a part of larger highly-ideological project;

- b. *Duality* – HM is ideologically and discursively based on constructing dichotomies and binary oppositions (e.g. 'EU vs. Europe discrepancy' prevalent in both 'inside' and 'outside' perspective);
- c. *Hybridity* – HM is constructed as a hybrid language ideology (neither mono- nor multilingualism) or is based on hybridity of discourses (on KBE, democracy, values, etc.);
- d. *Flexibility* – HM is present in in different discourses and contexts (media vs. political/institutional discourses, inside vs. outside of EU institutions, etc.).

4. CONCLUSION

In line with the general aim of the DYLAN project ('to demonstrate that linguistic diversity prevalent in Europe is potentially an asset rather than an obstacle') research in Task 2.3 provides a critical perspective on how language ideologies (representations) related to multilingualism are dealt with in EU language policies constructed in supranational contexts (EU institutions) and in their communication with national milieus (national public spheres, EU member states). In so-doing, our task contributes to all of the DYLAN's key research dimensions (*representations, contexts and language policies*).

While, at the general level, our key findings related to *hegemonic multilingualism* (HM) point to the strongly ideological role played by multilingualism in the EU politics and policy-making in recent years, they also reveal an obvious mismatch between visions/conceptions of multilingualism within EU member states (outside) and within EU institutions (inside). Whereas the former perspective reveals a widespread perception of unequal multilingualism in the EU institutions and its obvious divergence from the growing linguistic and cultural diversity of a broader EU-ropean space, the inside perspective on HM in EU institutions emphasises the EU's will to make wider EU-rope multilingual while in fact retaining narrowed multilingualism within the Union's institutions.

Accordingly, our findings point to the ever-more obvious lack of coherent multilingualism policies in the European Union. Taking into consideration the very diverse perceptions, as well as practices, of multilingualism 'inside' and 'outside' EU institutions, such coherent policies should be created if multilingualism is to become a key element of (a) inclusive construction of social EU-rope (and not only of the EU-based Knowledge-Based Economy directed at EU-internal or –external competition) and (b) democratising Europe – showing inherent social and political links between the inside (EU institutions) and the outside (wider EU-rope).