

**Conceptual Equivalence and the EU Multilingual Discourse
Chain: A Case Study**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The EU's multilingual text production process is a complex system in which official documents are produced in 24 parallel versions. These versions are the official working languages of the Union and carry what is referred to as 'multiple authenticity'. This means that all languages are equally valid as originals. In addition, no language is considered as a translation. According to the Union's principle of linguistic democracy, it is stipulated in both the treaties and the European Language Charter that all languages are drafted and not translated. However, in reality the EU's language production machinery is a nebulous flux of translational procedures that are described as hybrid; this is because there is no one source or target text and non-drafting languages (now mostly all languages except English) are subject to pivot or bridging procedures in which a number of languages can mediate as interim source and target texts. This thesis problematizes the notions of multiple authenticity and hybridity by exploring the relationship between EU multilingual text production and conceptual equivalence in the specific discourse narrative of citizenship. The methodology developed is a bespoke critical discourse analysis framework for the multilingual chain of discourse between the European Commission and the Council. The framework is based on Chilton's (2004) model of Discourse Space Theory (DST) and assesses conceptual equivalence within the categories of space, time and modality. A close reading analysis of the discourse narrative of Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen of 2009-2014 in English, French, German and Dutch found that hybridity is a decisive factor in relationships of conceptual equivalence across languages. Moreover, based on the findings, the legitimacy of multiple authenticity as a guarantee of equivalent language production is brought into question.

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Prologue

On a recent visit to the cinema the advertisement for ITV Drama started to play out before the film. In my mind's eye I immediately recalled the well-known slogan: 'ITV – The Home of Drama'. I enjoyed the various clips from past drama series and waited for the final punchline. When it came I realized - to my great surprise – that I had not remembered the slogan accurately at all. The correct version was in fact: 'ITV – Where Drama Lives'. What I had done was remember the slogan within the context of my own personal experience. I had imagined ITV drama to inhabit a place called 'home' because in my own conceptual construct I equated the place where one lives with home. But, and indeed sadly for many, home and where one lives are not necessarily convergent; they can in fact even be mutually exclusive. I had imposed my own interpretation of a concept and, in doing so, had created an alternative - and inaccurate – image.

The above anecdote illustrates the crux of the argument within cognitive linguistics that construal (the precise and often unique meaning of ideas expressed in words and grammatical structures) is subjective. This subjectivity can lead ultimately to alternative perceptions of the same reality. In a single language scenario this is ambivalent enough but on a multilingual scale conceptual meaning can fluctuate considerably. Granted, it is of little consequence whether I remembered the slogan for ITV drama correctly in the above anecdote. However, if we were to transport this subjective and erroneous interpretation to the international negotiating tables of the United Nations or the European Union - at which issues of global security or migration are regularly deliberated in a plethora of different languages - it should

quickly become apparent that conflicting perspectives of this nature could matter very much indeed.

Arturo Tosi would also be in agreement with this premise: if different language versions of discourses within the EU institutional setting mean different things then this is in direct conflict with the European Union's ideal of linguistic democracy.

‘Suffice it to say that when translations do not say the same as the original, then the law is not equal for all European citizens; and the language of the original and its translation are equally accessible to all Europeans, then the citizens are not equal before the law.’

(Tosi 2013: 4)

Moreover, this would also contravene the cornerstone of this notion of linguistic democracy for all European citizens; enshrined in Article 314 of the Treaty establishing the European Community (EC Treaty),¹ the principle of equal or *multiple authenticity* means that all official working languages of the Union are equally valid as *authentic* originals. Not without its detractors – described by Emma Wagner as a ‘legal fiction’, ‘a feat of legal magic which defies all logic’ – it is also required ‘to safeguard linguistic equality’ as it is ‘a clear and rather courageous statement that there are no dominant languages or cultures in the European Union (Wagner 2001: 67-68).

However, Tosi (2013) has recently had cause to note that in the present day European Union the actual functioning of the notion of linguistic equality is not sufficiently scrutinized; this lack of appropriate scrutiny could even be leading to a democratic deficit and ultimately threaten the very *raison d'être* of Europe.

‘In an arena where Europe champions equality for all, one would expect to find a more critical appreciation of the language issues that concern communication and affect democratic participation, as this can challenge the unity and solidarity of Europe.’

(Tosi 2013: 4)

This then questions whether the Union's democratic principle of *multiple authenticity* is currently a viable proposition. If not, do diverse conceptual messages represent

¹ Consolidated version (*Official Journal* C 340 of 10 November 1997, p. 302)

different ideological viewpoints about the European citizen and citizenship in parallel languages?

For many years, two general directions have continued to prevail within translation studies literature and research on EU multilingualism: the subject is either extremely interesting to study (e.g. Wodak et al. 2012 and Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011)² - but not in any way that may challenge accepted methods of how things are done; or it is rather fun to sardonically criticise the EU text production factory as a lost cause of inflexible and nonsensical *Eurobabble*³ - equally without promoting new insights into the field.

This thesis seeks to contest both these viewpoints and will argue for a new way of approaching research into multilingual settings and language contact; it will go so far as to venture that even the dense and unforgiving terrain of language conveyed by the endless stream of European Union diktats can, with the right tools for the job, be as fruitful - and indeed even fascinating - as the quotation below from John McWhorter's *The Power of Babel* suggests:

‘[...] human language is unique in its ability to communicate or convey an open ended volume of concepts;’

(McWorter 2001: 5)

² In 2009 Wodak et al. carried out extensive fieldwork within EU organizational spaces in order to analyse the multilingual communicative practices of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and officials of the European Commission (Wodak et al. 2012: 157). Equally as detached observers, Krzyżanowski and Wodak have pointed to the link between multilingualism policy and macro strategies of the EU; multilingualism functions as a product of prevailing political interests (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011: 132).

³ ‘Eurospeak’ is the language of ‘Eurocrats’ (negotiators, other staff members and at times translators and interpreters) which is invariably ‘blurred, complicated and hard to understand’ (Trosborg 1997: 152). Wagner sees Eurojargon as terms such as *comitology* and *habilitation* which are used by insiders and specialists to communicate with one another in ways outsiders cannot necessarily understand. On the other hand, she does view ‘Eurospeak’ more enthusiastically as a useful linguistic tool for creating innovative words and expressions for concepts that do not have precise parallels at a national level. Such words include *subsidiarity* and *codecision* (Wagner 1999). In terms of the general populous, Goffin has also pointed out that, among the various renditions European citizens have used to vent their feelings about EU language, the French have spoken of ‘*le brouillard linguistique européen*’ (European linguistic fog) or ‘*l’Eurobabillage*’ (Eurobabble) and the Germans of ‘*Euro(kauder)welsch*’ (gobbledegook/gibberish) (Goffin 1994). Sosoni concludes, however, with the trite cynical statement that ‘whether we are referring to Eurojargon or Eurospeak, Europeans don’t like it’ (Sosoni 2005: 45).

Multilingual text production within the European Union institutions is a complex process. It involves currently the production of official documentation in 24⁴ languages serving the needs of European public servants, members of the European Parliament, national politicians, European interest groups and lobbies and the wider lay audience of the Union, the ordinary European citizen. A great number of institutional actors take part in the process, which can be described as both political and linguistic. This is because the content of texts is drafted in two ways: firstly to convey the European policies of the Union (political), usually in English first or concurrently in English and French; and then to convey this same policy content in all the other remaining languages (linguistic).

1.1 Translational Hybridity

The process of transforming policy documentation into a series of 24 multilingual versions is governed by the European Commission's principle of *multiple authenticity* (Koskinen 2008: 63), which, as already outlined above, means that all language versions share equal authenticity or are considered equally valid as originals. This also implies that any single language version of an official text can be used as a policy tool either in isolation from or in tandem with any other language version. In other words, all parallel text content, regardless of the specific language selected, is equal in status to that of any other. This view is backed up by the European Union's Language Charter, which does not make any mention of official texts being 'translated' from one language to another; rather all texts are 'drafted'. The distinction between translation and drafting is significant as translation invariably implies the subordination of the source text to the demands of a target text (although, admittedly, the relative merits or legitimacy of target versus source text dominance have also been much debated within translation studies). However, the insistence of EU language policy *specifically* on the notion of parallel drafting and *not* translation suggests that translational effects on texts in their different language versions are somehow obviated; or at the very least the linguistic transfer procedure (whether this be source

⁴ Croatian was added to the list of EU official and working languages following Croatia's accession on 1 July 2013.

or target text dominant) is not considered to be an issue which may influence the overall content of policy documentation.

However, in reality the EU's multilingual language production machine does function to a large extent with the aid of extensive translational activities. Nevertheless, the way in which these activities are carried out presents an intriguing paradox when considering the effects of language transfer procedures on the interpretation of policy content. Since – officially - there are no source or target texts (all texts are parallel drafts and therefore multiply authentic), a traditional source-to-target comparison of translational phenomena is not possible. Nonetheless, translational activities are indeed carried out on a daily basis by the translation services of the European Commission, Parliament and Council; but the manner in which this occurs creates a phenomenon which has been referred to previously by linguistic philosophers and researchers (e.g. Bakhtin 1981; Bhabha 1994), and more recently by translation studies academics,⁵ as 'hybridity'.

Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) and Homi Bhabha (1994) were the first scholars to transpose the notions of hybridity and hybridization from the realm of biology into that of language philosophy and cultural studies, respectively. In particular, Bakhtin referred to 'heteroglossia', meaning that within the myriad of voices in discourse, "languages" do not exclude each other but rather intersect and are 'juxtaposed to one another'; he also argued that there is 'no single plane' along which all languages may be juxtaposed (Bakhtin 1981: 291) but then goes on to contradict this by saying that all juxtaposed languages of heteroglossia share a common plane for the purposes of comparative analysis: they all represent 'specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values' (Bakhtin 1981: 291-292). Bhabha's work concentrated mainly on post-colonial cultural studies and the way in which hybridity between languages and cultures can undermine or contaminate dominant power structures.

⁵ e.g. Trosborg 1997; Neubert 2001; Schäffner and Adab 2001; Zauberga 2001; Wolf 2008; Hermans 2010

‘It is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed ‘in-between’, or in excess of, the sum of the ‘parts’ of difference (usually intoned as race, class, gender, etc.)? How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even commensurable?’

(Bhabha 1994: 2)

The term hybridity was introduced relatively recently into the field of translation studies, from the mid-nineties onwards (e.g. Trosborg 1997). Since then Schäffner and Adab (2001) have argued that hybridity is the natural consequence of globalization and internationalization. As such, it is:

‘a constituting characteristic of social interaction resulting mainly from the contemporary globalization of communication and from the effects of communication in spaces of fuzzy or merging borders, which in turn affect cultural and linguistic identities.’

(Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 301)

More specifically, Trosborg viewed hybrid texts as a cultural compromise in which different languages and cultures are negotiated, resulting at times in linguistic and textual features which are contrary to both target language and target culture norms (Trosborg 1997: 329-330). In parallel to this, Zauberga concludes that all translation can be qualified as hybrid as it generally involves textual transfer from one language/culture system into another (Zauberga 2001: 265). Michaela Wolf (2008) has interpreted this hybrid effect as a ‘Third Space’, that is to say merely a space of mediation between different languages, while Neubert’s view is that hybridity can also occur because of a translator’s reluctance to ‘violate’ the original text, thus creating what he refers to as a ‘resistant’ translation (Neubert 2001: 183). Finally, Theo Hermans has noted that it is also possible for a translation to produce hybrid discourse which ‘appears attuned to one type of Reader here and another there, showing the Translator’s presence in and through the discordances’ (Hermans 2010: 199). He concludes that ‘[t]ranslation is irreducible: it always leaves loose ends, is always hybrid, plural and different’ (Hermans 2010: 210).

A hybrid translation situation within the EU arena means that one-source to one-target language transfer (i.e. English into French or French into German) does not necessarily take place, and translational procedures may be based on more than one or several language versions as source texts.⁶ As a consequence, cross-contamination or pollution occur between ‘privileged EU working language’ versions and those versions that are not among the ‘chosen few’ (see in particular Van Els 2005: 271);⁷ the precise effects of this are then not traceable using source-to-target methods of analysis.

As an illustration, let us consider the following scenario. When certain segments of a draft in English are adjusted prior to the final version being released for publication, it then follows that other language versions must also be adjusted. For instance, the French version may be based on the English version and the German version on the French; the French text is then used as a ‘pivot’ or ‘bridging’ language between English and German. To complicate the matter further, another language, Dutch for example, may then be adjusted on separate occasions and by different translators using two (or even more) languages as source texts (i.e. English and German and perhaps also French). Thus, translational phenomena across language versions at the multilingual interface become hybrid.

1.2 Translational Equivalence and Conceptualization

As we have already said, the purpose of official EU texts is to convey unified policy content regardless of specific language versions. For decades the traditional approach of translation studies to appraising whether language transfer produces unified linguistic representation has been to apply any one of the plethora of translation equivalence theories. However, equivalence theories rely on the ability to compare one language (source) with one other (target). As outlined in the previous section, the phenomenon of hybridity makes this binary comparison impossible. In addition, the

⁶ Koskinen (2001) notes the sheer complexity of this nebulous flux between source and target texts as ‘a textual network or web-like texture comprising all different versions of the text that have been functioning as source texts during the drafting process that can easily include five to ten (or more) stages involving translation’ (Koskinen 2001: 294).

⁷ See for language contact ‘contamination’ also Swallow (2003) and Bhabha (1994)

EU's policy of 'multiple authenticity' (also discussed above) renders the whole notion of equivalence per se somewhat redundant as all texts are considered automatically equivalent to all others,⁸ in the sense that they may all be used as equally valid policy tools.

This then produces the intriguing paradox - alluded to above - for exploring the linguistic relationship between different language versions of the same text. On the one hand, equivalence (or multiple authenticity) is a sought-after and officially stipulated quality, to be shared by all parallel versions. However, existing translation theories only provide theoretical frameworks for assessing equivalence or non-equivalence between two languages, one source and one target, not multiple ones. Hybridity presents a situation in which several languages can be source texts at the same time. On the other hand, in order for translation equivalence to be assessed, the activity of translation per se must be seen to be actually taking place. I would argue that this is not the case in the production of European Union documentation for two reasons. Firstly, the EU itself does not officially recognize that its texts are translated but that they undergo 'drafting in several languages'⁹ - in theory simultaneously (although the body of literature describing the activities of EU translation services refutes this as an ideology, e.g. Wagner et al. 2002, Tosi 2006, Koskinen 2008). Secondly, if there are no fixed source or target texts, equivalence cannot be defined according to existing frameworks. This second reason also means that the desired goal of multiple authenticity cannot be objectively measured within these existing frameworks. Therefore, EU language policy itself as an ideology should not and cannot be taken at face value; and it is this fact specifically that provides a compelling argument for subjecting the whole notion of European Union multilingualism to detailed cross-lingual investigation. Is the goal of multiple authenticity achievable and what might the relative success or failure of this goal mean for relationships of translational equivalence among parallel languages?

⁸ Koskinen (2000) asserted that believing in the existence of equivalence within the EU institutional setting amounted to a 'shared illusion' - she later modified this to rather a 'suspension of disbelief' as in the reader's 'tacit acceptance of the rules of storytelling' in the literary sense, or even 'collusion' (Koskinen 2001:297). However, she also argued at the same time that the 'importance of assumed equivalence within the EU context' meant that the concept of equivalence itself is not at all obsolete within translation studies (Koskinen 2001: 296). Somewhat more cynically, Pym had argued earlier that, while equivalence should not be a 'dirty word', substantial equivalence in the EU arena is an illusion which we should not be too willing to go along with (Pym 1995: 165).

⁹ See Wagner (2001: 68)

Any new framework for exploring multiple authenticity or translational equivalences across several languages simultaneously must: (1) not be bound by the need to identify specific source or target texts; and (2) provide a way of assessing language content so that any number of languages can be compared simultaneously without referring specifically to individual language grammars or cultures. In order to do this the cross-lingual analysis must be able to bypass specifically semantic and/or pragmatic categories. This is because semantic categories relate essentially to semantic equivalence, which assumes that meanings can be compared without the need to consider the situational (pragmatic) context in which that meaning is produced. In this analysis, the situational prerequisites of institutional language production (i.e. EU house style and culture, the constraints of machine translation) mean that cross-lingual semantic ‘equivalence’ may in many instances be dictated by pre-translated strings or expressions stored in and automatically retrieved from a translation memory tool or term bank (which translators are deemed to use without question). On the other hand, a pragmatic view of cross-lingual parallel versions would also need to take into account the needs of diverse target audiences (as different language cultures); this is also unhelpful as an approach because languages in the EU do not necessarily serve one particular national identity or language culture (i.e. French is the official European language for France, Belgian Wallonia and Luxembourg). It would therefore be impossible to argue that the French language version of a certain text was pragmatically adjusted to its language audience, as one version cannot be adjusted for three different national cultures at the same time. In order to circumvent both purely semantic and/or pragmatic categories of analysis, it is necessary to go beyond the words and grammatical constructions used in a given situational context and consider how both of these elements (semantics and pragmatics) contribute to how meaning is *conceptualized* in parallel language versions. In other words, we can explore how cross-lingual mental representations of thought can be mutually compared. Therefore, in this thesis a new framework will be constructed for assessing what is to be referred to as *conceptual equivalence*.

The main theoretical lynchpins of the framework are signalled by three sets of key terms: (1) *semantic-pragmatic harmony* and *semantic-pragmatic tension*; (2) *micro-textual semantic changes* and *macro-textual pragmatic inferences*; (3) *intra-textual*

hybridity and *inter-textual hybridity*. All these terms are illustrated in the theoretical chapter (Chapter 2), which develops a bespoke framework for multilingual discourse analysis based on an exploration of conceptual equivalence. At this stage, we will briefly define these terms in a general sense and explain how they are used to structure the argument in the analysis chapters.

- (1) *semantic-pragmatic harmony* and *semantic-pragmatic tension* refer to ways in which meaning (semantic) in discourse can be given alternative interpretations or different readings depending on the context (pragmatic) in which that meaning is encountered. Where no alternative interpretations are suggested in comparative cross-lingual data, this is described as a situation of *semantic-pragmatic harmony*. Where the cross-lingual analysis does imply alternative readings of the same parallel text, an argument for *semantic-pragmatic tension* is presented. This tension can be described as hybrid, as it is the product of different discursive voices (interpretations).¹⁰
- (2) *micro-textual semantic changes* and *macro-textual pragmatic inferences* describe the effect of semantic-pragmatic tension at the micro level of discourse (shifts in lexico-grammatical features of language - words and structures) and how this in turn influences the macro level of discourse (how certain words and structures affect the interpretation of policy voices embedded in discourse content).
- (3) *intra-textual hybridity* and *inter-textual hybridity* sub-categorize occurrences of hybridity produced by *semantic-pragmatic tension* – in (1). *Intra-textual hybridity* refers to tension within the same parallel multilingual discourse or document; *inter-textual hybridity* denotes tension across more than one parallel multilingual discourse or document. Hybrid meaning is thus found not only within one single multilingual discourse narrative but also across connected multilingual discourse narratives (referred to as a *chain of discourse*).

¹⁰ In the same way that Bakhtin's languages of 'heteroglossia' provide 'specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values' (Bakhtin 1981: 292).

The bespoke framework explores the process of linguistic Chinese whispers engendered by hybridity and, more specifically, how this may affect the conceptual stability of policy voices presented in any given language. The overarching central research question is:

What is the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative?

Approaches to linguistic and textual analysis termed *critical discourse analysis* and their proponents¹¹ have made inroads into exploring the critical thinking (or cognition) behind the ways in which speakers (in this case, the institutional voices of the EU) use language to convey particular world views to their target audience. Critical discourse analysts have suggested a plethora of methods for investigating such cognition in discourse; and it is this which lies at the root of how speakers conceptualize their thinking in text and talk. This thesis will develop an argument for using one particular method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) which concentrates on how discourse can be broken down and explored as conceptualizations of space, time and modality (understood to mean the speaker's view of what is right and what is true). It will also be argued that a bespoke framework based on Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004) offers a viable tool for exploring not only the monolingual but also the multilingual discourse scenario. It is therefore also a suitable tool of analysis for comparing conceptual equivalence among any number of language versions (although here these are limited to English - EN, French - FR, German - DE and Dutch - NL).

¹¹ e.g. Fairclough 2001, 2003, 2005, 2009; Van Dijk 2003, 2005, 2008, 2009; Wodak 1995, 2005, 2008, 2011

1.3 Overarching Aims and Objectives of the Research

This research is intended to shed new light on a process which has largely been investigated from very specific and separate research viewpoints. As already highlighted in this introduction, translation studies have provided a pivotal area of research for investigating the production environment, quality and equivalence measure of multilingual language generation in official EU texts. In addition, European multilingual language production per se has been the subject of research from the language policy perspective, i.e. how do parallel versions of EU documentation function as a multilingual system as a whole? However, both these approaches rely heavily on exploring the effectiveness of multiple language production in one of two ways: either as (1) the product of prevailing language policy specifically *at the macro level* (which languages are promoted as working languages and prioritized in which specific institutional circumstances, i.e. within the Commission, Council or Parliament); or (2) the translational fruits of this language policy specifically *at the micro level* (data comparisons of micro extracts usually across two languages) in an attempt to explore equivalence relationships.

However, there has been little attempt to marry these two approaches (EU multilingual policy and the outcomes of this policy as they become embedded in the institutional voices thus produced). The main aim of this project is therefore to address the gap in research by developing an innovative tool for multilingual discourse analysis. This tool will make visible the interaction between (1) the EU's multilingualism policy (*multiple authenticity* as an expression of linguistic democracy) and (2) the specific linguistic outcomes of this policy (hybrid translational combinations of language versions). Having made these multilingual hybrid effects visible, the second aim of the research is to explore this hybridity across languages not only as a linguistic and translational phenomenon but also as a discursive institutional one. How do language versions compare and contrast when viewed from a multilingual discursive perspective? How can and indeed do the multilingual institutional voices that are present maintain a stable message or position at any point in any political document? If there are indeed instances where hybridity leads to inconsistencies in institutional voice in a Commission or Council document

for example, how does this play out in the discourses as divergence or tension? Different language versions may project either the same or alternative positions on key issues when in fact one political message only should prevail, regardless of the language in which it is expressed. In addition, there is a distinct ideological difference between the discourses of these two powerful institutions of Commission and Council. As a supranational institution, the Commission has a political mandate to promote the interests of the European Union as a whole, as well as those of European citizenship in general and the individual European citizen in particular. On the other hand, the European Council, in its capacity as an intergovernmental institution, has a political mandate to promote the interests of individual Member States (which of course express themselves in the language(s) used by that State). Therefore, what effect can or do ideological and/or cross-linguistic divergences have on discourses of citizenship seen as a whole within the context of a multilingual discourse analysis framework?

The third aim of this research is to both depart from and build on the notion of multilingualism as two distinct phenomena: (1) the micro-linguistic detail of separate and comparable language versions and (2) an institutional environment generating one multilingual political discourse (in this case, a *chain of discourse* between Commission and Council) which may or may not remain stable across languages and/or ideologically. The objective is then again firstly to make visible any instability and tension within any one institutional voice (Commission or Council). Subsequently, the analysis aims to explore how such instability or tension can or does influence the overall position projected simultaneously by those institutional voices, and how this then also affects the macro political message transmitted within key discursive elements. The final aim of the research is to address if and how hybrid translational phenomena at the micro level of multilingual text versions could be relevant and/or influential in forming key features of the wider discourse environment within and between the European institutions.

1.4 Text Selection Process

As stated in the central research question above, the ultimate objective of the research is to explore the relationship between (1) the EU's hybrid multilingual text production process and (2) the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) that this hybrid multilingual process produces. More specifically, this relationship is explored across the parallel language versions of English, French, German and Dutch (EN, FR, DE and NL) within the discourse narrative of citizenship. The specific corpus of texts and data selected represents a multilingual *chain of discourse* on the theme of citizenship within the context of the Council's 2009-14 European parliamentary programme on Freedom, Security and Justice. The three separate texts follow one another chronologically and are: (1) a Commission Communication proposing the programme, (2) the official programme as adopted by the European Council and published in the Official Journal of the European Union and (3) a second Commission Communication proposing the implementation of the programme. The corpus of data represents only a small percentage of documents produced by the Commission and Council on both the issue of Freedom, Security and Justice and that of citizenship. In addition, the exact data extracts selected from the corpus are only a small fraction of similar extracts it would have been possible to select for the analysis. It should therefore be noted that, while the data selected is globally representative of similar EU| institutional texts, it is also influenced by the data selection techniques used by the researcher; this relates firstly to the manner of selecting particular discourse extracts from the three main Commission and Council texts as a whole to form the multilingual corpus; it also relates equally to the choice of extracts taken from this corpus and final decisions made to either include or exclude these in the subsequent micro data analysis. The multilingual data on citizenship which appears under separate subheadings in the three analysis chapters (4, 5 and 6) represents then only an even smaller fraction of the total amount of data and specific cross-lingual extracts available in the original institutional documentation that is mined here. The multilingual *chain of discourse* between the European Commission and Council described and discussed is therefore to a degree a subjective snapshot of discursive tendencies in a particular instance of multilingual representation: (1) in four specific languages only (EN, FR, DE and NL) out of a possible 24; (2) in three particular

policy documents only; (3) generated by two (Commission and Council) of the EU's main institutional voices only (i.e. the European Parliament and a large number of institutional committees are also main actors within a chain of discourse); (4) and based on the analysis of a very small number of multilingual data extracts which may be only partially representative of the institutional discourse process as a whole. It is against this backdrop that the results of the bespoke framework for multilingual discourse analysis to be described, developed and applied in this thesis should be interpreted. They can only suggest micro tendencies in a particular situation of EU multilingual discourse; however these micro tendencies can then reasonably be used to speculate on and extrapolate to the wider context of macro discourses portrayed by the Commission and Council in particular languages in particular instances of that discourse. It may then also be possible to suggest how isolating micro-linguistic tendencies could inform interpretations of political positioning in and across certain languages within this macro context.

The following subsection briefly sets out the design of the bespoke framework for multilingual critical discourse analysis (CDA) to be applied in this research project. It also highlights the areas of research that it both draws and builds upon in order to create the rationale for exploring the relationship between multilingual parallel language production as a micro phenomenon and multilingual institutional discourse production as a macro phenomenon.

1.5 Contribution to Existing Fields of Research

This thesis takes a decisively multidisciplinary approach. For this reason, it is difficult to define one specific area to which it contributes most predominantly. As we have seen from this introduction, it departs from the premise of translation equivalence which has been assessed, quantified and negotiated for decades by scholars in the field of translation studies. While this research acknowledges the usefulness of equivalence as a premise for judging translational sameness or difference among primarily one language pair at a time, it also makes clear that such a framework is not suitable for comparing multiple languages within the language

production scenario of the European Union. This is because parallel language versions generated in the European Union setting are either hybridly translated or drafted (trans-drafted), each as a multiply authentic version of the other in line with the notion of EU linguistic democracy. They cannot therefore be measured against one another in multiple forms or as a one-source to one-target text language transfer procedure. This study therefore also acknowledges the EU's multilingual hybrid system but at the same time shows how existing approaches such as translation equivalence theories are not capable of providing a framework for either multilingual comparison or some kind of translation equivalence measure within the EU setting. The study therefore both contributes to and questions prevailing knowledge within translation studies (translation equivalence and hybridity as a distinct EU phenomenon) as well as the whole notion of EU multilingual policy; it then also makes a contribution to the field of multilingualism in general and to thinking on EU multilingualism in particular. Having essentially rejected the notion of translation equivalence, the study then also argues that the institutional nature of EU multilingualism means that *chains of discourse* are generated not only in multiple languages but also in and across different institutional voices; these voices may or may not resemble one another in their conceptual representation of key discourse elements due to differing ideological positions (i.e. the European Commission has a supranational mandate and the European Council has an intergovernmental mandate).

At this point the premise for assessing the nature of multilingual representation becomes a little more complicated; the framework suggested in this thesis therefore draws not only on knowledge and past research in translation studies, equivalence, EU multilingual language production and hybridity but also the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Typically, discourse analytic frameworks offer ways of making visible differences in language which portray imbalances in power between, in particular, institutional actors, where power relations are entrenched by prevailing institutional policies, norms, behaviours and rituals. In the case of this study, these institutional policies and norms are the EU's policy of multiple authenticity, trans-drafting and hybrid translation; however, in addition the behaviours and rituals of the institutional actors (Commission and Council voices) may also enhance already existing cross-linguistic imbalances (i.e., the impossibility of equivalence in a binary source-to-target translational sense) by expressing alternative viewpoints at key

discursive junctures. In line with the discipline of CDA, the notions of both *micro* (linguistic features of the multilingual texts) and *macro* (the wider conceptual significance of how this is expressed by the institutional voices involved, in this case the Commission and the Council) discourse production are discussed and exploited in this study; they are also applied in the development of a bespoke tool for comparing cross-lingual conceptual representation as a function of both micro and macro discourses within a multilingual institutional setting.

Having established the need to exploit the approach to discourse analysis provided by CDA, the final discipline to be researched was that of cognitive linguistics. Building on the body of work of Ronald Langacker and the notion of conceptualization as construal (how alternative combinations of words and structures are arranged in unique ways to express unique conceptual viewpoints), it is argued that only a CDA model that is able to pinpoint conceptual representation at the micro-linguistic level would successfully capture the range of cross-linguistic alternatives and nuances of difference and similarity that are found in the multilingual comparisons of text extracts analysed in this case study. We therefore introduced Paul Chilton's 2004 Discourse Space Theory (which allows detailed analysis of the conceptual categories of space, time and modality) as an appropriate CDA model and applied it to the final bespoke tool of analysis for multilingual critical discourse analysis. The study therefore not only exploits and builds upon the areas of cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis but also makes an innovative contribution to these fields: it marshals the usefulness of cognitive linguistic inquiry for analysing conceptualization at the micro level and combines this with the broad brush approach of CDA in order to accommodate the macro level of discourse: that is to say the EU's prevailing policy on multilingualism (multiple authenticity), the behaviour of its institutional actors (the discursive positions taken by Commission and Council voices) and the translational norms of its multilingual text production process (hybridity and trans-drafting). Finally, this study also contributes to the fields of (European) citizenship studies and European politics as the data analysis commentates and speculates on possible political interpretations of the notion of citizenship in key EU texts from both a cross-linguistic and discursive viewpoint.

1.6 Outline of the Thesis

The following Chapter 2 will set out the theoretical background to this research and will also serve as a delimited and selective literature review; it will commentate on and elucidate the theoretical conventions which will slowly build up the bespoke multilingual CDA framework to be used as a tool of analysis. Chapter 3 describes the methodology designed to put the multilingual CDA framework into practice.

Chapters 4 to 6 are the analysis chapters. These are individually themed chapters, each exploring different sets of data in different ways. In Chapter 4, the overall theme of Citizenship and Freedom is dealt with under the four subheadings of: The Political Priority of Freedom; Free Movement; Democratic Participation; and Diplomatic and Consular Protection. In this chapter, comparisons of *semantic-pragmatic harmony* and *tension* between languages are explored, based initially on a monolingual English version of text extracts. In Chapter 5, the attention turns primarily to exploring instances of *semantic-pragmatic tension* and how this can affect individual language discourse chains as they develop between the two institutions of the European Commission and the European Council. The main theme of the chapter is Citizenship and Security, and within this specifically the subthemes: The Political Priority of Security; Protection of Personal Data; Internal Security; and External Security. Chapter 6 is the final analysis chapter. Here the theme of Citizenship and Justice is explored according to the subthemes: The Political Priority of Justice; Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU; Access to Justice; and Global Justice: Rights of Third-country Migrants. The aim of the analysis in this chapter is to make the effect of institutional translational hybridity visible by tracing instances that occur not only across languages but also, simultaneously, across the discourse chains of the Commission and Council. Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter and draws together the main findings as they unfold across the three successive data analysis chapters. It also critically reflects on the success and limitations of the research and discusses possible implications for future research directions. The full corpus of documents in English, French, German and Dutch can be found on the EU's *EUR-Lex* website at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html>, which provides access to EU law and other public EU documents in 24 languages.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 2

Towards A Bespoke Methodology for Multilingual Critical Discourse Analysis

At this point, the reader may be expecting what is generally considered a traditional literature review. As will be evident from the title of the chapter, this is not the case. Although it was indeed the original intention, it became progressively clear that it would not be useful, within the space available in a thesis, to provide an extensive account of all the research areas that could potentially contextualize the research question; rather, it was necessary to refer to literature that was specifically relevant to the *data* being analysed. In other words, there was constant mediation between literature and analysis. Through this process, the overriding aim that emerged was the need to show *how* the framework of analysis was developed. For this reason, the present chapter will outline an evaluative but delimited theoretical background (supplemented by relevant literature review) for a multilingual CDA framework; it will not provide an exhaustive review of translation equivalence theories or cognitive linguistic and critical discourse analytic approaches.

2.1 Introduction

‘[T]he multilingual system, which is in operation in the largest translation agency in the world, actually leads translators to believe that all translations are acceptable and equal, as long as the single units in their texts are replaced one by one, and if care is taken to ensure that the units in the new language correspond to those from the source language. [...] The result is an impressive visual correspondence; but this surface approach clashes with the linguistic anomalies of the texts and the semantic discrepancies between the different language versions. [...] Every time a new language is admitted, a new mirror is inserted in the kaleidoscope, and a new word will be reflected.’

(Tosi 2006: 15)

Arturo Tosi has written extensively about multilingualism within the context of legal translation and official EU community languages, and has pointed to the extent to which multilingualism has in fact become marginalized rather than promoted. While Member States have the right to consult official documents in all the official working languages of the EU, Tosi argues that, in reality, the translation process appears to ride roughshod over the intricacies and sensitivities of social and cultural meaning construction. The largely automated translation process which now prevails tends to generate texts with distorted meanings, scrunched and crushed to fit inside the multilingual kaleidoscope (Tosi 2006: 15). This then begs the question whether EU multilingualism currently constitutes more a formality than the noble and democratic ideal that it set out to achieve at the inception of the European project.¹² Even if this is the case, however, it is still worth exploring what this means for parallel text production and its relationship to cross-lingual text content and the message conveyed in specific language versions of discourse narratives. The issue of linguistic equality of communication is of considerable importance; it can potentially threaten the democratic participation of EU citizens and ultimately the unity and solidarity of the Union (Tosi 2013: 4). It is this and similar questions which form the basis of the analytical approach in this thesis.

As outlined in the preceding introductory chapter, the aim of the thesis is to answer the following central research question:

What is the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative?

The data to be extracted and analysed to answer this question will be taken from a parallel language corpus made up of three documents from a specific EU discourse narrative on citizenship within the area of freedom, security and justice. The three documents are:

¹² With the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, originally there were four official languages among the six founding members. These were, respectively: French, Dutch, German and Italian; Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands.

- (1) A Communication produced by the European Commission - *COM(2009) 262 final*, proposing ‘An Area of Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen’;
- (2) ‘The Stockholm Programme – An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting Citizens’ – *2010/C 115/01*, produced by the European Council;
- (3) A Communication proposing an Action Plan for implementing the Stockholm Programme: ‘Delivering an area of freedom, security and justice for Europe’s citizens’ – *COM(2010) 171 final*, produced by the European Commission.

These three documents are to be analysed for conceptual equivalence simultaneously across the four parallel language versions of English (EN), French (FR), German (DE) and Dutch (NL).¹³

Addressing the central research question above implies the close-reading analysis of textual, linguistic and translational features and phenomena produced during drafting within the EU’s multilingual text production process. This process has already been defined in the Introduction to this thesis as ‘hybrid’ and a brief explanation of hybridity has been provided. We will return to the question of hybridity later in this chapter and also in more detail in the third and final data analysis chapter (Chapter 6).

As we also described in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1), the extent to which particular narrative features of an EU discourse are conceptualized in equivalent ways across parallel language versions is of considerable relevance to our theoretical framework. This is because EU citizens have the right to use their own language to communicate with and be communicated to by the European Union institutions. At the same time, the principle of ‘multiple authenticity’ means that this communication is to be considered equally valid in any of the EU’s official and/or working languages. If conceptualization is then not equivalent in any way, citizens will receive different written interpretations of the same narrative in different languages. These discrepancies can then be said to be the result of the EU’s hybrid language transfer

¹³ The motivation for choosing these particular documents for the analysis is set out in detail in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3).

processes. Such discrepancies are not only important as a subject of interest within EU cross-linguistic/translational research but also as an issue of coherence for the EU's written policy tools. If parallel language versions do not express the same conceptual message, there could be misunderstandings or lack of transparency in transposing European policy into national legal frameworks in the separate languages used by Member States.

We also indicated in the Introduction that the language transfer process not only takes place across parallel languages but also across individual EU institutions (in the case of this analysis, the European Commission and the European Council). This involves the same narratives being progressively re-produced and re-contextualized as new documents, making up a *chain* of discourse. For example, the corpus data to be used in this particular study includes three distinctly separate documents, which follow each other chronologically: a Commission proposal for a programme (Document 1); a Council adoption of this programme (Document 2); and a Commission action plan for implementing the adopted programme (Document 3). Therefore, in order to fully address the central research question set out above, it will be necessary to construct a theoretical framework that can be developed into a practical linguistic tool for also answering the following three secondary research questions:

- (1) What role does linguistic and translational hybridity play in the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence?
- (2) What role does the institutional re-contextualization of the same discourse narrative between the Commission and the Council play in the relationship between hybridity and conceptual equivalence?
- (3) And how do both (1) and (2) affect the conceptualization of key aspects of the discourse narrative across language versions?

The theoretical framework for the analysis of data set out in this chapter will address these three secondary research questions by:

- (1) Discussing in how far translation theories and cross-cultural/-lingual pragmatics are relevant for exploring (conceptual) equivalence within the context of the EU's institutional multilingual text production policy;
- (2) Proposing a method for exploring conceptual equivalence among a number of parallel language versions of an EU multilingual narrative; this will be based on an existing methodological approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), namely Chilton's (2004) Discourse Space Theory (relating to the conceptualization of space, time and modality).
- (3) Devising a method for exploring conceptual equivalences and non-equivalences across multilingual parallel data for the expression of space, time and modality (also referred to – by the author of this thesis - as semantic-pragmatic harmony and semantic-pragmatic tension, as defined in the introductory chapter);
- (4) Demonstrating how either semantic-pragmatic harmony (conceptual equivalence) or semantic-pragmatic tension (conceptual non-equivalence) can be identified within the parallel language versions of either: (1) a single document in the discourse narrative (defined in the Introduction as *intra*-textual hybridity); or (2) the whole discourse *chain* of three documents in their re-contextualized forms, Commission - Council - Commission (defined in the Introduction as *inter*-textual hybridity). The latter (2) will also draw on text and discourse world theory (Werth 1999; Gavins 2007), as well as mental space and blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) in order to illustrate the role of the discourse *chain* (from Commission to Council to Commission) in the overall theoretical framework of analysis.
- (5) Constructing a bespoke multilingual Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tool appropriate for: (1) a close-reading interpretation of the hybrid conceptualization of space, time and modality; and (2) thus exploring where micro-textual semantic changes may convey macro-textual pragmatic

inferences (as defined in the Introduction) in non-equivalent ways across language versions.¹⁴

2.2 Translation Equivalence: Relevance and Irrelevance for EU Multilingualism

In 1964 Eugene Nida produced the ground-breaking work *Toward a Science of Translating* in which he presented his *Principles of Correspondence* (Nida 1964/2004: 153), setting out translation methods for achieving firstly ‘formal correspondence’ - equivalent grammatical form from source to target language - and then ‘dynamic equivalence’ - equivalent (pragmatic) effect on the target audience (Nida 153-167). This was to herald the beginning of a quest within the then embryonic discipline of translation studies for equality of meaning or semantic and/or pragmatic value across language versions, and was to dominate the discipline seemingly as its *raison d’être* for decades to come.¹⁵ However, Lawrence Venuti (2004) pointed out that translating in fact also ‘involves the foreign text in an asymmetrical act of communication, weighted ideologically towards the translating culture’ (Venuti 2004: 498); he goes on to qualify this view by stating that translating is always ideological, as it ‘releases a domestic remainder, an inscription of values, beliefs, and representations linked to historical moments and social positions in the receiving culture’ (Venuti 2004: 498). From this we may conclude that equivalence, while desirable, can also be seen as the impossible ideal; this is because it necessarily assumes a symmetrical relationship between source and target which is negated by inherent ideological imbalances between the source and target cultural community. In this way, a Utopian attitude to translation as a pure act of communicative transfer from foreign to domestic audience can then also be refuted.

¹⁴ A full discussion of all these elements (1) to (5) follows below in this chapter under separate main section headings.

¹⁵ e.g. Catford 1965; Nida and Taber 1982; Koller 1989; Warren 1989; Baker 1993; Gentzler 1993; Koller 1995; Wilss 1996; Fawcett 1997; Bassnett 2002; Buchin and Seymour 2003; Baker 2011/1992

In recent years, the field of translation studies has undergone what is referred to as the sociological turn.¹⁶ This means that there is a new research trend towards examining not only the products of translation (the texts themselves) but also the sociological and institutional processes used to generate translation outputs. For example, researchers have looked into the hybrid methods of translation and multilingual text production that have developed within political journalism and media reporting;¹⁷ at the same time, multilingual language flows within institutions and organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union have intensified. In the current information society, this has been compounded by fast-moving multi- and plurilingual information flows across an ever-expanding electronic internet. For this reason, the equivalence relationship between source and target text has become increasingly difficult to track, isolate and assess. One consequence has been the blurring of the line between the specific activities of translators and news reporters (e.g. Tsai 2010).

2.2.1 Why is Translation Equivalence *Relevant* to the EU?

The recognition of broader socio-political issues involved in the translation process, and their consequences for the status of translational equivalence as a concept, is of particular interest for researching into multilingual institutions such as the European Union. It is therefore important to establish to what extent equivalence is still relevant to a cross-lingual analysis of EU parallel discourses. Firstly, the EU sets out to provide the users of its multilingual documentation with texts that can be accessed in any of its (now 24) official and/or working languages (Koskinen 2008; Tosi 2006; Wagner et al. 2002). Secondly, the overall aim of this European linguistic democracy is to provide users of any of these 24 languages (European citizens or other interested parties) with equal access to the *same* information (legal or otherwise) about the policies and actions of its institutions. Therefore, it may be reasonably anticipated that, at least in terms of content and information provided, there is a relationship of equivalence between the various language versions. As stated earlier, any discrepancies between the conceptual message conveyed in different languages is of significance for the transparency and understanding of European policy and its

¹⁶ e.g. Dam and Korning Zethsen 2012; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007

¹⁷ e.g. Schäffner and Bassnett 2010; Bielsa 2007; Bassnett 2005

transposition into national policy in national languages. If there are already discrepancies in the parallel multilingual European policy documentation, then this is likely to be compounded when transposed at the national level and then perpetuated in national policy documents in that language; this would then constitute another stage of a discourse chain as it passes from the supranational/intergovernmental legislative levels that are multilingual to the national levels of legislation that are monolingual; and this chain would then be reproduced and re-contextualized in Member States' own national discourse environments.

In addition, from a legal point of view, any document relating to binding legislation which will later be transposed into the national legal frameworks of Member States must necessarily attain some level of equivalence or homogeneity across languages. Theories of translation equivalence attempting to produce an equal context-related or pragmatic 'effect' (e.g. Koller 1995; Nida 1964/2004) for a particular target audience are of relevance to the extent that they recognize the distinct needs of that target audience within the equivalence relationship. For instance, in the example below, the EN version of an extract from Document 1 in the corpus (Commission Proposal COM 262) has been drafted by the Commission as a parallel version of the other languages of FR, DE and NL. As we noted earlier, a parallel version implies an attempt at some form of linguistic or translational equivalence, even if this is a pragmatic adjustment to a particular language-specific context. The EN version of a statement defining European citizenship reads as follows:

Example 1

EN: European citizenship complements, but does not replace national citizenship.

The parallel versions of this clause in the other languages are given below:

FR: *La citoyenneté européenne s'ajoute et complète la citoyenneté nationale.*

(Back translation: European citizenship adds to and complements national citizenship.)

DE: *Die Unionsbürgerschaft ergänzt und vervollständigt die Staatsbürgerschaft.*

(Back translation: Union citizenship adds to and complements State citizenship.)

NL: *Het Europees burgerschap is een aanvulling op het nationale burgerschap.*¹⁸

(Back translation: European citizenship adds to national citizenship.)

It is apparent that even though the EN version has been produced as a parallel (and therefore in some way equivalent) version of the clause, it is linguistically represented in a distinctly alternative form from a pragmatic or context-related perspective; the fact that European citizenship ‘does not replace national citizenship’ is emphasized over its role as complementary to national citizenship (as in the other language versions). In the EN version, thus, the superior role of national citizenship as compared to European citizenship is made explicit, whereas this is not the case for the other language versions. Therefore, in accordance with translation equivalence theories aiming at some kind of equal pragmatic effect, such as those suggested by Nida (1964/2004) and Koller (1995), the EN version has been tailored for a target audience reading this information in English; it appears here that Commission drafters considered it important to explicitly emphasize the superiority of national citizenship (also implying the subtext – the politically-sensitive issue of national sovereignty - to which it is linked). The readers (the audience) would be citizens or interested parties with some national connection to the UK, the Republic of Ireland or Malta, these being the Member States with English-language users. Thus, the context-related or pragmatic adjustment must necessarily relate to a cultural or narrative feature of the discourse which is specific to readers of this EN version. The next section will argue that context-related or pragmatic equivalence is problematic within the EU’s

¹⁸ The close reading of this statement concentrates here on the implications of difference in the EN version. However, it should be noted that the NL version also differs in that it does not include the qualification that European citizenship also complements national citizenship as well as adding to it (as the FR and DE versions do). For this reason, it is in fact only the FR and DE versions which are equivalent to one another.

pluricentric¹⁹ environment, where discourses are drafted for whole language communities rather than individual national communities and their specific socio-political cultures.

2.2.2 Why is Translation Equivalence *Irrelevant* to the EU?

As we have seen in the preceding section, the issue of equivalence is relevant to EU discourses in that specific adjustments can be made in certain language versions (in this case the EN version) to create an equal pragmatic effect. However, in the above example, given that English is the dominant *lingua franca* of the European Union (House 2006; Phillipson 2003) and the most used working language within its institutions, it firstly seems unlikely that all readers of this EN version will be citizens of or have a national connection to the UK, the Republic of Ireland or Malta. It is also highly likely that versions of this documentation will be read in English by a variety of officials and interested parties of many different European nationalities (and from many different European language communities) working on issues relating to EU policies. Secondly, even if it were hypothetically the case that the pragmatic adjustment ‘effect’ could apply equally to readers with a national connection to all three of the Member States in question (the UK, the Republic of Ireland and Malta), this is also problematic. In this case, it would then also suggest the unlikely scenario that narrative adjustment for equivalence in the EN version could be applied - as a culturally specific feature - simultaneously to all three of these Member States making up the English language audience.

¹⁹ The term ‘pluricentric’ denotes here the use of the same language as an official language in more than one Member State (i.e. French in France, Belgium and Luxembourg), where this does not infer that language users also share the same national identity. This is consistent with one of the first leading writers on the socio-linguistics of pluricentricity, Michael Clyne, who noted that several European nations use German as an official language, including Austria, Switzerland and Luxembourg (Clyne 1992: 117). More recently, pluricentricity has been explored also as the (non-)dominant varieties of languages spoken across a number of different countries. See, for example, Muhr, Rudolf (2013) ‘Codifying linguistic standards in non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages – adopting dominant or native norms?’, 11-44, and De Caluwe, Johan (2013) ‘The status of (non-)dominant varieties of Dutch: Exploring the organisation of the language communities involved’, 215-226, in, respectively, Rudolf Muhr, Carla Amorós Negre, Carmen Fernández Juncal, Klaus Zimmermann, Emilio Prieto and Natividad Hernández (2013) [eds] *Exploring Linguistic Standards in Non-Dominant Varieties of Pluricentric Languages*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang.

However, the main reason that such equivalence adjustments do not apply from a national cultural perspective is that the European Union's multilingual narratives are not intended to be culturally specific to any one or number of Member States. EU language usage and production is characterized by pluricentricity;²⁰ this means that a language version does not serve the policy interests of a particular Member State or set of Member States making up a specific language community. Parallel language versions merely serve to meet the specific linguistic needs of the language communities to which they relate (e.g. French serves France, Belgian Wallonia and Luxembourg; German serves Germany and Austria, but also parts of Belgium and even Denmark; and Dutch serves the Netherlands and Belgian Flanders).

In summary, there are three reasons why translation equivalence is irrelevant to EU multilingual text production. Firstly, a pragmatic or context-related adjustment applied as a culturally specific 'equivalent' version in any one language is inappropriate because specific language versions are intended to serve all users of a particular language community, which can cover more than one or several Member States; this then inevitably means that any linguistic or translational adjustment to any one of these states would privilege one Member State over others and would contravene the Union's democratic ideals. Secondly, if a pragmatic cultural adjustment were indeed made, it would have to apply to all Member States using that language; this is impossible as all Member States are culturally unique, even if they do have one (or indeed more, in some cases) of Europe's pluricentric languages in common (i.e. France, Luxembourg and Belgian Wallonia all use French). Thirdly, and most importantly, parallel language versions are based on the principle of 'multiple authenticity', which means that all languages are equal²¹ as originals. From a politico-linguistic perspective no one language version is permitted to promote alternative political interests over another and no one language version is to be seen as the original source or point of reference of any other. It is perhaps this last reason that provides the strongest justification for the present research. The development of a new theoretical framework to assess multilingual conceptual equivalences among any number of languages would also be capable of highlighting linguistic strategies of

²⁰ See footnote 19 above.

²¹ Sosoni has refuted this, taking the Orwellian stance that some languages are simply 'more equal' than others, given that those whose native language is not French, German or particularly English are still at a relative disadvantage (Sosoni 2005: 42).

political positioning; it could also potentially detect the covert (or indeed overt) promotion of certain political interests in one language to the detriment of another or others.

Binary source-to-target language transfer and cultural adjustment of linguistic content based on the demands (political or otherwise) of the target text over the source text (or vice versa) are both fundamental prerequisites for defining a process as translation (and therefore determining translation equivalence). As EU multilingual text production does not adhere to these two prerequisites, we can assert that it does not qualify as a process of translation *per se*; the concept of translation equivalence is then, at least in this respect, irrelevant to any cross-lingual comparisons.

2.2.3 The Phenomenon of *Hybridity*: Is it really *translation*?

The multilingual text production which takes place within the institutions of the European Union has been described by researchers²² as a *hybrid* process, typical of multinational and multicultural environments, where many institutional actors - linguists, translators and politicians alike - contribute to the final product of a particular discourse narrative within a particular language version. Hybridity can be divided into two categories: (1) hybrid concurrent drafting (or trans-drafting) of dominant languages (usually FR and EN) - language versions are adjusted to each other in a more or less simultaneous process rather than one being the source and one the target language;²³ (2) hybrid translational processes within which source and target languages are not fixed (any one or number of available languages may be used as a source for translation into other languages) - this can also involve the use of 'bridging' or 'pivot' languages, which means that a text is firstly translated from a primary source into an intermediate target language before being translated into the final target language. Referring specifically to the notion of 'drafting' in the EU's 1958 Language Charter, Tosi (2006: 13-14) explains that the term 'drafted' originally

²² e.g. Pym 2001; Schäffner and Adab 2001 and 2001a; Tirkkonen-Condit 2001; Schäffner 1997; Trosborg 1997

²³ See Holdsworth (2009) *Multilingual European Political Discourse and Translational Phenomena: Cross-Lingual Modality of Rhetoric in the Party of European Socialists' 2009 Election Manifesto* (Unpublished MA Dissertation), University of Sheffield

implied that EU legislation should be produced as a result of ‘parallel and simultaneous draftings’ in all language versions. However, subsequent administrative reform led to single language versions becoming the point of departure for producing other language versions through translation. Moreover, the sheer number of languages and scope of ‘multilingual transactions’ which now characterize EU discourse and negotiation have caused the system to become compromised; indeed, as we have already said, so-called ‘source text’ documents are often not even authentic original versions and are themselves already translations acting as a ‘bridge’ between the true source text and the final target text (Tosi 2006: 13-14). This means that the traditional binary source-to-target relationship effectively becomes irrelevant as it is impossible to assign source languages to target languages (Schäffner 1997) and therefore also impossible to isolate and assess equivalence relationships.

In addition, the EU’s Language Charter and policy on multilingualism stipulate that all official working languages of the European Union are to be considered as having ‘multiple authenticity’ (Koskinen 2008: 63). The online Oxford English Dictionary (OED) states that the word ‘authentic’ is understood to infer that which possesses ‘original or inherent authority’, although it does not suggest that this is linked to an equivalence relationship between such elements that are considered ‘authentic’. It may therefore be concluded that, while the multiple language versions of EU documents are indeed parallel texts, they are not intended to represent cross-linguistic or translational equivalence *per se*; all language versions are to be considered as valid originals of any one narrative. Consequently, this cannot be described as ‘translation’ (since no language version is deemed to have been transferred from an original source); rather, it should be defined as a process in which hybrid cross-linguistic and translational phenomena occur at the multilingual interface of a discourse narrative.

We now return to the central research question of this thesis:

What is the relationship between the EU’s multilingual text production process and the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative?

How then are we to assess and compare the equivalence of linguistic content and semantic and pragmatic values among different language versions at this multilingual interface if we are unable to do so using established theories and methods of translation equivalence? If we abandon the notion that equivalent meaning must be measured by either comparative linguistic or translational methods (usually only possible between one language pair at a time due to grammatical constraints on individual language systems), we can consider instead how mental representations of thought expressed in language can be mutually compared across a number of different languages. We then no longer need to confine comparisons to either semantic or pragmatic categories and how these are reproduced from one language to one other; we go beyond the endless discussions about the semantics of meaning in different languages or context-related adjustments to meaning appropriate in one-source-to-target translation situations. We then also accept that comparisons of several languages simultaneously cannot involve translation frameworks per se; rather, they must explore mental representations of a world view expressed by diverse speakers in a diverse range of languages. What is more, these languages cannot be seen as translations of one another but as a set of multilingual communication media, each portraying a unique conceptual position that is not intended to be a source or target of any other. It is this last statement that best distinguishes multilingual communication media from translation equivalence; it is not translation *between* languages but the translation *in* languages of ideas about the world and how speakers and their intended audiences relate to that world. This brings us into the wide-ranging field of conceptualization, which has found applications in a great number of disciplines over the last several decades; these include, among others, theoretical linguistics,²⁴ cross-cultural/lingual pragmatics,²⁵ socio(political)-linguistics and key word analysis,²⁶ text and discourse world theory,²⁷ mental space theory/conceptual blending,²⁸ deixis,²⁹ the

²⁴ e.g. Croft and Cruse 2004; Langacker 2009, 2008, 2002, 1997, 1972; Nuyts and Pederson 1997; Van Hoek 1997; Werth 1997

²⁵ e.g. Wierzbicka 2006, 2003, 1999, 1997, 1996, 1992

²⁶ e.g. Footitt 2002 and Williams 1983, respectively

²⁷ Werth 1999; Gavins 2007

²⁸ Hart 2010; Cap 2008; Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Brugman 1996; Sweetser 1996; Sweetser and Fauconnier 1996; Fauconnier 1997, 1994

²⁹ Blas Arroyo 2000; Glover 2000; Bruder 1995; Galbraith 1995; Green 1995; Segal 1995; Zubin and Hewitt 1995; Semino 1995; Zupnik 1994; Perkins 1992; Lyons 1982

critical discourse analysis (CDA) of political texts³⁰ and, more specifically, the construction of national and European identities.³¹

The aim of the following main sections of this chapter (2.3 to 2.6) will be to develop a bespoke framework of analysis for assessing *conceptual equivalence* in the multilingual citizenship narrative of the corpus, referring to examples of text segments in EN, FR, DE and NL. The initial point of departure for the framework will be a theoretical discussion of subjective linguistic construal proposed in the work of Langacker.³² We will then explore how subjective construal can be isolated as cross-lingual difference in spatial, temporal and modal discourse positioning (as suggested in Chilton's Discourse Space Theory, 2004); this will firstly be explored in one single document (to be referred to from this point onwards also as a *stage*) of the discourse *chain*³³ (made up of stages A, B and C). This will be the *intra-textual* dimension and will express the relationship between *conceptual equivalence* and *intra-textual hybridity* at the multilingual interface of discourse. Subsequently, the framework will incorporate a second dimension, the *inter-textual* dimension, in order to explore cross-lingual differences in discourse positioning throughout the *whole* discourse chain as a continuum (stages A to C). To this end, the second dimension of the framework will also include mental space/conceptual blending theory (e.g. Fauconnier 1994; Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and text and discourse world theory (e.g. Werth 1999; Gavins 2007); this second dimension will express the relationship between *conceptual equivalence* and *inter-textual hybridity* at the multilingual interface of discourse.

An overarching discussion of the semantic-pragmatic distinction will show how cross-lingual differences in conceptualization occurring within a Discourse Space Theory framework (incorporating the pragmatic concepts of space, time and modality) can reveal the presence of either *semantic-pragmatic tension* or *harmony*. This is because semantic change(s) (in the micro discourse) in a particular language version can lead to pragmatic inference(s) (in the macro discourse) that are not necessarily present (or

³⁰ e.g. Hart 2010; Van Dijk 2009, 2008, 2003; Van Leeuwen 2008; Chilton 2005, 2004

³¹ Wodak et al. 2009 and Wodak 2011; Footit 2002

³² 2009, 2008, 2002, 1997

³³ As described in section 2.1 of the present chapter, there are three documents in the discourse *chain* making up the corpus of data. These are: Document 1 (stage A of the discourse chain), Document 2 (stage B of the discourse chain) and Document 3 (stage C of the discourse chain).

perhaps even available or possible) in other language versions; these differences can therefore be seen to lie at the multilingual interface of that discourse.

Finally, the framework will incorporate an element of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in that any *semantic-pragmatic tension* revealed may suggest differences in the discursive positioning (of the speaker) in relation to certain ideological attitudes (in the macro discourse) within the citizenship narrative. The level of *conceptual equivalence* achieved will therefore be considered to be in direct relation to the extent of *semantic-pragmatic tension* or *harmony* revealed; this will then be reflected as the extent of equivalence or non-equivalence in ideological attitudes in the macro discourse narrative of citizenship. The issue of *conceptual equivalence* is significant as if it is not achieved this suggests that the EU is not projecting the same ideological message in its policy documentation across parallel languages. This then also means that different language versions may be conveying different ideological viewpoints in their discourse; and this would be in direct conflict with the Union's democratic ideal that all languages are equal and multiply authentic.

2.3 Conceptualization and Construal

The field of conceptualization occupies a place within the school of cognitive linguistics which, from the 1970s onwards, sought to explore the relationship between language and thought, rejecting the long-held belief that language use could only be explained by resorting to the internal structural characteristics of individual languages. Instead, in the late 1980s, theories evolved which related language to processes external to language itself, such as the cognitive mechanisms governing human categorization (e.g. the space and cognitive grammar of Langacker in 1987,³⁴ and his later work *Concept, Image and Symbol* in 1990, republished in 2002), as well as other pragmatic principles such as the understanding and expression of metaphor (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 2003 and Lakoff 1987). Gilles Fauconnier's Mental Space Theory (1985 and 1994) was also subsequently developed into Conceptual Blending Theory with Mark Turner in 2002. As such, the field of conceptualization under the

³⁴ See also Langacker (2008) *Cognitive Grammar. A Basic Introduction*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press

umbrella of cognitive linguistics constitutes a vast body of work, which it would be impossible to cover here to any useful degree. For this reason, the notions of conceptualization referred to in this thesis will be limited to the following two main categories:

- (1) conceptualization as subjective scene-setting by means of linguistic *construal* mechanisms³⁵ which produce a particular perspective on a narrative scene, relying mainly on the work of Langacker (2009, 2008, 2002, 1997); this will demonstrate initially how subjective construal serves to conceptualize from a monolingual perspective.
- (2) specific *construal* of key words (e.g. Williams 1983) or concepts³⁶ to illustrate varying conceptualizations of a specific discourse element (in this case citizenship) in particular narrative settings. This is also in line with research by Wierzbicka (2006; 2003; 1999; 1997), whose data provides evidence that certain key words/expressions (of affective meaning) are culturally specific across languages; consequently they are constructed and conceptualized differently in different languages (the multilingual perspective).

2.3.1 Linguistic Construal and Langacker's Subjective Scene-setting: The monolingual case

There has been a fairly general consensus within cognitive linguistics/semantics³⁷ that two basic assumptions govern the interpretation of conceptual representation in language: (1) construal operations constitute the fundamental building blocks for conceptualization; and (2) any construal operation is by definition inherently subjective as it is determined by the particular perspective, situatedness, viewpoint or

³⁵ The next section gives a more extended explanation and illustration of the origin and nature of subjective construal within linguistics.

³⁶ Footit (2002) coined the phrase 'grammars of citizenship' to describe the way in which the concept of citizenship was 'construed' (linguistically expressed) differently by male and female Members of the European Parliament.

³⁷ Langacker 2002: 315; Langacker 1999: 206; Croft 2001: 93; Croft and Cruse 2004; Langacker 2008: 43.

‘viewing arrangement’ (Langacker 1999: 206) afforded to it by the character of its particular linguistic expression. In other words:

‘An expression’s precise semantic value is determined by numerous facets of construal, including the level of specificity at which the situation is characterized, background assumptions and expectations, the relative prominence accorded various entities, and the perspective taken on the scene’.

(Langacker 2002: 315)

The notion of construal is central to the way in which narratives are constructed around a discourse theme (e.g. citizenship). At the very basic level, construal is the manner in which utterances of language are expressed linguistically in terms of both lexicalization and syntax. In other words, construal operations designate the grammatical structures and lexical domains which define how an utterance of discourse is conceptualized.

Even in a monolingual situation, construal operations can create considerable subjectivity among a set of utterances which use only slight variations in lexical choice. The following example clarifies this relationship between the nature of construal and its subjective effect on that which is being construed.

Example 2

‘Tonight you can see (every/each/any) star in the Milky Way.’

(Langacker 2008: 295)

In the above example, the choice of quantifier (a specific construal mechanism in this case) determines the nature of conceptualization and therefore also the perspective from which the reader is directed to view the scene. *Each* suggests that we can see all the stars ‘by shifting our gaze from one to the next’; the quantifier *every* leads us to imagine seeing all stars ‘simultaneously’; and *any* denotes that we can see ‘whichever one we might happen to choose’ (Langacker 2008: 295).

2.3.2 Cross-lingual Subjective Construal: The multilingual case

The extract below (Example 3) from Document 1 of the corpus of data shows how Langacker's interpretation of subjective construal can also be detected *cross-lingually* in Commission Communication COM 262 (stage A); the extract is taken from a section of discourse concerning the right of citizens to diplomatic and consular protection in third countries:

Example 3

EN: 'A Union citizen travelling to or living in a non-EU country where his or her Member State is not represented is entitled to protection'

FR: '*Tout citoyen de l'Union se trouvant dans un pays tiers où son propre État membre n'est pas représenté a droit à une protection ...*'

(Back translation: All/every citizen(s) of the Union finding him/herself in a third country where his/her own Member State is not represented has the right to a protection ...)

DE: '*Jeder Unionsbürger kann im Hoheitsgebiet eines Drittstaates, in dem sein Herkunftsmitgliedstaat nicht vertreten ist, den diplomatischen und konsularischen Schutz ... in Anspruch nehmen ...*'

(Back translation: Each/every citizen of the Union can, in the sovereign territory of a third country in which his country of origin is not represented, claim diplomatic and consular protection

NL: *‘Iedere burger van de Unie die zich op het grondgebied van een derde land bevindt waar zijn eigen lidstaat niet vertegenwoordigd is, geniet de bescherming van de diplomatieke en consulaire instanties...’*

(Back translation: Each/every citizen of the Union who finds himself on the territory of a third country where his own Member State is not represented enjoys the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities ...)

The provision states that citizens are entitled to the diplomatic or consular protection provided by any other EU Member State on the same conditions as nationals of that State. Initially, it appears that all language versions are interpreting the beginning of this provision in the same way, i.e. ‘all/every/each’ Union citizen(s) have this entitlement; however, on closer inspection there is a subtle difference in conceptualization in the EN version only - it does not use the unequivocal quantifier ‘all’ citizens, but instead uses the indefinite article: ‘A Union citizen ...’. There is thus an absence of the collective inclusion inference, encoded in the ‘all/every/each’ Union citizen(s) references in the other language versions (*tout citoyen, jeder Unionsbürger* and *iedere burger*). The notion of the citizen therefore appears more distanced from the collective and inclusive Union of ‘every citizen’. Given that the alternative lexical choice of ‘all/every’ citizen(s) is not ruled out linguistically, one could speculate as to whether this EN drafting decision was at least partly based on considerations beyond linguistic choice. The notion of non-inclusivity in a collective (i.e. the EU) is also reinforced in the EN version by the phrase ‘non-EU country’. This is in contrast to the more inclusive ‘third country/state’ expression used consistently by the other languages. In the EN version, the fact that these countries are excluded from the EU is emphasized, while the inclusive protection provided to those who do enjoy EU membership (the opposite of non-EU) is, by inference, also underlined.³⁸ The other language versions do not foreground the notion of exclusion as these ‘non-EU’

³⁸ This is a striking feature in the EN version, particularly against the background of the much documented long history of British Euro-scepticism, superiority, Island mentality and mistrust of EU ideologies: e.g. a somewhat ‘tortured’ and ‘princess and the pea’ relationship with the EU (Gaber 2013); Britain as the ‘Awkward Partner’ to the rest of Europe (The Economist 2010; Buller 1995; George 1990). Moreover, Adriaan Schout, Deputy Director Research / Europe, at Clingendael, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, commented on *Twitter* that the British had now acquired the ridiculous streak of thinking that they could tell the €-countries what to do: ‘you more EU; we less’ (Schout - @adriaanschout - 2014).

countries are referred to as simply not having a *direct* relationship with the EU. This is denoted by the qualification ‘third’ (i.e. compare a ‘third party’ - involved on the periphery but not completely excluded from a relationship).

A further example from the literature on Langacker’s interpretation of conceptualization demonstrates how describing a glass as either ‘half full’ or ‘half empty’ produces a definite ‘subjectification’ of perspective; and therefore considerably affects the conceptualization of the ‘glass’. In the first instance, the potential to be completely full is emphasized; in the second instance, the inadequacy at not achieving ‘fullness’ (as it is half empty) is highlighted (Langacker 2008: 295).

Subjective perspective can also be applied to the notion of cross-lingual conceptualization. A second extract (Example 4 below) from Document 1 of the corpus, Commission Communication 262 (stage A), states in the four language versions:

Example 4

EN: ‘In this area without internal borders citizens can move freely and enjoy their rights fully.’

FR: ‘*Les citoyens peuvent circuler librement et jouir pleinement de leurs droits dans cet espace sans frontières internes.*’

(Back translation: (The)³⁹ citizens can move freely and enjoy their rights fully in this area without internal borders.)

³⁹ In French the definite article is grammatically required, whereas this is not necessarily the case for German and Dutch, or English. In these three languages it is acceptable to refer to the plural noun *citizens* with or without a definite article; nevertheless, the inclusion of a definite article in the DE and NL versions and its absence in the EN version does change the perspective on the scene. Not using a definite article in EN normally denotes general ideas, plurals or uncountable nouns; on the other hand, use of a definite article signals that it is clear or obvious which persons or things are being referred to. It could therefore be argued that: (1) the EN version is less discursively clear that these citizens are of a particular type, i.e. European ones; and (2) the DE and NL versions have followed the FR version, even though they could have omitted the definite article – they thus achieve the same level of clarity that it is European citizens and not simply citizens in general that are being denoted.

DE: *‘In diesem Raum ohne Binnengrenzen können sich die Bürger frei bewegen und ihre Rechte uneingeschränkt ausüben.’*

(Back translation: In this area without internal borders (the) citizens can move freely and exercise their rights without restriction.)

NL: *‘De burgers kunnen zich binnen deze ruimte zonder binnengrenzen vrij verplaatsen en hun rechten uitoefenen.’*

(Back translation: (The) citizens can move freely and exercise their rights within this area without internal borders.)

While the other language versions express the ability to enjoy rights using the semantic domain *fully*, the DE version is construed differently using the semantic domain *uneingeschränkt* (unrestrictedly/without restriction). Although its ideational⁴⁰ meaning is very similar to *fully*, the notion of enjoying rights ‘unrestrictedly’ presents the exercise of these rights from a different perspective. This is because it foregrounds the wish to be free from restriction of rights rather than to take possession of rights (fully). Ownership of rights is thus more assumed when the prospect of restriction is mentioned, as this further qualifies the way in which rights are to be enjoyed; it is then also inferred that full ownership of rights already exists. A further interesting aspect is the complete omission in the NL version of a lexical item corresponding to *either* ‘fully’ or ‘unrestrictedly’. No qualification of the nature of citizens’ rights is then offered here. Presumably, ‘full’ exercise of rights is implicit, as the extent to which rights may be exercised is not a focus at all.

Thus, linguistic expression does not necessarily evoke ‘neutrality’ but may encompass a particular ‘vantage point’ or ‘viewing relationship’ (Langacker (1999: 297) by which the speaker (writer/drafter) places his or her subjective stamp on the discourse.

⁴⁰ According to Halliday’s three categories of meaning, the first, ‘ideational’ meaning, refers to how we represent or make sense of what is happening in the world through the expression of ideas and concepts. In this context, the adverbs ‘fully’ and ‘unrestrictedly’ both function as conceptual descriptions of fulfilling maximum potential for, in this case, the exercise of rights.

In the above case, this viewing relationship (or perspective) was the difference between evoking the semantic frame of ‘restriction’ or ‘fullness’ - or indeed omitting any adverbial qualifier completely from the perspective of enjoying rights. Hence, the conceptual perspective of a situation is always *construed* ‘in some specific fashion’ from the many alternatives available (Langacker 1999: 206). It is these ‘alternatives’⁴¹ which lie at the crux of the relationship between conceptualization and (translational/linguistic) equivalence.

For this analysis, the notion of alternatives is of significance because alternative versions of construal can come about in a number of ways. As the analysis deals with a comparison of four languages, there are necessarily alternatives that occur because different concepts are expressed in different ways either lexically and/or grammatically depending on the language under consideration. For example, an alternative available in one language may be lexically or grammatically not possible or problematic in another. There is of course also the question of speaker/writer/drafter style or preference and how much this influences the lexical and grammatical alternatives which appear in the parallel languages. There is then also the question of cross-lingual alternatives that come about through the imposition of EU institutional house style, e.g. stipulations of sentence and clause length. For instance, EU documentation production dictates that all clauses in parallel multilingual versions must be the same uniform length; this could lead to certain alternatives that - under a less restrictive textual and linguistic regime - may not necessarily have been selected. There is also the issue of machine translation and the use of translation memories which automatically suggest that the translator or drafter conforms to usual or accepted versions of expressions (or even whole clauses) in one or another language. All these factors impinge on the cross-lingual alternatives that are present in parallel EU documentation. However, it is not the aim of this thesis to investigate into precisely by what means or for what reason, by whom and when such alternatives are created and/or perpetuated in texts. This thesis will take the presence of cross-lingual alternatives as a given (for reasons such as stated above); its primary

⁴¹ While Langacker’s interpretation of grammatical and lexical variation is expressed as ‘alternatives’, it is not the intention of this thesis to discuss the role of choice, decision-making or agency involved in this. By ‘alternatives’ the writer only wishes to flag up the possibilities for conveying varying conceptual perspectives or viewpoints through different lexico-grammatical construal mechanisms, as well as the implications for cross-lingual conceptual equivalence.

aim will be to explore, analyse and compare within the context of the diverse mental representations that are construed, as well as attempting to define what the relationship of these alternatives may be to one another. Alternative mental representations of key discursive concepts are of particular significance to the question of conceptual equivalence and in how far the same message is portrayed in each multiply authentic language version; and the extent to which this equivalence occurs or not is crucial to the EU's ideal of linguistic equality and democracy among all official working languages.

2.3.3 Conceptualization as the Expression of Space, Time and Modality

The sections above established that the unique nature of construal in an expression can reveal cross-lingual differences in the conceptualization of narrative features by constructing a subjective linguistic scene or 'viewing arrangement' (Langacker 1999: 206). This section will build on Langacker's 'subjectification' in order to develop a more specific analytic tool for measuring spatial relationships within a discourse narrative; it will consider, in particular, the expression of space, time and modality. The Discourse Space Theory (DST) suggested by Chilton (2004) offers a framework of analysis for measuring these relationships as a function of proximity and distance from an ideational *deictic centre* along a spatial axis. The following subsections will firstly introduce Chilton's theory and will then go on to illustrate how this can be applied to the cross-lingual data in the corpus to explore spatial relationships (space, time and modality) and the extent of their *conceptual equivalence* to one another.

Discourse Space Theory (DST)

Chilton's Discourse Space Theory (2004) analyses the relational positioning of a number of discourse features or elements along the axes of *space*, *time* and *modality*. Traditionally, the underlying linguistic assumptions relating to the concepts of *deixis* (spatial and temporal conceptualization)⁴² and *epistemic* (degrees of certainty or confidence in the truth of a proposition) and *deontic* (expressions of obligation, moral

⁴² e.g. Levinson and Wilkins 2006; Cummings 2005; Green 1995; Levinson 1983; Lyons 1982

judgement, permission and volition) *modality*⁴³ have been bounded within relatively strict theoretical frameworks. However, for the purposes of the analysis in this thesis, these concepts will be interpreted in their broadest sense in line with accepted methods of analytical description used by practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this context, I refer particularly to the exponent of CDA Paul Chilton, and his work on Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004: 56-61).⁴⁴

The CDA approach, which is discussed in section 2.5 of this chapter, attempts to link micro-linguistic discourse features to the expression of ideology (the macro discourse); in terms of Chilton's Discourse Space Theory (DST), discourse spaces can be categorized as both 'ideational and ideological constructions in which people, objects, events, processes and states of affairs in the text world are conceptualised' along the three axes of 'space, time and modality' (Hart 2010: 118). In other words, any CDA-oriented ontology of discourse space construction takes into account both the ideational (how the speaker linguistically and/or discursively conceptualizes the world) and the ideological (the political and/or economic beliefs or principles that underlie this conceptualization of the world). Thus, the ideational parameter relates to the micro discourse (the lexico-grammatical construal mechanisms operative in the text) and the ideological parameter relates to the macro discourse (the possible underlying beliefs conveyed by these construal mechanisms).

The Spatial Axis

Spatial deictic expressions operate on a scale of proximity and remoteness, where expressions such as 'here' and the personal pronouns 'we', 'us' and 'our' are located at the deictic centre (the closest in proximity possible to the 'self'). Conversely,

⁴³ e.g. Sanders and Spooren 1997; Bybee and Fleischman 1995; Coates 1995; Myhill and Smith 1995; Ducrot 1993; Palmer 1986

⁴⁴ The three main differences between Chilton's approach to modality and deixis and former approaches are as follows: (1) Chilton interprets epistemic modality not only as degrees of (im)possibility or (un)certainly but also as the speaker's degree of belief in that (im)possibility or (un)certainly – i.e. the speaker assesses the nature of truth (what he or she believes or judges to be true or not true (false)); (2) deontic modality is extended beyond the expression of obligation itself to include also the (moral) judgement of that obligation – the speaker assesses what is (morally) right; (3) both (1) and (2) – epistemic and deontic modality – are interpreted according to their distance from a modal deictic self (centre) – the closer to deictic self the speaker is, the greater the belief in the truth and/or (moral) rightness of a proposition (the further away, the weaker that belief is). The subsection below entitled 'The Modal Axis' illustrates these aspects of Chilton's theory in more detail. Two further subsections also provide discussion of this: 'The Political Discourse World' and 'Modality as a Spatial Spectrum Revisited'.

expressions like ‘there’, and the personal pronouns ‘they’, ‘them’ and ‘their’ are found at the remotest end of the scale, the furthest from the deictic ‘self’. In political discourse, deictic centre is not necessarily interpreted as ‘geographical distance’ but more as ‘geopolitical or cultural “distance”’ (Hart 2010: 119).

The Temporal Axis

The time axis finds its origin in ‘the time of speaking’, in other words the ‘now’ of the discourse event (Chilton 2004: 58). Again, ‘distance’ from the deictic centre does not necessarily denote the passage of real time; an event in the past or a state of affairs that is being predicted may be ‘positioned’ at closer proximity to the deictic centre to increase its salience (focus of attention) or to create an air of ‘imminence’ (Hart 2010: 120). For example, the expressions *emerging* and *ongoing* both denote action in the present; however, an *ongoing* crisis will also be expected to continue into the future whereas an *emerging* crisis is only understood to have found its genesis in the past and continues to develop in the present - nothing is yet known about its ability to go forward into the future. An *ongoing* crisis thus travels beyond the present of the discourse event or time of speaking and becomes distal from the deictic centre of now; an *emerging* crisis remains equidistant from the past and future of the deictic centre of now. The same effect can be achieved using different verb tenses. For instance, if a crisis *is emerging* (present continuous) it is at the deictic centre of present time; a crisis that *has emerged* (present perfect) started in the past and continues into the present, but a crisis that only *emerged* (past simple) started and remains in the past; on the other hand, a crisis that *will emerge* (future) originates at the temporal deictic centre (present time) and proceeds to a distal future position along the time axis.⁴⁵

The Modal Axis

According to Chilton’s model, the modality axis further extends the interpretation of the ‘*here and now*’ of the discourse self to encompass ‘the origin of the epistemic *true*

⁴⁵ It should be noted here that a similar example in FR using the *passé composé* may cover both ‘emerged’ and ‘has emerged’ as equivalents in EN. This would then create a degree of ambivalence; the FR version could be interpreted as expressing action either originating in the past and continuing into the present or simply originating in the past and remaining there. This is a good example of a possible shift or ambiguity in deictic centre (for time) in a cross-lingual comparison.

and the deontic *right*'. Developing this, the epistemic refers more specifically to the expression of 'degrees of certainty' and the deontic to notions of 'permission and obligation' or 'negation' (Chilton 2004: 59). However, Chilton's discourse space model also supplements received wisdom on the categorizations of modality into these broad categories; it suggests that, as in the case of 'space and time and social relations', modality appears to be also conceptualized according to 'remoteness' (Chilton 2004: 59). This means that assertions of varying degrees of belief in truth or falsity can also include expressions that infer modal remoteness both lexically and metaphorically, such as: 'far from the truth' or 'approach the truth'. Likewise, mood (i.e. conditional sentences) may also play a role in the modelling of 'the remote part of the modality scale' of expression; conditionality (e.g. *could* as opposed to *can*) contributes to the construction of 'counterfactuality' - what is or may be untrue - and 'irreality' - what is not real or is an imagined reality (ibid).

Ideational and Ideological Parameters in Discourse

The following brief commentary on two data segments from the corpus (Example 5 below) illustrates how both ideational and ideological parameters are evident in the discourse narrative of citizenship. The two segments are from the EN version of the introductory sections in Document 1, Commission Communication COM 262, and Document 2, Council Programme C115, respectively; they concern the theme of citizens and their relationship to the European Union.

Example 5 – Citizens and the European Union

COM 262	C 115
<p>PEOPLE want to live in a European Union that is prosperous and peaceful, where their rights are respected and their security protected.</p>	<p>The European Council reaffirms the priority it attaches to the development of an area of freedom, security and justice, responding to a central concern of the PEOPLES of the States brought together in the Union.</p>

The *ideational* parameter relating to space in segment COM 262 is that security is desired by citizens (people) living *in* the European Union. The Union is a static

container in which people live and these people are not defined as separate entities; this is in accordance with the supranational⁴⁶ *ideological* view of the European Commission that European citizenship relates primarily to membership of Europe and not to that of an individual Member State. However, in segment C 115, the *ideational* parameter changes in that these people are now conceptualized as having been brought together (within their respective Member States) dynamically *into* the collective space of the Union: 'peoples of the States brought together in the Union'; they are therefore originally separate entities that are now explicitly united by the intergovernmental⁴⁷ *ideological* voice of the European Council. Thus, the notion of discourse space from a CDA perspective takes into account: both (1) the precise linguistic expression (or construal, following Langacker) used to construct an *ideational* conceptual space (the micro discourse); and (2) the influence that this expression may have on the *ideological* interpretation of the discourse narrative conveyed (the macro discourse).

The significance of the Commission as a *supranational* institutional voice and the Council as an *intergovernmental*⁴⁸ one is that this difference appears to change the ideational construal of the discourse. The supranational perspective (Commission) promotes European membership as a whole - and European citizens primarily as

⁴⁶ The online OED gives the following definitions of (1) supranational and (2) supranationalism, respectively:

- (1) 'Having power or influence that overrides or transcends national boundaries, governments, or institutions'.
- (2) 'political activity or governance at a level higher than that of the nation state'.

Accessed on 18/07/2013 at:

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/194766?redirectedFrom=supranational#eid>

⁴⁷ Political cooperation between individual Member States as a collective of separate national governments

⁴⁸ The categories of 'supranationalism' and 'intergovernmentalism' used here to describe the political ideologies of the European Commission and the European Council, respectively, are deductive rather than inductive.

The European Commission's webpage states that it 'represents the interests of the EU as a whole. It proposes new legislation to the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, and it ensures that EU law is correctly applied by member countries.' It is therefore a supranational institution. Accessed on 23/07/2013 at: http://ec.europa.eu/atwork/index_en.htm

The European Council's webpage states that it 'defines the general political direction and priorities of the European Union' but also that it 'consists of the Heads of State or Government of the Member States, together with its President and the President of the Commission'. It is therefore an intergovernmental institution. Accessed on 23/07/2013 at: <http://www.european-council.europa.eu/the-institution?lang=en>

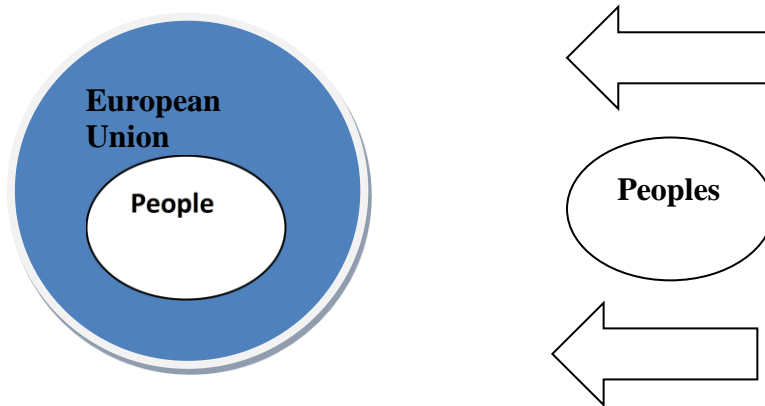
individuals rather than as citizens of their own Member States. The intergovernmental perspective emphasizes that peoples (citizens) are European citizens by virtue of being those peoples of the States that are themselves members of the Union. Thus, a close reading of the micro discourses suggests that the ideational voices of Commission and Council are construed differently. This in turn also affects the macro discourses which project the ideological voices of Commission and Council; these are, respectively, Europe as a collective of individual European citizens and Europe as a collective of States of whom the peoples are European citizens.

Therefore, as we have seen from the example above, a certain ideational description of a discourse space (i.e. the difference between people(s) being either already contained *in* the European Union or being brought (together) *into* the Union from outside) enables a certain ideological ‘representation of the “narrative” to be constructed’ in that discourse (Hart 2010: 118). It is this narrative construction within discourse that Werth (1999) - and later Gavins (2007) - have referred to previously as a ‘text world’; this will also be referred to here as a ‘discourse world’ in line with Chilton’s (2004) interpretation of discourse within the context of discourse space theory. More precisely, spaces that are built within the discourse world (i.e. in this case the space either within or outside the Union) are mental representations of an ideological viewpoint within the discourse space. These mental representations form the ideational parameter of meaning and serve only to provide a position or coordinate (within or outside a container represented by the European Union); the discourse space defined by these mental representations then conveys the ideological parameter of meaning. In other words, the discourse space contains the precise discursive construal mechanisms that further label (or metarepresent) the ideational world view of the speaker (or indeed writer or drafter, in this case).

As we have already indicated, in Chilton’s 2004 Discourse Space Theory (DST), the ideational view of the world is denoted by the three specific coordinates of space, time and modality. Discourse spaces are mental ‘metarepresentations’ (Sperber 2000) that are labelled according to a ‘conceptual structure consisting of three intersecting axes’ (space, time and modality) ‘along which entities given explicitly or implicitly in discourse are “positioned”’ (Hart 2010: 118).

The following diagram (Figure 1) depicts the two different discourse space constructions represented above in Example 5 (Commission COM 262 and Council C115).

Figure 1



COM 262	People want to live IN a European Union ...	C 115	Peoples of the States BROUGHT TOGETHER IN the Union ...
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The Political Discourse World

Discourse Space Theory relates particularly to the political realm; it is thus an overarching notion that in the genre of political speeches, for example, ‘space, geography and territory somehow enter deeply into the use of language in general and into the political use of language in particular’ (Chilton 2004: 138). Taking this further, the discourse process enables readers/hearers to use language to construct ‘discourse worlds (‘conceptual domains’ or ‘ontological spaces’)⁴⁹, which carry a deictic ‘signature’ for space, time and modality, and relationships among them’ (Chilton 2004: 138). Moreover, it is where these three axes of space, time and modality intersect (the *deictic centre*) that is the ‘anchoring point’ of the ‘discourse

⁴⁹ Chilton uses the terms ‘conceptual domains’ and ‘ontological spaces’ to further define his understanding of discourse worlds as constructs in which the specific nature or being of conceptual space is categorized and construed by speakers and interpreted by hearers.

event' and this is also where speakers/producers of discourse locate or position the self (Hart 2010: 118).

Space and Time in Discourse: *Deictic Centre(s)*

The fundamental pre-requisite for defining how spatial relationships are constructed in discourse is the ability to 'unpack' the lexico-grammatical construal mechanisms that are operative in creating closeness to or remoteness from what is referred to as the *deictic centre*. At its most basic level, a *deictic centre* is the deictic 'I', or 'self' or the 'here and now' of the speaker's discourse world⁵⁰ (for deixis and Discourse Space Theory in particular, see also Chilton 2004: 56). The relationship of the deictic centre to the addressee or recipient of the discourse event is therefore of crucial importance in building spatial and temporal relationships within that discourse. In spoken or informal discourse, a spatial relationship is typically denoted by the first or second person personal pronouns (I, we or you) as these are located at the linguistic centre or origin of self, or self in relation to the 'other' (i.e. the 'you' as distinct from the 'I' or the 'we'). Thus, in order to describe a spatially deictic relationship between two entities in a discourse, one of which resides at the *deictic centre* (the speaker), it must be possible to: (1) clearly assign the role of speaker; and (2) assess the speaker's closeness to or remoteness from other actors, entities or states of affairs in the discourse relationship. Depending on the coordinates of the speaker and other entities in the discourse (i.e. the citizen or citizens and the literal geographical and/or figurative position of Europe in comparison to the speaker), the *deictic centre* can also shift either direction or position; this is then also possible across languages, as we have said that cross-lingual grammatical and/or lexical construal mechanisms (which govern the positioning of, in this case, the speaker, citizen(s) and Europe) can vary considerably. This could then mean that at any given time the speaker, Europe or the citizen(s) are the *deictic centre* but – crucially – not necessarily in all languages in the same way at the same time.

Developing this further, we note here that the analysis in this thesis presents two qualifying factors: the first is that there is essentially no deictic 'I' in the form of a

⁵⁰ e.g. Lyons 1982; Green 1995; Blas Arroyo 2000; Glover 2000; Levinson and Wilkins 2006; Cap 2008

direct speaker. Deictic 'I' in the three documents of the corpus is represented by the institutional 'voices' of the Commission (Documents 1 and 3 – stages A and C) and the Council (Document 2 - stage B); moreover, in keeping with the formality of the text genre (official documentation of the European Union), the singular first person pronoun 'I' is not used and the informal plural first person pronoun 'we' only rarely. Secondly, as we have already indicated, the institutional voice 'I' does not remain stable over the three documents as the speaker is both the European Commission (at stages A and C) and the European Council (at stage B). In addition, as already illustrated in Example 5 above, these speakers are not ideologically comparable as their discourse positions may have different aims: the Commission to promote *supranationality* within Europe and the Council to promote *intergovernmentalism* within Europe. It therefore follows that the *deictic centre* may then at certain junctures also be considered to be the institutional voice (or 'I' speaker/writer/drafter self) of Europe - expressed from a *supranational* perspective at stages A and C (the Commission) and from an *intergovernmental* perspective at stage B (the Council).

Modality as a Spatial Spectrum Revisited

A basic assumption of Chilton's (2004) Discourse Space Theory is that modality may also be interpreted spatially as modal expression is positioned at some point on an axis between: (1) epistemic 'truth' or 'falseness'⁵¹; and (2) deontic 'right' or 'wrong'. In other words, the 'self' can also be viewed as the spatial 'origin' of such truth or rightness. A speaker may convey degrees of 'certainty' through epistemic modality and degrees of 'permission and obligation' or 'negation' through deontic modality (Chilton 2004: 59). More specifically, Chilton argues that the exploration and description of modality in discourse should be extended to also include a spatial spectrum of varying positions and extremities along the (epistemic and deontic) modal axis. Therefore, the precise modal construal mechanisms used in a linguistic expression will convey a particular perspective and determine the extent to which the

⁵¹ Chilton's interpretation of modality as a spatial spectrum relies on the view that 'Self is not only *here* and *now*, but also the origin of the epistemic *true* and the deontic *right*' (Chilton 2004: 59). The traditional interpretation of the epistemic axis is one of certainty, ranging from certain to impossible; however, Chilton does extend this view to include the relative distance or proximity of the self from the expression of truth (certainty) or falsity/negation (impossibility) as regards a particular state of affairs. This is in line with Werth's (1999) *Text Worlds*, in which he describes the epistemic scale as the extent to which a speaker commits to the truth of a proposition, i.e. at the one extreme something can be confidently predicted and at the other it is seen as virtually impossible (Werth 1999: 314-15).

speaker commits to - or aligns ‘self’ with - the truth (reality) or rightness (morality) of a state of affairs. On the one hand, committing to the ‘truth’ of a state of affairs is then seen as ‘the modality of assertion’ and is ‘near to or co-located with Self’; on the other hand, implying that a state of affairs is ‘untrue’, or even inferring its ‘falsity’, is ‘near to or co-located with Other’, thus equating to a modality of negation (Chilton 2004: 59).

Relating DST to the Cross-lingual Data in the Corpus

As outlined above, the data analysis will compare cross-linguistic construal mechanisms positioned along the conceptual axes of space, time and modality. This subsection will now illustrate how Chilton’s framework can be applied to multilingual data samples from a single document only (Document 1, COM 262 at stage A); the commentaries on the data samples will briefly explore the relationship between conceptual equivalences at the multilingual interface of discourse. The three tabulated examples (6–8) below will deal in turn with the *spatial*, *temporal* and *modal axes* of proximity and remoteness.

Example 6 - The spatial axis

Commission Communication 262
<p>PEOPLE want to live in a European Union that is prosperous and peaceful, <u>where</u> their rights are respected and their security protected.⁵²</p>
<p><i>Les CITOYENS veulent vivre dans une Union européenne prospère et pacifique <u>au sein de laquelle</u> leurs droits sont respectés et leur sécurité protégée.</i></p> <p>Back translation: CITIZENS want to live in a prosperous and peaceful European Union <u>within (in the bosom of) which</u> their rights are respected and their security protected.</p>
<p><i>Die MENSCHEN wollen in einer florierenden und friedlichen Europäischen Union leben, <u>in der</u> ihre Rechte respektiert und ihre Sicherheit geschützt werden.</i></p> <p>Back translation: PEOPLE want to live in a prosperous and peaceful European Union, <u>in which</u> their rights are respected and their security protected.</p>

⁵² The conventions used throughout the thesis for tabulated examples are as follows: the text denoting *citizen* or *citizenship* is given in bold capitals and any other text specifically discussed in the analysis is underlined. The EN version of text is not italicized but original language versions in the other three languages (FR, DE and NL) are italicized; their back translations are not.

De **BURGERS** willen leven in een welvarende en vreedzame Europese Unie waarin hun rechten worden geëerbiedigd en hun veiligheid wordt beschermd.

Back translation: **CITIZENS** want to live in a prosperous and peaceful European Union in which their rights are respected and their security is protected.

Space relations between ‘people’ and ‘citizens’ in the European Union

Taking firstly the lexical choices of either *people* (EN and DE) or *citizens* (FR and NL), it can be noted that the reference to people is a lexical distancing from the deictic centre of Europe. This is because citizens are linked to Europe within a wider semantic frame of European citizenship, whereas the more generic term ‘people’ generalizes to and also includes anyone living within the geographical boundaries of the European Union - who may themselves not necessarily be European citizens (i.e. nationals of third countries). This distancing effect is further enhanced in the EN version as it does not employ the grammatically referential subordinate clause beginning ‘in which’ to qualify the ‘containment’ of people/citizens within Europe; however, this *is* employed by the other language versions (*au sein de laquelle* – literally ‘in the bosom of’ - FR; *in der* – literally ‘in which’ - DE; and *waarin* – literally ‘wherein’ – NL). In contrast, as we have said, the spatial coordinate ‘where’ in the EN version does not grammatically specify Europe as a container but merely denotes it as a place or location.

The following Example 7 illustrates how the *temporal axis* (time) can also be explored to reveal cross-lingual differences in the multilingual versions of parallel data segments.

Example 7 - The temporal axis

Commission Communication COM 262

... But **THEY** (**PEOPLE** from Example 1) are disturbed to see that the context of stability and security that has prevailed in Europe in recent years is threatened by worldwide developments.

... **ILS** (**CITOYENS** from Example 1) *sont cependant inquiets de voir que le contexte de stabilité et sécurité qui a prévalu en Europe ces dernières années est menacé par des crises et des phénomènes globaux.*

Back translation: ... **THEY (CITIZENS** from Example 1) are however anxious to see that the context of stability and security which has prevailed in Europe these last years is (being) threatened by global crises and phenomena.

.... *Mit einer gewissen Sorge nehmen SIE (MENSCHEN* from Example 1) *daher zur Kenntnis, dass die in den vergangenen Jahren in Europa erreichte Stabilität und Sicherheit durch eine Reihe weltweiter Krisen und anderer Phänomene in Frage gestellt werden.*

Back translation: ... With a certain concern **THEY (PEOPLE** from Example 1) take note that the stability and security reached/achieved in Europe in the past years is being brought into question by a series of worldwide crises and other phenomena.

... *ZIJ (BURGERS* from Example 1) *zijn echter ongerust nu zij zien dat de stabiliteit en de veiligheid die de afgelopen jaren in Europa heersten, worden bedreigd door crisissen en mondiale problemen.*

Back translation: ... **THEY (CITIZENS** from Example 1) are however uneasy now they see that the stability and security that prevailed in Europe the past (few) years is (being) threatened by crises and global problems.

Temporal distance from past status quo of stability and security

The deictic time frames used to indicate distance between the past ‘context of stability and security’ and the ‘here and now’ of the threat to this stability and security differ over language versions and this is signalled in two ways: (1) tense (and aspect); and (2) adverbial phrases of time. For example, with respect to the threat to stability and security, the EN and FR versions both use the present perfect tense (‘the context of stability and security that has prevailed’/‘*qui a prévalu*’). This suggests grammatically that the action of ‘prevailing’ started in the past at an indefinite time (nearer to the present time than a simple past tense – ‘prevailed’ - would indicate) and is still pointing to or continuing into the present; we note here that in FR there is no simple past so construal is ambivalent as the ‘prevailing’ could be either finished or continuing action that started in the past. Nevertheless, the adverbial phrases ‘in recent years’ and ‘*ces dernières années*’ - these last (few) years - do in fact both indicate that the prevailing continues into the approximate present; both ‘recent’ and ‘*dernières*’ suggest that the past is a relatively near past.

However, the DE and NL versions infer that this state of ‘stability and security’ is further in the past than suggested by the EN and FR segments. This is achieved by the lexical item ‘past’ expressed adverbially in both languages: in NL, ‘*de afgelopen jaren*’ – the past/’finished’ years); and in DE, ‘*in den vergangenen Jahren*’ – in

past/'gone by' years. This is then compounded by the past participle *erreichte* contained in the attributive adjunct in the DE version: '*die ... in Europa erreichte Stabilität und Sicherheit ...*' – the ... in Europe reached/achieved stability and security. 'Pastness' is further denoted by the verb *erreichen* (reached/achieved) which conveys the sense of a completed action. Moreover, the NL version also denotes pastness through the simple past tense: '*de stabiliteit en de veiligheid die ... in Europa heersten*' – the stability and the security that ... in Europe prevailed. In contrast to the present perfect tense used in the EN and FR discussed above, the simple past infers a state of affairs that occurred in the past and does not point or continue into the present time. Thus, the DE and NL conceptualizations of the scene suggest that the context of stability is further back in the past than inferred in the FR and EN versions.

It is also worth noting one semantic feature which is unique to the NL text. This version is the only one that uses a temporal conjunction ('*nu*' – now). This anchors the uneasiness/anxiety of citizens (at seeing that past stability and security are being threatened by crises and global problems) in the here and now of the present. Therefore, the statement of threat is afforded a greater immediacy and urgency than in the other language versions, where no temporal conjunctions are used.

Example 8 below demonstrates how exploring the *modal axis* may reveal conceptual discrepancies cross-lingually on a close reading of the data segments.

Example 8 - The modal axis

Commission Communication COM 262
<p>Entitlement to protection in <u>non-member countries</u></p> <p>A Union CITIZEN travelling to or living <u>in a non-EU country</u> where <u>his or her Member State</u> is not represented <u>is entitled to</u> protection by the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State.</p>
<p><i>Bénéficiaire d'une protection dans les <u>pays tiers</u></i></p> <p>Tout CITOYEN de l'Union se trouvant <u>dans un pays tiers</u> où <u>son propre État membre</u> n'est pas représenté <u>a droit à une protection</u> de la part des autorités diplomatiques et consulaires de tout autre État membre, dans les mêmes conditions que les nationaux de cet État.</p>

Back translation:

Benefiting from protection in third countries

All//any/every **CITIZEN(S)** of the Union finding themselves in a third country where their own Member State is not represented has the right to protection on the part of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any other Member State, on the same conditions as the nationals of that State.

Schutz in Drittländern

Jeder UnionsBÜRGER kann im Hoheitsgebiet eines Drittstaates, in dem sein Herkunftsmitgliedstaat nicht vertreten ist, den diplomatischen und konsularischen Schutz eines jeden anderen Mitgliedstaates in Anspruch nehmen, und zwar unter denselben Bedingungen wie Staatsangehörige dieses Staates.

Back translation:

Protection in third countries

Any/every/each Union **CITIZEN** can in the (sovereign) territory of a third state, in which his Member State of origin is not represented, claim/appeal to the diplomatic and consular protection of any other Member State, and indeed under the same conditions as nationals of that State.

Bescherming in derde landen

Iedere BÜRGER van de Unie die zich op het grondgebied van een derde land bevindt waar zijn eigen lidstaat niet vertegenwoordigd is, geniet de bescherming van de diplomatieke en consulaire instanties van iedere andere lidstaat, onder dezelfde voorwaarden als de onderdanen van die lidstaat.

Back translation:

Protection in third countries

Every/each **CITIZEN** of the Union who finds him/herself on the territory of a third country where his/her own Member State is not represented enjoys the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any/every other Member State, under the same conditions as the subjects of that Member State.

Receiving diplomatic and consular protection: Epistemic (un)certainty

The main focus of the statement relating to diplomatic and consular protection in countries other than those within the European Union is the expression of citizen ‘entitlement’ to this protection. While the notion of entitlement is, from a conceptual viewpoint, strongly related to what is ‘right’, deontic modals such as ‘should’ or ‘must’ are not employed in these language segments. In three language versions (EN, FR and NL), entitlement is stated by the speaker in a declarative construction. This is signalled in a relatively homogenous manner in the EN and FR versions, as a Union citizen ‘is entitled to’ and all/any/every citizen(s) ‘*a droit à*’ (has the right to) this protection; however, in the NL version every/each citizen of the Union ‘*geniet*’ (enjoys) this protection. While we have already said that no true modality is being

employed here, the difference in construal between (1) the EN and FR versions and (2) the NL version does introduce more doubt on the part of the statements in EN and FR. This is because citizens in these versions are only described as ‘being entitled to’ or ‘having the right to’ diplomatic and consular protection. Conversely, in the NL version this right is said to be ‘enjoyed’ by citizens, i.e. it is presented as a factive state of affairs; whereas in the other two versions the entitlement or right exists, there is no indication linguistically that this state of affairs (entitlement) actually leads to receiving (enjoying) such a right. Thus, in a sense, there is epistemic uncertainty as to the truth of the statement as compared to the certainty conveyed in the NL linguistic representation.

Taking the discussion of epistemic (un)certainty further, the DE version is particularly salient as here true modality is present through the use of the modal verb *können* (can/to be able to); any/every/each Union citizen *kann* (can/is able to) claim the protection of any other Member State. The DE version therefore reinforces the differences in epistemic (un)certainty already inferred between the EN and FR and the NL versions, respectively. The introduction of *kann* suggests that claiming protection is only a possibility that is open to citizens and that it may not necessarily always be the case. The DE text thus locates itself much further towards the opposite end of the modal axis (a degree of doubt and uncertainty) in comparison to the declarative statement (factivity) expressed in the NL version.

In conclusion, the close reading of examples 6 to 8 set out above has shown that relationships of conceptual equivalence (in terms of space, time and modality) are subject to variation at the multilingual interface of discourse. The following main section (2.4) will now outline how these relationships of conceptual equivalence and non-equivalence can be classified as, respectively, *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension*;⁵³ it will do so by discussing the semantic-pragmatic distinction and how this relates to the pragmatic notions of space, time and modality.

⁵³ The terms *semantic-pragmatic harmony* and *semantic-pragmatic tension* are the author’s own and have not been directly derived from literature sources in the field.

2.4 The Semantic-Pragmatic Distinction

As long ago as the 1970s, a branch of linguistic analysis started to explore the conceptual representation of language in discourse in specific real-life contexts. Through the next few decades, this field developed from what was first known as critical linguistics (e.g. Fairclough 1992) into the specific field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). At this point notions of cognitive linguistics also began to be incorporated to achieve an understanding of discourse as social practice⁵⁴ and the focus shifted from theorizing about language and linguistic structure in a vacuum to the analysis of data from living discourses.

In order to explain differences in lexico-syntactic arrangements used by speakers to describe the same state of affairs, it was noted that at one level one could point to semantic equivalence between alternative linguistic arrangements and yet, at another level of analysis, this equivalence did not hold true (Van Dijk 1977: 207). This was because:

‘Apparently there are various morpho-syntactic ways to express the ‘same’ information about an ordered sequence of facts ... In other words, the different expressions are semantically equivalent at least in one sense of semantic equivalence: they have the same truth conditions. ... [...] The differences appear both between sentences with distinct syntactic structure and between sentences and sequences.’

(Van Dijk 1977: 207)

Example 9 provides a simple illustration of this. Consider the following two sentences:

Example 9

- (1) A proactive policy for *legal immigrants* in the EU should be implemented *without delay*.
- (2) A proactive policy for *migrants* in the EU should be implemented *immediately*.

⁵⁴ e.g. Weiss and Wodak 2003; Hart 2010

Both sentences have the same two truth conditions. Firstly, anyone who has a legal right may enter the EU (this includes both immigrants from outside the EU who have been given legal dispensation to do so and those who are EU citizens and thus fall under European free movement law). However, in sentence (1) the reference to ‘legal’ as a somewhat unusual collocation with ‘immigrants’ (normally associated with *illegality*) raises the whole question of legality and illegality, which is not the case in sentence (2). Secondly, both sentences imply that the policy must be implemented straight away. However, in sentence (1) the expression ‘without delay’ implies that a delay may be a possibility or risk, whereas this is not the case in sentence (2).

This perceived distinction between semantic equivalence and types of expression that suggest semantic non-equivalence lies at the crux of the field of pragmatics. Consequently, linguistic enquiry pertaining to this gap in semantic equivalence, where pragmatic or context-related elements of discourse play a role in re-interpreting or inferring alternative meanings, has come to be known as the semantic-pragmatic interface.⁵⁵ Two comments provided by Levinson (1983: pp. 12 and 21 respectively below) are useful for expressing one view of the semantic-pragmatic interface as interpreted by many practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) - the study of language in context as social practice. Pragmatics refers to: (1) ‘aspects of meaning not captured in a semantic theory’ (Levinson 1983: 12); and (2) ‘the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding’ (Levinson 1983: 21). Both these comments imply that interpreting linguistic expression requires far more than simply being able to understand ‘the meanings of the words uttered and the grammatical relations between them’; it also necessarily entails the ability to infer meaning in context and ‘connect what is said to what is mutually assumed or what has been said before’ (Levinson 1983: 21).

⁵⁵ e.g. Bach 1999; Carston 1999.

NB: The semantic-pragmatic interface and the multilingual interface are used in this thesis as two completely separate conventions. The semantic-pragmatic interface is an established paradigm in linguistics; it refers to the alternative possibilities of meaning available depending on whether a semantic or pragmatic interpretation of language meaning is deployed. The multilingual interface is a term used in this thesis by the author to describe where parallel language versions intersect to convey the same ‘original’ discourse content as a multilingual and multiply authentic phenomenon. However, this does not rule out the fact that the semantic-pragmatic interface could be significant at the multilingual interface, as cross-lingual differences may cause alternative readings of semantic or pragmatic meanings.

From the perspective of theoretical linguistics, the semantics of natural language may be context-invariant but at the semantic-pragmatic interface (where speakers and hearers interact in social contexts) language is ‘riddled with indexicals’ which cannot be successfully analysed without knowledge of that context (Carston 1999: 87). From this, Carston suggests that a viable interpretation of pragmatics is ‘the formal analysis of indexical expressions’ as any analysis must necessarily make reference to the context in which these expressions are used (Carston 1999: 87). Therefore, one way of accessing and highlighting the behaviour of language at the semantic-pragmatic interface is to explore semantic changes or differences, where these infer alternative interpretations or perspectives within the discourse; in other words, meaning (semantics) becomes pragmatic (meaning in context) when speakers index their assertions based on their own personal ‘knowledge/belief worlds’ (Van Dijk 1977: 227-228).

An example of this, from the EN version of the Commission Communication 262 corpus data (not used in the analysis chapters), is as follows:

Example 10

‘The new programme should [...] make the benefits of the area of freedom, security and justice more tangible to the **ordinary** citizen.’

The focus of our attention here is the qualifying adjective ‘ordinary’ applied to the noun *citizen*, which is only found in the EN version. The parallel texts in FR, DE and NL (not shown here) all reproduce this noun as *citizen* only without any further description of the nature of that citizen. Firstly, there is of course a semantic difference between ‘ordinary citizen’ and ‘citizen’. The first expression highlights that the citizen under discussion is not special but everyday or usual. This is then not highlighted in the other languages. However, if we interpret this as a pragmatic difference, pertaining to meaning in context, we see that the speaker is essentially indexing their assertion about the nature of the citizen according to Van Dijk’s notion of own personal knowledge/belief world. In the belief world of the speaker (EN version only), we then assume that there is a specific need to distinguish the fact that citizens are ordinary; and we may then also assume by association that there are other

types of citizen that are not ordinary. It is perhaps also an indicator of the fact that the notion or lexeme *citizen* alone is not as relevant/potent in discourses in EN as it is in other languages (in this case, FR, DE and NL). This assumption is also supported later in this thesis by footnoted commentary in the Methodology chapter; here the differing historical and socio-political backdrops to the notion of *citizen* and *citizenship* in states using the languages of EN, FR, DE and NL are briefly explored. In this context, we assert that the UK ‘hardly had a concept of citizenship until 1981’ (Craith 2004: 290).

2.4.1 Space, Time and Modality at the Semantic-Pragmatic Interface

Any linguistic phenomena which require reference to context or ‘fail to be fully determined by the (conventional) linguistic meaning of the sentence’ uttered can be seen as subject to the distinction between semantics and pragmatics (Bach 1999: 66) and are therefore located at the semantic-pragmatic interface. Such phenomena cited by Bach include: indexicality; ambiguity; vagueness; and semantic under-determination⁵⁶ (Bach 1999: 66). As already discussed, the notions of space and time in language are indexed by the use of person, place and temporal deixis; within this the referents of an utterance relate to a deictic centre from which the speaker is designated a particular distance (distal or proximal). The use of the first person pronoun ‘we’ or the possessive pronoun ‘our’ denotes closeness to the deictic centre ‘I’ or ‘here’, whereas ‘they’ and ‘their’ and other distancing expressions denote remoteness from this deictic centre. In the same way, expressions of time and indexicality of tense demonstrate the speaker’s relative closeness to or distance from the deictic centre of ‘now’. Thus, typically, a future or past tense will denote forward or backward distance from the ‘now’ of a state of affairs and the use of a present tense will suggest closeness to the ‘now’ of an event along the temporal continuum. Epistemic and deontic modality express degrees of speaker closeness or remoteness

⁵⁶ ‘Semantic underdetermination’ is defined in the *Concise Encyclopaedia of Pragmatics* as ‘conceptual gaps in the outcome of lexicon and grammar [...] the logical form, which is the output of the grammatical processing of a sentence, does not provide the totality of meaning of the proposition expressed by the speaker’ (Mey 2009: 175). This can be understood as the polar opposite of ‘explicitation’ in translation studies, which is defined as ‘a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation’ (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 342).

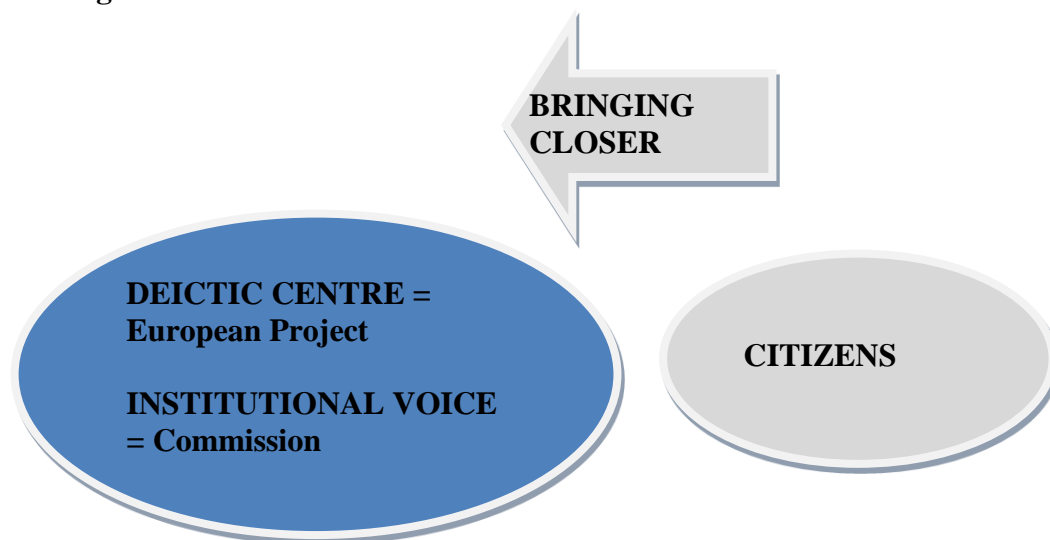
from the assertion of certainty (what is believed to be ‘true’) and (moral) judgement (what is believed to be ‘right’). Such modality can also be further qualified (or indeed reinforced) by a variety of other expressions⁵⁷; these modify the speaker’s degree of commitment to a modal assertion conveyed by modal verbs such as ‘should’, ‘could’ and ‘may’, etc.

In dealing with conceptual representations of space, time and modality in political discourse, Chilton’s (2004) Discourse Space Theory (DST) targets conceptual categories and linguistic phenomena which straddle the gap between semantics and pragmatics referred to as the semantic-pragmatic interface (i.e. where the semantics of discourse in a specific political context affect the interpretation of that discourse). His DST framework is therefore particularly appropriate for exploring conceptualization at the semantic-pragmatic interface of a discourse narrative such as that of European citizenship, which forms the focus of the analysis in this thesis. In the analysis, the main discourse actors are: the European Commission and the European Council (representing two different speaker/writer/drafter voices of Europe, the former supranational and the latter intergovernmental); and the citizen or citizens (also referred to variously as, for example, ‘people’ or ‘Europeans’, or ‘men and women in Europe’, etc.) - these are the actors (citizens, people, Europeans, etc.) who are generally being spoken *about* by the institutional actors of Commission and Council. Depending on the nature of construal in the narrative, the deictic centre can, as we suggested earlier, undergo shifts that are significant for cross-lingual coherence in the discourse.

The diagrams below give an indication of how DST can show the positioning of discourse actors relative to one another and the deictic centre in any given discourse scenario. The data is taken from Commission Action Plan Communication 171. Figure 2 depicts the European project at the deictic centre (the ‘here’ of the speaker) in an EN language discourse segment; Figure 3 illustrates how the deictic centre becomes citizens when construal in the same parallel segment, this time in the DE language, shifts to a different perspective.

⁵⁷ Note, for example, the expression ‘where relevant’ in the following sentence: ‘Measures should be implemented *where relevant*’. The addition of this expression suggests that the moral judgement that it is right and necessary to implement measures is also subject to an evaluation of the relevance of such measures to individual circumstances.

Figure 2

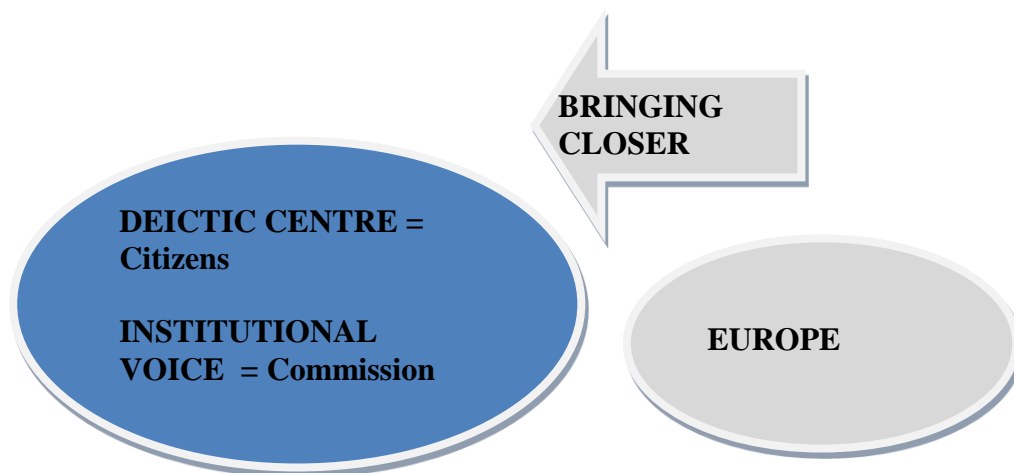


DISCOURSE TEXT:

Facilitating and encouraging citizens' participation in the democratic life of the Union is crucial for **bringing the citizen's (sic) closer to the European project.**

In this EN segment, the deictic centre is mapped, as we have already said, to the place where the speaker's 'here' is located. The verb 'bring' denotes that the speaker is 'here' and that what is being brought (citizens) is located elsewhere outside of the deictic centre. As the action of moving citizens towards the European project also takes place towards the speaker, it also means that the European project is co-located with the speaker at the deictic centre. There is thus distance between: (1) the speaker (the Commission) and the European project; and (2) citizens, respectively.

Figure 3



DISCOURSE TEXT:

Um den Bürgern Europa näher zu bringen, ist es unerlässlich, ihre Teilhabe am demokratischen Leben der Union zu erleichtern und zu fördern. Dass sie sich stärker an den Europawahlen beteiligen, ist unser gemeinsames Bestreben.

Back translation:

In order to bring Europe closer to the citizens, it is essential to facilitate and promote their participation in the democratic life of the Union. That they play a greater part in the European elections is our collective ambition/endeavour.

In this second scenario, the DE construal creates a different discourse perspective and the content of the deictic centre is reversed. Now it is citizens who are co-located at the deictic centre with the institutional speaker (the Commission); and it is Europe that is located outside this deictic centre and is to be brought towards both the speaker and citizens. Thus, citizens are close to the Commission as speaker but distal from Europe; however, in the first EN scenario (Figure 2 above) citizens were distal from the European project and the Commission as institutional speaker.

These two scenarios - in only two of the four languages analysed in this thesis - illustrate how shifts in deictic centre between Europe/the European project and citizens are very real propositions in multilingual parallel data of the type produced by the EU institutions. As we have said, a shift in deictic centre automatically means a shift in the perspective of the speaker's 'here' location. In the two figures above, the speaker was the Commission, an institutional voice which would be expected to remain stable in its discourse perspective over any parallel language content. However, this was not the case. In the first scenario (EN) the speaker located self with the European project and was distal from citizens; in the second scenario (DE) the speaker located self with citizens and was distal from Europe. While these examples remain essentially a linguistic exercise, it is still of significance that different discourse positions on EU policy are being taken in different language versions. More importantly, these language versions are intended to be multiply authentic as one single text content; this would be impossible here as discourse actors are located in different places in relation to one another and the speaker views the

scene from different perspectives. One may then wonder what the effect of hybrid text production would be over all 24 multilingual versions, given that our discussion here concerned only two of these languages. It is to this multilingual level that we now turn our attention in the next section.

2.4.2 The Semantic-Pragmatic Interface and the Multilingual Level

Section 2.4 and subsection 2.4.1 have established both the nature of the semantic-pragmatic interface and its relevance to the phenomena of space, time and modality in discourse. This section will argue that a multilingual level of this semantic-pragmatic interface is of particular interest in analysing cross-lingual data from multilingual organizations such as the European Union. As explained earlier in this thesis, the EU's policy on multilingualism states that all documentation of the Union carries 'multiple authenticity', from which one may assume that some degree of semantic equivalence is desired. However, multilingualism naturally produces parallel texts in different languages with different linguistic systems; and each of these texts is necessarily subject to the alternative lexico-syntactic expressions designated to a particular piece of discourse in that particular language. Thus, a variety of 'translational' arrangements are produced across languages in which the phenomena of space, time and modality may be assessed for conceptual equivalence (i.e. to what extent a semantic change or alternative may lead to a pragmatic or context-related inference in one language and not in another or others). This multilingual data is therefore a particularly fertile ground for homing in on what will be referred to in this thesis as *semantic-pragmatic harmony* (conceptual equivalence) and *semantic-pragmatic tension* (conceptual non-equivalence)⁵⁸ at the multilingual interface.⁵⁹

From the point of view of translation studies, however, reproducing deictic construal and modal expression across languages is subject to transfer procedures which do not

⁵⁸ For the purposes of categorization, semantic-pragmatic harmony and tension are defined as binary opposites (i.e. conceptual equivalence and non-equivalence). However, in reality it is of course also possible for data segments to exhibit *part* tensions and *part* harmonies across language versions.

⁵⁹ To reiterate, the multilingual interface is understood to mean the intersection of parallel language versions conveying the same 'original' discourse content as a multilingual and multiply authentic phenomenon. It relates to the semantic-pragmatic interface in that cross-lingual differences at the intersection of parallel versions may cause alternative readings of semantic or pragmatic meanings.

always result in what may be viewed as conceptual equivalence. According to Verschueren (1995: 16), the aim of pragmatics should be to track the ‘dynamic construction of meaning’ in language used in a particular instance. This implies that linguistic construal in a target language (TL) should be a representation of meaning construction in a specific context of use in the source language (SL), and that it should also reflect an understanding of that context (i.e. significant deictic or modal relationships in discourse). In other words, ‘the deictic perspective which pervades the TL text must be structured in such a way that it is deemed coherent by the TL reader’ (Richardson 1998: 125).

While this argument is very much in line with notions of translation equivalence, i.e. that there should be coherence between target and source language, it also throws up a particular implication which is unique to a multilingual organization such as the European Union. As already highlighted earlier in this chapter, nowhere in the EU’s treaties or Language Charter is there any mention of language ‘translation’ – parallel text versions of institutional documentation are produced by a ‘drafting’ procedure (Tosi 2006; Wagner et al. 2002) in which there is no designated target or source text (Schäffner 1997); documents are therefore generated by a process of hybridity (Schäffner and Adab 2001; Trosborg 1997). As Richardson further notes, recreating the equivalent deictic conceptualization of a ‘translated’ message is at worst unachievable and at best a compromise; this is because differences ‘either inherent in the grammatical system or the consequence of stylistic preference’ create ‘miscommunication’ in such ‘interlingual translation’. Thus, the pragmatist’s view of translation equivalence seeks to overcome this by achieving ‘equivalent pragmatic effect’, which means that the translation should ‘do the same things’ as the original source text (Richardson 1998: 137).

This leads us to another consideration, which is linked to the fact that EU texts are not only multilingual but also political and cannot therefore be assumed to conform to the translational maxim of ‘equivalent pragmatic effect’. That is to say, it is possible that not all text versions may be intended to ‘do the same thing’ or communicate the same message. While each language version is aimed at a particular language community, which is in principle an a-political process of language transfer, the institutions which generate the texts (e.g. the European Commission and the European Council) are *not*

a-political; they in fact each carry their own specific political mandate. The Commission's role is to propose and implement EU policy at the supranational level and the Council's role is to adopt European policy on behalf of the individual Member States acting at the intergovernmental level. This means that 'pragmatic effect' is influenced by whether a document is setting out a European vision for the EU as a whole (the Commission) or a vision of EU policy in which the interests of individual Member States may also be taken into consideration to be promoted and/or protected (the Council).

The behaviour of translational phenomena in politically motivated texts is particularly illustrated in a paper by Schäffner (1998), in which she discusses the importance and utility of discourse analysis for deconstructing the translated political text. A diplomatic speech made in England by a former German foreign minister is described as making considerable use of hedging devices such as modal auxiliaries and other kinds of linguistic construal mechanisms; the result of this was that the speaker continually placed restrictions on committing to the truth of certain propositions, and this served to render the affected parts of the discourse vague and uncertain (Schäffner 1998: 189). These hedging devices were presumed to be a deliberate linguistic ploy to strategically avoid criticism of German policy on European integration. However, in the English translated version certain construal mechanisms, including those expressing epistemic modality, were made much more direct and factual; this meant that, in some discourse elements, greater certainty was suggested in English than had been intended in the German original - i.e. the difference between 'could' - *könnte(n)* - in German and 'would' in English (Schäffner 1998: 188-189). Therefore, the English text did not achieve 'equivalent pragmatic effect' and could even have invited the very criticism the German version sought to avoid.

In summary, the alternative linguistic representations inherent in parallel multilingual discourses (such as those within EU text production) provide a fertile ground for exploring differences in conceptualization at the *multilingual level* of the semantic-pragmatic interface. The EU's principle of 'multiple authenticity' (Koskinen 2008: 63) suggests that at least some degree of semantic equivalence is being approximated; this means that mutual comparison of text excerpts cross-lingually is a viable proposition for assessing conceptual equivalence at the multilingual interface of

discourse. In other words, the multilingual interface presents an opportunity to view simultaneously a number of versions of the ‘same’ semantic roles within text extracts across languages; analysing this interface can therefore show precisely *how* the pragmatic elements of language influence these semantic roles and cause variance cross-lingually. These semantic-pragmatic variants are particularly evident - and indeed discursively significant - when comparing across parallel languages precisely because we know that these language versions are *intended* to exhibit equally authentic semantic values. This would not be the case in comparing monolingual versions of a similar discourse because variants in monolingual language representation are usually produced *precisely in order to infer difference rather than parity*. For example, Koskinen (2008: 128) surveyed the process of political and institutional re-drafting of a Commission Communication in its English original prior to being translated into Finnish (and all other languages). She noted that one instance of political redrafting produced ‘an innocuous-looking shift of tense [resulting in] a different view of who the active partner is’ (in the action being put forward). In addition, the following changes were made:

‘were called for’ (in the feedback) BECAME ‘is called for’ (in the Commission Communication)
‘was particularly stressed’ (in the feedback) BECAME ‘is particularly relevant’ (according to the ‘European Commission-cum-writer’)⁶⁰

(Koskinen 2008: *ibid*)

Institutional redrafting led to ‘addition, omission, linguistic and semantic changes’ (Koskinen 2008: 128) and introduced ‘numerous instances of added hedging or more careful formulations, delimiting the extent to which commitment is expressed’ (Koskinen 2008: 129), such as:

‘will be fully integrated into’ BECAME ‘will be taken into account in’
‘will be crucial in’ BECAME ‘will provide new opportunities for’
‘will also ensure’ BECAME ‘will help to ensure’
‘the Commission will’ BECAME ‘this work will’

⁶⁰ These two excerpts are also good examples of the way in which the deictic centre (for time) has shifted as a result of a change from past tense (action is and remains in the past) to present tense (action takes place and is ongoing in the present).

Finally, further institutionalization of style involved ‘semantic shifts leading to more complicated phrases and added fuzziness’. Examples of this were:

‘lays the ground’ BECAME ‘contributes to the establishment’

‘work together’ BECAME ‘collaborate’

‘gender equality’ BECAME ‘gender mainstreaming’

(Koskinen 2008: 129)

In the process of this ‘gradual gestation of the original text’ (Koskinen 2008: 132), it is not difficult to conclude that variants of monolingual EN versions of these Commission discourse segments were produced with the express intention of inferring difference rather than parity.

Assessing conceptual equivalence across a number of languages allows us to explore what is actually happening at the *multilingual* semantic-pragmatic interface. In particular, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches (e.g. Discourse Space Theory – Chilton 2004) provide a bridge between semantics and pragmatics; they take into account the conceptual relationship between language semantics in text (the micro discourse level) and the extra-textual inferences (the macro discourse level) suggested by indexicals such as space, time and modality (Chilton 2004). Having thus isolated instances of *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension* (conceptual equivalence or non-equivalence) at the multilingual interface, the next dimension of the theoretical framework will provide a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) interpretation of these micro-semantic variances as possible macro-pragmatic inferences. The following section (2.5) will give an overview of the CDA theoretical approach to discourse and demonstrate its relevance for the data analysis in this research thesis.

2.5 The CDA Theoretical Approach to Discourse

CDA analysts are largely in agreement that ‘the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analysed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined’ (Wodak and Weiss 2005: 124). Nevertheless, as sociological and linguistic categories tend to be incompatible, for a methodology to be appropriate its theoretical basis would need to reconcile these two categories, a process referred to as ‘mediation’ (Wodak and Weiss 2005: 124-125).

From an anthropological perspective, the study of politically powerful institutions also involves adjusting methodologies to interlink the elements that reveal how institutions ‘think’ (Douglas 1986); the idea of institutional ‘thinking’ is closely associated with discourse analysis given that ‘written documents constitute material proofs of an organizational “thinking activity”’ (Bellier 2005: 243). For this reason, the methodological choice must encompass not only the analysis of language but also the arena and conditions in which that language is produced. It must ask the kinds of questions that CDA methodologies have been designed to specifically address. Such questions include: Do particular social and discursive practices inherent in institutional settings create, embed and perpetuate dominant ideologies and/or power structures (e.g. see Fairclough 2010: 93)?⁶¹ If so, how do these ideologies and power structures affect both micro discourse (linguistic features) and macro discourse (global ideas expressed)? For example, lexical choice within organizational narratives can be explained by a variety of parameters, and particularly within the complexities of multilingual institutions such as the European Commission or the United Nations (Bellier 2005: 243). As we have already indicated, within the EU translation services lexical choice can be influenced by the use of machine translation and/or translation memories, as well as by hybrid translation processes involving at times several intermediary languages between source and target text; however, we also described in the previous subsection (2.4.2) that Koskinen’s 2008 in-house

⁶¹ ‘By ‘critical’ discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony [...]’. (Fairclough 2010: 93)

research revealed that political and institutional drafting can be decisive for lexical choice, producing some striking semantic differences in discourse segments at various stages of the drafting process. This supports the twofold methodological approach to be taken by the CDA dimension of the theoretical framework; Discourse Space Theory (which is concerned with the expression of space, time and modality) is appropriate as an analytical tool for exploring in parallel: (1) particular linguistic and textual features (the micro discourse); and (2) the social and discursive practices – the politico-ideological attitudes (the macro discourse) which may have influenced the (choice of) linguistic and textual features. These attitudes are then transmitted through the institutional text production process and given voice across the multilingual discourses generated. Thus, micro (e.g. lexical choice) and macro (attitudes behind that lexical choice) elements of discourse mesh to form the precise nature of the institutional narrative in each language version; micro and macro discourses therefore also both inform the interpretation of the overall narrative at the multilingual interface.

2.5.1 (Recent) Trends in European Discourses: Some implications

Research has supported the assumption that discourses on European issues are ‘closely intertwined with and influenced by discourses on national identity’⁶² (e.g. Bärenreuter 2005: 206). In analysing the debate on a European constitution in the Swedish media, it was found that the discourse contained evidence of ‘tension between state-sovereignty and supra-nationality’ (Bärenreuter 2005: 207). However, it is also crucial that Europe’s prism of diverse languages is capable of producing a single voice or message in key conceptual areas of discourse which are of vital importance in furthering coherence within the European integration process. One such key conceptual area, first introduced by the Maastricht Treaty on European

⁶² The introductory chapter of this thesis highlights the notion of national identity as a paradoxical situation within the EU. Texts in a particular language version are not intended to represent the national interests of the national language communities to which they relate; however, it is not unfeasible for national delegations of Member States involved in the political (re)drafting of texts at the intergovernmental (Council) phase to become embroiled in language content and precise wordings which could serve their own national interests (e.g. see Cross 2012 on Member State legislative bargaining).

Union of 1992, is the notion of European citizenship (Koslowski 1999: 155). A recent Open University project investigating the current notion of democratic citizenship and citizen mobility found that: ‘while European citizenship is modelled upon national ideas of citizenship, the EU as a multilevel project questions the primacy of the national’ (ENACT 2010). Therefore, the most fundamental difference between the notion of Union citizenship and previous notions of political citizenship⁶³ is that EU citizenship cannot be classified under conventional statist categories for the simple reason that it is not a state in its own right and may not necessarily become one in the future (Koslowski 1999: 155). This very basic fact throws up some equally basic implications for considering the nature of EU citizenship as a concept. The Treaty of Amsterdam of June 1997 described this dichotomous relationship - or dual political identity (Koslowski 1999: 155) - by stipulating that Union citizenship ‘shall complement and not replace national citizenship’⁶⁴, a situation afforded further legitimacy by the Lisbon Treaty of December 2009.

Apart from the dichotomous relationship between national and European citizenship, it is worth speculating also on the cross-lingual and indeed cross-cultural differences between the notions of *citizen* and *citizenship* in the four languages (English, French, German and Dutch) to be analysed in this thesis. A brief perusal of monolingual dictionary entries in the four language versions provides some background information on the meanings, overlaps and divergences between these four words. For example, in English the word *citizen* often emphasizes residence and allegiance to a city or country where that citizen lives, as opposed to being ‘foreign’ and having allegiance to a country other than where one lives, i.e. the concept of ‘alien’. In French, the idea of the *citizen* is clearly linked to rights and duties, relating back to the

⁶³ i.e. the dominance of individual nation-state territorialism and sovereignty resulting from post-war capitalism - e.g. Marshall 1950; Turner 1986

⁶⁴ The reader should note that the exact official wordings for this clause in the Treaty of Amsterdam (not part of the discourse chain in the corpus presented here) do in fact also include equivalent expressions that European citizenship ‘shall not replace national citizenship’ in *all four* language versions analysed in this thesis (EN, FR, DE and NL). This deviates from the FR, DE and NL examples of the clause given earlier in this chapter under section 2.2.1 - Why is Translation Equivalence *Relevant* to the EU? This is because the examples in this chapter are taken from a Commission Communication (262 of 2009), which only *refers* to the concept of European citizenship previously established in the Amsterdam Treaty. In this Communication only the EN version explicitly stipulates that European citizenship does not replace national citizenship. It is this disparity between the EN version and the other three languages that makes this piece of text (in Communication 262) particularly relevant as an example of cross-lingual difference across parallel versions. While it is not considered necessary to repeat the official wording in full in FR, DE and NL, the EN text does insist on highlighting the specific distinction between national and European citizenship.

French Revolution and the republican idea of citizenly conduct as a civic-minded collective. *Citoyen* in French may also be used to denote a ‘fellow’, which again echoes the rich socio-linguistic legacy of the Revolution, in which compatriots were commonly referred to as ‘citizen’. Since Napoleonic times, there has also been a strong relationship between the idea of citizenship and the State. We note here that in terms of the socio-political evolution of the word *citizen*, the UK ‘hardly had a concept of citizenship until 1981’ (Craith 2004: 290). In this context, it has also been pointed out that ‘the translation of the English word ‘citizenship’ by the French word ‘citoyenneté’ creates only a dubious and problematic equivalence’ (Neveu 2005: 200).

In the case of both German and Dutch, the noun form *Bürger/burger* collocates widely with other noun forms to produce a whole range of expressions which echo semantically with the notion of ‘citizenship’; within this, duties and rights of citizens are emphasized as in the French. In German(y), the idea of a citizen belonging to a State is interpreted according to federal state divisions. Notions of ‘belonging’ can therefore refer to the *Land* (federal state) as well as the State or nation in general. In this context, ‘[t]races of this statist understanding of citizenship are still today evident in certain linguistic usages, for instance in the German expressions *Staatsangehörigkeit* (citizenship; nationality) and *Staatsbürger einer Monarchie* (subject of a monarchy)’ (Keane 2008: 6). *Bürger* is also seen as an important concept within the municipality (i.e. *Bürgermeister* = mayor) and the notion of protecting the wellbeing of a municipal collective of citizens is prevalent. As in German, the collocation of other nouns with *burger* to construct compound noun forms in Dutch emphasizes the link between citizens’ rights and duties and the nation state, on the one hand, and the collective municipality on the other (i.e. *burgerplicht* = citizen duty; *burgemeester* = mayor; and *burgerwacht* = neighbourhood watch). Again, great importance is afforded to the idea of the citizen at a municipal community level, as the *burgemeester* (mayor) is also known as the *eerste burger* (first/most important citizen). The expression: *Dat geeft de burger moed* (literally ‘that gives the citizen courage’ – idiomatic translation = ‘that’s

encouraging/heartening’) is an example of the importance of the lexical item *burger* in expressions of everyday language.⁶⁵

In more general terms, Craith has pointed out that, despite the aim of the Treaty of Amsterdam to foster a sense of collective cultural identity (Article 151), ‘the EU it (sic) is not certain whether this is its ‘true’ identity or culture’ (Craith 2004: 295); she also highlights the fact that, in specifying that European citizenship was complementary to but did not replace national citizenship,⁶⁶ the Treaty also made EU citizenship contingent on citizenship of a Member State. In her view, this has served to entrench the ‘traditional construction of citizenship centred on principles of nationality and statehood’ and has perpetuated the assumption of ‘a dominant, majority culture in the national context that dominates many of Europe’s political and social structures’ (Craith 2004: 294).

However, more recently Carrera and Wiesbrock have noted that ‘the act of mobility’ resulting from the rights received within Europe by ‘individuals’ - i.e. not only EU citizens but also Third Country Nationals (TCNs) - has been a ‘fundamental constitutive element’ for the value added of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). This ‘act of mobility’ is the freedom of movement within Europe and also entails the right to equal treatment and non-discrimination in the EU Member State of reception in comparison with own nationals. It is thus ‘the crossing of the traditional internal borders’ of nation states that is crucial for determining ‘European freedoms beyond the national arenas’ (Carrera and Wiesbrock 2010: 7). From this we may conclude that the notion of European citizenship, from both a conceptual and physical geo-political viewpoint, is shifting; and the lines between the national, the European and the supranational are becoming blurred and nebulous. What implications could this then have for multilingual narratives produced within the AFSJ programme framework? How, in the various language versions, are the supranational views of the Commission and the intergovernmental views of the Council conceptually represented in this new spatial scenario? The Commission’s policy review 2013

⁶⁵ A contemporary illustration from the advertising world is that McDonald’s are currently using this as a slogan on a billboard displayed at tram/bus stops depicting a giant Big Mac for one Euro. Photograph accessed on the ‘flickr’ website on 22/01/2014 at: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/phlb/10376885875/>

⁶⁶ The 2008 consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU now reads in Article 20(1): ‘Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship’.

entitled ‘Co-creating European Union Citizenship’ sets out, as Habermas (1989) postulated, that a prerequisite for citizenship is a public sphere enabling action, deliberation and political participation. Even if national public spheres have been said to aspire to homogeneity, ‘the European public sphere is, by definition, quite heterogeneous’; this is seen not only as an empirical reality, i.e. European societies display diversity ‘along multiple axes, such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, age, gender ...’, but also as a source of strength within Member States and the Union in general (European Commission 2013: 38).⁶⁷ It therefore follows that European citizenship also tends towards diversity, and it is then of considerable research interest to investigate whether, firstly, this diversity makes for a homogeneous or heterogeneous message in multilingual discourses on EU citizenship. Secondly, and more importantly, what is the significance of cross-lingual heterogeneity for this message in key conceptual areas of the citizenship narrative?

Clearly, the idea of European citizenship is no longer a mere symbolic notion. This has been reflected more recently in discourses on the Union’s ongoing Europeanization and citizenship (identity) narratives, which are becoming increasingly significant within the overall process of current European integration (e.g. ENACT 2010; Goodman 2010; Risse 2010). Moreover, emergent political sensitivities in some Member States concerning the relationship of EU citizenship to issues such as migration and asylum (Stevenson and Schanze 2009) and security (Blackledge 2009) may produce conditions for subjective linguistic variation (subjectivity) in such discourse narratives. Linguistic subjectivity is understood to mean the expression of the individual views, opinions or attitudes of the speaker.⁶⁸ In other words, the interpretation of a statement or piece of information may be coloured by the nature of linguistic expression originating with the speaker. In this context, ‘the selection of the content components for verbalization, and the choice of a particular perspective, have to be located within the process of conceptualization’ (Von Stutterheim and Nüse 2003: 876). This implies that certain features of discourse (such as qualifying adjectives or adverbs, for example) are linked to the choice of a particular perspective and thus express the attitude of a speaker to a particular state of affairs; this can then create a subjective interpretation of that state of affairs.

⁶⁷ See also the POLITIS project, the European Union 2004-2007.

⁶⁸ See Lyons 1977: 799 and also Lyons 1981, 1995; Sanders and Spooren 1997; Wolf 2006.

2.6 The Chain of Discourse: Text and Discourse Worlds

The central research question of this thesis aims to identify, explore and assess the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence in two ways: (1) the *intra-textual* (multilingual comparison within one document or *stage* - A, B or C - of the discourse *chain*); and (2) the *inter-textual* (multilingual comparison across two (A and B; or B and C) or three (A, B and C) documents of the discourse *chain*). Therefore, the multilingual comparisons explored in (1) are to be referred to as *intra-textual hybridity* and those in (2) are to be referred to as *inter-textual hybridity*. This is because in order to explore fully the relationship between the multilingual production process and conceptual equivalence, three separate secondary research questions should also be addressed. To reiterate, these are:

- (1) What role does linguistic and translational hybridity play in the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence?
- (2) What role does the institutional re-contextualization of the same discourse narrative between the Commission and the Council play in the relationship between hybridity and conceptual equivalence?
- (3) And how do both (1) and (2) affect the conceptualization of key aspects of the discourse narrative across language versions?

The phenomenon of *intra-textual hybridity* (within one single document or discourse *stage*) and its relationship to conceptual equivalence have already been demonstrated in subsection 2.3.2 above; this was then developed further in subsection 2.3.3, more specifically in line with conceptual construal as interpreted in Chilton's 2004 Discourse Space Theory. Section 2.4 then outlined that conceptual equivalence or non-equivalence in the construal of space, time and modality resulting from *intra-textual hybridity* can be further analysed and labelled as either *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension*.

Subsection 2.6.1 below will now show how the multilingual *chain* of discourse across two or three documents in the same discourse narrative (from Commission COM 262 to Council Programme C 115 to Commission COM 171) can be interpreted as text or discourse worlds subject to shifting mental spaces and conceptual blending. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated how these text or discourse worlds can reveal *inter-textual hybridity* present in the overall multilingual discourse *chain*.

2.6.1 The Multilingual Chain of Discourse

The central argument to be pursued in this thesis is that the notion of multilingualism as an EU ideology is defining for the way in which discourse is produced in parallel language versions, i.e. the phenomena of hybrid text production and hybrid ‘translation’ or ‘trans-drafting’, discussed in the preceding subsection 2.2.3. However, in order to fully appreciate the ideological parameters at work within the dialogue between the Commission and the Council (as the narrative passes through *stages A to C*), it is important to understand that the Commission is a *supranational* institution (it represents the views of the EU as a whole) and that the Council is an *intergovernmental* institution (it represents the views of the individual Member States as a whole).⁶⁹ Thus, *stages A and C* are supranational discourse stages and *stage B* is an intergovernmental discourse stage. This should then be taken into account within the CDA framework of analysis in assessing any shifts in conceptualization leading to either *semantic-pragmatic tension* or *harmony* at the multilingual conceptual interface. Thus, the analytical model must work in a two-dimensional manner. It must be able to identify shifts in conceptualization across: (1) language versions (*intra-textual hybridity*) and (2) discourse narrative *stages* of those individual language versions (*inter-textual hybridity*); and these language versions may or may not convey predictable patterns of supranational or intergovernmental ideology.

It is therefore also important to consider parallel discourse segments from each document in terms of their chronology. In other words, the dialogue between the

⁶⁹ See footnote 48 in section 2.3.3 for a full explanation of the Commission’s *supranational* and the Council’s *intergovernmental* ideological mandate, as well as references to EU webpages on this issue.

Commission and the Council made up of the three documents at *stages* A, B and C can be viewed as a series of linked (or matched) ‘text worlds’ (Werth 1999, Gavins 2007) that unfold dynamically. The *chain* of discourse is initiated by the Commission Proposal (COM 262), which is then converted into an adopted Programme by the Council (C 115); this in turn is then responded to in the form of an Action Plan for implementation, again drafted by the Commission (COM 171). The discourse narrative is thus a continuum, with the second document (or *stage*) developing (and modifying) what has been set out in the first, and the third replying to (and modifying) what has been set out in the second.⁷⁰ Any analysis of the discourse will then firstly need to describe how the discourse *chain* develops over the three documents as ‘text worlds’. This is of particular interest as, within the context of the EU’s principle of ‘multiple authenticity’ (Koskinen 2008: 63), each of these text worlds can be considered as a single authentic narrative in any one language version.

2.6.2 Text Worlds and Inter-textual Hybridity: The EU’s Multilingual Citizenship Narrative

Text World Theory (Werth 1999) was originally constructed as a means of conceptually analysing and deconstructing extended narratives within the literary field; it has since been adopted and further developed as a theory applicable to the fields of cognitive linguistics and, more recently, the specialized area of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, Text World Theory (TWT) is essentially a discourse ‘framework’, which means that it deals not only with the way in which a text is linguistically constructed but also how the context of that text may affect the way it is produced and perceived by its recipients. Secondly, TWT also provides a means of examining the detailed linguistic construal

⁷⁰ It should be noted here that there are also grounds for arguing that the different text functions of the Commission (supranational) and Council (intergovernmental) documents could mean different uses of language. This is supported by the functionalist school of translation (equivalence) theories (e.g. Trosborg 1997, for text functions and the hybrid text as a typology; and Vermeer 1996 for Skopos theory as a functional approach to translation). However, the focus of the analysis in this thesis is not the role of text function in determining language use but the cross-lingual hybrid conceptualizations that occur as a result; and whether these conceptualizations remain stable within their text functions (supranational and intergovernmental) across languages.

mechanisms involved in the production of ‘individual mental representations’ as a narrative unfolds (Gavins 2007: 8-10).

As we have already seen, the theoretical scaffolding of the analysis in this thesis will draw primarily on Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004) and not Text World Theory (Werth 1999; and Gavins 2007).⁷¹ However, one particular aspect of Text World Theory is of more general relevance to how chains of mental representations are constructed within written institutional discourses; this is its ability to map a narrative continuum as it unfolds, allowing a detailed appreciation of related or layered conceptual structures, often superimposed onto one another within the same discourse continuum. Admittedly, this kind of complexity is not generally associated with the type of elite rhetorical discourses produced by the European Union institutions, but rather with postmodern literary theories.⁷² Like any kind of institutional discourse, constraints relating to house-style norms and production rules will often generate language that is relatively uniform and, at least in some respects, linguistically non-complex.⁷³ This is of course the case if we consider a discourse only in its monolingual form (the *monolingual* parameter). However, if we attempt to consider the multilingual nature of a discourse narrative and compare the mental representations occurring in several language versions simultaneously, we have already introduced a complicating second parameter (the *multilingual*) to the ‘essentially *analogue* nature of mental representations’ (original emphasis) initially

⁷¹ We note here that Chilton’s Discourse Space Theory is considered to have developed Text World Theory further from a CDA perspective and has now come to be seen as ‘a formalised version’ (Hart 2010: 118) of Werth’s 1999 work on text worlds. For this reason, a detailed review of Text World Theory is not appropriate here.

⁷² In this respect, Koskinen has observed that the conventions of EU texts and literary texts ‘typically [...] inhabit the two extremes of a continuum: postmodern theories are normally related to literary translation only, and EU translation is often regarded as its antithesis (bureaucratic, uncreative and restricted), and it has been studied from a more traditional, empirical perspective.’ (Koskinen 2001: 299)

⁷³ Despite the fact that versions of EU texts comply to a ‘sameness’ formula, many ordinary readers may consider the style to be somewhat obscure or vague (Sosoni 2012). The level of linguistic complexity in EU institutional documentation is therefore a point of contention for readability. It is also the case that texts can be complicated to decipher for translators and also to then transpose into other languages as ‘[v]ague language is present not only because it is inherent in the structure of ideas and often deployed on purpose for rhetorical or legal purposes, but also because EU texts have to deal with complex and elusive concepts’ (Sosoni 2011: 87). What is more, they are overwhelmingly drafted in English by non-native speakers or, in the worst-case scenario, ‘collectively in committees, working groups and teams’ (Koskinen 2000: 59) consisting of speakers of various different languages. Given that texts also tend towards wordiness, have a wide use of formal or impersonal structures, such as passives, and apply a specialized vocabulary, uniform structure and content across languages are in fact no guarantee of avoiding linguistic complexity.

applied by cognitive psychologists (Gavins 2007: 10). If we then add a third parameter, the time continuum (the *chain*) over which a discourse is reproduced, developed and modified through the medium of two or more written texts with the same narrative, the network of mental representations is no longer likely to fall under the category of ‘simple and short-lived text worlds’. Indeed, they may have even become ‘complex conceptual structures, built and sustained over an extended period of time’ (Gavins 2007: 10).

This proposition is perhaps a little problematic from a theoretical point of view, as ‘over time’ in the case of this EU citizenship narrative is in fact ‘real time’, rather than the conceptual (or metaphorical) time of a literary narrative. Nevertheless, the fact remains that an institutional time continuum (the *chain*) does exist and can be made visible through the framework of analysis to be applied in this thesis. Layers of mental representations are produced by three separate discourses, from Commission to Council to Commission; and these form the basis of a dynamic dialogue moving forward as modified and re-contextualized versions or ‘chains’ of the same discourse (Blackledge 2005;⁷⁴ see also Gaffney and Lahel 2013⁷⁵ for the morphology of political narrative).

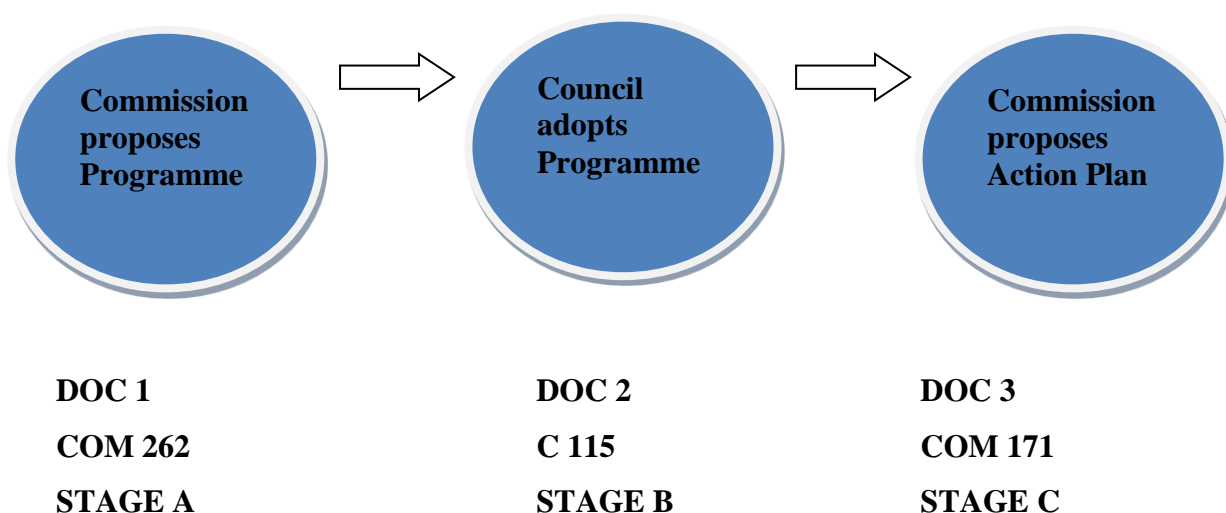
The following diagram (Figure 4) illustrates this institutional continuum or *chain* and its three *stages*.

⁷⁴ Blackledge (2005) shows in *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World* how potent arguments on the threat to democratic ideals such as citizenship and nationhood are transmitted along ‘chains of discourse’; these chains eventually reach elite state level and become legitimized in the prevailing political rhetoric and subsequent policy-making on issues of civil disorder.

⁷⁵ Gaffney and Lahel’s (2013) paper on the morphology of the Labour Party’s One Nation narrative takes as its point of departure that ‘[t]o grasp the underlying significance of the [...] narrative, we should look at it as a corpus of interactive and evolving texts.’ Among the key elements in demonstrating the nature of the narrative they list ‘the main texts, the events surrounding them, their deeper structure when taken as a whole’ (Gaffney and Lahel 2013: 330).

Figure 4

The Institutional Chain of Discourse



For the purposes of clarity, we note here that the institutional chain of discourse as depicted in the diagram above is not a physical chain, i.e. the texts in the chain are not physically travelling from one stage to the next. What is meant here is that, typically, the Commission proposes projects for new legislation or new legislative acts to be considered by the institutional machinery of the European Union. Such a proposal, in the form of Communication 262 for an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen, is described here as stage A; this is because it is representative of a first introduction of new or modified legislative material by the Commission. As we have said, it does not then literally travel as a text to the Council but does form the main springboard – with a plethora of other derived documentation - for discussion at numerous other ‘discourse’ stages in committees of the Commission, the Council and the Parliament (referred to as the *comitology* process) as well as by various political lobbying groups, which we do not include here. The discursive content of the original text proposed by the Commission is then debated, modified, re-contextualized, contested, discarded, etc. A considerably amended version of the content of the text – on which the Programme to be eventually adopted by the Council will be based – is then proposed to the European Parliament; the Parliament debates the proposal in plenary session (and also in committees in the interim), votes in amendments, and

finally passes it in its entirety. It is at this stage that the content of the proposed programme (passed by the Parliament) will be discussed in detail by the Council in plenary and committees, both (cross-)linguistically and discursively. When the political and institutional drafting procedures (involving both linguistic and legal advisory actors) are concluded, the Council (Heads of State and government - or their representatives - of all the Member States) agrees the content and the Programme is published in the Official Journal of the European Union (stage B). In our example above, stage C depicts a further initiative by the Commission, which in fact sets off a whole new but identical institutional discursive process. A new proposal in the form of Communication 171 sets out its vision for an action plan to implement the Programme published in the Official Journal at stage B. This is then also discussed in committees of the Commission, Parliament and Council and then debated, voted on and passed with amendments by the Parliament, and so on.

It is then clear from this extended explanation of the three stages A, B and C in the diagram above that texts in the chain of discourse are only part of a *chain of discursive content*. In reality, this chain is also infinitely more complicated and intricate than suggested by the simplistic 3-stage approach taken here; it is constantly being modified, amended and re-contextualized as it fulfils the demands of institutional procedure. We should also note here that the three stages (A, B and C) do not all carry the same ideological status; the distinction between the Commission at stages A and C with its supranational mandate and the Council at stage B with its intergovernmental mandate is significant at both the micro and macro levels. This is because one may reasonably expect much more consistency at the linguistic micro level in the Commission stages, as its ideological mandate is to promote Europe and European citizens(hip) as a whole (the macro level). In other words, there is in principle no need to distinguish between or promote the needs of the various Member States using their different language versions. On the other hand, one might anticipate that a Council stage may portray differences in ideological viewpoint in some parallel language versions as compared to others; an intergovernmental mandate could reasonably imply the possibility of bias towards promoting the needs of individual Member States, or indeed collectively in alliance with other Member States. We speculate here on the production of texts in their respective settings (Commission versus Council) in order to show how this could be significant to the

overarching objectives of this research project. This case study aims firstly to make visible any instability and tension within any one institutional voice (Commission or Council) and explore how this influences the overall position projected simultaneously by those institutional voices (the macro-political message within key discursive elements). The final aim of the research is to address if and how hybrid translational phenomena at the micro level of multilingual text versions could be relevant and/or influential for discourse production within the wider ideological environment of the European institutions.

The Three-Dimensional Citizenship Discourse World

We thus arrive at a three-dimensional conceptual appreciation of the EU discourse on citizenship, this being:

- (1) the *horizontal* dimension – the *monolingual* parameter considers each document or *stage* separately in its monolingual form (i.e. the EN version of Commission COM 262, Council C 115 and Commission COM 171);
- (2) the *vertical* dimension – the *multilingual* parameter considers and compares each document or *stage* in all language versions simultaneously (i.e. the discourse has ‘multiple authenticity’ in any language version);
- (3) the *integrated* dimension – the *multilingual chain* parameter considers the discourse not only as multilingual but also as forming a part of the whole discourse continuum (i.e. the three dialogic documents, Commission COM 262 - Council C 115 - Commission COM 171).

The three diagrams below (Figures 5 to 7) depict this progression:

Figure 5

(1) The Horizontal MONOLINGUAL

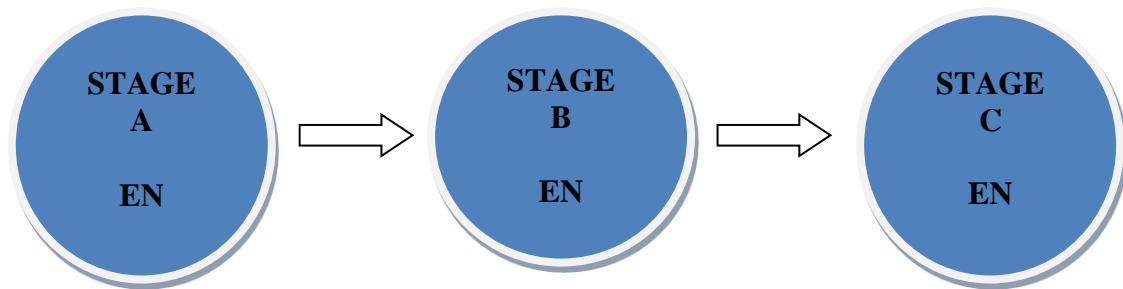


Figure 6

(2) The Vertical MULTILINGUAL

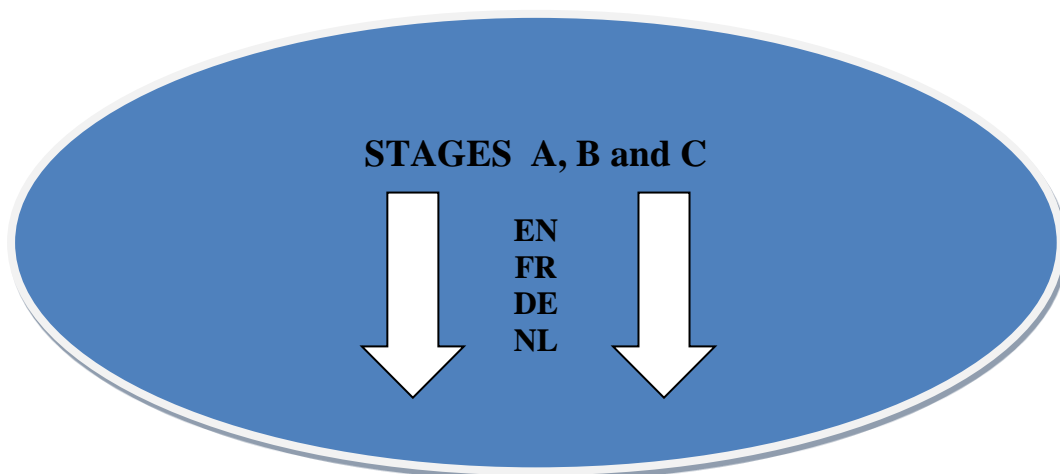
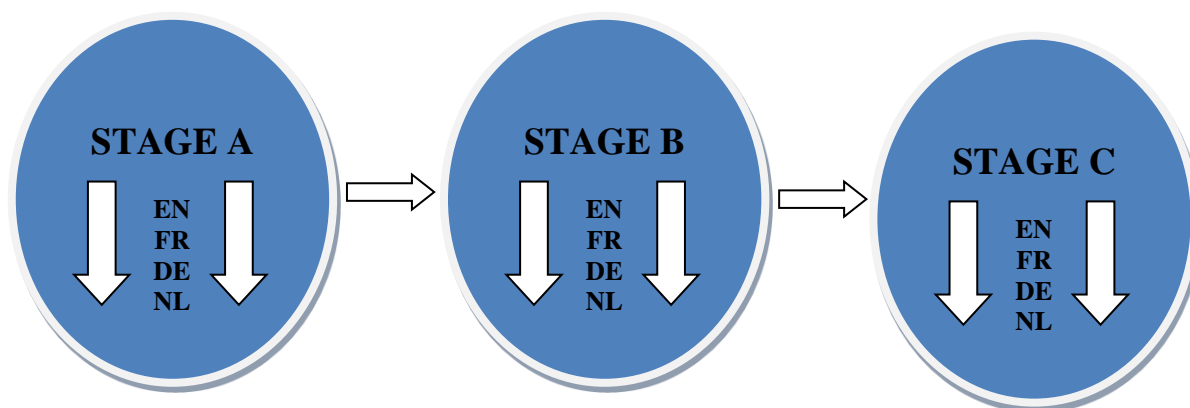


Figure 7

(3) The Integrated CHAIN



Two questions now arise. Firstly, is it in fact possible to deconstruct and conceptually analyse these three-dimensional mental representations (the *monolingual* – the *multilingual* – the *multilingual chain*) within any one theoretical framework?

Secondly (and perhaps more importantly), what is the research value of such an analysis? To reiterate, the notion of ‘multiple authenticity’ (Koskinen 2008: 63) lies at the heart of the EU’s policy on multilingualism and is applied to all official texts of the European institutions. In essence, this means that any text produced must be made available in any of the Union’s official working languages and may thus be accessed by European citizens or any other interested party, either politically motivated or otherwise, in the language version that is appropriate to them. Thus, the inherent assumption of ‘multiple authenticity’ is that *any one* of the EU’s 24 *official language versions* of a discourse narrative is equally valid *at any point* in that narrative as an accurate representation of ‘one’ ideational discourse *in any official document* of the Union. It is for this reason that a three-dimensional analysis of conceptual equivalence across multilingual language versions is of such relevance and why the *three* parameters of the *monolingual*, the *multilingual* and the *multilingual chain* must all be included.

If all the language versions of a discourse narrative are said to share ‘multiple authenticity’, it is of considerable research interest to assess the extent to which conceptual equivalences can or do reflect such ‘multiple authenticity’ - or indeed do not, as the case may be; not only across any number of languages but also at any point (or within any segment) of a parallel discourse version as compared to another or others. Furthermore, the concept of ‘multiple authenticity’ assumes firstly that conceptual construal in any *monolingual* version (parameter 1) is mutually comparable with that of any other *monolingual* version; secondly, a *multilingual* mutual comparison (parameter 2) of conceptual representations between any number of different language versions should also be possible; and, thirdly, exploring the relationship between any number of multilingual language versions at any point in the *multilingual chain* (parameter 3) of discourse should also produce reciprocal and mutually comparable conceptualizations.

Mutual comparability across all three dimensions of the analysis is important, firstly because the whole argument of this thesis rests on this assumption; secondly, it is the EU’s specific definition of its language policy according to the principle of ‘multiple authenticity’ that provides the link between (1) the EU’s multilingual text production process and (2) conceptual equivalence. It is this link which then forms the primary analytic relationship of the central research question here.⁷⁶ If conceptualization in key aspects of the citizenship narrative is not equivalent across parallel versions, the recipients of one particular version may interpret textual elements differently to those of another. Differences in interpretation across languages could then have consequences for the way in which further related discourses are constructed and communicated in particular languages, possibly compounding already existing conceptual divergences; from a policy content viewpoint, this would be highly significant as documents are reproduced, re-cycled and re-contextualized so often within the EU that such an effect would very quickly become exponential in any given discourse narrative.

⁷⁶ To reiterate, the central research question is: *What is the relationship between the EU’s multilingual text production process and the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative?*

Nevertheless, this unequivocal assumption of multiple authenticity among the EU's multilingual texts may be called into question by the body of research findings within both translation studies and cognitive linguistics. Firstly, lexical semanticists investigating key words in the English language (e.g. Cruse 1986; Fillmore and Atkins 1992 on the semantics of *risk*) have found that semantic fields and their conceptualization in discourse can vary considerably even within a monolingual scenario. Taking this further, researchers into socio-linguistics (e.g. Williams 1983) and cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g. Wierzbicka 1997; 2003) have demonstrated that there is invariably a discrepancy between repertoires of mental representations used to conceptualize and construe key concepts. This is due firstly to differences in socio-historical, socio-cultural and socio-political developments in languages and peoples. In other words, there may be 'a very close link between the life of a society and the lexicon of the language spoken by it' (Wierzbicka 1997: 1). Secondly, given that all languages have unique linguistic systems, complete correspondence in conceptualizing key discourse themes, such as citizenship⁷⁷ - in the case of this study, may remain elusive. Indeed, successive translation equivalence theories have been more or less unanimous in their conclusions that achieving complete correspondence between languages is an impossibility; and this is most particularly the case when conceptual or abstract notions are being expressed (Halliday et al. 2004: 70-71). Against this backdrop, the analysis and findings of this thesis are then particularly relevant as they go beyond the debate as to whether complete equivalence is in fact possible; they seek to tease out the relationship between: (1) the mediation of translational phenomena within a multilingual institution (the EU) – i.e. the hybrid text production *process*; and (2) the *product* of that process, assessed within not a source-to-target-text scenario but a multilingual critical discourse analysis context. The de facto assumption of hybridity means that correspondence or equivalence is not expected to co-occur simultaneously across all the four languages of EN, FR, DE and NL. The main interest of the research is then to explore the diverse nature of the cross-lingual *product* (2) as it is made visible in the analysis; this will range from non-correspondence to correspondence (and indeed also partial correspondence as opposed to complete equivalence).

⁷⁷ In the particular case of citizenship, discourses represent not only different linguistic systems but may also reflect different political, social and legal cultures.

2.6.3 The Three Dimensions of EU Multilingualism: A CDA Framework for Analysing Intra- and Inter-textual Hybridity

The purpose of this final subsection is to bring together all the theoretical elements discussed so far in order to form the final bespoke CDA framework for exploring the multilingual citizenship narrative. As we have already seen, the narratives to be analysed take place over three different documents forming a discourse *chain* from *stages A* to *C*. Each text segment for each of these *stages* can be seen as a distinct mental representation (or conceptual space). The progress of these conceptual spaces from *stages A* to *C* will be discussed below as a process of conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). This means that elements from *stage A* are carried over in a modified form or discarded to create a new space at *stage B*; in turn, elements from *stage B* are then retained in some form or discarded to create the third *stage C*. An explanation of this mechanism is given below in more detail.

Mental Spaces and Conceptual Blending Theory

The cognitive linguistic notion of conceptual blending refers to a process of ‘online meaning construction’ and is responsible for a number of ‘conceptual operations performed during discourse’ (Hart 2010: 108). According to this process, several interlinked mental spaces⁷⁸ can be constructed within even a short excerpt of discourse; and these ‘linguistic expressions will typically establish new spaces’ which may themselves also contain new interlinked elements (Fauconnier 1994: 17).

Sweetser and Fauconnier (1996) provide a succinct description of what a mental space theory entails:

‘The dynamics of mental space construction and space linking are technically abstract, but conceptually straightforward. The basic idea is that, as we think and talk, mental spaces are set up, structured, and linked under pressure from grammar, context, and culture. The effect is to create a network of spaces through which we move as discourse unfolds.’

(Sweetser and Fauconnier 1996: 11)

⁷⁸ ‘Elements in a mental space are, inter alia, the entities, objects, actions, and processes referred to explicitly or implicitly in discourse.’ (Hart 2010: 108)

A conceptual blending network is formed by four separate mental spaces: two input spaces⁷⁹, the generic space⁸⁰ and the new blended space; a new space is considered to have been created when an utterance is constructed based on diverging background assumptions about states of affairs, entities or objects (Coulson 2000: 23). In the case of the data in this analysis, these ‘diverging background assumptions’ are the possible different ideological viewpoints of the Commission (supranational) and the Council (intergovernmental). The next subsection demonstrates how a discourse *chain* from the corpus data (EN monolingual version only) moves through a process of conceptual blending; linguistic and discursive features of *stages* A and B combine and are modified or discarded to form a new re-contextualized discourse space at *stage* C.

The Horizontal Dimension (1) – MONOLINGUAL Blended Discourse Spaces and the EN Template

The Table below (Example 11), ‘Citizens and the European Union’, illustrates the first part of the framework; this is the monolingual conceptual ‘template’ for the analysis of discourse segments at the three *stages* of the discourse *chain*: Commission Proposal (*stage* A); Council adopted Programme (*stage* B); Commission Action Plan for implementation (*stage* C). This ‘template’ is analysed horizontally, describing the three different ‘text worlds’ of A, B and C and the conceptual blending process that is operative as these ‘text worlds’ move forward as a narrative continuum. The table is

⁷⁹ For ease of description here, *stages* A and B are seen as the two input spaces for the creation of a new blended space at *stage* C. However, *stage* A can naturally also act as an input space for *stage* B as the Commission proposal at A precedes the Council programme at B. In this thesis, an explanation is provided of conceptual blending theory only within the original parameters of two input spaces; it is however acknowledged that the number of input spaces could in reality fluctuate, i.e. be more or less than two, depending on (1) the number of discourses to be included in the analysis of a particular chain and (2) whether the incremental effect of conceptual blending is also being considered. For example, in the case of (1) a discourse produced by a European Parliament (EP) debate (positioned between Commission proposal at A and Council programme adoption at B) would then itself become *stage* B; it would as such now also be an input space for the Council programme at new *stage* C. Council and Commission committee meetings taking place before an EP debate could of course also be included to create many more *stages* and input spaces. In the case of (2) the analysis could also attempt to assess the conceptual blending procedure that has occurred incrementally at each new *stage*, i.e. how has *stage* A affected B, how have *stages* A and B affected C, and how have A, B and C affected *stage* D? This could obviously continue ad infinitum. However, as regards clarity of analysis, including so many elements and variables (even if the data were only monolingual, which it is not) would make for a theoretical construct that is far too complicated to be manageable.

⁸⁰ Within this framework, the generic space is denoted as ‘the structure that inputs seem to share’ (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 47) typified by ‘semantic categories which structure the ideational representation in discourse of a given scenario’ (Hart 2010: 110).

thus the EN template only for the three *stages* A, B and C of the horizontal discourse *chain*; it describes the relationship between citizens and the European Union. The blended space (*stage* C) is constructed based on two input spaces (*stages* A and B)⁸¹ and the fourth element of the conceptual matrix, the generic space.

Example 11

Citizens and the European Union

COM 262	C 115	COM 171
<p>PEOPLE want to live in a European Union that is prosperous and peaceful, where their rights are respected and their security protected.</p>	<p>The European Council reaffirms the priority it attaches to the development of an area of freedom, security and justice, responding to a central concern of the PEOPLES of the States brought together in the Union.</p>	<p>WOMEN AND MEN IN EUROPE rightly expect to live in a peaceful and prosperous Union confident that their rights are fully respected and their security provided.</p>

The generic space in the above example is represented by the desire, wish or concern of European citizens (described variously as ‘people’, ‘peoples’ and ‘women and men’) to live in a European Union which is secure. Although the text segments also mention – variously - prosperity, peace, rights, freedom and justice, the notion of security is the only generic conceptual space shared explicitly by all three. At *stage* A (Commission Proposal), only the desire or wish itself for this security in Europe is referred to, whereas at *stage* B (Council Programme) this desire is legitimized by the fact that it will be responded to - although there is more emphasis on this concern belonging to the collective ‘peoples’ of the Member States of the Union rather than individual citizens (or people). However, this idea of individual citizens from the first input space is transferred into the blended space by the notion of ‘men and women’;

⁸¹ As the particular discourse *chain* under discussion has three *stages* (A, B and C) which precede each other chronologically, for the purposes of this analysis the third and final *stage* C (the Commission Action Plan) is being considered as the new blended space. As discussed above in footnote 79, in reality this discourse *chain* would simply continue onto the next stage (i.e. possibly a new Council document adopting the Action Plan); this stage would then also be considered a new blended space. In addition, as the EU’s institutional *chain* of discourse is ongoing, in a sense all *stages* may be considered as input spaces in the overall discourse continuum. It is also interesting to note that this Commission Action Plan – COM 171 – was in fact not finally adopted; this was because the European Council was unable to endorse the content of the Plan in its entirety and was also of the opinion that there were important omissions.

the second input space provides the notion of legitimacy, which is then incorporated into the blended space through the ideas that citizens ‘rightly expect’ and are ‘confident’ of this security in the Europe they inhabit. As indicated above, a new space is created when conceptual constructions have diverging background assumptions relating to certain discourse elements or states of affairs. Thus, we now observe that the two input spaces at *stage A* and *stage B* have created a new blended space by combining the different background assumptions supplied by (1) the European Commission and (2) the European Council. Therefore, in keeping with its supranational ideological perspective, the European Commission creates an input space in which European citizens are individuals (people) within Europe as a whole. In contrast to this, the European Council’s intergovernmental stance refers to the ‘peoples of the States brought together in the Union’; this then foregrounds the fact that Europe is made up of individual States and peoples rather than individual people or European citizens.

The Table below (Example 12) contains the FR, DE and NL versions of this same discourse space continuum without back translations. Thus, *the horizontal discourse chain* develops simultaneously (and in parallel to the EN version) also in the other languages. The cross-lingual comparison of these individual horizontal discourse chains is the second part of the framework; this is *the vertical dimension*, where discourse spaces are now multilingual. The third part of the framework is *the integrated multilingual discourse chain* and combines both horizontal *and* vertical dimensions. These second and third parts of the framework will be explained briefly below in two further subsections.

Example 12 – Citizens and the European Union

COM 262	C 115	COM 171
<p><i>Les CITOYENS veulent vivre dans une Union européenne prospère et pacifique au sein de laquelle leurs droits sont respectés et leur sécurité protégée.</i></p>	<p><i>Le Conseil européen rappelle qu'il considère comme une priorité la mise en place d'un espace de liberté, de sécurité et de justice pour répondre à une préoccupation majeure des PEUPLES des États réunis au sein de l'Union.</i></p>	<p><i>Les EUROPEENS attendent à juste titre de l'Union qu'elle leur offre un cadre de vie pacifique et prospère dans lequel leurs droits sont pleinement respectés et leur sécurité assurée.</i></p>

<p>Die MENSCHEN wollen in einer florierenden und friedlichen Europäischen Union leben, in der ihre Rechte respektiert und ihre Sicherheit geschützt werden.</p>	<p>Der Europäische Rat bekräftigt, dass er dem Aufbau eines Raums der Freiheit, der Sicherheit und des Rechts, der einem zentralen Anliegen der BEVÖLKERUNG der in der Union vereinigten Staaten entspricht, vorrangige Bedeutung beimisst.</p>	<p>Die FRAUEN UND MÄNNER IN EUROPA erwarten zu Recht, dass sie in einer friedlichen und prosperierenden Union leben und darauf vertrauen können, dass ihre Rechte voll und ganz geachtet werden und ihre Sicherheit gewährleistet ist.</p>
<p>De BURGERS willen leven in een welvarende en vreedzame Europese Unie waarin hun rechten worden geëerbiedigd en hun veiligheid wordt beschermd.</p>	<p>De Europese Unie bevestigt het belang dat zij hecht aan de ontwikkeling van een ruimte van vrijheid, veiligheid en recht, als antwoord op een algemene bezorgdheid van de VOLKEREN van de staten die in de Unie verenigd zijn.</p>	<p>VROUWEN EN MANNEN IN EUROPA verwachten terecht dat zij in een vreedzame en welvarende Unie kunnen leven en erop mogen vertrouwen dat hun rechten ten volle worden geëerbiedigd en hun veiligheid wordt gewaarborgd.</p>

The Vertical Dimension (2) – MULTILINGUAL Discourse Spaces and Intra-textual Hybridity

The second dimension of the framework (the vertical multilingual) will not analyse each specific *chain* in each language but will compare separate *stages* of the *chain* simultaneously in all language versions (EN, FR, DE and NL). The overall aim will be to explore the relationship between multilingual discourse spaces and features of *intra-textual* hybridity. The data analysis will examine corresponding language-specific conceptualizations within discourse *stages* A, B and C and explore how the multilingual discourse world is negotiated cross-lingually at each separate *stage*; Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004), as described in section 2.3.3, will be applied to assess: (1) all four language versions as they move through the three discourse *stages*; and (2) to what extent these versions are conceptually different when cross-compared at the multilingual interfaces of *stages* A, B and C.

The Integrated Dimension (3) – The MULTILINGUAL CHAIN of Discourse and Inter-textual Hybridity

In line with the objectives of a CDA theoretical framework, the methodology for data analysis should be capable of marrying linguistic and sociological approaches in order

to provide an adequate analysis of ‘the complex interrelations between discourse and society’; this process is known as mediation (Wodak and Weiss 2005: 124-125) and was referred to previously under section 2.5. Within the framework being developed here, the sociological side of the CDA approach is more accurately described as ‘socio-political’. This is because the discursive voices of the Commission and Council are twofold in nature: they are both *sociological*, as they represent the organizational society of the European institutions, and *political*, as they both carry out specific political mandates. The Commission has a supranational political mandate to promote the interests of the Union as a whole; the Council has an intergovernmental mandate to represent the political views of the separate Member States of that Union.

As we have already outlined, there are three parameters to take into account in the data analysis: (1) the *monolingual*; (2) the *multilingual*; and (3) the *multilingual chain*. These three parameters will frame and structure the linguistic analysis; within this, the methodology will highlight features of cross-linguistic construal in the conceptual representation of spatial, temporal and modal relationships. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are three other parameters which represent the nature of institutional ‘thinking’ (Douglas 1986); these therefore constitute the *socio-political* side of the analysis. The first two of these parameters are linked to the ideological positions of the Commission and the Council as EU institutions and, as stated above, are politically oriented: (1) *supranationality*, represented by the Commission; and (2) *intergovernmentalism*, represented by the Council. These two parameters will only be highlighted in the analysis sporadically and only to the extent that they are relevant to exploring cross-lingual or translational phenomena. However, the third socio-political parameter is the ideological position implied by the overarching language policy of the EU institutions as a whole: (3) *multilingualism*, expressed primarily as the notion of ‘multiple authenticity’, which has been discussed earlier. This third and last socio-political parameter relates to the multilingual text production processes that are inherent within EU discourse narratives: hybrid ‘trans-drafting’ and hybrid translational procedures; these are the institutional mechanisms for creating parallel language versions which meet the criteria of ‘multiple authenticity’. This parameter will be explored by cross-comparing individual language discourse *chains* and tracking in what ways certain (combinations of) languages mirror one another or not

in terms of *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension*. Moreover, the effect of hybrid trans-drafting and translation - as a function of institutional multilingualism - will be explored between languages within one or more *stages* of the multilingual discourse *chain*.

Thus, the institutional socio-political parameters identified for this CDA framework may influence both the *micro* linguistic (close reading) representation of ideas and concepts about citizenship and ultimately the *macro* discourses (ideologies) produced as a result. Unpacking the relationship between *micro* and *macro* discourses is the ultimate aim of CDA methodologies. The specific CDA framework developed here is summarized in the table (Figure 8) below.

Figure 8

EU Multilingual Discourse Narratives: Mediating between the socio-political and the linguistic

<p>SOCIO-POLITICAL</p> <p>Institutional factors</p>	<p>LINGUISTIC</p> <p>Factors influencing micro discourse</p>	<p>MEDIATION</p> <p>Factors influencing macro discourse</p>
<p>Ideologies of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) <i>Supranationalism</i> (2) <i>Intergovernmentalism</i> (3) <i>Multilingualism</i> ('multiple authenticity' and 'trans-drafting' leading to intra- and inter-textual hybridity) 	<p>Semantic changes leading to shifts in spatial, temporal or modal relationships</p>	<p>Pragmatic inferences in conceptualizations of space, time and modality; Semantic-pragmatic harmony or tension, leading to conceptual equivalence or non-equivalence</p>

2.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to develop a bespoke theoretical framework for multilingual critical discourse analysis (CDA) to explore the relationship between EU multilingual text production and conceptual equivalence in a discourse narrative on European citizenship. In order to do this, both the relevance and irrelevance of traditional translation equivalence frameworks were discussed, as well as two particular features of EU language policy: (1) ‘multiple authenticity’ among all official languages; and (2) the phenomenon of hybridity in the drafting and translating of multilingual documentation. Based on this, it was concluded that a framework specifically for assessing and comparing conceptual equivalences among hybrid multiply authentic language combinations was necessary. Cognitive linguistic constructs of construal were discussed - in particular Langacker’s subjective viewpoint; Chilton’s Discourse Space Theory (DST) was then described and shown to be a useful tool for exploring the notion of *semantic-pragmatic tension* or *harmony* in the expression of space, time and modality at the multilingual interface of discourse. In addition, text (discourse) world theory (Werth 1999 and Gavins 2007), as well as mental space and conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), were introduced to take into account the nature of the discourse narrative as a dynamic *chain*. The resulting framework consists of three dimensions: *the horizontal monolingual*; *the vertical multilingual*; and *the integrated multilingual chain*. The final bespoke framework for multilingual CDA was summarized in a table setting out: (1) the link between socio-political institutional factors and linguistic factors; and (2) the possible combined effect of these factors on both *micro* and *macro* discourse levels in the multilingual narrative.

Admittedly, the theoretical framework developed in this chapter is complex and multi-faceted. However, this only reflects the complexity and opacity of the cross-lingual transfer processes that are taking place within EU multilingual discourse chains. The framework has also produced many questions as to why certain hybrid multilingual phenomena occur. It should be noted at this point that these are of course only speculations which cannot be proved beyond doubt; cross-lingual phenomena can be made visible but cannot be definitively described or evaluated due to the multi-

layered language transfer environment. Many more such questions will be raised, highlighted and discussed in the three full data analysis chapters of this thesis. The next chapter will describe the methodology used to put this bespoke framework into practice.

METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe and justify the methodological approach and data collection used to apply the bespoke multilingual CDA framework developed in the previous chapter. It will also show how this approach and design are particularly appropriate for exploring the central research question and three secondary research questions of this thesis. These are:

What is the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative?

- (1) What role does linguistic and translational hybridity play in the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence?
- (2) What role does the institutional re-contextualization of the same discourse narrative between the Commission and the Council play in the relationship between hybridity and conceptual equivalence?
- (3) And how do (1) and (2) affect the conceptualization of key aspects of this discourse narrative across language versions?

The three secondary research questions can also be related to the three dimensions of analysis: *the monolingual; the multilingual; the integrated chain*. Question (1) looks initially at a monolingual scenario (using the EN version as a template) and then explores how this template is reproduced as a result of the hybrid text production

process in the multilingual text versions (FR, DE and NL). Question (2) then deals with the multilingual dimension in a different way: it analyses each separate language discourse chain as it moves forward as a parallel version, beginning with the EN version; it then consecutively compares parallel chains with one another in the order FR, DE and NL. Question (3) then combines the analysis methods relating to the multilingual dimension in questions (1) and (2); it analyses the whole multilingual chain as it develops, comparing all language versions simultaneously at each stage of the integrated multilingual chain of discourse.

In order to explore these questions it is necessary to combine methodological approaches from different disciplines of applied linguistic research. While the notion of translational equivalence certainly plays a central role in the analysis, the EU's policy of 'multiple authenticity' and its resulting hybrid translational procedures necessarily imply the absence of a binary or single source-to-target text relationship characteristic of many translation equivalence theories; therefore, the methodology must enable a multi-way comparison of translational and linguistic phenomena between several languages (in this analysis, EN, FR, DE and NL). Thus, a mutual comparison of language versions is possible and the need to take into account differences in individual language grammars and systems is largely obviated.⁸²

3.2 Key Methodological Constructs for Data Analysis

The methodology should therefore go beyond the individual language level and explore comparisons of conceptual representation not dependent on grammatical forms in any given language. Langacker's viewpoint was used as a secondary source to demonstrate differences in cross-lingual construal; following this, Chilton's Discourse Space Theory (DST) was selected as the primary source for exploring the specific conceptual categories of space, time and modality. In particular, it was noted

⁸² To qualify this statement, there is no need to consistently use comparative linguistic analysis methods across languages. This is because the analysis relies on the comparison of conceptual categories and not lexical or grammatical ones. However, there is naturally a need to take the functioning of different language-specific grammars into account in terms of different ways of expressing (construing) spatial, temporal and modal relationships. Where such considerations deserve attention for the sake of clarity in the analysis, grammatical observations are made on an ad hoc basis, but this does not form a central concern in the argument.

that differences in linguistic construal across languages within these categories could be described as equivalent or non-equivalent; this is because semantic changes or shifts not reproduced uniformly could lead to alternative pragmatic inferences. Such instances were labelled either *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension*. The extent of harmony or tension thus indicates the extent to which conceptual equivalence is achieved among language versions. This part of the methodology relates to the first data analysis chapter (Chapter 4 - Freedom), in which instances of *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension* are explored extensively.

However, in order to fully explore the relationship between conceptual equivalence and the EU's multilingual text production process, the methodological framework should also take into account the institutional nature of the discourse chain as it passes from stages A to C. This concerns the fact that the chain incorporates two different speakers (the Commission at stages A and C and the Council at stage B). These speakers have different ideological positions: the Commission is a supranational institution and the Council is an intergovernmental one. The multilingual CDA tool can interpret *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension* (in the micro text) as similar or differing ideological (political) viewpoints (in the macro text) across languages at key junctures in the discourse. In other words, the CDA analysis reveals in what ways hybrid multilingual versions of the same discourse also produce differences in conceptual equivalence as varying ideological viewpoints at any one stage of a discourse chain. This addresses the first secondary research question:

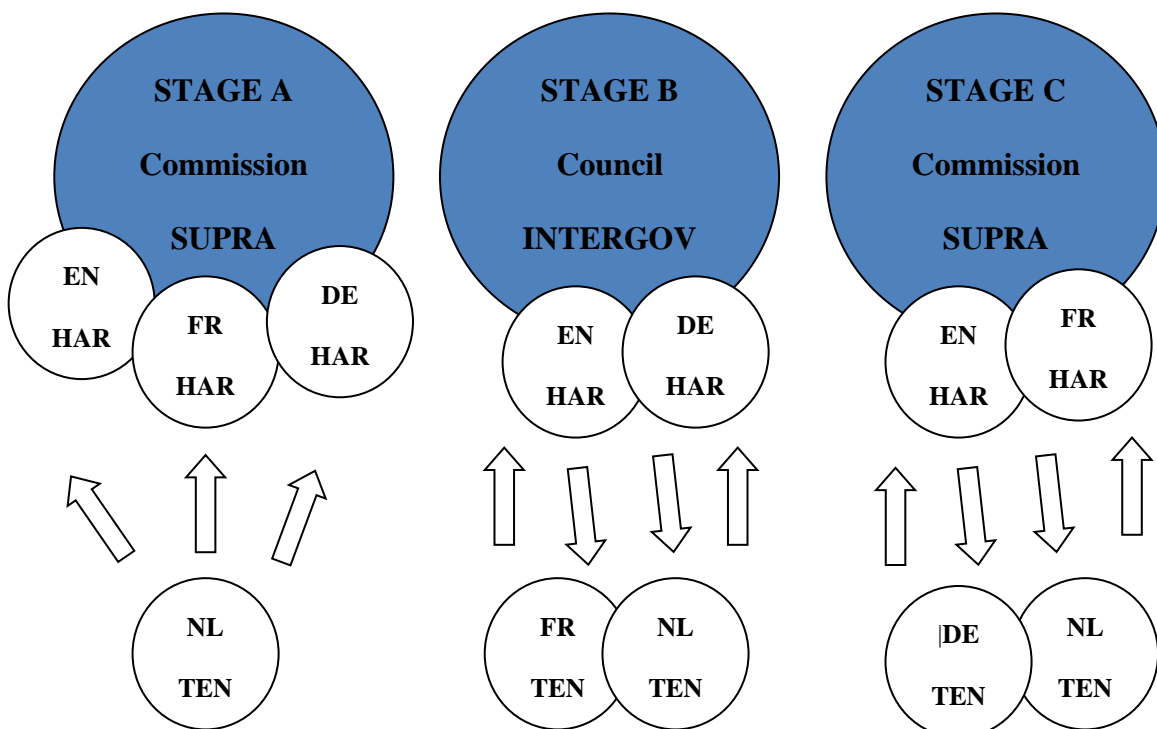
- (1) What role does linguistic and translational hybridity play in the relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence?

This question relates to the second data analysis chapter (Chapter 5 – Security), in which - predominantly - semantic-pragmatic *tension* (and not *harmony*) is isolated and discussed; this is to explore fully the possible alternative ideological interpretations of macro text readings in different language versions. Such alternative interpretations are inferred by instances of *tension* between various configurations of languages in their micro texts at stage A, B or C. However, discussions of semantic-pragmatic *harmony* are not entirely ruled out in this context; this is because, even

where there is tension in one (or more) language(s), this tension is necessarily compared and juxtaposed against other languages displaying linguistic features of mutual harmony with one another. Hence, the focus in Chapter 5 is predominantly - but not exclusively - on *tension* between versions. As we have already said, the significance of distinguishing between the different stages of the discourse is that they constitute two different institutional voices and can therefore be anticipated to portray alternative ideologies of supranationalism (the Commission at stages A and C) and intergovernmentalism (the Council at stage B). However, this may not necessarily always be the case due to possible variations in linguistic construal across language versions - and the fluctuations in conceptual representation that this entails - at any one of the three discourse stages. The analysis will thus also explore in how far the anticipated institutional voices of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism are stable across language versions within the Commission and Council narratives, respectively. The diagram below (Figure 1) depicts the kinds of possible relationships between semantic-pragmatic *harmony* and *tension* among languages and the perceived stability of cross-lingual institutional voice.

Figure 1

Harmony versus Tension and Cross-lingual Institutional Voice



KEY:

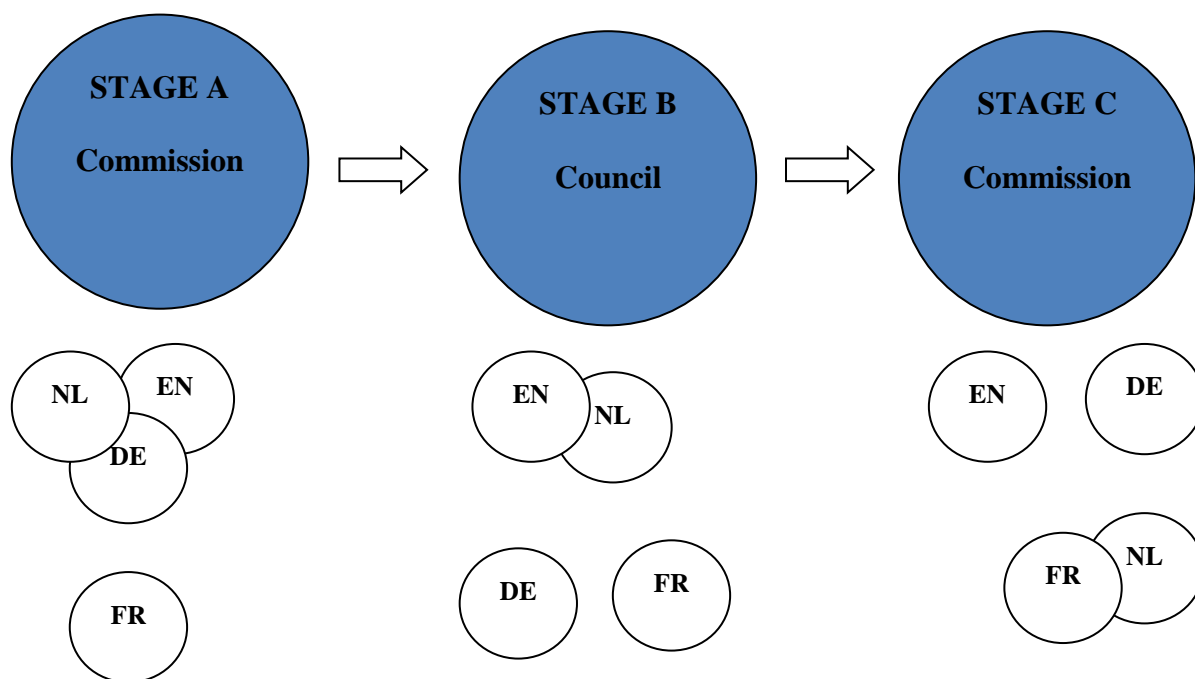
SUPRA = supranational, INTERGOV = intergovernmental, HAR = semantic-pragmatic harmony, TEN = semantic-pragmatic tension

For example, at Commission stage A (SUPRA) there could be harmony between EN, FR and DE but tension between these languages and NL. At Council stage B (INTERGOV) there may be harmony between EN and DE and tension between these two languages and FR and NL (which exhibit then harmony between themselves). At Commission stage C (SUPRA) there could be evidence of harmony between EN and FR and tension between these languages and DE and NL (which then also exhibit harmony between themselves).

Finally, the incorporation of conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and text or discourse world theory provides a way of further extending the multilingual CDA tool to analyse the narrative as it unfolds ‘online’ (Gavins 2007; Werth 1999) as a product of its institutional discourse setting; this means that the analysis is not confined within *one single* multilingual discourse stage or document in the chain (as in Analysis Chapters 4 and 5 – Freedom and Security, respectively) but can ‘travel’ *across* this chain: thus, from Commission proposal (A) to Council programme (B) to Commission action plan (C). The discourse chain from stages A-C functions as follows: a specific discourse segment construed in a particular way in its various language versions at Commission stage A is taken up and linguistically re-represented in these languages at Council stage B; and this then takes place again in the third context of Commission stage C. The following diagram (Figure 2) illustrates this progression.

Figure 2

The ‘On-line’ Discourse Chain



The language clusters in the diagram above represent examples of construals that may have mirrored each other at stage A and then may or may not go on to resemble each other at stages B and C; alternatively, they may share similarities with another language or other language combinations at further stages in the chain.

Tracking this process allows the analysis to explore not only: (1) how hybrid linguistic and translational phenomena are evident across different stages of a discourse chain within *one single* stage; but also (2) whether hybrid phenomena appear to have an influence within and/or across *one or more* language stages. In other words, is there any evidence that hybridity may cause linguistic and translational cross-contamination⁸³ within the discourse production process *not only as a multilingual process but as an institutional one as well?* Thus, the remaining two secondary research questions can be addressed:

⁸³ See footnote 7, Chapter 1 (Section 1.1) for references and the justification for using this perhaps somewhat contentious term; i.e. there is contamination as opposed to language purity (or a pure version).

- (2) What role does the institutional re-contextualization of the same discourse narrative between the Commission and the Council play in the relationship between hybridity and conceptual equivalence?
- (3) And how do (1) and (2) affect the conceptualization of key aspects of this discourse narrative across language versions?

This relates to the third data analysis chapter (Chapter 6 – Justice), which applies the fully-developed multilingual CDA model. The analysis explores in particular the role of linguistic and translational hybridity as the citizenship narrative unfolds ‘online’ in EN, FR, DE and NL.

3.3 Overview of Data Analysis Structure

The outline for the data analysis can be summarized as follows. Chapter 4 – Freedom⁸⁴ – firstly sets out EN ‘template’ versions of discourse chains from stages A to C; this is Step 1 (the Monolingual EN Template) and serves as a ‘storyboard’ depicting what is going on discursively at each stage. Subsequently, this chapter also explores examples of cross-lingual semantic-pragmatic *tension* or *harmony* at separate stages of these chains; it therefore also establishes Step 2 (The Multilingual Interface) of the bespoke CDA framework. The overall aim of Step 2 is to identify instances of cross-lingual *harmony* and *tension* as degrees of conceptual equivalence or non-equivalence. This relates specifically to exploring *intra*-textual hybridity so the analysis concentrates on comparisons in construal between EN, FR, DE and NL *within* any *one* discourse stage; all parallel versions are considered multiply authentic, regardless of the language under scrutiny.

Chapter 5 – Security – builds on this in Step 3 (The Multilingual Institution) and considers in particular whether semantic-pragmatic *tension* (in the micro text)

⁸⁴ The significance of the three analysis chapter titles in this thesis is that they represent the three main discursive themes/strands in the European Council’s parliamentary programme for 2009-2014 on an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ): ‘The Stockholm Programme – An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting Citizens’.

contributes to differences in the linguistic expression of ideological viewpoint (in the macro text); this is seen in the light of either supranationalism or intergovernmentalism on the part of the Commission and Council, respectively.

Chapter 6 – Justice – provides the final Step 4 (The Hybrid Multilingual Institution), which integrates the two dimensions of multilingualism and institutionalism. The aim of Step 4 is to track occurrences of *inter-textual* hybridity; this is understood to mean cross-contamination between language construals *across more than one* discourse stage. The analysis isolates instances of semantic-pragmatic *tension* from stages A to C and discusses their influence on: (1) conceptual equivalences/non-equivalences; and (2) the ideological voices thus represented in the multilingual institutional setting.

3.4 Building the Corpus

3.4.1 Selecting an Appropriate Narrative

In order to explore the specific discourse narrative of *citizenship*⁸⁵ within the multilingual text production process of the European Union, it was necessary to identify an appropriately themed set of EU documentation. Also, to safeguard the reliability and viability of cross-lingual data comparison (and any related data analysis findings), the set of citizenship themed documentation had to be official final version publications of the European Union.⁸⁶ It was also important for the documentation to be available online in the four languages to be analysed (EN, FR, DE and NL). This is because electronic downloads from the official EU website were needed to facilitate

⁸⁵ See Chapter 2, subsection 2.5.1 on the implications of (recent) trends in European discourses on citizenship and also subsection 2.6.2 on the EU's multilingual citizenship narrative. Both these subsections illustrate that the European citizenship narrative is particularly appropriate for exploring possible linguistic subjectivity and conceptual equivalence and non-equivalence in parallel multilingual discourses.

⁸⁶ All final versions of official documents generated by the EU institutions are held in the *EUR-Lex* database, which allows direct free access to European legislation. The Official Journal of the European Union can also be consulted here, as well as treaties, case-law and proposals for legislation, etc. All documents are in all the official working languages of the Union and are final versions. The data used to construct the multilingual parallel language corpus for analysis in this thesis are therefore guaranteed - by the official website of the European Union - to be reliable and viable as authentic final versions of the documents in these parallel languages.

parallel alignment and various search functions. Copies of the documents in *Microsoft Word for Windows* were downloaded (where possible) - or PDF versions were downloaded and then converted into *Word*. The documentation was then tabulated and made ready for the selection of specific data segments to be used in the data analysis.

The specific discourse narrative selected for the corpus of multilingual data was the European parliamentary programme for the period 2009-2014 (the Stockholm Programme); this programme deals with the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) serving the citizen. Former programmes covering this area were: Tampere (1999-2004) and The Hague (2004-2009). The AFSJ framework came into being initially under Title V of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union; it ensures the free movement of persons within the EU and affords its citizens a high level of protection. Policy areas included within this framework are: managing the EU's external borders; judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters; combating terrorism and organized crime; and the issues of asylum and immigration policy.⁸⁷ It was already noted in Chapter 2, subsection 2.5.1, that these policy areas - in particular security (e.g. Blackledge 2009) and migration and asylum issues (e.g. Stevenson and Schanze 2009) - have been flagged up by scholars of socio-linguistics as politically sensitive among Member States. It can be the case that politically sensitive issues are given subjective interpretations by speakers (in this case the Commission and the Council) in linguistically expressing a particular attitude or viewpoint. The key concept of European citizenship and the issues of freedom, security and justice which relate to this citizenship may therefore provide a fertile ground for the expression of such subjective interpretations; and these may become evident by examining and comparing different parallel language versions of the same narrative.

Three official EU documents were selected to build a small limited corpus of multilingual data for analysis. These documents were considered particularly appropriate for the purpose as they make up three distinct *stages* of an ongoing 'online' discourse *chain* between the European Commission and the European

⁸⁷ Source: *Europa* website 'Summaries of EU Legislation' – Justice, freedom and security http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/index_en.htm
Accessed on 13 November 2012

Council - this being the *specific discourse narrative* of citizenship, ‘An Area of Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen’. The exact documents are:

- (1) *An Area of Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen* (European Commission Communication COM(2009) 262)
- (2) *The Stockholm Programme - An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting Citizens* (European Council 2010/C 115/01)
- (3) *Delivering an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice for Europe’s Citizens. Action Plan Implementing the Stockholm Programme* (European Commission Communication COM(2010) 171)

3.4.2 Preparing the Corpus for Data Selection

Each document was downloaded in the four language versions of EN, FR, DE and NL and saved as electronic copies (the full versions of each of these 12 documents - 3 x 4 language versions – can be accessed on the EU’s *EUR-Lex* website: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html>). For each separate document (1-3) a table was constructed of the entire text in which the EN, FR, DE and NL versions were placed in exact horizontal alignment. This was done manually as it proved impossible to find a suitable alignment tool able to reliably and accurately align four separate language versions simultaneously. The three separate tables, each containing one entire multilingual document (1-3), were then saved electronically into a *Word* document. A series of search functions were then carried out in order to identify and highlight every single mention of the lemma *citizen* in the EN version and the corresponding⁸⁸ lemmas of *citoyen*, *Bürger* and *burger* in the FR, DE and NL versions, respectively. Searching for the lemma *citizen* and the corresponding lemmas in the other language versions also necessarily flagged up the compound lexeme *citizenship* and its parallels

⁸⁸ It is of course necessary for the methodology to cross-compare parallel occurrences of this lemma in all four language versions; however, in the context of this thesis, it would also be naive and simplistic to assume that *citizen* in English and the three ‘equivalents’ in French, German and Dutch all have exactly the same meaning. In his work on key words and their meanings, Raymond Williams concluded that there are both ‘quite basic’ and ‘very complex’ problems associated with attempting to arrive at an analysis of the processes of meaning, and this is partly caused by the ‘difficult relations between words and concepts’ (Williams 1983: 21). He emphasized that history has an impact on meaning within societies but also that ‘some important social and historical processes occur *within* language, in ways which indicate how integral the problems of meanings and of relationships really are’ (Williams 1983: 21-22).

in the other languages (*citoyenneté*, *Bürgerschaft* and *burgerschap*, respectively⁸⁹). This meant that not only passages containing mentions of the physical persona of European citizens but also those relating to the *concept of being* a citizen (citizenship) could also be identified. As a general rule, if in at least one language version the lemma *citizen* or the compound lexeme *citizenship* (or their parallels) was identified, the corresponding lexical item in all parallel language versions was also highlighted; the segment was then deemed suitable as a possible data selection for the eventual data analysis. However, as will be evident from the sample (Example 1) of parallel aligned tabulated data below from Document 1, the lemma *citizen* and the compound lexeme *citizenship* did not always correspond semantically across the four language versions.⁹⁰ Thus, in the following instance – the introductory sentence to Commission Communication 262 – *citizens* were only represented as such semantically in two of the four languages (FR and NL); the corresponding lexical item was represented in the other two versions (EN and DE) semantically by *people* and its equivalent in DE, ‘*Menschen*’. Thus, even at the outset of the first document in the chain of citizenship discourse, there is a clear semantic discrepancy or change across language versions from *citizens* to *people* or vice versa. Isolating the semantic element *citizen(s)* and/or the concept of *citizenship* across the multilingual spectrum (even working with only four language versions simultaneously) is therefore methodologically problematic, and certainly in part elusive; in other words, there is a different reality going on in each separate language and, while these realities can be compared, they cannot be reconciled within a consistent conceptual narrative.

⁸⁹ As Keane (2008: 6) has pointed out, alternative compound lexemes for the EN ‘citizenship’ are possible, i.e. the DE *Staatsangehörigkeit*, which can also mean ‘nationality’. In the corpus of this thesis, the DE lexeme *Unionsbürgerschaft* also co-occurred as a parallel to EN ‘citizenship’, FR *citoyenneté* and NL *burgerschap* (i.e. where, in some instances, none of the other languages incorporated ‘Union’ into the compound). The DE *Unionsbürgerschaft* also co-occurred at times with ‘European citizenship’, respectively in the other three languages. As Keane also postulated, ‘[i]t remains to be seen whether these diverse meanings and feelings for citizenship will generate conflicting policy definitions of ‘citizenship of the Union’; or even perhaps reduce definitions of European citizenship to mere words ...’ (Keane 2008: 4). We can at least note - even at this early juncture - that, whether conflicting policy definitions do eventually emerge or not, the terms *citizen* and *citizenship* can be framed in quite diverse ways linguistically; and this is even within the narrow data comparison of the four parallel languages mined here. Investigating the extent to which these linguistic divergences affect the conceptual interpretation of policy discourses on European citizenship is of course the aim of this thesis. We will return to this question in the analysis chapters and in the overall conclusions drawn from the analysis.

⁹⁰ From a text world theory perspective, this corresponds with earlier comments made in the previous chapter about the shifting nature of semantic and pragmatic features; in some cases, these can also cause shifts in deictic centre and influence how certain text elements (including but not limited to *citizen* and *citizenship*) are positioned in space and time in the speaker/drafter’s text world.

Example 1

Sample Search Results for CITIZEN(SHIP) and ‘Equivalents’

Document 1 - Commission COM 262 – STAGE A

1. Introduction PEOPLE want to live in a European Union that is prosperous and peaceful, where their rights are respected and their security protected.	I. INTRODUCTION <i>Les CITOYENS veulent vivre dans une Union européenne prospère et pacifique au sein de laquelle leurs droits sont respectés et leur sécurité protégée.</i>	I. EINLEITUNG <i>Die MENSCHEN wollen in einer florierenden und friedlichen Europäischen Union leben, in der ihre Rechte respektiert und ihre Sicherheit geschützt werden.</i>	I. INLEIDING: <i>De BURGERS willen leven in een welvarende en vreedzame Europese Unie waarin hun rechten worden geëerbiedigd en hun veiligheid wordt beschermd.</i>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The Council then produces a new document in the form of the Stockholm Programme - Document 2 at *stage B*. This is a response to the document proposed by the Commission - Document 1 at *stage A*. The Council re-contextualizes and re-represents (incorporating or adjusting some existing aspects, rejecting others and adding new ones) the concepts expressed in Document 1; Document 2 is then the second major *stage (B)* in the narrative. In reality of course, the amount of discursive activity between *stage A* (the Commission proposal) and *stage B* (the Council programme) is considerable; it would also involve the European Parliament (EP) voting on a Resolution for adoption, as well as numerous committee discussions and political lobbying on both a European party political level (within the EP) and a Member State intergovernmental level. Indeed, prior to publishing its proposed Action Plan (Document 3) for implementation of the Stockholm Programme - signalled here as *stage C* of the discourse *chain*, the Commission would also engage in various discursive activities on a European supranational level, again involving various interest groups and lobbies.

However, the discursive activity taking place between these *stages A, B* and *C* (used here admittedly as a relatively blunt instrument for simplifying the process of discourse analysis) is not the concern of this thesis. The writer acknowledges the sheer complexity of the process (as the term ‘comitology’⁹¹ suggests) between the

⁹¹ The *Europa* website’s glossary of terms states that: ‘In exercising its implementing powers, the Commission is assisted by representatives of the Member States through committees, in accordance

synthetically constructed *stages* A to C here, but will not engage in a discussion surrounding the issue. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the relationship between a multilingual institutional process and the multilingual product generated by this process. As we have already said, we define the product of this process as the final version documents (and not interim versions of any kind); we therefore include only these final versions in the citizenship narrative analysed here.

Tabulations of the remaining two parallel aligned multilingual documents (Document 2 at *stage* B and Document 3 at *stage* C) in all four languages were then produced in the same way as for Document 1 at *stage* A, shown above. Again, the lemma *citizen* and the compound lexeme *citizenship* - and their cross-lingual FR, DE and NL textual equivalents - were highlighted throughout as possible segments for data analysis selection. Note that we have now referred to ‘textual’ equivalents. This is because, as we saw in the table above depicting *stage* A, ‘equivalents’ were not always semantic equivalents, i.e. the lexemes *citizens* and *people* were used interchangeably across languages.

3.4.3 Matching Discourse Segments across STAGES A to C

The next step in preparing the corpus for data selection involved attempting to match similar segments of discourse across all three stages of the chain. However, it was not always possible to do this by only using segments that had a *citizen* or *citizenship* mention in at least one language version. In fact, for the sample segment in the table above from Document 1 at *stage* A (Example 1), the two segments that were the best match at *stages* B and C, respectively, did not contain either *citizen* or *citizenship* at all in any one single language. However, they *were* clearly re-contextualizing a very similar piece of discourse. The table below (Example 2) depicts this similar segment in Document 2 at *stage* B (Council Programme); while it is less explicit, it does refer to the priority of developing the area of freedom, security and justice in response to concerns of the peoples of the Union.

with the “comitology” procedure.’ Accessed on 26/07/2013 at:
<http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/comitology_en.htm>

Example 2

Similar Segment of Discourse

Document 2 - Council C 115 – STAGE B

<p>The European Council reaffirms the priority it attaches to the development of an area of freedom, security and justice, responding to a central concern of the PEOPLES of the States brought together in the Union.</p>	<p><i>Le Conseil européen rappelle qu'il considère comme une priorité la mise en place d'un espace de liberté, de sécurité et de justice pour répondre à une préoccupation majeure des PEUPLES des États réunis au sein de l'Union.</i></p>	<p><i>Der Europäische Rat bekräftigt, dass er dem Aufbau eines Raums der Freiheit, der Sicherheit und des Rechts, der einem zentralen Anliegen der BEVÖLKERUNG der in der Union vereinigten Staaten entspricht, vorrangige Bedeutung beimisst.</i></p>	<p><i>De Europese Unie bevestigt het belang dat zij hecht aan de ontwikkeling van een ruimte van vrijheid, veiligheid en recht, als antwoord op een algemene bezorgdheid van de VOLKEREN van de staten die in de Unie verenigd zijn.</i></p>
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In fact, even within the semantic variation of ‘peoples’ (and not *citizens*) here, there is variation across the four languages. In the DE version, *Bevölkerung* is closer semantically to ‘population’ than ‘peoples’. The purpose of this example is simply to show that segments were selected as suitable for representing the chain of discourse data from stages A to C if they appeared to be best matches for one another in terms of their discourse content. Searching on the basis of the lexical representation of *citizen(s)* or *citizenship* was merely an initial way into accessing the type of discourse content required for the analysis. However, semantic variations across discourse stages, even at this very basic lexical level, were considerable. The table below (Example 3) shows how this effect is compounded further on reaching Document 3 at stage C.

Example 3

Similar Segment of Discourse

Document 3 – Commission COM 171 – STAGE C

WOMEN AND MEN IN EUROPE rightly expect to live in a peaceful and prosperous Union confident that their rights are fully respected and their security provided.	LES EUROPEENS <i>attendent à juste titre de l'Union qu'elle leur offre un cadre de vie pacifique et prospère dans lequel leurs droits sont pleinement respectés et leur sécurité assurée.</i>	DIE FRAUEN UND MÄNNER IN EUROPA <i>erwarten zu Recht, dass sie in einer friedlichen und prosperierenden Union leben und darauf vertrauen können, dass ihre Rechte voll und ganz geachtet werden und ihre Sicherheit gewährleistet ist.</i>	VROUWEN EN MANNEN IN EUROPA <i>verwachten terecht dat zij in een vreedzame en welvarende Unie kunnen leven en erop mogen vertrouwen dat hun rechten ten volle worden geëerbiedigd en hun veiligheid wordt gewaarborgd.</i>
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Not surprisingly, the segment of discourse which is the best match in Document 3 at stage C (shown above) is much closer to stage A in terms of its discourse content. This is because the segment is a re-contextualization by the same author or speaker of stage A (the Commission); it is an Action Plan proposal for implementation of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) following on from its proposal for this AFSJ at stage A. Thus, the notions of peace and prosperity, the respect of rights and the provision of security are once more packaged as the expectation (the ‘want’ or desire at Commission stage A) of ‘citizens’; although these discourse entities have now shifted semantically to ‘women and men’ (of Europe). In contrast to this, at stage B (Council), it is the overall policy development of an area of freedom, security and justice that is foregrounded as necessary in response to a central concern of the ‘peoples’ (citizens). Reading across the table of data, it is also clear that here too there are substantial lexical and therefore semantic shifts in the conceptual representation of citizens. As at stage B, the lexeme *citizen(s)* was not used at all in any language version, although it was present at the outset of the discourse chain (in two out of the four language versions at stage A). The notion of *citizens* at stage C is represented in the four language versions as, respectively: ‘Women and men in Europe’ (EN, DE and NL); and ‘(the) Europeans’ (FR). This is a clear lexical discrepancy across languages which cannot in any way be described as semantically or conceptually equivalent. The first description (EN, DE and NL) foregrounds the distinction between feminine and masculine genders of persons physically present or residing in Europe (therefore also not necessarily European citizens). The second

denotes those persons who belong to the category of Europe (Europeans) but who are also not necessarily European citizens; the geographical boundaries of Europe extend beyond the European Union (i.e. Switzerland and Norway, countries which are not members of the EU and also, for example, Western and Central Russia falling within the territorial boundaries of Europe).

Thus, the three tabulated stages (A to C) of the multilingual corpus were constructed in order to search for lemmas and lexemes relating to *citizen* and *citizenship*; however, the ‘best match’ content for similar discourse segments also revealed two unexpected salient facts:

- (1) the lemma *citizen* is lexically and semantically interchangeable with other lexical items cross-lingually within the same multilingual document or discourse *stage*;
- (2) the lemma *citizen* is not necessarily reproduced in any of the languages at the following two discourse stages (B and C) in a similar or ‘best match’ segment.

As we have noted, traditional translation equivalence models are insufficient as they only deal with one-source-to-one-target relationships; this is not the case in the EU’s multilingual scenario in which all languages are multiply authentic and translational equivalence is therefore - at least to some extent – a redundant construct. Moreover, from point (1) above it is clear that this corpus is not only subject to cross-lingual *semantic* correspondences; even within one stage, there are substantial semantic discrepancies which cannot be explored or explained within equivalence relationships alone. Point (2) also demonstrates that, in order to fully explore the relationship between conceptual equivalence and the EU’s multilingual production process, it is necessary to track narratives as a *chain of discourse*; exploring the multilingual institutional process and its hybrid linguistic and translational phenomena requires a methodological approach capable of analysing both discourse production and institutional setting from a multilingual perspective.

3.5 Towards A Bespoke Multilingual CDA Tool of Analysis

The following four sections briefly set out the four steps for constructing and applying the Bespoke Multilingual CDA Framework; they describe how each step will function and progressively build up the analysis in each data analysis chapter. Consequently, each chapter takes a different analytical approach.

The first data analysis chapter (Chapter 4 – Freedom) contains both Steps 1 and 2 of the CDA Framework; these are the Monolingual EN Template and the Multilingual Interface. These are dealt with below in sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

3.5.1 STEP 1

THE MONOLINGUAL EN TEMPLATE – The Horizontal Dimension

In Chapter 4 - Freedom, the Monolingual EN Template is always the first part of the analysis and acts as the discursive 'storyboard' for each of the four main chapter subsections. Each discursive subtheme in these subsections, e.g. 'The Political Priority of Freedom', is thus firstly depicted as a chain of discourse from stages A to C. This monolingual chain is described according to a series of shifting mental spaces represented at each stage and conceptually blending⁹² across the three stages. This produces the 'storyboard' of what is actually going on discursively at successive stages (rather than linguistically in the separate parallel languages); each stage is then analysed separately in its multilingual forms in Step 2 – the Multilingual Interface.

While it is useful and necessary in Step 1 to firstly establish the discursive content of each stage, it should however also be noted that taking the EN version as a template and only then cross-comparing with other languages will inevitably influence the way in which the analysis is carried out. Thus, conceptualizations discussed in all languages will almost always find their point of reference in some way with the EN version. However, this was considered a reasonable construct to build into the

⁹² For an explanation of 'shifting mental spaces' and conceptual blending, the reader is referred back to Chapter 2, subsections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3.

analysis given the well-documented dominance of English - now usurping French in the pecking order of working and original drafting languages within the European Union institutions (Robinson 2008: 2).⁹³

Step 1 establishes the ‘storyboard’ of how the discourse within the chain develops through each stage and is conceptually modified as a result of this. The next step deals with how the separate stages of this same storyboard are reproduced in the four different language versions.

3.5.2 STEP 2

THE MULTILINGUAL INTERFACE – The Vertical Dimension

Step 2 of the analysis framework is the vertical dimension and considers the salient cross-lingual differences in the four parallel language versions.

Thus, Steps 1 and 2 of the methodology show the following:

- (1) The discursive construction of the citizenship discourse is a dynamic chain across three stages involving the Commission and the Council; these discursive stages are already subject to shifts in the conceptualization of space, time and modality even in their monolingual EN horizontal dimensions.
- (2) When this chain is transposed into the other three languages of FR, DE and NL, these conceptual discrepancies become more entrenched due to variations in construal mechanisms *across* languages; this produces further (subtle) differences in the conceptualization of space, time and modality.

However, given the sheer complexity of language transfer (trans-drafting and/or hybrid translational procedures) between even four of the 24 official languages of the Union, conceptual discrepancies can lead to either equivalence or non-equivalence among any combination of language clusters.⁹⁴ In the analytical

⁹³ For a more detailed explanation, the reader is referred forward to footnote 147.

⁹⁴ The reader is referred back to Figure 2: ‘The On-line Discourse Chain’ in section 3.2 of this chapter.

framework used here, equivalence will be labelled *semantic-pragmatic harmony* as there is no semantic change and therefore also no corresponding pragmatic inference. Where conceptual discrepancies lead to non-equivalence, the analytical framework will label this *semantic-pragmatic tension*; this means that a semantic change has produced an alternative pragmatic inference at the multilingual interface.

Thus far, the analytical framework can be expressed as follows:

- (1) **Monolingual EN Template Chain** – conceptual shifts in discursive content;
- (2) **Multilingual Interface of Individual Stages of the Chain** – *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension* compounds existing conceptual shifts in (1).

The next section sets out how in Step 3 these cross-lingual differences in conceptualization can be interpreted in the institutional context of the chain; that is to say the individual voices of the Commission and the Council as discourse speakers. The analytical framework now builds on the notion of *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension*, concentrating primarily on instances of *tension*; these instances are highlighted in order to explore whether the ideological voices of the Commission (as a supranational voice) and the Council (as an intergovernmental voice) remain stable at the multilingual interface. If this is not the case, a comparative analysis of the multilingual versions is expected to reveal in what ways this discrepancy is due to *semantic-pragmatic tension* as set out in Step 2.

3.5.3 STEP 3

THE MULTILINGUAL INSTITUTION – The Ideological Dimension

Steps 1 and 2 of the analytical framework are carried out in the first full analysis (Chapter 4 - Freedom). The second full analysis (Chapter 5 – Security) utilizes Step 3 of the framework and involves a comparison of individual language chains. The purpose of this is to gain some perspective on how each language version develops conceptually over the course of the ‘multiply authentic’ discourse chain. Each

language chain (stages A to C) in the order EN, FR, DE and NL is presented in tabular form and compared consecutively with the others; once again, a considerable amount of attention is devoted to instances of *semantic-pragmatic tension* (and to a lesser extent *harmony*) and fine-grain cross-lingual discrepancies in spatial, temporal and modal conceptualization. Moreover, Step 3 adds the *ideological* dimension to the framework as it attempts to also gain insight into whether multiple language versions can maintain ideological stability within a specific Commission or Council stage, or whether there is instability due to the cross-contamination of language transfer. From a CDA perspective, this chapter concentrates on how *semantic-pragmatic tension* in the cross-lingual *micro* discourse may influence the ideological voices of Commission and Council in the cross-lingual *macro* discourse.

Adding Step 3 to our analytical framework, we arrive at the following:

- (1) **Monolingual EN Template Chain** – conceptual shifts in discursive content;
- (2) **Multilingual Interface of Individual Stages of the Chain** – *semantic-pragmatic harmony* or *tension* compounds existing conceptual shifts in (1);
- (3) **Multilingual Institutional Chain and Language Transfer Procedures** - *semantic-pragmatic tension* in the *micro* text and subjective shifts in ideological viewpoint in the *macro* text of Commission and Council discourse narratives.

The following section describes Step 4 of the bespoke multilingual CDA framework, which brings together all the elements already covered in Steps 1-3.

3.5.4 STEP 4

THE HYBRID MULTILINGUAL INSTITUTION – The Integrated Dimension

The main purpose of this final step is to concentrate on the particular effect of translational and linguistic *hybridity* on conceptual representation within the citizenship narrative as a *hybrid multilingual institutional chain*. It explores how

parallel languages may influence (or cross-contaminate) one another within the EU's multilingual *hybrid* text genre. More specifically, it investigates which languages concur and where, and which languages diverge and where; it also looks for evidence to trace which languages may have been used as inspirations for trans-drafting and at what points in the discourse.

Step 4 combines all four steps of the bespoke CDA framework by: (1) identifying the particular *hybrid* construal mechanisms that produce *semantic-pragmatic tension* in conceptual representation; (2) highlighting any resulting subjectivity in ideological viewpoint; and (3) relating (1) and (2) to the institutional chain of language transfer and discourse re-contextualization that typifies the EU as a multilingual organization. In other words, it explores firstly the relationship between *hybrid construal*, *semantic-pragmatic tension* in conceptual representation and *ideological subjectivity*. Secondly, it places this relationship in the context of the *multilingual transfers and discourse re-contextualization inherent in EU narratives*.

It is therefore primarily the (subjective) conceptualization of the four language versions as they may influence each other *simultaneously* as a *hybrid chain* (across stages A to C) that is of interest here. This is in direct contrast to analysing the progression of the chain from a comparative cross-lingual perspective departing specifically from a discussion of the EN (template) version, as in Steps 1 to 3 of the framework.

Step 4 also deals simultaneously with both types of hybridity discussed and problematized in this thesis: *intra-textual* hybridity (occurring within *one single stage* or document of a discourse chain); and *inter-textual* hybridity (occurring within/across *more than one stage* or document of a discourse chain). Hybridity is understood to mean either homogenous or heterogeneous discourse production in any language combinations as a result of multilingual institutional setting. However, it is not the aim of this thesis to locate the exact cause of hybrid phenomena, but merely to point to any evidence suggesting that hybrid language transfer procedures may have caused cross-contamination; the analysis can also highlight that this occurs not only *among languages* but also - as a consequence - *among cross-lingual conceptual representation of ideological viewpoint in discourse narratives*. As we have indicated

earlier, from a critical discourse perspective, it is methodologically important for the analysis to be able to reveal two things: linguistic and/or translational differences between languages in the micro text (lexico-grammatical); and the wider discourse context of diverging lexico-grammatical features in the macro text. This could be, for example, the difference between conceptual representation of *citizens* in some languages and *people* in others. Despite the fact that these are so-called parallel text segments, the conceptual message determining the nature of citizens would be clearly differentiated in different languages; this then questions whether the democratic principle of multiple authenticity is viable or functioning here. It also begs the question: Do these diverse conceptual messages represent different ideological viewpoints about the European citizen in parallel languages?

Adding Step 4 now to the analytical framework, the fully formed Multilingual CDA Tool of Analysis is expressed as follows:

- (1) **Monolingual EN Template Chain** – conceptual shifts in discursive content;
- (2) **Multilingual Interface of Individual Stages of the Chain** - *semantic-pragmatic harmony or tension* compounds existing conceptual shifts in (1);
- (3) **Multilingual Institutional Chain and Language Transfer Procedures** - *semantic-pragmatic tension* in the *micro* text and subjective shifts in ideological viewpoint in the *macro* text of Commission and Council discourse narratives;
- (4) **Hybrid Multilingual Institutional Chain and Language Transfer Procedures** - *intra-* and *inter-*textual hybridity and linguistic cross-contamination as the cause of *semantic-pragmatic tension* in the *micro* text - leading also to hybrid and cross-contaminated ideological viewpoint in the *macro* text of Commission and Council discourse narratives.

The bespoke multilingual CDA tool described in this chapter can only point to possible causes and consequences of conceptual equivalence and non-equivalence. These relate specifically to *semantic-pragmatic harmony* and *tension* in the

representation of space, time and modality, based on Chilton's (2004) Discourse Space Theory (Chapter 4). They also relate in turn to subjectivity in ideological viewpoint within the discourse narratives of two institutions of the EU, the Commission and the Council (Chapter 5). Finally, they relate to the language transfer and text production processes of the European Union and the hybrid linguistic phenomena that are generated (Chapter 6).

ANALYSIS

Chapter 4

Citizenship and Freedom

STEP 1 – The Monolingual EN Template

STEP 2 – The Multilingual Interface

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 is the first of three data analysis chapters concentrating particularly on the notion of *semantic-pragmatic tension* (or indeed *harmony*, as the case may be) in the text segments selected from the multilingual parallel corpus. To this end, the horizontal dimension of analysis (the monolingual EN template) will be set out briefly but the main aim of the analysis will be to explore the semantic-pragmatic interface at the multilingual level by cross-comparing English (EN), French (FR), German (DE) and Dutch (NL) extracts.

The extracts to be discussed in this chapter will be divided into four themed sections. The first section will set out the main political priority statement relating to citizenship and freedom. The following three sections will deal with specific areas of freedom. These four themed analysis sections are entitled: The Political Priority of Freedom; Free Movement; Democratic Participation; and Diplomatic and Consular Protection.

These themes lie at the heart of the EU's aspiration for embodying the ideal notion of what European citizenship should represent, in its ability to transcend the notion of the national and experience the freedom of a borderless European area. Free

Movement concerns the right of all European citizens to travel to and reside in any other Member State to seek work or study, etc. This is a particularly salient theme in the current climate of fears within Europe of increasing (im)migration – against the backdrop of the recent global economic crisis - from countries with weaker economies. Democratic Participation is also a central theme of European citizenship – and is linked to Free Movement – as any European citizen from any Member State can vote in European elections. It is also the constant aspiration of the European project (and particularly the Commission) to encourage all European citizens to vote, although turnout still remains relatively low compared to national levels of Member State voting. Diplomatic and Consular Protection concerns primarily the right of European citizens from any Member State to claim the right to the support and expertise of an embassy or consulate of another Member State than their own if they are in a country (which may also be outside the EU) that is not represented by a consulate of the Member State to which they belong as a national. This could potentially be subject to different Member State viewpoints given that an EU citizen claiming consular protection from another Member State may be seen as an outsider rather than an insider by virtue of the general concept of European citizenship. We see therefore that even in these seemingly innocuous thematic headings there could be cross-lingual differences in interpretation at a macro (policy) level, and which may be evident through the detailed micro analysis of the data.

Within these themes, the analysis will interpret cross-lingual and translational phenomena at stages A, B and C of the institutional discourse chain by exploring the semantic-pragmatic interface at the multilingual level - again according to Chilton's (2004) theoretical framework of Discourse Space (space, time and modality). The subthemes used to categorize and illustrate these phenomena will be stated at the start of each separate analysis section.

The following sections 4.2 to 4.5 will assess equivalence in the conceptualization of space, time and modality. This assessment will describe the behaviour of translational phenomena as either *semantic-pragmatic tension* or *semantic-pragmatic harmony* at the multilingual interface of discourse. The analysis of each themed section will begin by briefly describing the monolingual template for stages A, B and C of the

discourse chain Commission – Council – Commission and will then focus on the multilingual interface of this discourse for each individual stage of the chain.

4.2 The Political Priority of Freedom

4.2.1 The Monolingual Template

This subsection will provide a brief overview of the horizontal discourse process underpinning the analysis and discussion of the multilingual interface to follow below in subsection 4.2.2.

Example 1 – The Political Priority of Freedom

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Promoting CITIZENS' rights — a Europe of rights:</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>and CITIZENS must be able to exercise their specific rights to the full, even outside the Union.</p>	<p>Promoting CITIZENSHIP and fundamental rights:</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>CITIZENS of the Union and other persons must be able to exercise their specific rights to the fullest extent within, and even, where relevant, outside the Union.</p>	<p>Empowering European CITIZENS</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>CITIZENS need to be able to benefit from their rights stemming from European integration.</p>

In Example 1, a connection is being made between ownership of (fundamental) rights and citizens/citizenship. This is expressed as ‘promotion’ of rights at stages A and B and ‘empowerment’ of citizens at stage C. However, the two generic spaces relevant to the cross-lingual analysis below are: (1) the manner of necessity for citizens (and other persons) to be able to exercise/benefit from these (specific) rights (to the full/fullest extent); and (2) where precisely these rights are to be exercised. In the case of (1), this necessity is expressed as ‘must’ at stages A and B; and ‘need to be able to’ at stage C. In the case of (2), the location of exercising rights is denoted at stage A as ‘even outside the Union’, where the focus particle ‘even’ infers that the location of outside the Union may be exceptional. Stage B incorporates the focus

particle ‘even’ but also adds the restriction of ‘where relevant’, which suggests that the speaker may intend to apply a deontic judgement (what is ‘right’ – Chilton 2004: 59) as to the appropriateness of the location ‘outside the Union’. At stage C, a description relating to ‘outside’ (or indeed ‘within’) the Union is absent in favour of a more generalized (and vaguer) description of exercising rights ‘stemming from European integration’. Thus, the two generic input spaces create a new space in which the source of rights (European integration) is emphasized rather than the location ‘where’ such rights should be exercised.

4.2.2 The Multilingual Interface: Semantic-pragmatic tension or harmony?

This section will analyse and discuss the multilingual semantic-pragmatic interface at the three separate stages of the discourse chain. The analysis will concentrate on linguistic phenomena relating to the indexicals of space, time and modality.

Example 1A below will concern the discussion of the subthemes: (1) The expression of necessity in ensuring citizens’ rights; and (2) Degrees of containment and inclusion in the Union.

Example 1A

STAGE A – Commission Communication 262
<p>Promoting CITIZENS’ rights — a Europe of rights:</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>... and CITIZENS <u>must</u> be able to exercise their specific rights to the full, <u>even outside the Union</u>.</p>
<p><i>Promouvoir les droits des CITOYENS – une Europe des droits:</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i><u>Il s’agit</u> ... ; d’assurer le plein exercice de SES droits spécifiques, <u>y compris dans des pays tiers</u>.</i></p>
<p>Back translation:</p> <p>Promoting CITIZENS’ rights - a Europe of rights:</p>

(...)

It is a question of/about ..., ensuring the full exercise of **THEIR** specific rights, including in third countries.

Förderung der Rechte der BÜRGER – Europa als Garant der Grundrechte und Grundfreiheiten:

(...)

Dazu zählen ... und die uneingeschränkte Ausübung der INDIVIDUELLEN Rechte auch in Drittländern.

Back translation:

Promotion of CITIZENS' rights – Europe as guarantor of fundamental rights and freedoms

(...)

This includes ... the unrestricted exercise of **INDIVIDUAL** rights also in third countries.

opkomen voor de rechten van de BURGER - een Europa van rechten:

(...)

... en moet de onverkorte uitoefening van DEZE specifieke rechten worden gewaarborgd, ook in derde landen.

Back translation:

standing up for CITIZENS' rights – a Europe of rights:

(...)

... and must the unreserved exercise of **THESE** specific rights be guaranteed, also in third countries.

The expression of necessity in ensuring citizens' rights

This priority statement on freedom deals with the fact that citizens should be able to fully exercise their specific rights; necessity is expressed here differently across languages even though the central argument of all language versions is that these rights should be guaranteed, ensured, etc. The EN and NL versions suggest the deontic judgement of what is 'right' through the use of the verb 'must' (*moeten*). In the EN text, citizens 'must be able to exercise their specific rights ...' and in the NL version these specific rights 'must be guaranteed', denoting that no other alternative but the unequivocal exercise of these rights is to be considered as morally appropriate.

However, in the FR version this judgement is modified as the clause begins with the impersonal expression: *Il s'agit de ...* ; this implies that the issue is 'a question of' or 'concerns' but does not introduce any modal necessity or deontic judgement of moral importance or 'rightness' on the part of the speaker. Admittedly, the accompanying verb complement 'assurer' (to ensure) may suggest a degree of epistemic certainty expressed lexically (as 'ensure' implies that the speaker at least believes that full exercise of citizens' specific rights will definitely come about). However, this does not alter the fact that this is not implied modally by the speaker; in contrast, the necessity for full exercise of citizens' specific rights is made explicit in the EN and NL versions by the use of modal 'must'. In a similar way, the DE version does not express this clause using modal necessity or deontic judgement either, commencing the statement with the expression: *Dazu zählen* (this includes). Therefore, here there is not only the absence of modal necessity but also the inference that the exercise of these rights can be included with a number of other elements which all have equal importance. Thus, in the FR and DE versions, the commitment of the speaker (in this case, the Commission) to the necessity to ensure these rights is more distanced from 'self' along the modal spatial axis than in the 'must' clauses expressed in the EN and NL versions of this extract. We find then, on the one hand, semantic-pragmatic harmony (in terms of deontic modality) between two versions (EN and NL) but semantic-pragmatic tension between these languages and the other two (FR and DE); these latter two both exhibit linguistic construal mechanisms that weaken the expression of commitment to necessity.⁹⁵

Degrees of containment and inclusion in the Union (i.e. *even* and *also* – and *third countries*⁹⁶ versus *outside the Union*)

Extending our discussion on the issue of ensuring the exercise of citizens' rights, the second part of the clause goes on to stipulate the location in which the full exercise of

⁹⁵ In the FR and DE versions, word order constraints (and space constraints in the tabulation) have meant that part of the wider textual context of the two clauses had to be omitted (placed in ellipsis). Nevertheless, the omitted sections do not include expressions of modal necessity either; this therefore only serves to strengthen the argument that the DE and FR versions express weaker commitment to necessity than the EN and NL versions. This is also particularly important from a CDA perspective as its approach typically considers larger chunks of text than the ones discussed here.

⁹⁶ The spatial implications of the expression 'third countries' will be discussed further from a slightly different angle in subsection 4.5.2 of this chapter.

these specific rights is to take place. Here again, both harmony and tension co-exist. From a spatial perspective, the expressions used across language versions build varying proximal and distal relationships between citizens exercising these rights and the geographic area denoted as ‘outside the Union’ or ‘in third countries’ (i.e. in countries not holding membership of the Union). This relationship is defined primarily by the choice of focus particle and/or connective linking the two ideas of ‘exercise of rights’ and ‘outside the EU area’. For example, once again there is harmony between two languages (DE and NL) as both the choice of connective ‘also’ (*auch* and *ook*) and the description of the area outside the EU as ‘in third countries’ (*in Drittländern* and *in derde landen*) is coherent. The expression as a whole suggests that emphasis is being placed on the status of citizens’ rights ‘in third countries’ (FR, DE and NL) or ‘outside the Union’ (EN) as additional or exceptional to what is normally expected vis-à-vis rights *within* the EU area. All four language versions assign focus ‘of whatever type’ (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 90) – i.e. focus markers in the form of particles (*even*, *y compris*, *auch* and *ook*, respectively).

However, the difference lies in the kind of focus particle across languages so that each parallel version gives its own ‘special [linguistic] treatment’ (Dik 1997: 313) to the second part of the clause. Thus, on a spatial scale, the DE and NL versions equate to one another as they both see the contrast of a third country (not in the Union) as merely additional, and neither inferior nor superior, to the Union. The FR version suggests that a third country space may not be the only place where citizens’ rights can be exercised in addition to within the Union; the third country space is said to be ‘included’ (*y compris*), which implies that other spaces or places could also be included. However, the EN version’s focus particle ‘even’ serves to mark the space ‘outside the Union’ as unusual or exceptional, as if it might be a last resort to move into that space. Therefore, there is semantic-pragmatic harmony between DE and NL, which co-locate the third country space with self (within the Union); there is semantic-pragmatic tension between these two versions and FR as, despite FR still positioning the third country space with self, it also acknowledges the possibility of other spaces being co-located with self. The EN version expresses the view that ‘outside the Union’ can only be co-located with self in exceptional circumstances; there is therefore semantic-pragmatic tension between EN and all the other languages.

In addition, the lexical expression ‘third country’ is inclusive; it denotes that, even though the geographic area described is not directly part of the Union, it is not excluded entirely as it has a peripheral role such as a ‘third party’ to a relationship. The FR version also opts for ‘in third countries’ (*dans les pays tiers*) – although, as already noted, due to its use of a variant connective expression (focus particle), it does not produce semantic-pragmatic harmony with the DE and NL versions. The connective ‘including’ (*y compris*) changes the way the speaker projects the conceptual relationship between the exercise of rights and the geographic space of ‘third countries’. This is because ‘including’ places focus on the fact that there is not an equal relationship between exercise of rights and the location of their exercise; it also denotes that the concept of exercising rights in the geographic space of ‘third countries’ (i.e. not in the Union) is not as obvious a deduction as in the DE and NL versions. Further tension is constructed in the EN version as ‘third countries’ is expressed as the alternative construal ‘outside the Union’, which immediately constructs a space which is non-inclusive rather than inclusive; here emphasis is placed on the property of *not* being ‘inside’ and therefore not being part of the Union at all, even peripherally. Moreover, the conceptual relationship between the two notions ‘exercise of rights’ and ‘outside the Union’ is further distanced along the spatial axis by the focus particle ‘even’; as pointed out above, this suggests that the notion of exercising rights outside the Union may be considered an exceptional state of affairs.

The following table (Example 1B) will focus on the subthemes: (1) The meaning of ‘full’ exercise of rights; and (2) Judging the ‘relevance’ of rights outside the Union.

Example 1B

STAGE B – Council Programme C 115
<p>Promoting CITIZENSHIP and fundamental rights:</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>CITIZENS of the Union and other persons must be able to exercise their specific rights <u>to the fullest extent within, and even, where relevant, outside the Union.</u></p>
<p>Promouvoir la CITOYENNETE et les droits fondamentaux:</p> <p>(...)</p>

*Il s'agit également ... et de veiller à ce que les **CITOYENS** de l'Union et les autres personnes puissent exercer pleinement leurs droits spécifiques, tant au sein de l'Union qu'à l'extérieur de celle-ci, le cas échéant.*

Back translation:

Promoting CITIZENSHIP and fundamental rights:

(...)

It is also a question of/about making sure that CITIZENS of the Union and other persons can exercise their specific rights fully, as much/equally within the Union as outside it, should the case arise.

Förderung der UnionsBÜRGERSCHAFT und der Grundrechte:

(...)

... und die UnionsBÜRGER sowie andere Personen müssen ihre spezifischen Rechte innerhalb, und gegebenenfalls sogar auch außerhalb der Union uneingeschränkt ausüben können.

Back translation:

Promotion of Union CITIZENSHIP and fundamental rights:

(...)

... and the Union's **CITIZENS** as well as other persons must be able to exercise their specific rights unrestrictedly within and should the case arise even (also) outside the Union.

Bevordering van BURGERSCHAP en grondrechten:

(...)

*De **BURGERS** van de Unie, maar ook anderen moeten deze specifieke rechten ten volle binnen en, in voorkomend geval, ook buiten de Europese Unie kunnen uitoefenen.*

Back translation:

Promotion of CITIZENSHIP and fundamental rights:

(...)

CITIZENS of the Union, but also others, must be able to exercise these specific rights fully within and, should the case arise, also outside the European Union.

The meaning of ‘full’ exercise of rights⁹⁷

Stage B reiterates the statement on the nature of the exercise of citizens’ rights and it is at this juncture that our analysis will deal with the cross-lingual comparison of the expression of ‘full’ exercise of these specific rights. In this instance, there is semantic-pragmatic harmony among three language versions as the notion of rights inhabiting a space ‘fully’, using varying expressions, is present. This is determined as ‘to the fullest extent’ in EN, ‘fully’ (*pleinement*) in FR and ‘fully’ (*ten volle*) in NL. However, the lexical semantics of the DE version are not coherent with the others and express the notion ‘fully’ as *uneingeschränkt*, which translates literally as: ‘unrestrictedly’. This creates a different mental representation of the exercise of rights; in contrast to rights being allowed to encompass a space ‘fully’ – as in the other versions – this mental representation of rights is one which prevents compression or limitation (restriction) within its conceptual space. In other words, the lexical construal mechanism in the DE version suggests a different perspective from which the exercise of rights can be viewed. Even though ‘unrestrictedly’ is the correct usage idiomatically in the DE text, it is conceptually incoherent because it infers lexically that restriction of rights may be indeed an issue and need to be prevented; the other language versions do not make this inference. There is therefore semantic-pragmatic tension in this respect between the DE version and the other languages.

Judging the ‘relevance’ of rights outside the Union

The geographic space suggested at stage A concerning the exercise of rights ‘outside the Union’ is reiterated here at stage B; but this version of the clause places a restriction on the necessity to allow full exercise of these rights. This concerns the expression denoted in the EN version as ‘where relevant’ and is interpreted here as a condition placed on the deontic judgement of what is ‘right’. In other words, the assessment of ‘relevance’ (as to the appropriateness or ‘rightness’ of a state of affairs)

⁹⁷ A similar example was discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to ‘vantage point’ or ‘viewing relationship’ (Langacker (1999: 297) and the non-neutrality of perspective. The segment commented on here is not exactly the same and is also discussed in the context of semantic-pragmatic harmony and tension.

relates to a process of justifying a moral or logical judgement.⁹⁸ The speaker is thus indicating that the conditions under which citizens should be enabled to exercise rights outside the Union is determined by a judgement of relevance (‘where relevant’) in any given situation. However, cross-lingually, there is more coherence between the other three language versions; these all express this notion of applying judgement to determine appropriateness or ‘relevance’ in a much less explicit manner. All equating to the coherent concept of ‘should the case arise’, the following expressions are produced: FR - *le cas échéant*; DE – *gegebenenfalls*; and NL - *in voorkomend geval*.

From a translational perspective, the EN version appears to be more semantically explicit. The expressions in the other languages are actually all far more semantically complex than ‘where relevant’ and imply judgement of not only relevance but also necessity and appropriateness, on a case-by-case basis. As a consequence, compared to the explicit semantic content of the EN version, the others could be read as vaguer and more open to interpretation, hedging between the implications of relevance, necessity and appropriateness. In addition, they may suggest a degree of epistemic uncertainty as to where and when it is considered appropriate for rights to be exercised outside the Union; this is because the outcome is dependent on a vague judgement to be made about a future uncertain event - ‘should the case arise’. One possible exception to this is the FR version, which could also be translated alternatively as either ‘when the case arises’ or ‘when/if necessary’; these alternative translations reflect the fact that the phrase *le cas échéant* does not automatically imply a conditional use, which also means that the argument for epistemic uncertainty here is not strictly unequivocal or obvious. In contrast, the EN version presents a more convincing case for far less epistemic uncertainty, as it makes explicit that this judgement will indeed be needed (‘where relevant’); however, it is not made clear how such ‘relevance’ is to be determined. Thus, in a sense, this version (EN) is also vague, although only about how judgement of relevance will be reached and not about whether the process of making a judgement will be needed at all.

⁹⁸ It could also be argued that the speaker is merely stating that relevance is to be determined by procedural regulations incumbent on a case-by-case basis. However, the interpretation that the speaker may evoke some kind of moral or logical assumptions about relevance is not ruled out.

Thus, semantic-pragmatic harmony exists between three language versions in this respect, while there is tension between these three and the EN version. This is due to the semantic alternative of ‘where relevant’ in the EN expression, which produces a pragmatic change inferring greater commitment to the deontic judgement of what is ‘right’ (because it is made lexically more explicit) on the part of the speaker.

The table below (Example 1C) will analyse the data according to the following subtheme: The spatial and temporal relationship between citizens and European integration.

Example 1C

STAGE C – Commission Communication COM 171
<p>Empowering European CITIZENS</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>CITIZENS need to be able to benefit from their rights <u>stemming from European integration</u>.</p>
<p><i>Faire de la CITOYENNETE européenne une réalité</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Les CITOYENS doivent pouvoir exercer les droits <u>que leur a apportés l'intégration européenne</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Making European CITIZENSHIP a reality</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>CITIZENS must be able to exercise the rights <u>that European integration has brought them</u>.</p>
<p><i>Mitspracherechte für die europäischen BÜRGER</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Die BÜRGER müssen von ihren Rechten, <u>die sich aus der europäischen Integration ergeben</u>, profitieren können.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Rights to a say/a voice for European CITIZENS</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>CITIZENS must be able to profit/benefit from their rights <u>which result/stem from European integration</u>.</p>

Van het Europees **BURGERSCHAP** een realiteit maken

(...)

BURGERS moeten hun rechten die voortvloeiën uit de Europese integratie kunnen benutten.

Back translation:

Making European **CITIZENSHIP** a reality

(...)

CITIZENS must be able make use of their rights which stem from European integration.

The spatial and temporal relationship between citizens and European integration

The focus at stage C of the discourse chain shifts to the relationship between citizens' rights and European integration; more specifically, it deals with the way in which European integration is or has been the agent to bring about these rights which citizens must be able to exercise.

Taking firstly the spatial relationship, the dynamic verb in the FR version *apporter* ('to bring') could – in the reading applied here - be interpreted as pragmatically different from all the other language versions; this is because here it is possible to argue that a spatially deictic relationship is being constructed between citizens and European integration. In this reading, citizens must be able to exercise the rights 'that European integration has brought them' (*que leur a apportés l'intégration européenne*). The verb *apporter* ('to bring') could then imply that European integration and citizens are located in the same conceptual space (i.e. the deictic centre of the speaker's 'here'). This is because deictically the semantics of 'bring' infer a dynamic relationship whereby what is being brought (the rights) are moving towards both the recipients of those rights (citizens) - referred to by the speaker - and the speaker themselves. Based on this very detailed linguistic interpretation, such a deictic relationship is not reproduced in the other language versions, which all equate to citizens benefiting from rights stemming/resulting 'from' European integration; within this citizens are not allotted a particular deictic coordinate with respect to the 'here' of the speaker. Nevertheless, this distinction of tension between the FR and the other versions is of course a very fine-grain one. It is then perhaps also not an

obvious distinction that would necessarily play consciously in the minds of all French-speaking readers of the text; nor may it particularly colour their interpretation of or attitude to citizens' rights within the context of European integration. It should be noted however that there is still a spatially dynamic relationship between European integration and rights in EN, DE and NL as all three verbs used are directional (stem from, *sich ergeben aus*, *voortvloeiën uit*, respectively); in this case, it is citizens' rights that are benefiting from the movement of European integration towards them. The NL verb *voortvloeiën uit* is the most metaphorical and also suggests the most rapid and fluid movement, as it is a property of liquid to flow (*vloeiën*) quickly from one object to another. The verbs in EN and DE only suggest that rights originate or emanate from European integration. Thus, there is again harmony in three languages (EN, DE and NL) and tension with another (FR); citizens are placed in a closer spatial relationship with European integration in the FR version, whereas this relationship remains undefined in the other versions.

Moreover, the FR version distinguishes itself also in terms of temporal deixis in that its tense (equating to the present perfect) implies that European integration has *already* 'brought' rights to citizens in the past and continues to do so into the present.⁹⁹ In contrast to this, two other language versions employ present tense construals signalling that rights 'result from' (DE - *aus der europäischen Integration ergeben*) and 'stem from' (NL - *voortvloeiën uit de Europese integratie*) European integration in the present; however, they give no indication of whether this has already been the case in the past. As is seen from the back translations above, no distinction is made in the DE and NL tenses between the simple present and the present continuous; this is simply because these two languages do not have a present continuous in their grammar systems. There is therefore also no way to determine whether the event of benefiting from rights is being expressed as happening in the *immediate* 'now' or is simply being indicated as an ongoing state of affairs. In addition, the EN version employs a present participle construal ('stemming from'), which is essentially tenseless and denotes only that two states of affairs or events are taking place simultaneously. Thus, citizens are benefiting from rights and these are

⁹⁹ An alternative interpretation is possible here as the French language also uses the present perfect as the simple past. A different view could be that the rights that have been (or were) brought to them do not continue into the future and remain as a past event.

‘stemming from’ European integration. However, the only temporal relationship that is being constructed between citizens’ rights and European integration is, as we have already said, one of simultaneity (i.e. while ever the rights stem from integration, they are exercised); there is then no indication as to how long citizens have been benefiting from these rights (which is also the case in the FR version if one takes the tense interpretation as simple past rather than present perfect, as discussed in footnote 99). Thus, there is relative semantic-pragmatic harmony between the EN, DE and NL extracts in that the temporal relationship between citizens’ rights and European integration is either very loosely defined in the present or not defined at all. There is then tension between these versions and the FR at the multilingual interface; this is because the FR text *does* define a temporal relationship, making it apparent that citizens have already been benefiting from rights provided by European integration in the past. However, as we have already said, this temporal relationship does not necessarily imply the continuation of rights into the present; this is because there is a dual possible reading of the FR *passé composé* as either a past finished event or an event originating in the past and proceeding into the present.

We should of course note here that the analysis above has concentrated primarily on interpreting the discourse as it relates to how EU citizens benefit from European integration in terms of rights. We argued (with the reservations also set out above) that the FR version possibly reflected a closer spatial and temporal relationship between integration and citizens compared to the other languages. However, it is also worth emphasizing that the actual term ‘European integration’ was not specifically analysed multilingually in this excerpt. If this had been the case, it would have been apparent that there is clear-cut semantic-pragmatic harmony across all languages in this Commission stage C (i.e. the specific term ‘European integration’ is used in all languages). In contrast, stages A (Commission proposal) and B (Council adopted programme) exhibited clear-cut semantic-pragmatic tensions with respect to the spatial concepts of ‘outside’ the Union versus ‘third countries’, even though the discourse was also dealing with the relationship of citizens and rights. We therefore conclude that decisions taken about not only which excerpts of text to analyse cross-lingually but also which *specific features or lexical items* to analyse within these excerpts colours the interpretation of our analysis. In this case, harmonies could have been noted at stage C (the lexical item ‘European integration’ in all languages) but

were not, and instead tensions were discussed. A more balanced approach may have been to discuss both tensions and harmonies at stage C as they relate to citizens' rights and European integration, and to then compare this back to the tensions discussed at stages A and B; here, the issue of rights afforded to citizens (and possibly others – i.e. non-EU citizens) 'outside' the EU versus in 'third countries' is a particular feature of discursive interest. This is because the alternative interpretations in different languages could reveal prejudices relating to allowing rights to non-EU citizens, thus promoting an 'us' and 'them' or nationalistic inclusion/exclusion polarity. However, in order to interrogate this question fully, many more cross-lingual excerpts of a comparable discursive nature would be needed, and this falls essentially outside the remit of this small-scale micro-linguistic study.

4.3 Free Movement

4.3.1 The Monolingual Template

This first part of the analysis will again give a brief overview of the three linked 'text worlds' (making up the generic and new input space(s) of the 'discourse world').

Example 2 – Free Movement

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Full exercise of the right to free movement</p> <p>CITIZENSHIP of the Union facilitates the movement of CITIZENS within the European Union. But PEOPLE are faced with barriers when they decide to live or travel in a Member State other than the one of their nationality.</p>	<p>Full exercise of the right to free movement</p> <p>The right to free movement of CITIZENS and their family members within the Union is one of the fundamental principles on which the Union is based and of European CITIZENSHIP. CITIZENS of the Union have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, ...</p>	<p>Facilitating CITIZENS' mobility is of crucial importance in the European project. Free movement is a core right of EU CITIZENS and their family members. It needs to be rigorously enforced. Mobility should be enhanced by removing the barriers CITIZENS still face when they decide to exercise their rights to move to a Member State other than their own to study or work, to set up a business, to start a family, or to retire.</p>

There are two generic input spaces of particular interest in the analysis of the multilingual interface set out below: (1) citizenship of the Union enables the fundamental principle or core right of (free) movement of citizens (and their family members); and (2) while this right allows citizens to live, travel, move to, reside freely (for the purposes of study, work or setting up a business) within the territory of any Member State of the Union, there are also still barriers to the exercise of this right. The precise definition of each of these input spaces across stages A, B and C of the discourse chain are no longer of direct interest as further analysis will concentrate on the behaviour of individual language versions within each of these stages separately.

4.3.2 The Multilingual Interface: Semantic-pragmatic tension or harmony?

Example 2A set out in the table below will analyse and discuss the multilingual data based on the following subthemes: (1) Spatial implications of lexical choice: barriers, obstacles or problems; (2) A Member State *not* of their own: the expression of ‘otherness’.

Example 2A

STAGE A – Commission Communication COM 262
<p>Full exercise of the right to free movement</p> <p>CITIZENSHIP of the Union facilitates the movement of CITIZENS within the European Union. But PEOPLE are <u>faced with barriers</u> when they decide to live or travel in a <u>Member State other than the one of their nationality</u>.</p>
<p><i>Plein exercice du droit à la libre circulation</i></p> <p><i>La CITOYENNETÉ de l'Union permet la mobilité des CITOYENS dans l'Union européenne. Cependant, les CITOYENS se heurtent à des obstacles lorsqu'ils décident de vivre ou de voyager dans un autre État Membre que celui de leur nationalité.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Full exercise of the right to free movement</p> <p>CITIZENSHIP of the Union allows the mobility of CITIZENS in the European Union. However, CITIZENS <u>run into/come up against obstacles</u> when they decide to live or travel <u>in a Member State other than that of their nationality</u>.</p>

Uneingeschränkte Ausübung des Rechts auf Freizügigkeit

Die UnionsBÜRGERSCHAFT verleiht den BÜRGERN das Recht, sich in der Europäischen Union frei zu bewegen. WER sich in einem anderen Mitgliedstaat als demjenigen, dessen Staatsangehörigkeit er besitzt, niederlassen oder sich zu Urlaubszwecken dort aufhalten möchte, stößt jedoch nach wie vor noch auf Hindernisse.

Back translation:

Unrestricted exercise of the right to free movement

Union **CITIZENSHIP** provides **CITIZENS** with the right to move freely in the European Union. **WHOEVER** wishes to settle or stay (there) for the purposes of a vacation in a Member State other than that of the nationality/citizenship they own however still continue to come up against obstacles.

Volledige uitoefening van het recht van vrij verkeer

Het BURGERSCHAP van de Unie maakt de mobiliteit van de BURGERS in de Europese Unie mogelijk. Niettemin stuiten de BURGERS op problemen wanneer zij besluiten in een andere lidstaat dan die waarvan zij de nationaliteit hebben, te gaan wonen of reizen.

Back translation:

Full exercise of the right to free movement

CITIZENSHIP of the Union makes **CITIZENS'** mobility possible. Nevertheless **CITIZENS** come up against problems when they decide to go and live or travel in a Member State other than that of the nationality they have.

Spatial implications of lexical choice: barriers, obstacles or problems

The second sentence of the multilingual data at stage 2A deals with the fact that citizens are 'faced with barriers' (EN version) when living or travelling in a Member State other than that of their nationality. In this context, the lexical choice for expressing the concept of 'barriers' across languages determines the extent to which space is built between citizens and free movement within Europe. For example, the EN version's lexical choice of 'barrier' implies that access is in fact not possible, which positions citizens at the most distal position on the spatial axis from Europe. If one compares the expressions 'barriers to trade' and to be 'barred' from an establishment or area, both these mean that access is denied. In contrast to this, the FR and DE versions opt, respectively, for the lexical items: *obstacles* – 'obstacles'; and *Hindernisse* – also 'obstacles'. However, unlike 'barriers', the semantic fields of '*obstacles*' and '*Hindernisse*' imply that, while there is an obstruction, this is not insurmountable and can be negotiated, if with some difficulty. Compare the

expressions: ‘obstacles in his path’ and ‘obstacle course’. Both these expressions are intended to denote a difficult progression but which is possible to overcome. In these two language versions, therefore, the spatial distance between citizens and (free movement in) Europe is not as great, placing them in a more proximal position on the spatial axis. Finally, the NL version does not establish this spatial relationship at all as it does not use a lexical item which evokes spatial characteristics. The fact that citizens come up against *problemen* (‘problems’) when living or travelling in another Member State is spatially neutral and merely indicates that difficulties are experienced; however, it does also infer that, as in the case of ‘obstacles’, these are not insurmountable as the concept of ‘problems’ normally assumes that ‘solutions’ will also be possible.

Thus, there is harmony between the two languages of FR and DE, as they create equal spatial relationships between citizens and (free movement in) Europe. In contrast, there is tension between these two and the EN and NL languages as both these latter versions contain semantic alternatives in their lexical choice; therefore, EN and NL, respectively, either increase the conceptual space between citizens and (free movement in) Europe or do not create this spatial relationship at all.

A Member State *not* of their own: the expression of ‘otherness’

The second part of the clause discussed above relating to exercising free movement in Europe deals specifically with the expression of ‘where’ this free movement is being hindered. This is denoted as citizens living and travelling in ‘a Member State other than the one of their nationality’. Thus, the central idea foregrounded here is that the Member State in which citizens are living or travelling represents the ‘other’, as it does not represent their own nationality. This construal is mirrored exactly in the FR version, which also describes the ‘other’ as: *un autre État Membre que celui de leur nationalité* (‘a Member State other than that of their nationality’). It is also mirrored lexically in the NL version, which likewise refers to ‘nationality’ (*nationaliteit*). What is of additional note in the EN and FR versions is the use of the personal pronoun ‘their’ (or *leur* in FR), which indicates not only a proximal relationship between citizens and ‘nationality’ but also ownership.

However, strikingly, it is only in the DE version that ‘otherness’ is expressed in a different way: *in einem anderen Mitgliedstaat als demjenigen, dessen Staatsangehörigkeit er besitzt* (‘in a Member State other than that of the nationality/citizenship they own’). Due to the particular lexical semantics of the German language, the term *Staatsangehörigkeit* can mean either nationality *or* citizenship, which in this instance creates a conceptual ambiguity. In addition, it also opens up the possibility of a spatial relationship not possible in the other language versions. This is because the concepts of nationality and citizenship are not always synonymous or indeed mutually exclusive. For example, a citizen of the Union has the nationality of a particular Member State but also has citizenship of other Member States by virtue of being a citizen of the European Union as a whole. In the same way, it is possible to have citizenship of a Member State but not necessarily have the nationality of that Member State. This is the case of many immigrants in Germany, for example, where belonging is more associated with citizenship of the State rather than nationality (Stevenson and Schanze 2009). Consequently, the DE version of this discourse segment opens up a wider conceptual space within which the ‘otherness’ of the Member State in which EU citizens may travel or live is ambiguous and indeed less prescriptive and exclusive. Thus, ‘otherness’ is not necessarily ascribed to non-ownership of nationality but includes the possibility of non-citizenship of that State as well.

A final point of difference lies in the syntactic construal expressing ‘ownership’ of nationality/citizenship. This occurs in the NL and DE versions as the constructions used equate to ‘a Member State other than that of the nationality/citizenship they own/have’ (DE - *in einem anderen Mitgliedstaat als demjenigen, dessen Staatsangehörigkeit er besitzt*; NL - *in een andere lidstaat dan die waarvan zij de nationaliteit hebben*). This is salient because it means that the personal pronoun ‘their’ in ‘of *their* nationality’ (EN and FR) is syntactically avoided in favour of a verbal expression of ownership (to ‘own’ – *besitzen* and ‘to have’ – *hebben*). On the one hand, the deictic proximity indicated by the personal pronoun ‘their’ in EN and FR creates a space in which citizens and ‘nationality’ co-exist and this is absent in DE and NL. However, on the other hand, one could equally argue that the verbal expression of possession in DE and NL is compensatory as it also implies deictic proximity and/or a space where possessor (citizens) and possessum (nationality) co-

exist. In this case, the difference in construal between EN and FR, and DE and NL, respectively, then remains merely syntactic and does not imply any conceptual discrepancy. However, it could even be argued that possession (and deictic proximity) is implied more literally – and therefore more convincingly - by the verb *besitzen* (to own) in DE, in comparison to the generic verb *hebben* (to have) in NL. Also, ‘owning’ implies at least some degree of dynamic agency on the part of the possessor, as if they have themselves taken ownership; ‘having’ implies a more passive relationship, as if ownership of nationality is a static state of affairs, a ‘sine qua non’ requiring no effort on the part of the possessor.

Summing up, there is harmony between the EN and FR versions both syntactically and lexically; there is also partial harmony between these versions and the NL (lexical coherence of ‘nationality’) and partial harmony between the DE and the NL versions (syntactic – if not semantic, as discussed above - coherence in expressing ownership verbally as to ‘own’ or ‘have’). However, the DE version creates tension both lexically and syntactically with the EN and FR versions; it thus also generates the most semantic-pragmatic tension whereby semantic alternatives imply pragmatic incoherence and variation in conceptualization of key discourse elements.

Discourse stage B in Example 2B below will concentrate on the subtheme:
Demarcation of ‘the Member States’: territory and sovereignty.

Example 2B

STAGE B – Council Programme C 115
<p>Full exercise of the right to free movement</p> <p>The right to free movement of CITIZENS and their family members within the Union is one of the fundamental principles on which the Union is based and of European CITIZENSHIP. CITIZENS of the Union have the right to move and reside freely <u>within the territory of the Member States</u>, ...</p>
<p><i>Plein exercice du droit à la libre circulation</i></p> <p><i>Le droit des CITOYENS et des membres de leur famille à la libre circulation à l'intérieur de l'Union est l'un des principes fondamentaux sur lesquels repose l'Union et de la CITOYENNETE européenne. Les CITOYENS de l'Union ont le droit de circuler et de résider librement <u>sur le territoire des États membres</u>, ...</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Full exercise of the right to free movement</p>

The right of **CITIZENS** and members of their family to free movement within the Union is one of the fundamental principles on which the Union rests and of European **CITIZENSHIP**. **CITIZENS** of the Union have the right to move and reside freely on the territory of the Member States, ...

Uneingeschränkte Ausübung des Rechts auf Freizügigkeit

*Das Recht auf Freizügigkeit der **BÜRGER** und ihrer Familienangehörigen innerhalb der Union ist eines der Grundprinzipien, auf denen die Union beruht, sowie der **UnionsBÜRGERSCHAFT**. Die **UnionsBÜRGER** haben das Recht, sich im Hoheitsgebiet der Mitgliedstaaten frei zu bewegen und aufzuhalten, ...*

Back translation:

Unrestricted exercise of the right to free movement

The right of **CITIZENS** and their family members to free movement within the Union is one of the fundamental principles on which the Union rests, just as Union **CITIZENSHIP**. Union **CITIZENS** have the right to move and reside freely in the sovereign territory of the Member States, ...

Volledige uitoefening van het recht van vrij verkeer

*Het recht van de **BURGER** en zijn gezinsleden om zich binnen de Unie vrij te verplaatsen is een van de grondbeginselen waarop de Unie is gegrondvest, en van het Europese **BURGERSCHAP**. De **BURGERS** van de Unie hebben het recht vrij te reizen en te verblijven op het grondgebied van de lidstaten, ...*

Back translation:

Full exercise of the right of free movement

The right of the **CITIZEN** and his family members to move freely within the Union is one of the fundamental principles on which the Union is established, and of European **CITIZENSHIP**. The **CITIZENS** of the Union have the right to travel and reside freely on the territory of the Member States, ...

Demarcation of ‘the Member States’: territory and sovereignty

The second sentence of this stage 2B defines further the right to free movement, which is described in the first sentence as one of the fundamental principles on which the Union and European citizenship is based. The excerpt to be analysed here in its multilingual forms states in the EN version that citizens of the Union have the right to move and reside freely ‘within the territory of the Member States, ...’. Thus, the conceptual space being constructed in the discourse is a geographic area in which citizens have the right to free movement, defined as ‘the territory of the Member

States’. Apart from reproducing the preposition ‘within’ as the alternate ‘on’,¹⁰⁰ this expression and spatial description is mirrored exactly both lexically and syntactically in the FR and NL versions: *sur le territoire des États membres, ...* ; *op het grondgebied van de lidstaten, ...* (‘on the territory of the Member States, ...’).

Bearing in mind that we have said that the conceptual space being constructed is a *geographic* one, a close reading of the DE version reveals a subtle difference in lexical choice; the semantic change that this produces infers a different conceptual interpretation and thus semantic-pragmatic tension in relation to the other language versions. The DE expression: *im Hoheitsgebiet der Mitgliedstaaten* translates to: ‘in the sovereign territory of the Member States’. The compound noun *Hoheits-gebiet* thus includes the lexeme *Hoheit* (sovereign); this means that it also makes possible the alternative translation of ‘sovereign’ territory as opposed to the geographic area only inferred by ‘territory’. In incorporating the notion of ‘sovereignty’, the DE version introduces a political (extra-textual or macro) discourse element which has a pragmatic interpretation. The conceptual space in which citizens are to move and reside freely is now no longer simply a geographic location but subject to the *political* remit with which the territory of Member States is endowed.¹⁰¹ Thus, once again, a

¹⁰⁰ It is worth noting here that the lexical difference between ‘within’ and ‘on’ also produces alternate spatial conceptualizations. For example, ‘within’ denotes deep insertion or embedding into the heart of an area whereas ‘on’ denotes only a position or coordinate on the surface of that area.

¹⁰¹ A search carried out on the IATE (*InterActive Terminology for Europe*) website, the EU’s multilingual term base, consistently gave parallel language versions for *Hoheitsgebiet* in DE as ‘territory’ in EN, ‘*territoire*’ in FR and ‘*grondgebied*’ (territory) in NL across a wide variety of European discourse categories (i.e. chemistry and earth sciences, finance, social sciences, economics, and European Union cultural policy, law and international agreements); these were found in examples of text taken from the European Commission, Council and Parliament. One of the most striking examples concerned a Council legislative text on international agreement involving the ‘Convention on rules for the admission of third-country nationals to the Member States of the European Union’. In this context, admission of third-country nationals is qualified in DE as admission to ‘*das Hoheitsgebiet der Mitgliedstaaten*’ (sovereign territory of the Member States), whereas in all the other three languages of EN, FR and NL there was no mention of even ‘territory/*territoire/grondgebied*’ (of the Member States).

Accessed on 28/01/2014 at:

<http://iate.europa.eu/SearchByQuery.do?method=search&query=hoheitsgebiet%20eines%20mitgliedstaats&sourceLanguage=de&&targetLanguages=de&targetLanguages=en&targetLanguages=fr&targetLanguages=nl&domain=0&matching=&typeOfSearch=s&start=0&next=1>

In other words, the Member States themselves are seen as the space to which third-country nationals are admitted without the need to qualify this space specifically as a territory at all. The need to make such a qualification - and also as a ‘sovereign territory’ - marks the DE version out as a language that emphasizes territorial boundaries not only as a geographic demarcation but also as a political one relating to the autonomy and independence of sovereign statehood.

semantic alternative has generated a pragmatic reading of a discourse element not present in the other language versions, creating semantic-pragmatic tension at the multilingual interface.

Stage 2C is depicted below (Example 2C) in its multilingual forms and will be analysed according to the two subthemes: (1) Lexical choice revisited: epistemic certainty of barriers, obstacles, boundaries and impediments; (2) Relationship of citizens to ‘other’ Member States.

Example 2C

STAGE C – Commission Communication COM 171
<p>Facilitating CITIZENS' mobility is of crucial importance in the European project. Free movement is a core right of EU CITIZENS and their family members. It needs to be rigorously enforced. Mobility should be enhanced by removing <u>the barriers CITIZENS still face</u> when they decide to exercise their rights to <u>move to a Member State other than their own</u> to study or work, to set up a business, to start a family, or to retire.</p>
<p><i>La mobilité des CITOYENS est au cœur du projet européen. La libre circulation constitue en effet un droit essentiel des CITOYENS de l'UE et des membres de leur famille qui doit être rigoureusement appliqué. Il convient de renforcer la mobilité en supprimant <u>les obstacles que les CITOYENS peuvent encore rencontrer</u> lorsqu'ils décident d'exercer leur droit à la libre circulation en allant étudier, travailler, créer une entreprise, fonder une famille ou prendre leur retraite <u>dans un État membre autre que celui dont ils sont originaires.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The mobility of CITIZENS is at the heart of the European project. Free movement indeed constitutes an essential right of EU CITIZENS and of their family members which must be rigorously applied. Mobility should be reinforced by eliminating <u>the obstacles that CITIZENS can still encounter</u> when they decide to exercise their right to free movement by going to study, work, set up a business, found a family or retire <u>in a Member State other than that from which they originate.</u></p>

Another IATE web search carried out for parallel entries for the lone lexeme ‘territory’ in EN revealed the alternative possibility in DE of *Gebiet* (territory) only - under the categories of life sciences, building and public works, general law and international trade (GATT - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade); however, the category of administrative law, and particularly migration, employment and European Union law, again gave a parallel of *Hoheitsgebiet*.

Accessed on 28/01/2014

<http://iate.europa.eu/SearchByQuery.do?method=search&query=territory&sourceLanguage=en&targetLanguages=de&targetLanguages=fr&targetLanguages=nl&domain=0&matching=&typeOfSearch=s&start=0&next=1>

It appears then that in DE, as soon as a geographic territory becomes political or significant from a legal administrative viewpoint, there is a need to add the qualification ‘sovereign’.

*Die erleichterte Mobilität der **BÜRGER** ist für Europa von zentraler Bedeutung. Die Freizügigkeit zählt zu den wesentlichen Rechten der EU-**BÜRGER** und ihrer Familienangehörigen. Dieses Recht muss mit aller Kraft gestärkt werden. Um die Mobilität zu fördern, müssen die Grenzen beseitigt werden, vor denen **BÜRGER** stehen, die ihre Rechte ausüben und in einem anderen Mitgliedstaat studieren, arbeiten, ein Unternehmen oder eine Familie gründen oder sich zur Ruhe setzen wollen.*

Back translation:

Facilitating **CITIZENS'** mobility is of central importance for Europe. Free movement is one of the essential rights of EU **CITIZENS** and their family members. This right must be forcefully strengthened. In order to promote mobility, the boundaries must be eliminated (that are) confronting **CITIZENS** who are exercising their rights and want to study, work, establish a business or family or retire in another Member State.

*In het Europees project is het van cruciaal belang dat de mobiliteit van **BURGERS** wordt vergemakkelijkt. Het recht van vrij verkeer van EU-**BURGERS** en hun familieleden staat centraal. Het moet strikt worden nageleefd. De mobiliteit moet worden verbeterd door de belemmeringen weg te nemen die **BURGERS** nog steeds ondervinden bij de uitoefening van hun recht om naar een andere lidstaat te reizen om er te studeren of te werken, om een onderneming op te richten, een gezin te stichten of van hun pensioen te genieten.*

Back translation:

In the European project it is of crucial importance that **CITIZENS'** mobility is facilitated. The right of EU **CITIZENS** and their family members to free movement is central. It must be strictly adhered to. Mobility must be improved by removing the impediments that **CITIZENS** still encounter when exercising their right to travel to another Member State to study or work there, set up a business, start a family or enjoy their retirement.

Lexical choice revisited: epistemic certainty of barriers, obstacles, boundaries and impediments

The analysis in this section returns firstly to the notion of lexical alternatives for the expression of 'barriers' to free movement and highlights further difference at this stage 2C as compared to stage 2B above. Secondly, it will consider variations in modality cross-lingually and inferred degrees of certainty of the existence of these 'barriers'.

Taking firstly the question of lexical choice for 'barriers', the same choice of *obstacles* is maintained in the FR version. However, there is a striking semantic change in the DE version, which now opts for the lexical choice of *Grenzen* (boundaries); this leads to a different pragmatic interpretation, emphasizing the fact that free movement takes place within a contained exclusive space, delimited by

boundaries which citizens are now being confronted with (*die Grenzen ... , vor denen Bürger stehen* ,...)). In addition, the NL version also exhibits an alternative lexical choice compared to the previous discourse stage. The ‘problems’ which citizens were said to be facing are now more in line with the other language versions at stage 2B. Thus, at this stage (2C) it is necessary to remove the *belemmeringen* (‘impediments’) which citizens *nog steeds ondervinden* (are still encountering). The lexical difference between ‘barriers’ and ‘obstacles’ established between the EN and FR versions is thus maintained here but the NL version now harmonizes more with the FR in employing the lexeme ‘impediment’; this approximates more closely to ‘obstacle’ as it suggests a hinderance or obstruction that is however not completely excluding as suggested by ‘barrier’.¹⁰² As already indicated, the DE version now does not harmonize lexically with any of the other language versions and creates a new spatial conceptualization; it does this by emphasizing that the area ‘in another Member State’ where citizens exercise their right to free movement is delimited by boundaries (*Grenzen*),¹⁰³ either excluding or including those who seek entry.

Moving to the discussion of epistemic certainty as to the existence of these ‘barriers/obstacles/boundaries’, the FR version is salient in this respect. This is because in all the other language versions, no modality is constructed at all and it is only in the FR version that a degree of doubt is introduced. All the other sentences referring to citizens facing/encountering difficulties in accessing their right to free movement in another Member State use declarative constructions in which the speaker is certain that these difficulties do in fact exist. However, in the FR version a modal construction is introduced, which suggests that the existence of these *obstacles* is not as certain as in the other language versions. This is reproduced in the FR as follows: *les obstacles que les citoyens peuvent encore rencontrer* (‘the obstacles that citizens can still encounter’). In other words, ‘can’ conveys the sense of possibility

¹⁰² The electronic *Grote Van Dale* (14th edition) monolingual Dutch dictionary also gives ‘*barrière*’ and ‘*obstakel*’ as possible synonyms for ‘*belemmering*’ (back translated here as ‘impediment’); this means that alternative close readings of ‘*belemmering*’ could feasibly also be ‘barrier’ and ‘obstacle’. The NL version can then remain ambiguous (on the linguistic fence as it were) and could infer any of these three precise meanings, depending on the interpretation of a particular reader.

¹⁰³ It is worth noting that in English a common translation for *Grenzen* is also ‘borders’ (i.e. geographic or conceptual); although this back translation has not been used here, it is important to keep in mind that the DE version does then carry the semantic value of ‘borders’ into the multilingual discourse space; in a physical geographic sense, ‘borders’ could then be an alternative close reading for ‘barriers/obstacles/impediments’ in the other language versions.

but also uncertainty, implying that the speaker is not as committed to the truth of the statement¹⁰⁴ as the speakers in the other language versions. Here again, thus, there is harmony among three languages and tension in the FR version; the semantic change introduced by a modal expression of epistemic uncertainty has generated a pragmatic interpretation not possible in any of the other parallel versions discussed here.

Relationship of citizens to ‘other’ Member States

Like stage 2B, this third discourse stage also deals with the notion of citizens exercising their right to free movement in another Member State. Once again, there is harmony between two languages. Both the DE and NL versions describe the ‘otherness’ of this Member State as simply ‘another Member State’. Consequently, citizens exercise this right *in einem anderen Mitgliedstaat* (‘in another Member State’) and travel *naar een andere lidstaat* (‘to another Member State’). However, the EN version makes this ‘otherness’ more explicit by introducing a possessive pronoun denoting that citizens do *not* have ownership or belong to the Member State they wish to travel to: citizens ‘move to a Member State other than their own’. This construal is thus far more exclusionary than the expressions of ‘other’ in the DE and NL versions. The most striking example of alternative construal is the FR version, however, which changes the perspective on the scene entirely and states that citizens exercise their right to free movement *dans un État membre autre que celui dont ils sont originaires* (‘in a Member State other than that from which they originate’). Here, the description of ‘other’ is no longer neutral, as in the DE and NL; it incorporates the emphasis that this ‘other’ Member State is a geographic location to which citizens seeking access do not belong as they did not originate there. The conceptual space created is therefore exclusionary and underlines the ‘otherness’ or ‘foreignness’ of citizens who wish to travel there far more than it describes the ‘otherness’ of the Member State itself.

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 44, Chapter 2, subsection 2.3.3 for an earlier explanation of Chilton’s (2004) treatment of epistemic modality; he interprets epistemic distance and proximity also as the degree to which the speaker aligns self with the certainty that a state of affairs is true or will become true. In this case, the modal verb ‘can’ suggests only a moderate (possibility plus uncertainty) commitment to the ‘truth’ that citizens still encounter obstacles (FR version).

Thus, harmony in three languages gives way to tension in another in a key discursive element of the citizenship narrative. Within the context of free movement - a core principle of both European Union and citizenship - a change in lexico-syntactic construal, in this case in the FR text, has produced striking conceptual non-equivalence. This non-equivalence can in turn lead to an alternative semantic reading of the text, whereby a different pragmatic perspective on the narrative is engendered: semantic-pragmatic tension at the multilingual interface of discourse.

4.4 Democratic Participation

4.4.1 The Monolingual Template

The Table below (Example 3) represents the EN ‘template’ for the three stages A, B and C of the horizontal discourse chain; the text excerpts describe the desire to encourage greater citizen participation in the democratic life of the Union, and primarily voting in the European elections of 2014.

Example 3 – Democratic Participation

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Participation in the democratic life of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections of 2014, careful thought should be given to measures to encourage CITIZENS: ...</p>	<p>Participation in the democratic life of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections in 2014, careful consideration should be given to how to encourage CITIZENS to vote.</p>	<p>Facilitating and encouraging CITIZENS’ participation in the democratic life of the Union is crucial for bringing the CITIZEN’S (sic)¹⁰⁵ closer to the European project. Increased turnout at European Parliament elections is a shared ambition.</p>

In this discourse chain over stages A to C on democratic participation there are two generic spaces of particular interest for the multilingual analysis of the data: (1) the importance of citizens’ participation in the democratic life of the Union; and (2) a

¹⁰⁵ This grammatical error was in the final version of the EN text.

necessity/shared ambition to encourage voting/increased turnout at the (2014) European elections.

4.4.2 The Multilingual Interface: Semantic-pragmatic tension or harmony?

The following Table (Example 3A) shows the multilingual data set for the four separate language versions at stage A. The analysis will now turn to the multilingual interface of discourse according to the following subthemes: (1) Inferred degrees of participation in the democratic ‘life’ or ‘process’ of the Union; (2) ‘Bringing’ and ‘going’: proximal and distal locations of Europe’s ballot boxes.

Example 3A

STAGE A Commission Communication COM 262
<p>Participation in the <u>democratic life</u> of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections of 2014, careful thought should be given to <u>measures to encourage CITIZENS</u>: ...</p>
<p><i>Participer à la <u>vie démocratique</u> de l'Union</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>En vue des élections européennes de 2014, il convient de réfléchir à <u>des mesures incitatives pour les CITOYENS</u>:...</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Participation in the <u>democratic life</u> of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections of 2014, thought should be given to <u>incentivizing measures for the CITIZENS</u>: ...</p>
<p><i><u>Aktive Teilhabe am <u>demokratischen Leben</u> der Union</u></i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Mit Blick auf die Europawahlen 2014 sollte daher überlegt werden, <u>wie mehr BÜRGER an die Wahlurnen gebracht werden können</u>:</i></p>

Back translation:

Active participation in the democratic life of the Union

(...)

With a view to the European elections of 2014 it should be considered how more **CITIZENS** can be brought to the ballot boxes.

Deelnemen aan het democratisch proces in de Unie

(...)

*Met het oog op de Europese verkiezingen van 2014 moet worden nagedacht over maatregelen om de **BURGERS** aan te moedigen te gaan stemmen:*

Back translation:

Participation in the democratic process in the Union

(...)

With a view to the European elections of 2014 measures to encourage **CITIZENS** to go and vote should be considered.

Inferred degrees of participation in the democratic ‘life’ or ‘process’ of the Union

The following discussion of the multilingual data concerns the fact that not only choice of tense but also certain lexical choices can infer movement or forward motion of an event or state of affairs into future time, whereas other choices may not. This is the case of the title statement describing the need for citizens’ ‘participation in the democratic life of the Union’. All languages, with the exception of the NL version, denote the desired nature of citizens’ involvement in Union democracy as ‘democratic life’. In contrast, the NL version refers to this as ‘the democratic process’. The two lexical items ‘life’ and ‘process’ are markedly different in meaning from a temporal conceptual viewpoint. For instance, the democratic ‘life’ of the Union may well encompass a range of activities and interests that combine to make up democracy within the Union. However, ‘life’ does not necessarily suggest any particular sense of time with regard to involvement in this democracy. The democratic ‘process’, on the other hand, infers a sense of forward time; at the very basic level, this relates to

etymology: the lexeme originates in the Latin *processus* meaning to progress, advance or go/be carried forward,¹⁰⁶ i.e. to be ‘in process’. Thus, the democratic ‘process’ implies a connected series of events or actions leading to an outcome from the present into an ongoing future time,¹⁰⁷ whereas the democratic ‘life’ does not. Therefore, the inferred desired involvement of citizens in the democracy of the Union appears more future-oriented in the NL version than in the other versions.

Another difference between languages is found in the choice of preposition used to grammatically connect ‘the democratic process’ with ‘the Union’. The preposition ‘of’ is used in all other language versions except, again, the NL, which uses the preposition ‘in’. While the preposition ‘of’ does not construct any kind of spatial relationship between ‘the democratic life’ and ‘the Union’, in the NL version the preposition ‘in’ infers that citizens are located ‘in’ the Union. ‘In’ then also denotes precisely *where* the European democratic process takes place; in turn, this means that the conceptual description of citizens’ involvement is upgraded also from a spatial viewpoint. Thus, in the NL version citizens are not only temporally related to the future of democracy but they are also spatially closer to the location of democracy ‘in’ the Union. The only other difference evident in this clause is in the DE version, which adds the qualification: ‘*Aktive Teilhabe am demokratischen Leben der Union*’ (‘Active participation in the democratic life of the Union’); this also increases the spatial proximity of citizens to Union democracy: ‘active’ participation assumes a more agentive role and therefore also a closer involvement.

¹⁰⁶It is of course to be debated whether this distinction between democratic *life* and *process* plays consciously in the minds of language users (language producers and recipients). However, the fact remains that this lexical difference is there and deserves to be considered in the light of cross-lingual conceptual equivalence.

¹⁰⁷Chilton argues this as follows. A temporal relationship between elements (in his example, ‘strikes’ against al-Qaeda and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan) is set up and this represents a ‘process’ in the discourse. Chilton goes on to define a process as ‘a distinct space [...] in which there is ongoing activity which ends at some point in the future.’ (Chilton 2004: 160) However, it could also be argued that a process does not necessarily have to point to future time; it could feasibly also have taken place only in the past, be taking place only in the present or be anticipated to take place in the future, or indeed a combination of any of these time zones.

‘Bringing’ and ‘going’: proximal and distal locations of Europe’s ballot boxes

The second part of the main clause in this stage 3A refers to the fact that careful thought must be given to how to encourage a greater voter turnout in the European elections of 2014. The most salient characteristic among language versions concerns the positioning of citizens in relation to the ballot boxes of Europe. This relates primarily to the difference in linguistic construal between the DE and the NL versions and the deictic use of the verbs to ‘bring’ (*bringen*) and ‘go’ (*gaan*), respectively. The EN and FR versions do not use such deictic verbs and merely express the desire to ‘encourage’ and ‘incentivize’ citizens, without any further concrete qualification of what they are to be ‘encouraged’ to do (although this is implicit from the context of the first part of the clause); these two languages will therefore be left out of the discussion in this subsection.

Taking firstly the DE extract, it is stated that measures should be considered as to ‘*wie mehr **Bürger** an die Wahlurnen gebracht werden können*’ (how more **citizens** can be brought to the ballot boxes). The use of the verb ‘*bringen*’ (to bring) signals that the speaker, located at the ‘here’ of the deictic centre, is intending to move citizens (voters) into the same here location as they are themselves (at Europe’s ballot boxes); this is because ‘bring’ (as opposed to ‘take’) means that the person or object being ‘brought’ is being drawn towards rather than away from the speaker, who stays in the same location. However, the use of ‘bring’ naturally also implies that voters are, from the viewpoint of the speaker, not located at Europe’s ballot boxes (or in Europe, even though European voting is carried out in each individual Member State); this is assumed as voters need to be ‘brought’ there from another location that is not at the deictic centre of here. This actually also confuses the conceptual description of where the ‘here’ of Europe is, as it appears to be where the speaker is, and not where voters are; however, both voters and voting activities are indeed physically situated in all Member States of Europe and not simply at the seats of the Commission and the Council (i.e. Brussels) - where these institutional texts were of course generated.

The second parallel version of particular relevance to the discussion of citizens’ spatial relationship to European ballot boxes is the NL. In this version, thought must be given to: ‘*maatregelen om de **burgers** aan te moedigen te gaan stemmen*’

(‘measures to encourage **citizens** to go and vote’). In this instance, the dynamic verb ‘gaan’ (to go) denotes a very different deictic relationship between the location of the speaker and the action of voting in the European elections. If voters (citizens) are to be encouraged to ‘go and vote’, this means that the speaker is *not* located in the place where European voting is to take place, otherwise the verb ‘komen’ (to come) would have been used instead. In other words, the deictic centre and the ‘here’ of the speaker is elsewhere; this is presumably where voters are also located as they must be encouraged to ‘go’, which implies movement away from and not towards the location of the speaker.

Referring briefly to the other two languages as well, in this instance there is then only (partial) semantic-pragmatic harmony between EN and FR, on the one hand, and DE and NL, on the other; even though both EN and FR infer the need to encourage/incentivize citizens, they do not imply the location of the speaker and/or citizens in relation to voting in Europe. In contrast, the DE and the NL versions *do* imply a spatial relationship between speaker, voters (citizens) and the location of Europe’s ballot boxes. However, their respective linguistic construal mechanisms conceptualize the location of the speaker and voters (citizens) from different spatial perspectives. In the DE version, the speaker has a proximal relationship to Europe’s ballot boxes and citizen voters are distanced from these ballot boxes. There is therefore a desire to draw citizens into a close proximal relationship in order for them to vote. In contrast, in the NL version both the speaker and citizen voters have a distal relationship with the location of European voting; voters must therefore be encouraged to ‘go’ to another location, thus towards European voting and away from the speaker. There is then a considerable degree of semantic-pragmatic tension. However, this tension is not only between (1) the DE and NL versions and (2) the EN and FR versions (which do not imply spatially deictic relationships at all); this tension is also evident between (3) the DE and NL versions themselves in that they imply divergent spatially deictic relationships. They thus also present significantly different conceptualizations of the citizenship narrative in this discourse segment.

The second multilingual data table is stage B shown in Example 3B below and deals with the following subtheme: Passive expressions of necessity.

Example 3B

STAGE B – Council Programme C 115
<p>Participation in the democratic life of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections in 2014, <u>careful consideration should be given to how to encourage CITIZENS to vote.</u></p>
<p><i>Participer à la vie démocratique de l'Union</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>En vue des élections européennes de 2014, <u>il convient de mener une réflexion approfondie sur les moyens d'inciter les CITOYENS à voter.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Participation in the democratic life of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections of 2014, <u>it is advisable to conduct a thorough reflection on the ways to incentivize CITIZENS to vote.</u></p>
<p><i>Teilhabe am demokratischen Leben der Union</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Mit Blick auf die Europawahlen 2014 <u>sollte sorgsam überlegt werden, wie mehr BÜRGER an die Wahlurnen gebracht werden können.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Participation in the democratic life of the Union</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>With a view to the European elections of 2014 <u>it should be carefully considered how more CITIZENS can be brought to the ballot boxes.</u></p>
<p><i>Deelnemen aan het democratisch proces in de Unie</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Met het oog op de Europese verkiezingen van 2014 <u>moet worden nagedacht over methoden om de BURGER tot stemmen aan te zetten.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Participation in the democratic process of the Union</p>

(...)

With a view to the European elections of 2014 thought should/must be given to methods to urge CITIZENS to vote.

Passive expressions of necessity

This subsection discusses ways in which the necessity to consider methods to encourage citizens to vote is expressed passively. There is relative homogeneity between expressions used in the EN, DE and NL versions in that all three languages employ a passive construction whereby the speaker indicates that they are committed to the necessity of the state of affairs; however, the level of this commitment is mitigated by grammatical passivity, which distances the speaker (or the deictic centre of 'I') from the statement along the spatial modal axis. A less distanced expression would, for example, consist in the use of the personal pronoun 'we', placing the statement of modal necessity in a more proximal relationship with the 'I' of the speaker. Thus, this necessity is expressed variously in EN, DE and NL, respectively: careful consideration 'should be given'/ it '*sollte ... überlegt werden*' ('should be considered') and it '*moet worden nagedacht*' (it 'should/must be considered/thought about'). One could also speculate as to whether the modality of '*moeten*' (must as opposed to should) in the NL version is more committed to necessity; 'must' normally denotes absolute necessity whereas 'should' infers a moral judgement¹⁰⁸ of necessity that may or may not be realized. The modal expression of 'should' would also have been possible in the NL clause as: '*zou moeten worden nagedacht*'. In addition, the qualifying adjective 'careful' (*sorgsam* in DE, corresponding to 'thorough' - *approfondie* - in the FR version) is absent in NL; there is therefore no explicit description or judgement of the nature of thought/consideration which should be given to encouraging citizens to vote. The absence of carefulness or thoroughness could make the NL version appear less hesitant and tentative than the others, i.e. more decisive in its aim.

¹⁰⁸ As already consistently suggested throughout this thesis, 'morality' is associated with the 'rightness' of a state of affairs in the judgement of the speaker; this is in line with Chilton's (2004) interpretation of deontic modality, which is more predominantly, although not exclusively, linked to necessity and obligation.

However, in the FR version commitment to necessity is construed differently in two ways: (1) an impersonal verbal construction is used, whereas EN, DE and NL use passive constructions; (2) deonticity is generated lexically as opposed to through modal verbs as in the case of EN, DE and NL. The FR version's expression '*il convient de ...*' (which is nevertheless often translated into English as should) also distances the speaker from the statement in much the same way as a passive would. The following sentence: '*il convient de mener une réflexion approfondie sur les moyens d'inciter les **citoyens** à voter*' translates literally as 'it is advisable to conduct a thorough reflection on the ways to incentivize **citizens** to vote'. However, as we have said, '*il convient de ...*', while expressing a degree of necessity or judgement as to what is 'right', is not a modal verb construction in the sense of the other language versions; these all express modality as should (possibly even more strongly as must in the NL¹⁰⁹) in its most common modal form. The expression: '*Il convient de ...*' in fact also contains the semantic quality of 'it is appropriate to', which, in terms of modal necessity, is weaker than should; one close reading of this could then be to infer that the speaker may not be as committed to the judgement of necessity and may thus be more spatially distanced from commitment along the modal axis. In addition, it is worth noting that the FR version could have used the modal expression '*il faut*' ('it is necessary') or the modal verb '*devoir*' ('must' or 'should' in the conditional form '*devrait*'). However, in the latter case, it would have been impossible to avoid using the alternative construction '*on devrait ...*' ('one should'), which equates to the personal pronoun 'we'. This would have possibly upgraded the speaker's commitment to necessity, as the verb construction would then no longer be the impersonal voice (*il convient* – 'it is advisable'). Consequently, one could speculate as to whether '*devrait*' (should) may have been avoided.

In summary, there is relative homogeneity or harmony in the degree of modal commitment to necessity in all four language versions. Despite the fact that the FR version: (1) uses an impersonal rather than a passive verbal construction and (2) expresses modality lexically rather than verbally, distancing from commitment to necessity remains overall much the same. One exception to this may be the NL

¹⁰⁹ Depending on context, the Dutch verb *moeten* can be translated into English as either 'must' or 'should', although the difference in force between these could also be either mitigated or reinforced by the use of certain modal particles (MPs) (Vismans 1994: 58).

version, which could express greater commitment to necessity if the close reading of *moeten* is ‘must’ rather than the conditional ‘should’.

The third and final multilingual data table at stage C is given below in Example 3C. The analysis deals with the subthemes: (1) ‘Bringing’ citizens closer to the European project; and (2) Ownership of responsibility for the ‘shared ambition’: deictic coordinates and lexical space builders.

Example 3C

STAGE C – Commission Communication COM 171
<p>Facilitating and encouraging CITIZENS’ participation in the democratic life of the Union is crucial for <u>bringing the CITIZEN’S (sic)¹¹⁰ closer to the European project</u>. Increased turnout at European Parliament elections is <u>a shared ambition</u>.</p>
<p><i>Pour rapprocher les CITOYENS du projet européen, il est essentiel de faciliter et d’encourager leur participation à la vie démocratique de l’Union. L’augmentation du taux de participation aux élections du Parlement européen est <u>une ambition commune</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>In order to <u>bring/move CITIZENS closer to the European project</u>, it is essential to facilitate and encourage their participation in the democratic life of the Union. The increase in voter turnout at European Parliament elections is <u>a common ambition</u>.</p>
<p><i>Um den BÜRGERN Europa näher zu bringen, ist es unerlässlich, ihre Teilhabe am demokratischen Leben der Union zu erleichtern und zu fördern. Dass sie sich stärker an den Europawahlen beteiligen, ist <u>unser gemeinsames Bestreben</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>In order to <u>bring Europe closer to the CITIZENS</u>, it is essential to facilitate and promote their participation in the democratic life of the Union. That they play a greater part in the European elections is <u>our collective ambition/endeavour</u>.</p>
<p><i>Om de BURGER dichter bij het Europees project te brengen is het van essentieel belang de deelname van de BURGERS aan het democratisch proces van de Unie te vergemakkelijken en aan te moedigen. Een grotere opkomst bij de verkiezingen voor het Europees Parlement is <u>een gezamenlijke ambitie</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>In order to <u>bring the CITIZEN closer to the European project</u> it is of essential importance to facilitate and encourage the participation of the CITIZENS in the democratic process of the Union. A greater voter turnout at the European Parliament elections is <u>a collective ambition</u>.</p>

¹¹⁰ This grammatical error was in the final version of the EN text.

‘Bringing’ citizens closer to the European project

As discussed in the earlier subsection above relating to stage 3A,¹¹¹ the verb ‘bring’ is dynamic and entails the deictic positioning of elements with which it is semantically associated. At stage 3C, the focus of the discourse shifts to the need to facilitate and encourage citizens’ democratic participation as a crucial prerequisite for ‘bringing the **citizen’s** (sic)¹¹² closer to the European project’. The discussion will concentrate on the homogeneity in deictic construal between the EN and NL versions, on the one hand, and the variation in construal in the FR and DE versions, respectively, on the other. This variation revolves firstly around the fact that all other language versions except the FR employ verbs which are equivalents to the dynamic verb ‘bring’; however, even within this variation a difference in pragmatic roles is displayed. The pragmatic role in EN and NL consists in creating a deictically spatial relationship between the speaker and citizens, whereby the speaker is in the ‘here’ of the deictic centre of Europe; citizens are being thus drawn closer towards this ‘here’ of Europe by the speaker. Two languages render this, respectively: EN - ‘bringing the **citizen’s** (sic) closer to the European project’; and NL - ‘*de burger dichter bij het Europees project te brengen*’ (to bring the **citizen** closer to the European project). However, the DE version – ‘*den Bürgern Europa näher zu bringen*’ (bring Europe closer to the **citizens**) is deictically, and therefore pragmatically, differentiated. In this case, the discourse perspective actually portrays the exact opposite to what is being said in the EN and NL versions. Instead of citizens being brought closer to Europe, the use of the DE dative case makes clear that it is Europe that is being brought closer to the citizens. A very different deictic relationship then emerges between the speaker and citizens compared to the other versions; the verb ‘bring’ signals that the speaker is now located in the same place as citizens and *not* Europe. The speaker has the ability to bring Europe *towards* citizens and the directional property of ‘bring’ means that this is towards the ‘here’ of the speaker as well.¹¹³

¹¹¹ This refers to the subsection entitled: ‘Bringing’ and ‘going’: proximal and distal locations of Europe’s ballot boxes’.

¹¹² See footnote 110.

¹¹³ For a diagrammatic depiction of this variation in deictic relationships, see Chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1 ‘Space, Time and Modality at the Semantic-Pragmatic Interface’, Figures 2 and 3.

However, in the FR segment this same deictic relationship is not specifically established as the verb ‘*rapprocher*’ does not necessarily imply that the speaker is already in the location to which citizens should be ‘brought’. In other words, ‘*rapprocher*’ does not automatically entail that Europe is the deictic ‘here’ and that citizens are being ‘brought’ closer to it. This is because ‘*rapprocher*’ is a causative verb meaning to either move one thing closer to another or move two things closer together. (A literal translation here would be: ‘for making the citizens approach the European project ...’.) In any case, it does not supply the same deictic coordinate suggested by ‘bring’. The FR version thus establishes a spatial relationship but not a deictic one; while ‘*rapprocher*’ still infers that citizens and the European project will be ‘moved’ or ‘brought’ closer together, it is not clear where each of these discourse elements (citizens and the European project) or the speaker are located in relation to one another. Therefore, the pragmatic role of ‘*rapprocher*’ is simply to indicate that the conceptual space between citizens and the European project should be reduced: ‘*rapprocher les citoyens du projet européen*’ (bring/move **citizens** closer to the European project).¹¹⁴

There is then relative harmony between three language versions in this segment (with the exception of the lexical choice of ‘Europe’ in the DE version). However, a subtle shift in construal from deictic positioning to the establishment of a non-deictic spatial relationship in the FR version means there is tension at the multilingual interface with the other language versions.

Ownership of responsibility for the ‘shared ambition’: deictic coordinates and lexical space builders

This section analyses the clause referring to the fact that ‘[i]ncreased turnout at European Parliament elections is a shared ambition’ (EN ‘template’ version). The

¹¹⁴ It is also interesting to note that the DE version distinguishes itself from all the others in its lexical choice for expressing ‘the European project’, which it opts to render simply as ‘*Europa*’ (Europe). Thus, in this version, it is not the European project that is being brought closer to citizens, but Europe itself. In terms of the spatial relationship constructed between citizens and Europe, one could argue that the word ‘project’ acts as a space builder in the other language versions; this would then mean that the DE version of this narrative places citizens conceptually closer to ‘Europe’ itself as it does not qualify Europe specifically as the ‘European project’.

way in which this discourse segment is expressed across languages at the multilingual interface is, as the title of this section suggests, characterized by two specific types of construal variants: a difference in (or absence of) deictic coordinates in expressing ownership of this ‘shared ambition’; and adjectival choice in describing the division of responsibility for this ‘ambition’ as a determinant of conceptual space building.

Taking the first construal variant, in three language versions (EN, FR and NL) the indefinite article ‘a’ (*une* in FR and *een* in NL) is used to describe the ‘ambition’ to increase turnout at European Parliament elections. The use of the indefinite article signals that the speaker is in a neutral position with respect to ownership of responsibility for achieving this ambition; the speaker acknowledges that this ambition exists between themselves and another or other parties (as this ambition is ‘shared’) but does not attach any particular ownership to it themselves. In contrast, the remaining language version (DE) uses the possessive pronoun ‘our’ to signal deictic proximity to this ambition: citizens playing a greater part in European elections is *unser gemeinsames Bestreben* (our collective ambition). Ownership of responsibility is therefore claimed by the speaker not only on their own behalf but also on the part of other parties to the ambition; this implication is not construed in the other language versions.

The second element of variation is the lexical choice of adjective to describe the nature of this ambition, denoted variously as: ‘a shared ambition’ (EN); ‘*une ambition commune*’ – a common ambition (FR); ‘*unser gemeinsames Bestreben*’ – our collective ambition/endeavour (DE); and ‘*een gezamenlijke ambitie*’ – a collective ambition (NL). Adjectival qualifiers can act as space builders as they determine further the conceptual construal attaching to a particular state of affairs (in this case, the ‘ambition’ to achieve increased voter turnout). If we consider the ‘ambition’ to be in a conceptual space and that the speaker is indicating to what extent and in what manner this space is occupied with other discourse participants, we see that a subtle difference in perspective is achieved by these alternative adjectives. For example, the FR adjective *commun* (common) implies that the conceptual space of ambition is one pertaining to all discourse participants; this is in much the same way as *gemeinsam* and *gezamenlijk* (collective) suggest in the DE and NL versions that there is one single space made up of all discourse participants holding this ambition. However, in

the EN version, the semantic alternative ‘shared’ infers not only that all discourse participants occupy the same space but that this is divided between them in some kind of metered way. In other words, ‘shared’ may also convey a sense of divided responsibility for achieving the ambition, where ‘common’ and ‘collective’ do not.

Summarizing, there is firstly harmony among three versions (EN, FR and NL) - in that the ‘ambition’ is denoted as ‘an’ ambition; but there is tension with the DE version - as this ‘ambition’ is placed deictically closer to the speaker through the use of the possessive pronoun ‘our’. Secondly, harmony exists again between a different combination of languages (FR, DE and NL) – as the spatial conceptualization of ambition is described as ‘common’ or ‘collective’, indicating the involvement of all discourse participants. However, tension is located in the EN version, which suggests that this is not solely a ‘common’ or ‘collective’ space; it is also one that is to be divided (‘shared’) between the responsibility of all discourse participants.

However, we should also note that the specific back translations chosen here by the author - i.e. the difference between ‘shared’ (EN), ‘common’ (FR) or ‘collective’ (DE and NL) ambition for increased voter turnout, have largely driven the assumptions made above about levels of responsibility felt for this ambition; they are then to an extent also inherently subjective. They have undoubtedly influenced particular interpretations of the discourse and indeed also the analytical comments made upon which discussions of conceptual space relations between language versions have been based here. If, for example, the DE ‘*gemeinsames Bestreben*’ had been back translated as not ‘collective’ but ‘common’ ambition (in line with the FR version), we would have highlighted harmony between DE and FR and not between DE and NL. This would then of course also have produced a different discussion of conceptual relationships between the four languages in general.

4.5 Diplomatic and Consular Protection

4.5.1 The Monolingual Template

The following table (Example 4) sets out the EN ‘template’ for the final theme to be dealt with in this chapter. In this excerpt in particular, the generic spaces across all three stages (A, B and C) are particularly homogeneous already in this monolingual representation of the discourse chain. The theme ‘Diplomatic and Consular Protection’ has two main generic spaces which will form the focus of the analysis at the multilingual interface below. These are: (1) when in a non-Member State or country where their Member State is not represented, citizens are entitled to diplomatic and consular protection or assistance of any (other) Member State; and (2) that this protection or assistance should be provided on the same conditions as those pertaining to the nationals of that Member State.

Example 4 – Diplomatic and Consular Protection

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Entitlement to protection in non-member countries</p> <p>A Union CITIZEN travelling to or living in a non-EU country where his or her Member State is not represented is entitled to protection by the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State.</p>	<p>Entitlement to protection in non-Member States</p> <p>A CITIZEN of the Union travelling to or living in a third country where his or her Member State is not represented is entitled to protection by the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State under the same conditions as the nationals of that Member State.</p>	<p>CITIZENS must be protected wherever they are in the world. Any EU CITIZEN who is in a country where his or her Member State is not represented should receive consular assistance from embassies or consulates of any other Member State, on the same conditions as their nationals.</p>

4.5.2 The Multilingual Interface: Semantic-pragmatic tension or harmony?

The first multilingual data table, given below in Example 4A, deals with stage A of the discourse chain and compares cross-lingual phenomena according to the following

two subthemes: (1) Non-member, third countries and notions of ‘territory’: the spatial implications; (2) ‘Ownership’ or ‘origin’ of Member State belonging.

Example 4A

STAGE A Commission Communication COM 262
<p><i>Entitlement to protection in <u>non-member countries</u></i></p> <p>A Union CITIZEN travelling to or living <u>in a non-EU country</u> where <u>his or her Member State</u> is not represented <u>is entitled to</u> protection by the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State.</p>
<p><i>Bénéficiaire d'une protection dans les <u>pays tiers</u></i></p> <p>Tout CITOYEN de l'Union se trouvant <u>dans un pays tiers</u> où <u>son propre État membre</u> n'est pas représenté <u>a droit à</u> une protection de la part des autorités diplomatiques et consulaires de tout autre État membre, dans les mêmes conditions que les nationaux de cet État.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Benefiting from protection in <u>third countries</u></p> <p>All//any/every CITIZEN(S) of the Union finding themselves <u>in a third country</u> where <u>their own Member State</u> is not represented <u>has the right to</u> protection on the part of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any other Member State, on the same conditions as the nationals of that State.</p>
<p><i>Schutz in <u>Drittländern</u></i></p> <p>Jeder UnionsBÜRGER kann <u>im Hoheitsgebiet eines Drittstaates</u>, in dem <u>sein Herkunftsmitgliedstaat</u> nicht vertreten ist, den diplomatischen und konsularischen Schutz eines jeden anderen Mitgliedstaates <u>in Anspruch nehmen</u>, und zwar unter denselben Bedingungen wie Staatsangehörige dieses Staates.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection in <u>third countries</u></p> <p>Any/every/each Union CITIZEN <u>can in the (sovereign) territory of a third state</u>, in which <u>his Member State of origin</u> is not represented, <u>claim/appeal to</u> the diplomatic and consular protection of any other Member State, and indeed under the same conditions as nationals of that State.</p>
<p><i>Bescherming in <u>derde landen</u></i></p> <p>Iedere BURGER van de Unie die zich <u>op het grondgebied van een derde land</u> bevindt waar <u>zijn eigen lidstaat</u> niet vertegenwoordigd is, <u>geniet de bescherming</u> van de diplomatieke en consulaire instanties van iedere andere lidstaat, onder dezelfde voorwaarden als de onderdanen van die lidstaat.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection in <u>third countries</u></p> <p>Every/each CITIZEN of the Union who finds him/herself <u>on the territory of a third country</u> where</p>

his/her own Member State is not represented enjoys the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any/every other Member State, under the same conditions as the subjects of that Member State.

Non-member/EU, third countries¹¹⁵ and notions of ‘territory’: the spatial implications

In this new theme of ‘Diplomatic and Consular Protection’ there is once again considerable cross-lingual variation in the way in which the notion of a country not belonging to the European Union is described. In this case, reference to ‘non-member/EU’ countries relates to Union citizens travelling to or living in such a country and their right to protection from any EU Member State with a consular or diplomatic presence in that country.

The analysis of the various expressions spatially representing non-EU territory is divided into two parts: (1) how this notion of ‘otherness’ from EU membership is expressed; and (2) how the notion of ‘territory’ is indicated. In the EN version ‘otherness’ is denoted using negation, indicating the opposite quality of EU membership, thus emphasizing that this is a geographic space which is completely excluded from the EU. The area outside the Union is therefore occupied by ‘non-EU’ countries. Conversely, the FR, DE and NL versions all opt to express the spatial relationship between the EU and non-EU membership as a less exclusionary one. Thus, a country outside the EU area is described as a ‘third’ country (or state in DE); as we noted in an earlier subsection (see footnote 96), this does not exclude it entirely from a relationship with the EU but merely indicates that it may enjoy a peripheral relationship, as in the expression ‘third party’. A ‘third’ participant then still occupies the same space as the ‘first’ and ‘second’ but is more distanced from this central binary relationship. This peripheral participation is perhaps not as distanced in the DE version as the description of ‘third state’ rather than ‘third country’ implies greater comparison to EU members (also referred to as States). However, the negation of the ‘non’ description in the EN version places participation completely outside membership of the conceptual space.

¹¹⁵ The spatial implications of the expression ‘third countries’ were also discussed earlier in subsection 4.2.2 of this chapter.

The spatial notion of ‘territory’ is only constructed in two languages, and even then these two versions are not entirely homogeneous. For example, the NL clause expresses the presence of an EU citizen in a third country as being: ‘*op het grondgebied van een derde land*’ (on the territory of a third country), whereas the DE version is modified to: ‘*im Hoheitsgebiet eines Drittstaates*’ (in the (sovereign) territory of a third state). Again, the first part of the compound word *Hoheits-gebiet* (sovereign) can be interpreted as a lexical space builder as it qualifies the construal further and, in doing so, increases conceptual space between discourse elements; now ‘territory’ is not simply qualified as that of a third state but also as a geographic area which falls under a different sovereign (and therefore also political) jurisdiction. As a consequence it also occupies a different conceptual space in which ‘otherness’ from EU-membership is accentuated; this inference is not carried by the simple description of ‘*grondgebied*’ (territory) in NL.¹¹⁶

‘Ownership’ or ‘origin’ of Member State belonging

The second part of the clause dealt with in the previous subsection concerns the way in which the speaker expresses the relationship of belonging between citizens and their Member State. This is signalled in one of two ways: (1) by denoting ‘ownership’ of a Member State; and (2) by describing citizens as having their ‘origins’ in a particular Member State.

The language versions divide themselves into the categories (1) and (2) above, with the EN, FR and NL versions opting for the expression of ‘ownership’. A non-EU/member or third country/state is where: ‘his or her’ (EN); ‘*son propre*’ – his/her own (FR); or ‘*zijn eigen*’ – his/her own (NL) Member State is not represented. While all three versions express ownership through the possessive pronoun ‘his/her’, there is still variation between the EN version and the FR and NL versions, respectively. This is because the EN version does not place additional emphasis on ownership using the

¹¹⁶ The online *Van Dale* Dutch dictionary does actually define the term ‘*grondgebied*’ as follows: ‘terrein waarover een staat, persoon enz. gezag uitoefent’ (terrain over which a state, person, etc., exercises authority). This then also suggests a political connotation. However, it is not as explicitly possessive as inferring or stating that territory is ‘sovereign’.

Accessed on 28/08/2013 at: <http://www.vandale.nl/opzoeken?pattern=grondgebied&lang=nl>

qualifying adjective ‘own’; conceptual proximity between citizens and their Member State is thus increased in FR and NL in comparison to the EN version: ‘own’ acts as a lexical space ‘reducer’.

Only the DE version falls into category (2): the description of belonging by ‘origin’. Citizens find themselves in a third country ‘*in dem sein Herkunftsmitgliedstaat*’ – in which his/her Member State of origin - is not represented. The introduction of the notion of ‘origin’ is significant as it immediately establishes a spatial relationship between the citizen and the Member State from which they come. As a result, the speaker makes it clear that they (citizens) are from a location other than (i.e. a different conceptual space) the third state in which they can claim protection; the ‘otherness’ of this third state is therefore accentuated to a much greater degree than in the other language versions.

We then see that there is harmony between three languages (EN, FR and NL) as regards Member State belonging through the expression of ownership; however, within this two versions opt to make this relationship of belonging more explicit using the lexical space reducer ‘own’. Moreover, there is tension between these three versions and the DE version as its deictic conceptualization of belonging emphasizes a citizen’s Member State of ‘origin’; it therefore directs the reader to view the third state from an alternative conceptual space of ‘otherness’.

The second table of multilingual extracts is set out below (Example 4B); stage B of the discourse chain deals with the following three subthemes: (1) Citizens one and all: individual and collective citizenship; (2) Spatial implications revisited: Non-Member or third country or State? (3) Defining ‘nationals’ of the Member State providing protection.

Example 4B

STAGE B – Council Programme C 115
Entitlement to protection in <u>non-Member States</u>
A CITIZEN of the <u>Union</u> travelling to or living <u>in a third country</u> where his or her Member State is not represented is entitled to protection by the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State under the same conditions as the <u>nationals</u> of that Member State.

Bénéficiaire d'une protection dans les États tiers

*Tout **CITOYEN** de l'Union voyageant ou résidant dans un pays tiers où son propre État membre n'est pas représenté a droit à une protection de la part des autorités diplomatiques et consulaires de tout autre État membre, dans les mêmes conditions que les ressortissants du dit État membre.*

Back translation:

Benefiting from protection in third States

Any/every/all CITIZEN(S) of the Union travelling or residing in a third country where his/her own Member State is not represented has the right to protection on the part of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any other Member State, on the same conditions as nationals of the Member State in question.

Anspruch auf Schutz in Drittländern

*Jeder Unions**BÜRGER**, der in das Hoheitsgebiet eines Drittstaats, in dem sein Herkunftsmitgliedstaat nicht vertreten ist, einreist oder sich dort aufhält, kann in diesem Drittstaat den diplomatischen und konsularischen Schutz eines jeden anderen Mitgliedstaats in Anspruch nehmen, und zwar unter denselben Bedingungen wie Staatsangehörige dieses Mitgliedstaates.*

Back translation:

Entitlement to protection in third countries

Any/every/each Union CITIZEN who enters/ travels into or resides (there) in the (sovereign) territory of a third country in which his/her Member State of origin is not represented can in this third country claim/appeal to the diplomatic and consular protection of any other Member State, and indeed under the same conditions as nationals of that Member State.

Recht op bescherming in niet-lidstaten

*Iedere **BURGER** van de Unie die zich op het grondgebied van een derde land bevindt waar zijn eigen lidstaat niet vertegenwoordigd is, geniet de bescherming van de diplomatieke en consulaire instanties van elke andere lidstaat, onder dezelfde voorwaarden als de onderdanen van die lidstaat.*

Back translation:

Right to protection in non-Member States

Every/each CITIZEN of the Union who finds him/herself on the territory of a third country where his/her own Member State is not represented enjoys the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any/every other Member State under the same conditions as the subjects of that Member State.

Citizens one and all: individual and collective citizenship

Another way in which the spatial configuration of citizens within the Union is conceptualized in this segment is by varying uses of quantifier. Citizens are defined as either individuals or as a collective of citizens. However, due to the difference in language systems, this distinction between the singular and the plural citizen is not always clear-cut. In fact the only language in which this remains unambiguous is the EN version, in which the indefinite article ‘[a]’ Union citizen is used; although suffice to say no reader will actually interpret this literally as referring to one single citizen. Also, in reality of course all four languages can deploy the indefinite article as a generic collectivizing marker but it is only the EN version which actually does so here explicitly. Equally, it can be argued that, since the FR, DE and NL versions all retain verb forms in the singular following *tout*, *jeder* and *iedere*, respectively, these can also be interpreted as singular. Nevertheless, these language versions do present the explicit possibility of interpreting the quantification of citizens as *either* singular *or* plural. For example, ‘*tout citoyen*’ in FR can be translated as either ‘all **citizens**’ or ‘any/every **citizen**’; the statement is all-inclusive (i.e. it includes all citizens in the space of the European Union) and yet, at the same time, conceptualizes the individual citizen within this space (any/every citizen). In the same way, the DE expression ‘*jeder Unionsbürger*’ and the NL expression ‘*iedere burger van de Unie*’ imply, respectively, ‘any/every/each Union **citizen**’ and ‘any/every/each **citizen** of the Union’. In other words, these three languages use a different qualifier that explicitly collectivizes. The speaker therefore conveys citizens as both individuals and as a collective within the EU in three language versions (FR, DE and NL); only in one language (EN) is this dual inference not made explicit.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Taking the NL version as an example, the online *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (ANS) defines *ieder(e)* as a ‘collectivising indefinite pronoun’ (ANS § 5·9·2-1; accessed on 29/01/2014 at: <http://ans.ruhosting.nl/e-ans/05/09/02/01/body.html>). However, this definition would not apply to the very unambiguous use of the indefinite article in the EN version here.

Spatial implications revisited: Non-Member or third country or State?

Returning briefly to the issue of how countries that are not Member States of the European Union are linguistically construed, it is worth comparing this segment at stage 4B with the segment as it first appeared at stage 4A (dealt with above). It was already established at stage 4A that the EN version in particular showed a marked difference with the other language versions and denoted countries not holding membership of the EU generally as ‘non-member countries’ and defined an individual country specifically as a ‘non-EU country’. It was also noted that this generated an exclusionary spatial relationship between such countries and the European Union as a geographic area; in contrast, the other languages established a more inclusionary spatial relationship in which these countries are referred to as third countries (FR and NL) and third states (DE).

At this stage (4B), it is interesting to observe that, while other parts of the clause have remained relatively unchanged from stage A, there are now slight differences between stage A and stage B in certain language versions with respect to the ‘non-member/non-EU/third country’ distinction. For example, at stage A, the title of the EN version referred to protection in ‘non-member countries’ and this has now been commuted to ‘non-member States’. In the same way, the title in the FR 4A version denoted such countries as ‘third countries’ (*pays tiers*) and now describes these also as third States (*États tiers*). The DE version remains unaffected as its title already referred to ‘third countries’ (*Drittländern*). Perhaps most striking, however, is the shift in the title of the NL version, which previously stated ‘third countries’ (*derde landen*) and now concurs with the EN version at this stage 4B; it describes these countries as ‘non-Member States’ (*niet-lidstaaten*). In the main clause of this segment, one further shift has occurred in the EN language version only. The reference to ‘non-EU country’ made at stage A has now been modified to ‘third country’; this concurs with all the other versions, which previously did not use the expression ‘non-EU’ but ‘third’ country or state.

To summarize, the analysis of this particular segment has shown not only instances of: (1) semantic-pragmatic harmony and tension across language versions at the *same stage* of the discourse chain; but also (2) modifications in linguistic construal, creating

both harmony and tension at the multilingual interface, which also act *across discourse stages*. Semantic shifts leading to alternative pragmatic inferences - such as varying expressions of spatial relationships among discourse elements - become evident across both the *horizontal* (the three discourse stages) *and* the *vertical* dimension (the multilingual interfaces of these three discourse stages).

Defining ‘nationals’ of the Member State providing protection

Within EU citizenship discourses, the term ‘national(s)’ is becoming less potent from the perspective of the individual nation state. This is because the ideal of European citizenship is not to represent EU citizens according to their own nationalities but as a collective emanating from the sum of the Member States of the Union; certain rights then accrue to European citizens as a direct result.¹¹⁸ However, in this segment, ‘nationals’ *are* referred to in order to determine that any EU citizen claiming diplomatic and consular protection in another Member State is entitled to this protection on the same conditions as the ‘nationals’ of that State. Thus, the emphasis on ‘national’ rights rather than citizenship rights cannot be avoided; notwithstanding, simply referring to all EU passport holders would also have covered the same rights held by all EU Member State nationals.

The analysis will now consider how the sensitive notion of ‘national(s)’ is negotiated cross-lingually. Across the EN and FR languages there is already tension in that the generic term ‘nationals’ and the lexical alternative ‘*ressortissants*’ are used respectively. In the EN case, the lexeme ‘national’ clearly conveys the notion that those referred to belong to one nation state. In the FR case, however, while ‘*ressortissants*’ does typically equate to the EN lexeme ‘nationals’, it also carries the

¹¹⁸ Much of the literature on European citizenship now refers to the phenomenon of ‘post-national citizenship’ (e.g. Parker 2012; Bellamy 2008). This denotes not the rights of nationals of individual Member States within their own countries but the rights granted to them as a result of being European citizens in other Member States other than their own. In this context, it is then perhaps the ‘role of EU member-state apparatuses or the concept of nationhood that is being challenged [...] in the present-day EU’ (Horner 2009: 125). In addition, the European Commission’s *General Report on the Activities of the European Union - 2012* makes consistent reference to the two terms ‘EU nationals’ and ‘non-EU nationals’ (European Commission 2013a); this supports the notion of ‘post-national citizenship’ - citizens are considered to be nationals of the EU as a supranational collective of Member States. Those outside of this are thus considered non-EU nationals.

dynamic semantic value of those coming from or coming under the jurisdiction of (*ressortir à*) a particular territory. One could then reasonably argue that in the FR version conceptual space is increased between citizens of the Union in general and the otherness of those from one *particular* individual Member State (in which a different jurisdiction may be inferred).

Moreover, politico-historical ‘[t]races of [the] statist understanding of citizenship’ are still perceptible today in ‘certain linguistic usages’ of the German language; one of these usages is the DE expression ‘*Staatsangehörigkeit*’ - meaning either citizenship or nationality (Keane 2008: 6).¹¹⁹ Due to this linguistic legacy and its lexical footprint, the DE notion of a ‘national’ can be (and is here) expressed as someone who ‘belongs to’ (*angehört*) a particular country or state; thus nationals are denoted as *Staatsangehörige* (State ‘belongers’). Consequently, the idea of ‘otherness’, i.e. belonging to another Member State, is emphasized and the spatial distance between ‘nationals’ of the ‘other’ and the overall concept of European citizens(hip) is widened. Furthermore, in the NL version, a particular lexical choice in fact introduces an alternative semantic interpretation as ‘nationals’ of another Member State are translated as ‘*onderdanen*’, which means literally ‘subjects’. Such a lexical choice cannot but introduce the notion of sovereignty of the ‘other’ Member State; ‘subjects’ are necessarily associated with the semantic domain of ‘kingdom’, in which a sovereign head of state rules over his or her ‘subjects’. Thus, again, a semantic alternative leads to a pragmatic inference which accentuates ‘otherness’, in this case by evoking the idea of sovereignty of the ‘other’ Member State.

The final multilingual data table (Example 4C below) in this first analysis chapter explores two further subthemes at discourse stage C. These are: (1) Deontic judgement of necessity to provide consular assistance; and (2) ‘Nationals’ of other Member States revisited.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 2, subsection 2.5.1 and also the earlier footnote 89 for Keane’s (2008) comments on the linguistic legacy of statist interpretations of ‘citizenship’ in German.

Example 4C

STAGE C – Commission Communication COM 171
<p>CITIZENS must be protected wherever they are in the world. Any EU CITIZEN who is in a country where his or her Member State is not represented <u>should</u> receive consular assistance from embassies or consulates of any other Member State, on the same conditions as <u>their nationals</u>.</p>
<p><i>Les CITOYENS doivent bénéficier d'une protection quel que soit l'endroit où ils se trouvent dans le monde. Tout CITOYEN de l'UE présent dans un pays où son État membre n'est pas représenté <u>doit</u> recevoir une assistance consulaire de l'ambassade ou du consulat de tout autre État membre dans les mêmes conditions que <u>les ressortissants de ce dernier</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>CITIZENS must benefit from protection whatever the location may be where they find themselves in the world. All/every/any CITIZEN(S) of the EU present in a country where his/her Member State is not represented <u>must</u> receive consular assistance from the embassy or the consulate of any other Member State on the same conditions as <u>the nationals of the latter (this Member State)</u>.</p>
<p><i>Die BÜRGER müssen überall auf der Welt Schutz genießen. Jedem (sic)¹²⁰ EU-BÜRGER, der sich in einem Land aufhält, in dem sein Mitgliedstaat nicht vertreten ist, <u>sollte</u> von Botschaften oder Konsulaten eines anderen Mitgliedstaats zu denselben Bedingungen wie deren <u>eigene Staatsangehörige</u> konsularische Unterstützung erhalten.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>CITIZENS must enjoy protection any/everywhere in the world. Any/every/each EU CITIZEN who stays in a country in which his/her Member State is not represented <u>should</u> receive consular assistance from embassies or consulates of another Member State on the same conditions as <u>their own nationals</u>.</p>
<p><i>BURGERS moeten worden beschermd waar ook ter wereld zij zich bevinden. Elke EU-BURGER die zich in een land bevindt waar zijn lidstaat niet is vertegenwoordigd, <u>moet</u> consulaire bijstand <u>kunnen</u> krijgen van ambassades of consulaten van een andere lidstaat, onder dezelfde voorwaarden als <u>de eigen onderdanen</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>CITIZENS must be protected wherever in the world they find themselves. Every/each EU CITIZEN who finds himself in a country where his Member State is not represented <u>must be able to</u> get consular assistance from embassies and consulates of another Member State, under the same conditions as <u>the own subjects</u>.</p>

¹²⁰ This grammatical error, a dative (*jedem*) rather than a nominative (*jeder*) case ending appeared in the final text.

Deontic judgement of necessity to provide consular assistance

At stage 4A, the issue of receiving diplomatic and consular protection was shown in the analysis to be subject to different cross-lingual construal mechanisms suggesting varying degrees of epistemic (un)certainly. This subsection will highlight differences in the modality of necessity, which is the focus of this discourse segment dealing with the provision of consular assistance to European citizens anywhere in the world.

It is initially interesting to note that, in the first sentence of this segment, the modal verb ‘must’ is reproduced across-the-board in all language versions when making the general statement that citizens ‘must’ (*doivent/ müssen/moeten*) be protected wherever they are in the world. Therefore, one can assume that the same degree of commitment to the necessity of this statement is being expressed in all versions. However, this necessity is subsequently made more explicit in the following sentence. Here, modal necessity (and deontic judgement of that necessity) in expressing the need to provide consular assistance under the same conditions as nationals of other Member States becomes modified in some language versions. It is in fact only the FR version which retains the modal verb ‘must’: ‘*Tout **citoyen** ... doit recevoir une assistance consulaire ...* (Any **citizen** must receive consular assistance ...). In two of the other language versions, judgement of necessity is weakened by the introduction of ‘should’ in the EN and its deontic equivalent in DE ‘*sollte*’. Both these versions state that a/every citizen ‘should receive/*sollte ... erhalten*’ consular assistance; this suggests that the speaker is less certain that such assistance will be delivered under the same conditions (as nationals of other Member States). The NL version weakens the judgement of this necessity more, thus distancing the speaker further from commitment to the statement, and combines two types of modality (epistemic *and* deontic): ‘*Elke EU-burger ... moet consulaire bijstand kunnen krijgen ...*’ (Every/each EU **citizen** must be able to get/receive consular assistance ...). While ‘must’ is still used here to express necessity, combining this with the modal auxiliary ‘to be able to’ reduces the strength of necessity expressed by ‘must’ and also incorporates a degree of epistemic uncertainty. This is because the fact that citizens ‘must be able to’ get/receive consular assistance does not necessarily mean that this will be the outcome; in other words, a condition is placed on receiving consular assistance as it is somehow being suggested that this depends in part on the ability of citizens to access this assistance.

In contrast, ‘must receive’ expressed in the FR version conveys modal necessity that is not mitigated by either the conditional use of ‘must’ (i.e. ‘should/*sollte*’ – EN and DE) or an epistemic modal auxiliary (‘must be able to/*moet kunnen*’ – NL), which both introduce doubt into the statement.

‘Nationals’ of other Member States revisited

As we discovered in the previous subsection (at stage 4B), the expression of the notion of ‘nationals’ of another Member State is subject to differences in spatial conceptualization based on alternative semantic construal. Here at stage 4C, the notion of ‘nationals’ is again represented in different ways cross-lingually. This is now signalled in two ways: (1) by lexical choice; and (2) by the use of possessive pronouns.

At stage 4B, the EN version referred to ‘nationals’ of other Member States, as is also the case here at stage 4C. However, the addition of the possessive pronoun ‘their’ nationals is salient as it indicates that these nationals are distanced from the deictic ‘I’ or ‘we’ of the speaker (in Europe); they are therefore viewed more as the ‘other’ than would be the case in the absence of the distal pronoun ‘their’. The FR version also contains a deictic element (although this is rooted in the lexical choice retained from stage 4B ‘*ressortissants*’ - nationals), which is etymologically linked to the action of ‘emerging from’ or ‘coming out of’. The distancing or ‘otherness’ of nationals is then also inferred by the fact that these citizens are ‘from’ another Member State; they are therefore not located in the same conceptual space as European citizens ‘finding themselves’ in this ‘other’ Member State. However, here again, we note that the finely-tuned linguistic - and indeed etymological – comparative significance of either (1) belonging to a distinct national collective as ‘nationals’ and (2) coming from or originating in a distinct ‘other’ national collective (*ressortissants*) – may not play or even register in the minds of readers of the FR text, if they were to then read the text in another or other languages. The DE version retains here its lexical choice of *Staatsangehörige* (nationals - ‘State belongers’) from stage 4B but also generates a similar spatially distal relationship from European citizens by adding to this ‘*deren eigene (Staatsangehörige)*’ – ‘of whose own (nationals)’. Thus, ownership and

belonging of the 'other' Member State is underlined rather than that of EU citizens. In the same way, the NL version creates a similar spatial distancing from ownership of European citizens by referring to the fact that citizens must be able to receive consular assistance under the same conditions as the *eigen onderdanen* (the own subjects – of the 'other' Member State). Again, ownership and belonging of the 'other' is emphasized, placing European citizens in the deictic space of the 'here' of the speaker and the 'other' in its own space somewhere outside this here of the speaker's discourse world.

The analysis of this last subsection on the linguistic construal of 'nationals' is a good illustration of cross-lingual difference in conceptualization at all stages of the discourse chain, producing either semantic-pragmatic tension or harmony among varying combinations of languages. Although the lexical item 'nationals' was not analysed specifically at stage 4A, as lexical choices here were almost consistent with those encountered at stage 4B, one salient feature relating to stage 4A is worth noting. Only the FR version differed in lexical choice from stage A to B; this concerns the use of the term '*nationaux*' for 'nationals' of another Member State, replaced consistently by '*ressortissants*' at stages B and C. It is perhaps discourse features such as these that demonstrate most clearly that the discourse worlds of this citizenship narrative are relatively unstable and unpredictable not only at the multilingual interface (the vertical discourse dimension) but also at the institutional interface (the horizontal discourse dimension); for it is at this institutional interface where the recontextualized and reconstructed narrative is in a constant flux of renegotiation between the European Commission and Council.

4.6 Conclusion

The overall conclusion reached in this analysis chapter is that semantic change influences the conceptual representation of language. This semantic change can be related to the specific real-life contexts explored in a discourse such as that of the EU's citizenship narrative. Broadly speaking then, we conclude also that semantics

has a bearing on the pragmatic inferences that are possible in a particular discourse in a particular context (in this case, the institutional context of the European Union).

The analysis and discussion dealt in particular with how the semantic–pragmatic interface of space, time and modality can act as a tool for exploring in what ways cross-lingual phenomena produce features categorized as either semantic-pragmatic tension or harmony. A major description of linguistic phenomena falling under these categories are those referred to as indexicals; these are features of discourse whose position is defined only by reference to other elements in that same discourse. The notions of space, time and modality are such indexed discourse features and may be determined along a distance axis; the position taken by the speaker and/or the discourse space(s) constructed in relation to the speaker or other discourse elements are located at some point along this axis (Chilton 2004).

The findings in this first analysis chapter have shown how the semantic-pragmatic interface relates to the multilingual level of discourse; we have also indicated more specifically how this interface relates to the institutional situation of the EU's multilingual text production process, producing an eclectic melting pot of cross-lingual phenomena. Within this main chapter title of Citizenship and Freedom, four specific themes were explored: (1) The Political Priority of Freedom; (2) Free Movement; (3) Democratic Participation; and (4) Diplomatic and Consular Protection. The analysis of each theme began by briefly describing the monolingual template and the main generic input spaces of interest for stages A, B and C of the discourse chain Commission – Council – Commission. After this the focus moved quickly to the multilingual interface of discourse for each individual stage of the chain. The analysis within each theme was again divided into subthemes in which cross-lingual phenomena and the various configurations of semantic-pragmatic harmony and tension among languages were discussed in detail.

The first important overall finding was that there was in fact a great deal of semantic-pragmatic harmony within most subthemes analysed. However, invariably, one or more language version(s) presented alternatives which led to variances in conceptualization within a number of otherwise homogenous (or harmonized) parallel text segments. In most cases, this led to the possibility of an alternative pragmatic

interpretation or inference relating to issues such as: inclusion or exclusion; EU citizenship and non-EU citizenship; the construction of geographic and temporal space(s); and other conceptual and/or deictic relationships within the discourse world narrative. Differences in modal construal across languages also suggested alternative interpretations of either: (1) epistemic (un)certainly relating to an event or state of affairs; or (2) varying degrees of speaker commitment to statements expressed, such as deontic necessity for the provision of citizens' rights, for example.¹²¹

The second important finding was as follows. As the analysis progressed, it became clear that conceptual differences at the multilingual interface of each separate stage within each theme were inextricably linked to the preceding and succeeding stage. Comparing multilingual data segments *within one single stage* of a segment (A, B or C) produced a number of interesting conceptual variances (semantic-pragmatic tension). However, comparing how the representation of a particular lexical item or discourse feature *within one language version evolved over more than one stage* produced a different (revisited) view of the data. This could potentially inform a more developed discussion of the data findings in that semantic-pragmatic tension at particular junctures in the discourse may have political implications. For instance, cross-lingual representations of 'nationals' of another Member State discussed in section 4.5 on Diplomatic and Consular Protection (analysis of stages 4A, B and C) could be further explored. This could be achieved by: (1) tracing representations of 'nationals' through the Commission stages (4A and 4C) and the Council stage (4B); and (2) interpreting these representations as either a supranational or an intergovernmental viewpoint on the part of the speaker (Commission or Council, respectively).

¹²¹ At this juncture, there will be no attempt to define any discernible patterns or tendencies across language versions. The aim in this first analysis chapter was to show the range and diversity of variation that occurs rather than attempt to track the specific behaviours of individual languages.

Chapter 5

Citizenship and Security

STEP 3 – The Multilingual Institution

5.1 Introduction

Up to this point, the analysis of the multilingual data from the corpus has been structured in order to explore the following: (1) the institutional processes at work within the European Union which shape the progression of a discourse chain (divided into stages A, B and C) between the European Commission and the European Council; and (2) how this discourse chain - based on a monolingual template (shown as the EN version) - is negotiated at the multilingual interface (EN, FR, DE and NL). The previous chapter made clear the relevance of exploring the differing conceptualizations made possible by parallel language versions and suggested that this led to either semantic-pragmatic harmony or tension within the conceptual categories of space, time and modality. To this end, the focus remained very much on the specific linguistic mechanisms (grammatical construction or other forms of lexico-syntactic construal) involved in cross-lingual conceptualization, i.e. the micro level of discourse.

The aim of this Chapter 5 is not only to build further on the data analysis presented in Chapter 4 but also to deepen this analysis by combining the two discursive perspectives already presented: (1) the institutional chain of discourse showing the progression of the narrative on citizenship from Commission to Council to Commission; and (2) the particular linguistic and translational features contributing to either equivalent or non-equivalent conceptual representation within space, time and modality. In other words, this chapter, dealing with the overarching theme of Citizenship and Security, will pan out from a specifically detailed linguistic focus and take a broader view of the macro discourse. In order to achieve this, the analysis will

be organized differently to the previous chapter; it will explore the progression of the discourse through stages A, B and C *in each individual language version* with the aim of isolating particularly salient discourse features that may inform possible macro-political interpretations. The specific features of discourse isolated can then be considered in the light of how they may contribute to semantic-pragmatic tension within a multilingual CDA framework. At this point, therefore, the aim of the analysis will be to pinpoint junctures in the narrative where tension rather than harmony is present and suggest what this could imply about the speaker's subjective political stance (attitudes and beliefs). This is the ultimate aim of CDA methodologies in that they attempt to highlight (power) inequalities represented in language which are the result of the specific social practices within which discourse takes place.¹²² In this case, the discourse is the narrative on citizenship and security and the social practices which provide a platform for it are the policy of multilingualism and the processes of institutional language production and translation within the European Union and its institutions.

5.1.1 Structure of the Analysis

The next main section (5.2) will set out the first analysis theme for this chapter (The Political Priority of Security), however this time exploring the progression of stages A, B and C of the discourse chain (Commission – Council – Commission) in the four individual language versions *separately*. Subsequently, three other analysis themes will be presented and discussed in the same way: (3) Protection of Personal Data; (4) Internal Security; and (5) External Security. The Protection of Personal Data has in recent years become a subject of much concern not only within Europe but around the world. This is mainly due to the proliferation of modes of technology (i.e. the internet) which have been able to circumvent conventional methods of fighting fraud. Internet crime has called for a European reaction and concerted effort amongst Member States to secure the policies needed to shore up the gaps in security and protect citizens from the ever-increasing innovative nature of internet crime. This is then certainly an important theme requiring cooperation between Member States both

¹²² See an earlier discussion of CDA in Chapter 2, section 2.5, and in particular footnote 61 (Fairclough 2010: 93).

in terms of legality and policing not only across physical borders within Europe and beyond but also across cyber borders. This has also necessitated new methods of cooperation and legal structures which former cross-border crime-fighting agreements have not accounted for. The two themes of Internal Security and External Security are therefore extremely significant in the current EU situation, where debates on immigration from outside and migration from inside the EU have become central topics. Member States are concerned for the security of their own nationals from terrorism and organized crime but this is also seen within the framework of EU border protection from within (internal security) and from without (external security). Such areas of policy concerning security are extremely emotive for individual Member States and individual (EU) citizens alike; the need to protect and anticipate and repel threats from inside and outside the EU borders calls upon Member States to cooperate more closely in terms of border force agencies and Integrated Border Management. Notwithstanding, there may be elements in the discourse extracts which project subtle differing viewpoints; this may concern primarily the threats to citizens' security and inclusion/exclusion polarities relating to who is seen as the catalyst for these threats. We would then expect to identify this most particularly in the Council extracts – which represent the interests of individual Member States, as well as the Council as a whole. We may therefore find different parallel language interpretations of discourse which could be taking a more protectionist stance in relation to an own Member State to which that language or those languages could relate.

The analysis of these themes will be followed by a concluding section summing up the salient features of cross-lingual tension in the two discourse dimensions now being analysed simultaneously here: (1) the *horizontal* (the institutional discourse chain consisting of stages A, B and C per language); and (2) the *vertical* (the multilingual interface of this discourse chain). Thus, 'linguistic and sociological approaches are combined' (Wodak and Weiss 2005: 124) as the analysis design takes into account both the linguistic character of the discourse (multilingual versions of EN, FR, DE and NL) and the social practice or setting generating this discourse (the institutions of Commission and Council). The combined two-dimensional approach therefore presents a viable CDA framework for analysing multilingual political discourse within the European Union; this is because it takes into account the need for completeness such that the discourse analysis 'fully captures the qualitative range of

what can be said and how it is said in one or more discourse strands’ (Jäger and Maier 2009: 51).

5.2 The Political Priority of Security

5.2.1 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN - EN Version

Example 1 EN – The Political Priority of Security

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Protecting CITIZENS - a Europe that protects: A <u>domestic</u> security strategy should be developed in order further to improve security in the Union and thus to protect the <u>life and safety of European CITIZENS</u>.</p>	<p>A Europe that protects: An <u>internal</u> security strategy should be developed in order to <u>further improve security in the Union and thus protect the lives and safety of CITIZENS of the Union and to tackle organised crime, terrorism and other threats</u>.</p>	<p>Ensuring the security of Europe</p> <p><u>Europe is facing growing cross-border criminality. It is our obligation to work hand in hand with Member States, European Parliament, key third countries and the business community where appropriate, and do our utmost to ensure that EU CITIZENS can live in a secure environment.</u></p>

One of the main lexical differences between stages A and B is that the notion of protecting citizens by way of a security strategy that works from ‘within’ the EU is denoted by the adjective ‘domestic’ at stage A and by ‘internal’ at stage B. This difference is salient as the lexeme ‘domestic’ is related to words such as *domicile*, which refers to the notion of being within one’s home territory; on the other hand, ‘internal’ merely places citizens within the conceptual space of the EU as opposed to outside. Thus, the description ‘domestic’ at stage A makes a value judgement of belonging and ownership that is absent in the spatial description ‘internal’ at stage B; as a result stage A presents security strategy as more insular and places citizens further away from ‘others’ perceived as outside the Union.

Secondly, stage A does not link the two ideas of improving internal security and protecting the life and safety of European citizens to any other more detailed description of what citizens need to be protected from. The conceptual space of security and protection portrays a positive situation which emphasizes that further improving security will lead to better protection of the life and safety of citizens. However, at stage B, precisely what citizens need to be protected from and what is threatening their lives and safety is made explicit by the statement that there is a need to ‘tackle organised crime, terrorism and other threats’. Here, the idea of threat is also introduced into the conceptual space of security and protection of citizens’ life and safety, which compromises the positive situation of merely improving security presented at stage A.

Whilst stage C makes the threat to security even more specific - as it refers to the fact that ‘Europe is facing growing cross-border criminality’, this is immediately mitigated by the notion of how this may be alleviated: it is thus ‘our obligation to work hand in hand with Member States, ... key third countries ... where appropriate’. In this way, the obligation to improve security for the protection of citizens is linked specifically to working with Member States and third countries, etc., whereas this specific link is not established at stages A and B. Here, there is merely an acknowledgement that an internal security strategy ‘should’ be developed to further improve security. In addition, stage C presents modality of not only necessity (obligation) but also that of certainty and possibility (conveyed by the verbs ‘ensure’ and ‘can’) that protecting citizens will lead to the provision of a secure environment: ‘It is our obligation to ..., and do our utmost to ensure (certainty) that EU **citizens** can live in a secure environment’. The possessive pronoun ‘our’ denotes that the speaker considers themselves to own this obligation as it points to the deictic centre of self (‘we’ or ‘us’). In contrast, at the previous two stages A and B, agentless passive structures are used to indicate this moral obligation that internal security ‘should’ be developed, ‘thus’ causing the life and safety of citizens to be protected (although this is almost expressed as a by-product of the obligation to develop a domestic/internal security strategy). Moreover, agentless passives also distance the speaker further from ownership of the obligation being expressed. The modality of certainty that is created by the use of the verb ‘ensure’ at stage C also indicates a more immediate urgency for

bringing about a secure living environment for citizens than is suggested at stages A and B.

5.2.2 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN - FR Version

Example 1 FR – The Political Priority of Security

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>Protéger les CITOYENS – une Europe qui protège: une stratégie de sécurité intérieure devrait être développée pour améliorer encore la sécurité au sein de l'Union et protéger ainsi la vie et l'intégrité des CITOYENS européens.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p><i>Protect the CITIZENS – a Europe that protects: a strategy of internal security should be developed in order to improve further security within the Union and protect in this way the life and integrity of the European CITIZENS.</i></p>	<p><i>Une Europe qui protège: une stratégie de sécurité intérieure devrait être développée afin d'améliorer encore la sécurité au sein de l'Union et, ainsi, protéger la vie des CITOYENS de l'Union et assurer leur sécurité, et en vue de lutter contre la criminalité organisée, le terrorisme et d'autres menaces.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p><i>A Europe that protects: a strategy of internal security should be developed with the aim of further improving security within the Union and, in this way, protecting the life of the CITIZENS of the Union and ensuring their security, and with a view to fighting against organized crime, terrorism and other threats.</i></p>	<p><i>Assurer la sécurité de l'Europe</i></p> <p><i>L'Europe étant confrontée à une hausse de la criminalité transfrontalière, nous nous devons de collaborer étroitement avec les États membres, le Parlement européen, les principaux pays tiers et, selon le cas, les entreprises, et de tout mettre en œuvre pour faire en sorte que les CITOYENS de l'Union puissent vivre dans un environnement sûr.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Ensuring the security of Europe</p> <p><i>Europe being confronted by an increase in cross-border crime, we have a duty to cooperate closely with the Member States, the European Parliament, the main third countries and, according to the case, businesses, and to undertake everything to ensure that/so that the CITIZENS of the Union can live in a secure environment.</i></p>

Unlike the EN versions of stages A and B, the FR version maintains the use of 'internal' - *intérieure* – across both these stages from Commission to Council. The lexical and conceptual contrast found in the EN between 'domestic' security strategy (overtly conveying insularity and homeland) and 'internal' security strategy is

therefore not established. There are a further two prominent discrepancies with stage B (Council) of the EN version. The first lies in the suggested time-based intention to deal with threats to the lives and safety of citizens. In the FR version this is expressed as ‘*en vue de lutter contre la criminalité organisée, le terrorisme et d'autres menaces*’ (with a view to fighting against organized crime, terrorism and other threats). The expression ‘with a view to’ could be interpreted as (1) neither entailing any degree of certainty that these threats will be dealt with, (2) nor suggesting any urgency in the present time to do so; both these readings could infer that future action is indeed being considered or intended, but also that present action is not necessarily assumed. As mentioned above, the EN version of this uses the preposition ‘to’, indicating purpose. This does then entail a future intention to act to tackle organized crime, etc., rather than the vague notion of only considering such action conveyed by ‘*en vue de*’. However, the alternative translation of ‘to’ in FR as *pour* (in order to) - although not ruled out for any grammatical reasons in this instance – would constitute a change in register from the higher register ‘with a view to’; this would of course also be the case should this be used in the EN text instead of the preposition ‘to’. We cannot therefore conclude unequivocally that the cross-lingual comparison entails vaguer (or less) commitment to act in the FR version. We can only conclude that there has been a stylistic divergence in register at the FR trans-drafting stage, which may or may not have been intentional to project a subjectively interpretable position of commitment. Nevertheless, this divergence does retain a degree of salience as - arguably - a difference in register could still produce a reading that is more open to individual interpretation.

The second salient feature of difference is indicated by the verb choice at this stage B as compared to the EN version ‘tackle’. The FR choice of *lutter contre* (fight against) immediately sets up a relationship of opposition between the speaker and the threats to be ‘fought against’. This is made particularly clear by the preposition ‘against’, indicating that the speaker places themselves conceptually on the other side of an adversarial boundary between themselves and the perceived ‘threats’. This adversarial boundary is not (so strongly) established in the EN version as ‘tackle’ suggests only to ‘deal with’; a problem or issue that needs to be dealt with (resolved) does not necessarily conjure up an oppositional relationship.

At stage C (Commission), while the obligation to work with Member States, the European Parliament and key third countries is made equally clear, the spatial proximity of this working relationship is slightly different here. The obligation ‘to work hand in hand’ in the EN version is indicative of a relationship in which there is no possibility of independence by any of the parties; ‘hand in hand’ suggests parallel action. In contrast, the FR expression ‘*collaborer étroitement*’ (cooperate closely) may suggest that this close working relationship does not necessarily imply – at least to the same extent as the EN version - that action should move together in parallel. However, again we can also note here that the difference between ‘cooperate closely’ in FR and ‘work hand in hand’ in EN could also be the result of choice of register, rather than explicit discursive positioning. Nevertheless, whether this contrast was deliberate or not – i.e. a covert projection of shift in viewpoint or a coincidental stylistic variation – the change in register has still occurred during the trans-drafting procedure at an institutional level, and is thus duly highlighted in this micro-analysis.

In addition, the phrase ‘where appropriate’ - used in the EN version to denote when working hand in hand with ‘the business community’ may be desirable - is translated here in the FR as ‘*selon le cas*’ (according to the case). While the EN version clearly indicates that a form of judgement of appropriateness will be necessary, the FR version could be interpreted as suggesting only that the decision to work with businesses will be made on a case-by-case or individual basis; this then does not necessarily imply a value judgement of ‘appropriateness’. However, while this is one interpretation/translation of the FR phrase ‘*selon le cas*’ (according to the case), we can only indicate here that it does not *explicitly* denote the semantic frame of ‘appropriateness’ that is found in the EN version. Much more evidence from comparative analyses (i.e. similar usages in similar texts and their respective ‘translations’ - between EN, FR and indeed other languages) would be needed for a more convincing argument; in other words, we cannot conclude that ‘*selon le cas*’ explicitly *excludes* the notion of judging the appropriateness of cases for working hand in hand/closely with the business community.

A final point of interest at stage C is that the certainty associated with the notion of ensuring that citizens can live in a secure environment is modified by the subjunctive ‘*puissent*’ (can), which is necessitated grammatically by the use of the conjunction ‘*en*

sorte que'. The statement 'en sorte que les **citoyens** de l'Union puissent vivre dans un environnement sûr' (to ensure that/so that the **citizens** of the Union can live in a secure environment) downgrades the certainty of 'ensure' encountered in the EN version; this is because a subjunctive automatically indicates the introduction of doubt as to the truth or reliability of an utterance or statement.

5.2.3 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN - DE Version

Example 1 DE – The Political Priority of Security

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p data-bbox="236 824 593 1126"><u>Schutz der BÜRGER – ein Europa, das Schutz bietet:</u> Es sollte eine Strategie für die <u>innere</u> Sicherheit entwickelt werden, um die Sicherheitslage innerhalb der Union zu verbessern und <u>damit das Leben und die Unversehrtheit der europäischen BÜRGER zu schützen.</u></p> <p data-bbox="236 1375 440 1402">Back translation:</p> <p data-bbox="236 1435 584 1738"><u>Protection of the CITIZEN(S) – a Europe that offers protection:</u> A strategy for <u>internal</u> security should be developed in order to improve the security situation within the Union and therewith <u>protect the life and the inviolability/integrity of the European CITIZEN.</u></p>	<p data-bbox="616 824 970 1189"><u>Ein Europa, das schützt:</u> Es sollte eine Strategie der <u>inneren</u> Sicherheit entwickelt werden, um die Sicherheitslage innerhalb der Union weiter zu verbessern und damit <u>das Leben und die Sicherheit der UnionsBÜRGER zu schützen</u> und um <u>gegen organisierte Kriminalität, Terrorismus und sonstige Bedrohungen vorzugehen.</u></p> <p data-bbox="616 1375 820 1402">Back translation:</p> <p data-bbox="616 1435 963 1738"><u>A Europe that protects:</u> A strategy of <u>internal</u> security should be developed in order to improve further the security situation within the Union and therewith <u>protect the life and safety of the Union CITIZENS and in order to act against organized crime, terrorism and other threats.</u></p>	<p data-bbox="997 824 1361 887"><u>Gewährleistung der Sicherheit Europas</u></p> <p data-bbox="997 913 1348 1312">Europa ist in zunehmendem Maße mit einer Kriminalität konfrontiert, <u>die nicht an Landesgrenzen haltmacht.</u> Wir haben die Pflicht, eng mit den Mitgliedstaaten, dem Europäischen Parlament, wichtigen Drittstaaten sowie <u>gegebenenfalls</u> mit der Wirtschaft zusammenzuarbeiten und alles zu tun, damit die UnionsBÜRGER in Sicherheit leben können.</p> <p data-bbox="997 1375 1201 1402">Back translation:</p> <p data-bbox="997 1435 1334 1498"><u>Guaranteeing the security of Europe</u></p> <p data-bbox="997 1525 1351 1861">Europe is being confronted increasingly with crime <u>that does not stop at country/state borders.</u> We have a duty to work closely together with the Member States, the European Parliament, important third states as well as, <u>should the case arise,</u> with business and do everything so that Union CITIZENS can live in security.</p>

At stage A, the DE version presents the title of this section in a slightly different grammatical formulation compared to the EN and the FR versions. This lies in the fact that at both stages A and B, the FR and EN express the action of Europe protecting citizens as: a ‘Europe that protects’ and ‘*une Europe qui protégé*’ (also ‘a Europe that protects’). Although the DE version does in fact adopt this grammatical structure at stage B (‘*ein Europa, das schützt*’ – a Europe that protects), at stage A the emphasis is not on the fact that Europe protects but that Europe provides the *possibility* of protection (‘*ein Europa, das Schutz bietet*’ – a Europe that offers protection). In this way, epistemic modality is affected lexically; Europe is being represented not as an entity which protects under any conditions, but as an entity which only provides protection that may or may not be effective and/or apply in all conditions.

Again, as in the FR version, there is no conceptualization of internal security as home or domestic security – the expression ‘*innere Sicherheit*’ (internal security) is maintained across stages A and B. However, the expression of how this internal security is to be enhanced to protect the life and safety of citizens now varies lexically from the EN version. Here, what is to be protected is ‘*das Leben und die Unversehrtheit der europäischen **Bürger***’ (the life and the inviolability/integrity of the European **citizen**). Notably, this is also the case in the FR version above (‘*la vie et l'intégrité*’). Thus, both the FR and the DE versions demonstrate lexical variance from the EN version in this segment at stage A. They both replace the term ‘safety’ with ‘integrity’ when discussing the need to protect the lives of citizens. From a spatial perspective, therefore, at stage A the DE (and indeed the FR) version depicts citizens as units of completeness/purity which may be corrupted/disintegrated by the absence of a sufficient level of internal security. However, at stage B (Council), we see that this difference has now been homogenized to the other language versions: ‘*das Leben und die Sicherheit der **Unionsbürger** zu schützen*’ (protect the life and safety of the Union **citizens**); this removes the notion of citizens as pure or complete and the possibility of them being corrupted or disintegrated by inadequate internal security. As in the case of the FR version, here in the DE the oppositional relationship between threats to security and the speaker is established; the speaker is cast in an adversarial or combative role, emphasized by the preposition ‘*gegen*’ in the

phrase: ‘*gegen organisierte Kriminalität, Terrorismus und sonstige Bedrohungen vorzugehen*’ (act against organized crime, terrorism and other threats).

What is also absent from the DE version at stage A is an equivalent of ‘further’ in EN (*encore* in FR; and *verder* in NL, see the Individual Language Discourse Chain for NL below in subsection 5.2.4). The other language versions are suggesting that some improvement in security has already been achieved, as ‘further’ improvement is now sought; however, in the DE text the need for improvement is suggested as if for the first time. Thus, from a temporal perspective, at both stages A and B, improvement is already ongoing in EN, FR and NL. In contrast, the DE version at stage A (Commission) infers that this improvement is to start at some unspecified future time and is not already ongoing. At stage B (Council), however, the absence of ‘further’ is corrected; now the aim is also to ‘*die Sicherheitslage innerhalb der Union weiter zu verbessern*’ - further improve the security situation within the Union. Thus, in the DE version only, the nature of temporal conceptualization as to the present quality of Union internal security shifts from stage A (needs improvement in the future) to B (has already improved but needs *more* improvement in the future). Conversely, temporal conceptualization remains stable with no shifts from stages A to B in the other three languages.

A striking point of difference at stage C lies in the expression of the situation of cross-border crime that is currently confronting Europe; this is indicated here in the DE version as crime ‘*die nicht an Landesgrenzen haltmacht* (that does not stop at country/state borders). The conceptual picture of crime taking place between EU Member States is different in two respects. Firstly, the notion of individual country or (Member) State borders is highlighted by the use of the expression ‘*Landesgrenzen*’, which foregrounds the separateness of countries, each with their own border. This is in contrast to ‘cross-border’, which is geographically and spatially ambiguous; ‘cross-border’ could denote that either crime is taking place across the borders of the Union itself generally or, more specifically, across the borders of individual countries/Member States within the Union. Secondly, the fact that crime does not stop at these borders is emphasized, which suggests that borders should be impenetrable, i.e. there should be ways of preventing any undesirable element from entering. This in turn sets up a spatial relationship of ‘otherness’. In addition, the

conceptualization of ‘cross-border’ is constructed from the viewpoint of *within* the Union as the crime is crossing borders amongst Member States (all situated within the collective area of the European Union). On the other hand, stopping (or not stopping) at borders is seen from the viewpoint of those *outside*, even though these borders are still all within the collective *inside* of the Union.

Finally, with regard to the circumstances in which there should be cooperation with business, the Commission states at stage C that this should occur *gegebenenfalls* (should the case arise); this is in fact very similar to the FR expression that this should take place on an individual or case-by-case basis (*selon le cas*) discussed above. However, it is dissimilar to the EN version, which makes the more explicit distinction that cooperation with the business community should be subject to the judgement of appropriateness (‘where appropriate’). Again, we should note here that this analysis only compares individual occurrences of ‘trans-drafting’ between EN, FR, DE and NL, and in the particular texts mined here. It is then also appropriate to reiterate former comments within this context. Only a much larger corpus of similar EU institutional texts could produce convincing conclusions on the comparability of semantic values encoded in cross-lingual meanings.

5.2.4 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN - NL Version

Example 1 NL – The Political Priority of Security

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>de BURGER beschermen – een Europa dat bescherming biedt:</i> <i>er moet een strategie voor interne veiligheid worden ontwikkeld om de veiligheid binnen de Unie verder te verhogen en zo het leven en de integriteit van de Europese BURGERS te beschermen.</i></p>	<p><i>Een beschermend Europa:</i> Een strategie voor <i>interne</i> veiligheid moet worden ontwikkeld om de veiligheid binnen de Unie verder te <i>verhogen</i> en zo <i>het leven en de integriteit van de BURGERS van de Unie te beschermen, en om georganiseerde misdaad, terrorisme en andere dreigingen het hoofd te bieden.</i></p>	<p><i>De veiligheid van Europa garanderen</i> <i>Europa wordt geconfronteerd met toenemende grensoverschrijdende criminaliteit. Het is onze plicht om samen te werken met de lidstaten, het Europees Parlement, belangrijke derde landen en in voorkomend geval het bedrijfsleven en ons uiterste best te doen om ervoor te zorgen dat EU-BURGERS in een veilige omgeving kunnen leven.</i></p>

<p>Back translation:</p> <p><u><i>protecting the CITIZEN – a Europe that offers protection:</i></u> a strategy for <u>internal</u> security must be developed in order to further <u>increase</u> security within the Union and in this way <u>protect the life and the integrity of the European CITIZENS.</u></p>	<p>Back translation:</p> <p><u>A protecting Europe:</u> A strategy for <u>internal</u> security must be developed in order to further <u>increase</u> security within the Union and in this way <u>protect the life and integrity of the CITIZENS of the Union, and in order to offer resistance to organized crime, terrorism and other threats.</u></p>	<p>Back translation:</p> <p>Guaranteeing the security of Europe</p> <p>Europe is being confronted with increasing cross-border crime. It is our duty to work together with the Member States, the European Parliament, important third countries and <u>should the case arise</u> businesses and to do our utmost best to ensure that EU CITIZENS can live in a secure environment.</p>
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Here in the NL version, like the FR and DE versions, the semantic description ‘internal’ is maintained across stages A and B to describe the security strategy that should be developed: ‘*een strategie voor interne veiligheid*’ (a strategy for internal security). In addition, at stage A, like the DE version, the title of this section characterizes Europe as an entity which offers protection (‘*een Europa dat bescherming biedt*’) rather than ‘that protects’, which is the title maintained in the EN and FR versions. However, at stage B in this NL version, the text neither reverts nor homogenizes to stage B in EN and FR (a Europe that protects); this was indeed the case in the DE version, where the text equates to ‘a Europe that offers protection’ at stage A only. The NL in fact introduces at stage B a new construal equating to ‘a protective Europe’ (*een beschermend Europa*). Thus, Europe is cast in the role of a ‘protective’ parent as it were; the adjectival description ‘protective’ endows Europe with the quality of *being* protective - or of protector - rather than simply describing action taken in a particular instance (i.e. a Europe *that* protects).

Nevertheless, there is still a subtle grammatical difference between NL ‘*beschermend*’ (literally ‘protecting’) and an alternative adjectival form ‘protective’. The NL version is a present participle (but functions here as an adjective); this means that ‘a protecting Europe’ could also easily be defined in the relative clause form used in EN, FR and DE: ‘a Europe that protects’ (in NL: *een Europa dat beschermt*). We are also bound to note that the adjective ‘protective’ is not possible lexically in NL, so the present participle must be used. Notwithstanding, the NL still opts for an adjectival

description of Europe as ‘protecting’ rather than taking action *to* protect. As we have already said, ‘a Europe that protects’ is not grammatically ruled out in NL. Coupled with the fact that this structure is also not used at stage A - in favour of a Europe that only ‘offers’ protection – we conclude that this slightly weakens the role of Europe as the agent of protection in the NL version only.

Returning to stage A, the need to enhance security within the Union is expressed differently to the other language versions so far in two respects. The first of these is the way in which the desired further enhancement of Union security is lexically described using a verb equating to the semantic domain of ‘increase’; this is in contrast to all three other preceding languages discussed, which stated that security should be further ‘improved’. Thus, in the NL version the desired aim is ‘*de veiligheid binnen de Unie verder te verhogen*’ (to further increase security within the Union). While both lexical choices equating to ‘improve’ and ‘increase’ are included in the semantic domain of ‘enhancement’, from a conceptual viewpoint there is a subtle difference between the two. This is because the notion of improving security is open to the interpretation of the speaker (or hearer) as to the precise quality and/or quantity of action required to achieve this improvement. However, the notion of ‘increasing’ security is far less open to such interpretation in the sense that ‘increase’ suggests the stepping up and actual quantitative multiplication of resources for security measures. This difference in lexical construal is also carried over to Council stage B and is not homogenized to other language versions.

The second salient element of this NL discourse strand concerns the lexical alternatives of protecting either the ‘integrity’ (FR, DE and NL at stage A) or the ‘safety’ (EN version *only* at stage A) of citizens. Initially, and in parallel with the FR and DE versions, the NL deviates here at stage A from the EN ‘template’ lexical choice of ‘safety’; it therefore also suggests that citizens are whole and that this wholeness may be disintegrated if sufficient protection is not achieved: ‘*en zo het leven en de integriteit van de Europese burgers te beschermen*’ (and in this way protect the life and the integrity of the European **citizens**). However, this discourse strand also remains the same (using the lexeme ‘integrity’ - *integriteit*) at stage B (Council); this means that it is not modified to equate lexically to safety and thus homogenize to the other three language versions. The NL version thus deviates from

the EN version *with* the other two languages at stage A (Commission); but it then retains this deviation *even when the remaining parallel versions then modify* lexically to harmonize with the EN ‘template’ at stage B (Council).

One final point of interest in this same discourse strand relates specifically to the text at stage B, where the need to confront threats to security is expressed. Here a metaphorical conceptualization is used in that a second positive outcome of increased security will be *‘om georganiseerde misdaad, terrorisme en andere dreigingen het hoofd te bieden’* (in order to offer resistance - literally: ‘to offer the head’ based on the movements of a bull or stag confronting an opponent - to organized crime, terrorism and other threats). It is worth noting here that this expression is perhaps more adversarial - by virtue of its metaphorical imagery - than other less metaphorical expressions of offering resistance, such as the FR *‘lutter contre’* (fight against) and the DE *‘vorgehen gegen’* (act against).

At stage C, again the discourse strand dealing with the conditions under which cooperation with business is - as expressed in the EN version - ‘appropriate’ is a point of interest. As in the DE version, this is indicated here in the NL version as ‘should the case arise’ (*in voorkomend geval*), which also leaves the value judgement of the EN ‘appropriateness’ completely open to interpretation on the part of both speaker and hearers. The difference in possible interpretations of this expression cross-lingually is again particularly salient in the same way that translational phenomena relating to the EN expression ‘where relevant’ versus ‘where appropriate’ (in this case) were discussed in the preceding chapter. This concerned the Council document at stage B, in which ‘where relevant’ was also linguistically construed in the NL, DE and FR versions respectively as: *in voorkomend geval*; *gegebenenfalls*; and *le cas échéant* (all three versions equating to ‘should the case arise’).¹²³

¹²³ For a full discussion of this, see Chapter 4, section 4.2 ‘The Political Priority of Freedom’, subsection 4.2.2, Example 1B, subtheme (2) ‘Judging the ‘relevance’ of rights outside the Union’.

5.3 Protection of Personal Data

5.3.1 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – EN Version

Example 2 EN – Protection of Personal Data

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Protection of personal data and privacy</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>secure</u> a <u>new</u> comprehensive strategy to protect CITIZENS' data <u>within the EU and in its relations with other countries</u>.</p>	<p>Protecting CITIZEN'S rights in the information society</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>secure</u> a comprehensive strategy to protect data <u>within the Union and in its relations with other countries</u>.</p>	<p>We need to <u>strengthen</u> the EU's stance in protecting the <u>personal data of the INDIVIDUAL</u> in the context of all EU policies, including law enforcement and crime prevention as well as in our international relations.</p>

At stage A, the title of this section emphasizes the link between personal data and privacy; the clause which follows then goes on to make clear the importance of securing a new all-encompassing (comprehensive) strategy for the protection of citizens' data within the EU area, as well as within the wider area of its 'relations with other countries'. Thus two conceptual spaces are created: (1) data protection within the EU; and (2) data protection outside the EU (in EU relations with 'other' countries). Subsequently, the title at stage B (Council) makes a more general statement about the need to protect the rights specifically of citizens within a conceptual area which is indicated as 'the information society'. Thus, at this stage (B) the emphasis is on the *rights* of citizens within a wider information network rather than the protection of citizens' data *per se*. This is supported by the running text that follows which does not state, as it does at stage A, that data protection applies specifically to citizens' data. However, the text does set up the same two conceptual areas as stage A in which data must be protected by a comprehensive strategy: (1) within the Union; and (2) in Union relations with other countries. One other significant difference between stages A and B (whose running text is almost identical) is the fact that the 'comprehensive strategy' that must be secured is described as 'new' at stage A but not at stage B. This suggests that the Commission's view is that a strategy already exists but that a new one is needed; the Council view appears to be that one does not already exist but should be put in place.

At stage C, the Commission’s view that a strategy for data protection already exists is further indicated by the statement that the EU’s stance in protecting the personal data of the individual needs to be strengthened (a stance therefore already exists). In addition, the notion of a comprehensive strategy is reflected in the expression: ‘in the context of all EU policies ...’; the text then goes on to specifically mention two of these by adding that this ‘includes’ law enforcement and crime prevention. Furthermore, it states that the context of the EU’s stance on protecting personal data of the individual also extends to the area outside the EU: ‘as well as in our international relations’. A final point of interest is that at this stage C the protection of personal data is not directed specifically at ‘citizens’ but at ‘individuals’.

5.3.2 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – FR Version

Example 2 FR – Protection of Personal Data

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>Protection des données à caractère personnel et de la vie privée</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>L’Union doit <u>assurer</u> une action globale et <u>renouvelée</u> de protection des données du CITOYEN au sein de l’Union et dans le cadre de ses relations avec des pays tiers.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection of personal data and privacy</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>ensure</u> comprehensive and <u>renewed</u> action to protect the data of the CITIZEN within the Union and in the framework of its relations with third countries.</p>	<p><i>Protection des droits du CITOYEN dans la société de l’information</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Elle doit <u>se doter d’une</u> stratégie globale de protection des données au sein de l’Union et dans le cadre de ses relations avec des pays tiers.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection of the rights of the CITIZEN in the information society</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>It (the Union) must <u>equip itself with</u> a comprehensive strategy for the protection of data <u>within the Union and in the framework of its relations with third countries.</u></p>	<p><i><u>Nous devons durcir</u> la position de l’UE en matière de protection des données A CARACTERE PERSONNEL dans le cadre de toutes les politiques européennes, y compris dans les domaines répressif et de la prévention de la criminalité, ainsi que dans nos relations internationales.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p><u>We must tighten/toughen (up)/harden</u> the position of the EU concerning the protection of PERSONAL data in the framework of all European policies, including in the areas of law enforcement and crime prevention, as well as in our international relations.</p>

Here at stage A, the two conceptual spaces (within and outside the Union) in which protection of personal data and privacy must be ensured are also established.

However, the exact nature of one of these spaces deviates here; the space outside the Union is qualified not as relations with ‘other countries’, as in the EN version, but as relations with ‘*des pays tiers*’ (third countries). As discussed in the previous analysis chapter, there is a conceptual difference between describing a country as ‘other’ and as ‘third’; this is because ‘third’ reduces the conceptual space between the main parties to the relationship (the Member States themselves within the Union) and the ‘other’. A ‘third party’ enjoys a peripheral relationship with the main participants, whereas ‘other’ suggests a complete exclusion from this relationship.

At stage B, this description of ‘third’ country is maintained under the title that protecting the rights of citizens is to take place within the information society. However, while the EN version across stages A and B employs the same lexical choice (that the EU must ‘secure’ a comprehensive strategy), construal at stage B in the FR version makes a conceptual shift; the difference here in lexical choice means that the Union no longer ‘*doit assurer une action globale ...*’ (must ensure comprehensive ... action) but now ‘*doit se doter d'une stratégie globale...*’ (must equip itself with a comprehensive strategy ...). Thus, at stage B, the Union is given more responsibility for providing this strategy as it is to equip ‘itself’ (denoted by the reflexive verb ‘*se doter*’). In addition, the lexical verb choice of ‘*se doter*’ (as opposed to ‘*assurer*’ at stage A) entails much less vagueness as to how this is to be achieved; here, the text infers that it is the Union itself that will be the provider of this strategy rather than somehow ensuring/securing its existence by unspecified means and agency.

At stage C, two further points are worth noting. The first is that the verb choice ‘*durcir*’ used to describe the fact that the EU stance or position must be strengthened also carries the semantic quality of ‘tighten/toughen (up)/harden’; in contrast, the translational equivalent of the verb ‘strengthen’ is more commonly associated with the FR verb ‘*renforcer*’ (literally: reinforce), which could have been a lexical alternative here. One could therefore speculate as to whether this lexical verb choice in the FR version increases the commitment to strengthening the EU’s stance in relation to the EN version. The second point of interest is that the data to be protected

is described here as ‘personal data’ (*données à caractère personnel*) and not as ‘personal data of the **individual**’ (EN version); one could argue that mentioning only that data is of a personal nature and not that it belongs specifically to individuals is conceptually even further removed from the notion of personal data belonging to citizens.

5.3.3 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – DE Version

Example 2 DE – Protection of Personal Data

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>Schutz personenbezogener Daten und Schutz der Privatsphäre</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Die Union muss <u>neue</u> allumfassende <u>Maßnahmen</u> zum Schutz der Daten der BÜRGER innerhalb der Europäischen Union und im Verhältnis zu Drittstaaten ergreifen.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection of personal data and protection of privacy</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>grasp</u>¹²⁴ <u>new</u> all-embracing <u>measures</u> to protect the data of CITIZENS within the European Union and in relation to third states.</p>	<p><i>Schutz der Rechte der BÜRGER in der Informationsgesellschaft</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Die Union muss <u>für</u> eine umfassende Strategie zum Datenschutz innerhalb der Union und in ihren Beziehungen zu Drittstaaten sorgen.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection of the rights of the CITIZEN in the information society</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>ensure/secure</u> a comprehensive strategy for data protection within the Union and in its relations with third states.</p>	<p><i>Wir müssen die Position der EU bezüglich des Schutzes PERSONENBEZOGENER Daten bei allen EU-Maßnahmen, einschließlich jener in den Bereichen Strafverfolgung und Kriminalprävention, sowie in unseren internationalen Beziehungen stärken.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>We must <u>strengthen</u> the position of the EU concerning the protection of PERSONAL data in all EU measures, including those in the areas of law enforcement and crime prevention, as well as in our international relations.</p>

¹²⁴ Idiomatic parallels of the DE ‘*Maßnahmen ergreifen*’ include in EN ‘take/adopt measures/steps/action’; however, the lexeme ‘grasp’ is signalled in the back translation here to highlight the significant semantic difference between *ergreifen* and the lexemes ‘secure’ (EN), ‘assure’ (FR = ensure) and later, see below, ‘ontwikkelen’ (NL = develop). The verb *ergreifen* suggests a more aggressive and decisively agentive approach than secure/ensure/develop.

Stage A in the DE version also maintains the conceptual spaces established in the EN and FR versions whereby citizens' data should be protected both within and outside the Union; here, in parallel with the FR version, the space outside the Union refers to relations with 'third' rather than 'other' countries, although these are described now as 'third states' (*Drittstaaten*); this arguably closes the conceptual space between these 'third' states and Member States more than the expression 'third countries' - 'third state' is semantically closer to 'Member State' of the Union simply due to the lexical parallelism of the word 'state'.

A further point of interest at stage A in the DE version is that the Union is more prescriptive about the nature of appropriate action; in the EN and FR versions it is merely stated that the Union must secure (*assurer*) a new comprehensive strategy. The idea of an overall strategy is vague and rather passive compared to the DE version; here more detail is offered according to which the Union must be more active and 'grasp new all-embracing measures' (*neue allumfassende Maßnahmen ... ergreifen*) for the protection of citizens' data. As a result, the Union is not just making sure that a strategy somehow comes into being but is stating that active – and possibly more assertive - measures must define this strategy. Thus, in the DE version the conceptual space between the Union and citizens is reduced as the Union takes more responsibility for acting on their behalf.¹²⁵ However, the repetition of this segment of discourse at stage B (which, as we have said earlier, remains fairly static in the EN version from stages A to B) is modified here in the DE version and agrees largely with the construal in the EN text; the Union must now 'ensure/secure a comprehensive strategy for data protection' (*für eine umfassende Strategie ... sorgen*) and is therefore much less agentive – and indeed less assertive - than in this discourse segment at stage A.

¹²⁵ This can also be seen in the light of a discussion by Talmy on force dynamics, defined as 'how entities interact with respect to force [...] the exertion of force, resistance to such a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of force, removal of such blockage [...]' (Talmy 2000: 409). The verb *ergreifen* can be considered to exert more force than ensure/secure/develop. Givón provides a further interpretation of how the semantics of *ergreifen* may differ. In a discussion of agentive control, he suggests that where direct contact between manipulator (i.e. the agent) and manipulee (i.e. the patient) is implied - in this case, the 'Union' and 'measures' respectively, spatio-temporal integration is affected (Givón 2001: 47). Accordingly, 'grasp' then implies that the Union is in direct contact with the measures and so carries out the action of taking those measures itself (time and place of these measures are thus concurrent with those of the manipulator/agent – the Union). This is not necessarily the case with 'ensuring/securing/developing' action/a strategy, as no direct contact by the agent is explicitly implied (thus another entity as (co-)agent at another time and place is not ruled out).

5.3.4 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – NL Version

Example 2 NL – Protection of Personal Data

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>Bescherming van persoonsgegevens en de persoonlijke levenssfeer</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>De Unie moet een <u>nieuwe, algemene strategie ontwikkelen</u> ten aanzien van de bescherming van gegevens van de BURGER <u>binnen de Unie en in het kader van haar betrekkingen met derde landen.</u></i></p>	<p><i>Bescherming van de rechten van de BURGER in de informatiemaatschappij</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>De Unie moet een algemene strategie <u>ontwikkelen</u> ten aanzien van de bescherming van persoonsgegevens <u>binnen de Unie en in het kader van haar betrekkingen met derde landen.</u></i></p>	<p><i>Het standpunt van de EU over de bescherming van persoonsgegevens van INDIVIDUEN in het kader van <u>alle EU-beleid moet worden versterkt, ook op het gebied van rechtshandhaving en criminaliteitspreventie en in onze internationale relaties.</u></i></p>
<p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection of personal data and personal privacy</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>develop</u> a new, general strategy with regard to the protection of data of the CITIZEN <u>within the Union and in the framework of its relations with third countries.</u></p>	<p>Back translation:</p> <p>Protection of the rights of the CITIZEN in the information society</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The Union must <u>develop</u> a general strategy with regard to the protection of personal data <u>within the Union and in the framework of its relations with third countries.</u></p>	<p>Back translation:</p> <p>The standpoint (point of view) of the EU on the protection of <u>personal data of INDIVIDUALS</u> in the framework of all EU policy <u>must be strengthened</u>, also in the area of law enforcement and crime prevention and in our international relations.</p>

Perhaps the most striking feature of the NL discourse segments at A and B initially are the fact that they are almost identical in the same way that the EN segments are. The only difference between the two is that the first refers to the protection of data of the citizen (*gegevens van de burger*) and the second to the protection of personal data (*persoonsgegevens*). However, this difference is in keeping with a general shift in the discourse content from stages A to B in all the other three language versions. What is particularly salient is the fact that, while the NL version maintains an almost identical integral content from stages A to B (which, at first glance, appears to mirror the EN version), one lexical choice differs significantly from both the EN and all other versions. At stage A the Union must either ‘secure’ (EN) or ‘ensure’ (FR) a comprehensive security strategy or ‘grasp measures’ (DE) to this end; and at stage B, the Union must ‘secure’ (EN), ‘equip itself with’ (FR) or ‘ensure/secure’ (DE

homogenized to the EN) this strategy. In summary, therefore, there are two features of note associated with this discourse segment: (1) the EN is almost identical over A and B; and (2) the FR and DE versions are not almost identical over A and B, although the DE text does homogenize to the EN at stage B. What is striking about the NL version is that, like the EN version, it *is* almost identical over A and B and also almost identical to the EN version, but with one significant difference. Its lexical verb choice to describe the way in which the security strategy will be obtained is ‘*ontwikkelen*’ (to develop): the Union must ‘*een algemene strategie ontwikkelen ten aanzien van de bescherming van persoonsgegevens binnen de Unie en in het kader van haar betrekkingen met derde landen*’ (develop a general strategy with regard to the protection of personal data within the Union and in the framework of its relations with third countries). Consequently, the Union is clearly placed in a position of responsibility and agency for the delivery of a security strategy to protect the personal data of European citizens.¹²⁶ We note here also however that the selection of the NL adjective ‘*algemeen*’ (general) as a parallel of ‘comprehensive/all-embracing’ (EN/FR/DE) is a significant semantic contrast; it is much blander than even the EN ‘comprehensive’, for example, and implies that the new security strategy will be less specific in its scope than suggested in the other versions.

In addition, while the verb ‘secure’ (at stage B in the EN version, for example) denotes that the Union should indeed provide or make this strategy possible, it does not make clear that the strategy does not yet exist; this *is* however suggested by stating that it must be ‘developed’. As an addendum to this, at stage A, the fact that the strategy does not yet exist is indeed inferred in all languages by stating that a ‘new’ (DE: *neue*; NL: *nieuwe*) or ‘renewed’ (FR: *renouvelée*) strategy must be secured. However, this adjectival qualification is abandoned across the board in all languages at stage B (Council). It therefore appears ironic that the NL version effectively reinserts this conceptual inference by its choice of verb equating to ‘develop’.

¹²⁶ The questions of responsibility and agency are central issues for the discursive positioning of the speaker; this is because if different languages project different roles and degrees of responsibility and agency in their separate discourses, there could be significant repercussions for the opinions formed and actions taken by readers or users (i.e. local, regional and national policy makers and interest groups, as well as individual citizens) of those parallel language discourses.

At stage C, there are two final features worthy of note in the NL version and these relate to the following statement: ‘*Het standpunt van de EU over de bescherming van persoonsgegevens van **individuen** in het kader van alle EU-beleid moet worden versterkt. ...*’ (The standpoint (point of view) of the EU on the protection of personal data of **individuals** in the framework of all EU policy must be strengthened, ...). Firstly, the use of an agentless passive voice here is in contrast to the active grammatical constructions used in all three other language versions, which all cast ‘we’ (FR: *nous*; DE *wir*) as the grammatical agents of change: ‘We need to strengthen the EU’s stance in protecting the personal data of the **individual** (and FR and DE equivalents); in the NL version, therefore, it is not clear at all *who* is required to strengthen the stance of the EU, whereas the ‘we’ in the other language versions can be assumed to be the Union as a whole, made up of the Member States supported by the Commission. In addition, the deictic use of the first person pronoun ‘we’ denotes that the speaker(s) conceptualize(s) themselves in the same space as that of Europe, whereas the speaker(s) in the NL statement do(es) not. As a result, the ‘standpoint of the EU’ is more distanced from the speaker(s) and thus also further removed from the conceptual space of European citizens and their protection. Within this, it is also worth noting the difference in lexical choice between the EN version (‘stance’) and the FR and DE versions (‘*position*’ and ‘*Position*’, respectively). The semantic fields of ‘stance’¹²⁷ or ‘position’ merely imply a particular kind of policy posture, but this is not directly related to the speaker expressing a point of view or opinion.¹²⁸ However, the NL lexical choice of ‘*standpunt*’ does in fact carry the semantic value of personal perspective or opinion;¹²⁹ this then places the NL statement somewhat closer to the

¹²⁷ The author recognizes that the term ‘stance’(taking) represents a much researched and discussed field within linguistics, which will however not be developed in this thesis. See, for example, the collected volumes edited by Jaffe (2009) and Englebretson (2007) on diverse aspects of stance-taking relating to discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, etc.

¹²⁸ The free online Oxford English Dictionary (OED) gives, for example, the figurative definition of ‘stance’ as: ‘An attitude adopted in relation to a particular object of contemplation; a policy, ‘posture’’. Searched on 17/05/2013 at: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/188941?rskey=qelFbX&result=2#eid>

Similarly, while ‘position’ can undoubtedly also *imply* a semantic connection with an ‘opinion, attitude, or viewpoint on a particular subject’, this is not overtly stated in the FR and DE versions either. Searched on 17/05/2013 at: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/148314?rskey=W8TDu3&result=1#eid>

¹²⁹ The free online Dutch monolingual *Van Dale* dictionary gives the following explanations for the word ‘standpunt’: *zienswijze* (own translation: perspective), *mening* (own translation: opinion/view), *opvatting* (own translation: view/notion/opinion): *een standpunt innemen* (own translation: to take a view). Searched on 17/05/2013 at: <http://www.vandale.nl/opzoeken?pattern=standpunt&lang=nn>

self of the EU from a lexical perspective, even if the absence of deictic ‘we’ also positions this speaker in not the same (as discussed above in relation to the other versions) but a different conceptual space to citizens.

The second point of interest here concerns the expression referring to the protection of ‘*persoonsgegevens van **individue**n*’ (personal data of **individuals**), which is based on the EN version at stage C: ‘the personal data of the **individual**’. The use of the term ‘individual(s)’ makes clear and foregrounds the fact that the protection is directed at these individuals (citizens) and their right to the security that will protect their personal data. However, in the other two language versions this is construed differently - the aim here is to protect data that is of a **personal** nature (FR: *protection des données à caractère **personnel***; DE: *des Schutzes **personenbezogener** Daten*); i.e. it is the data *itself* that is being protected rather than the individuals (citizens) who own that data. The speaker is thus conceptually closer to the needs of citizens as individuals in the NL and EN versions.

The free online Dutch to English bilingual *Van Dale* translation of *standpunt* is given as ‘point of view’; it also gives the translation of the expression: *bij zijn standpunt blijven* as ‘hold one’s ground’. Searched on 17/05/2013 at:
<http://www.vandale.nl/opzoeken?pattern=standpunt&lang=ne>

5.4 Internal Security

5.4.1 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – EN Version

Example 3 EN - Cross-Border Threats, Organized Crime and Terrorism

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>A Europe that protects</p> <p><u>Action at European level is key to protecting its PEOPLE against threats which do not stop at borders.</u> The EU must devise an internal security strategy that respects <u>fundamental rights and reflects a shared vision of today's challenges.</u> This strategy must embody <u>real solidarity between the Member States.</u> It must provide a means of clarifying <u>what comes under the remit of national authorities and what, on the contrary, will be achieved more effectively at EU level.</u></p>	<p>A EUROPE THAT PROTECTS</p> <p>Internal Security Strategy</p> <p>The European Council is convinced that <u>the enhancement of actions at European level, combined with better coordination with actions at regional and national level, are essential to protection from trans-national threats.</u> Terrorism and organised crime, drug trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of persons and trafficking in arms, inter alia, <u>continue to challenge the internal security of the Union.</u> <u>Cross-border wide-spread crime has become an urgent challenge</u> which requires a clear and comprehensive response.</p>	<p>Ensuring the Security of Europe</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>An Internal Security Strategy, <u>based upon the full respect of fundamental rights and on solidarity between Member States,</u> will be implemented with care and firm resolve <u>to face the growing cross-border challenges.</u> It <u>implies a coordinated approach</u> to police cooperation, border management, criminal justice cooperation and civil protection. <u>We need to address all the common security threats</u> from terrorism and organised crime, to safety concerns related to man-made and natural disasters.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>As a <u>priority</u> we need to take stock of <u>the counter-terrorism measures put in place in recent years and assess how they can be improved to contribute to protecting our CITIZENS and add value to Member States' action.</u></p>

At this stage A (Commission Proposal) of the EN version, the following points are set out in the discourse: (1) action at European level is key to protecting citizens (people) against ‘threats which do not stop at borders’ (cross-border threats); (2) the EU’s internal security strategy must respect fundamental rights and also reflect a shared vision of today’s challenges; (3) the strategy must be subject to real solidarity between Member States; (4) the strategy must also enable clarification of what

national authorities are responsible for and what can be achieved more effectively at the EU level.

Stage B (Council Programme) also deals with all of these points but employs a different discursive framing. While action at European level is necessary as protection against ‘trans-national threats’, there is also a conviction that it is essential for this action to be ‘enhanced’ and also ‘combined’ with better coordination at regional and national level. The text then goes on to list a number of these threats (‘[t]errorism and organised crime, drug trafficking, ... trafficking in arms, inter alia ...’); it is then indicated that they continue to ‘challenge’ the Union’s internal security (i.e. there is no specific mention here of threat or danger - although this notion is in fact explicitly perpetuated in the FR and NL versions below). Finally, it is stated that ‘cross-border wide-spread crime’ in particular has become ‘an urgent challenge’ and that this requires ‘a clear and comprehensive response’. Two features of the discourse are of note at this stage B. The first is that there is no explicit mention of the fact that protection from ‘trans-national threats’ is aimed at citizens (people) specifically (as is the case at stage A), even though this is implicit from the discourse context. Secondly, the ‘threats which do not stop at borders’ at stage A are then referred to at stage B as ‘trans-national threats’. From a spatial perspective, stage A conceptualizes these threats as being able to cross borders; this implies those borders both within and outside the EU as a collective and inclusive area - ‘cross-border’ can thus be interpreted in a more generic sense. However, these same threats at stage B are conceptualized as being able to cross not only borders but nations; it is therefore not the geographic notion of separate and *separating* borders within the collective EU space that is foregrounded (as in stage A) but the notion of individual nations (and the associated connotation of national sovereignties) within that EU space. In contrast, where the discourse deals with the specific issue of ‘wide-spread crime’, this is not described as ‘trans-national’ but as ‘cross-border’, so that it is the geographical notion of borders that is spatially significant rather than the political notion of nation (and sovereignty); we also note that ‘cross-border’ crime is indicated as being a ‘challenge’ (i.e. a testing or demanding situation, though not necessarily negative), whereas the

‘trans-national’ is seen as a ‘threat’ (i.e. a dangerous, adversarial and negative situation) to Union security.¹³⁰

At stage C, two issues are presented as being of most importance for implementing an internal security strategy. These are the full respect of fundamental rights and solidarity between Member States. It is also interesting to note that the issue of Member State solidarity was present at stage A, but actually disappeared at stage B, only to reappear at stage C. This could be explained by the fact that both segments A and C are Commission segments; as such they would then be expected to promote a supranational view of European policy, i.e. the overall interests of a united European Union rather than individual Member State interests. On the other hand, the Council segment at stage B would be expected to champion an intergovernmental stance on Europe (an attempt to consolidate the sometimes diverse interests of individual States); this could then equally be why solidarity between Member States is not explicitly linked to the discourse on the EU’s internal security strategy.

The text then states that the aim of implementing the strategy will be ‘to face the growing cross-border challenges’. Here too therefore ‘cross-border’ is associated with ‘challenge’ rather than threat (i.e. problematic issues that take place within the borders of the Union as an integral entity are challenging rather than threatening). Stage C also states that a coordinated approach is needed but is far more specific than the Council at stage B (which qualifies this as ‘actions at regional and national level’¹³¹); Commission stage C suggests, for example, areas such as police

¹³⁰It can of course be argued that, at least to some extent, this variation could simply be a matter of stylistics. However, more recent interpretations of this field of linguistic study have tended to acknowledge that ‘[s]tylistics has no settled view of the relationship between author, text and reader, but constantly evolves new theories and models of this dynamic relationship, in order to elucidate ever more clearly the processes by which meaning comes about’ (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:3). We can therefore also reasonably maintain that – even if the variation here is a stylistic one – the communicative functionality of the text as the prime concern of analysis is nonetheless still very much linked to ‘the wider contexts of production and reception [...]’(ibid.). In other words, a critical stylistics approach (combining the methods and tools of both CDA and stylistics - Jeffries 2010) is inextricably linked to EU institutional multilingualism as an ideology and the hybrid text production practices that it generates.

¹³¹ The Council thereby stresses the need for subsidiarity. According to Article 5 of the Treaty on European Union, the principle of subsidiarity ‘ensures that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made to verify that action at Union level is justified in light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level.’ (Europa website - Summaries of EU legislation, Glossary, accessed on 05/02/2014 at: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm).

cooperation and border management. It also states that ‘[w]e need to address all the common security threats’, which implies the collective ‘we’ of the Union, i.e. the Member States supported by the Commission (and other institutions). Stage C also describes one area in particular in which solidarity between Member States (dealt with at stage A) and action at national level (dealt with at stages A and B) may be maximized: it is ‘a priority’ to assess how counter-terrorism measures can be improved to protect citizens and ‘add value to Member States’ action.’

5.4.2 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – FR Version

Example 3 FR - Cross-Border Threats, Organized Crime and Terrorism

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>UNE EUROPE QUI PROTÈGE</p> <p><u>L'Europe offre un cadre indispensable pour protéger ses HABITANTS contre les menaces qui ignorent les frontières. L'Union européenne doit concevoir une stratégie de sécurité intérieure conforme aux droits fondamentaux et qui exprime une vision commune des enjeux. Cette stratégie doit traduire une réelle solidarité entre États membres. Elle permettra de clarifier ce qui doit relever des autorités nationales et ce qui, au contraire, sera plus efficacement conduit au niveau de l'Union.</u></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>A Europe that protects</p> <p><u>Europe offers (provides) an indispensable framework for protecting its inhabitants against</u></p>	<p>UNE EUROPE QUI PROTÈGE</p> <p>Stratégie de sécurité intérieure</p> <p><u>Le Conseil européen est convaincu qu'il est essentiel, pour se protéger contre les menaces transnationales, de renforcer les mesures prises au niveau européen et de mieux les coordonner avec celles qui sont déployées aux niveaux régional et national. Le terrorisme et la criminalité organisée, le trafic de drogue, la corruption, la traite des êtres humains, le trafic de migrants et le trafic d'armes, entre autres, continuent à menacer la sécurité intérieure de l'Union. La criminalité transfrontalière de grande ampleur est désormais un problème pressant, auquel il faut répondre de manière claire et globale.</u></p>	<p>Assurer la sécurité de l'Europe</p> <p>(...)</p> <p><u>Une stratégie en matière de sécurité intérieure, fondée sur le plein respect des droits fondamentaux et sur la solidarité entre États membres, sera mise en œuvre avec soin et la ferme intention de faire face aux défis qui se multiplient au niveau transfrontalier. Pour ce faire, il y a lieu d'adopter une approche coordonnée de la coopération policière, de la gestion des frontières, de la coopération judiciaire en matière pénale et de la protection civile. Nous devons nous attaquer à toutes les menaces pour la sécurité qui nous sont communes, du terrorisme aux problèmes de sécurité liés aux catastrophes d'origine humaine et naturelle, en passant par la criminalité organisée.</u></p>

While the two Commission documents both refer directly to ‘solidarity between (the) Member States’ (thus action at the European supranational level – the opposite of subsidiarity), there is also some reference to subsidiarity at Commission proposal stage A (i.e. the need to clarify ‘what comes under the remit of national authorities’); however, its focus is weakened by the immediate contrast with ‘what [...] will be achieved more effectively at EU level’ – the supranational. Commission Action Plan stage C seems to emphasize subsidiarity much less as it refers to the need to ‘add value to Member States’ action’ (i.e. supranational EU action to enhance national action).

<p><u>threats which ignore borders.</u> The European Union must devise a strategy of internal security <u>in accordance with fundamental rights and which expresses a common vision of the challenges/stakes.</u> This strategy must convey a <u>real solidarity between Member States.</u> It will allow the clarification of <u>that which must fall within the remit of national authorities and that which, on the contrary, will be more effectively conducted at the Union level.</u></p>	<p>Back translation:</p> <p>A EUROPE THAT PROTECTS</p> <p>Internal Security Strategy</p> <p>The European Council is convinced that <u>it is essential, in order to protect oneself against trans-national threats, to strengthen the measures taken at the European level and to better coordinate them with those which are deployed at the regional and national levels.</u> Terrorism and organized crime, drug trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of migrants and trafficking in arms, inter alia, <u>continue to threaten the internal security of the Union. Cross-border crime on a large scale is now an urgent problem,</u> to which must be responded in a clear and comprehensive manner.</p>	<p>(...)</p> <p><i>Nous devons <u>en priorité dresser le bilan des mesures antiterroristes mises en place ces dernières années et déterminer comment nous pouvons les améliorer afin de contribuer à la protection de nos conCITOYENS et d'apporter une valeur ajoutée à l'action des États membres.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Ensuring the security of Europe</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>A strategy concerning internal security, based on the <u>full respect of fundamental rights and on solidarity between Member States,</u> will be implemented with care and the firm intention <u>to face the challenges that are growing at the cross-border level.</u> To do this, <u>there is a need to adopt a coordinated approach</u> to police cooperation, border management, criminal justice cooperation and civil protection. <u>We must tackle all threats to security that are common to us,</u> from terrorism to safety issues related to man-made and natural disasters, through to organized crime.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p><u>As a priority we must take stock of the counter-terrorism measures put in place in recent years and determine how we can improve them so as to contribute to the protection of our fellow CITIZENS and bring added value to the action of the Member States.</u></p>
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At stage A, there are two striking differences at the beginning of the FR discourse. Firstly, Europe is cast in the role of ‘offering (providing)’ an indispensable ‘framework’ (*cadre*) for protection from threats. This is in direct contrast to the EN version, which simply states that action at European level is ‘key’ to protecting its ‘people’ from threats. The fact that this framework is ‘offered (provided)’ in the FR version does not necessarily mean that European action will ensue, whereas this is more implied by the specific expression ‘Action at European level’ in the EN version. Secondly, those who are being protected are described as *habitants* (inhabitants), which automatically assumes the spatial conceptualization of those ‘living’ within the European area; on the other hand, in the EN version, Europe’s ‘people’ could presumably find themselves anywhere in the world. A further difference lies in the fact that ‘threats that do not stop at borders’ (EN) is a far more dynamic expression than ‘*les menaces qui ignorent les frontières*’ (threats which ignore borders); the EN expression could suggest that borders are regularly physically breached, whereas *ignorer* (FR)¹³², in the sense of ‘not know’ or ‘disregard’, conveys more a lack of knowledge of or respect for borders in principle. In addition, the desired strategy should express ‘*une vision commune des enjeux*’ (a common vision of the challenges/stakes). However, the temporal reference to ‘today’ in ‘a shared vision of today’s challenges’ (EN) is lost here. It is therefore less anchored in the deictic here and now of what challenges there are to be dealt with; it also implies that these challenges are more open to interpretation as they have not been qualified as those challenges that are currently at issue.

At stage B (Council), an interesting lexical choice in the FR version contrasts strongly with what has gone before in the EN text. This concerns the verb choice ‘*menacer*’ (to threaten) in the following discourse segment:

*‘Le terrorisme et la criminalité organisée, le trafic de drogue, la corruption, la traite des êtres humains, le trafic de migrants et le trafic d’armes, entre autres, continuent à **menacer** la sécurité intérieure de l’Union.’*

¹³² The FR verb ‘*ignorer*’ is semantically complex and contains connotations of lack of knowledge, as in ignorance, but also the sense of disregard/take no notice of, as in knowing but choosing to act otherwise in spite of this knowledge.

‘Terrorism and organised crime, drug trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of persons and trafficking in arms, inter alia, continue to **challenge** the internal security of the Union.’

The positive interpretation in the EN version of a Europe in which the above threats to security are viewed as ‘challenges’ (that which can be faced with courage and is to be overcome) is replaced in the FR by the notion of threat conveyed by the verb ‘*menacer*’ (with all the connotations of fear and distrust that this embodies). Similarly, in the case of ‘cross-border wide-spread crime’, described in the EN version as an ‘urgent challenge’, the positive connotation of ‘challenge’ is again negated by the FR qualification of this phenomenon: ‘*un problème pressant*’ (an urgent problem). However, it should be noted here that in contemporary political discourses the EN lexical choice of ‘challenge’ is very often used as a euphemism for ‘problem’ when the speaker wishes to give a positive spin to the difficulties associated with the issue at hand; according to this view, one could then consider ‘challenge’ and ‘problem’ as almost synonymous. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, while the NL version (see below) often follows the EN version as a ‘translated’ text, in this case it opts to follow the FR version. The urgent ‘challenge’ - positive spin in EN - presented by cross-border wide-spread crime thus becomes an urgent ‘problem’ - negative spin, not only in the FR but also in the NL version.

At stage C, again the EN parallel text incorporates the lexical item ‘challenge’, and again in relation to ‘cross-border’ issues. However, in contrast to the downgrading of positivity towards threats to security encountered in the FR version at stage B (Council), ‘challenges’ are now reproduced as ‘*défis*’ (equivalent of the EN ‘challenges’). Thus, an internal security strategy is to be implemented to ‘*faire face aux défis qui se multiplient au niveau transfrontalier*’ (to face the growing cross-border challenges). Here, therefore, when associated with the implementation of the EU’s internal security strategy, ‘cross-border’ issues are no longer threatening or problematic, but challenging. This is an important change because whether something is portrayed as a threat or a challenge can very much influence the reaction of recipients of the discourse; it could also possibly influence any action that may or may not be discussed, considered or taken as a result within the various institutional settings of the EU (i.e. committees, lobbies, parliamentary debate and voting).

Fairclough (2001) has shown in his work on institutional discourses that the language devices selected wield the power of persuasion, or even coercion; they can as such lead to reactions and actions that another language choice (or strategy) may not have achieved.¹³³

There is a further interesting lexical choice in the FR version of the text segment: ‘We need to address all the common security threats ...’; this becomes: ‘*Nous devons nous attaquer à toutes les menaces pour la sécurité qui nous sont communes*’ (We must tackle all threats to security that are common to us). The verb ‘address’ carries only the connotation of ‘to deal with’; however, the FR verb *s’attaquer à* (literally translated: ‘to attack oneself at’) implies that this will be done either vigorously or aggressively. Moreover, ‘all the common security threats’ does not necessarily mean all the security threats that are shared by (common to) the Member States of the Union but can also be understood to mean any security threats that commonly occur. It is therefore particularly salient that the FR version has opted for a linguistic representation (translation) that makes the first possible meaning explicit (common to us) and therefore excludes the second (commonly occurring). This means that it would be open to interpretation as to which threats were qualified as being common to ‘us’ (the Member States) and therefore also which threats Member States were obliged to take responsibility for ‘addressing’.

A final striking example of difference at stage C is the ‘translation’ of **citizens** in the FR version in the following segment, as compared to the EN version:

*‘Nous devons en priorité dresser le bilan des mesures antiterroristes mises en place ces dernières années et déterminer comment nous pouvons les améliorer afin de contribuer à la protection de nos **concitoyens**... (fellow citizens)’*

¹³³ In general terms, Fairclough commented that ‘[the] way in which orders of discourse are structured, and the ideologies which they embody, are determined by relationships of power in particular social institutions, and in the society as a whole’ (Fairclough 2001: 26).

In addition, Van Dijk analysed a speech by Tony Blair made in March 2003 to the House of Commons in which the then UK Prime Minister used manipulative language to make the case that ‘the United States and the rest of the world [were facing a] major security threat’ (Van Dijk 2006: 378); he thus successfully legitimated the decision to invade Iraq. His case would have undoubtedly been much weaker had he used the word ‘challenge’ rather than ‘threat’.

‘As a priority we need to take stock of the counter-terrorism measures put in place in recent years and assess how they can be improved to contribute to protecting our **citizens** ...’

By conceptualizing ‘our citizens’ as ‘our fellow citizens’, the FR version creates an all-inclusive conceptual space in which all citizens of the Union are protected by all Member States as a collective whole within that Union. It is interesting to note that this alternative or modified ‘translation’ occurs in the FR version specifically when the issue of counter-terrorism measures is being tabled. Due to the widespread nature of the terrorist threat, governments have necessarily needed to cooperate closely within the European Union but also globally. It is therefore a European policy area with very high levels of cooperation between Member States. This fact is strongly reflected in the FR version’s naming of citizens of the Union as our ‘fellow’ citizens; not only does this lexical enhancement of ‘citizens’ bring all citizens of all Member States into the same discourse space as the speaker (also achieved, incidentally, by deictic ‘our’) but it also increases this conceptual closeness by placing all citizens at the same hierarchical level; all *concitoyens* or ‘fellow’ citizens of the Union are equal in the fight against the common enemy of terrorism.

5.4.3 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – DE Version

Example 3 DE - Cross-Border Threats, Organized Crime and Terrorism

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>EIN EUROPA, DAS SCHUTZ BIETET</p> <p><u>Europa stellt die nötigen Rahmenbedingungen für den Schutz der BÜRGER vor grenzüberschreitenden Bedrohungen. Die Europäische Union muss eine Strategie der inneren Sicherheit entwickeln, die mit den Grundrechten vereinbar ist und der ein gemeinsames Verständnis der Problematik zugrunde liegt. In dieser Strategie muss sich eine</u></p>	<p>EIN EUROPA, DAS SCHÜTZT</p> <p>Strategie der inneren Sicherheit</p> <p><u>Der Europäische Rat ist überzeugt, dass die Verstärkung von Maßnahmen auf europäischer Ebene in Verbindung mit einer besseren Koordinierung auf regionaler und nationaler Ebene für den Schutz vor transnationalen Bedrohungen von wesentlicher</u></p>	<p>Gewährleistung der Sicherheit Europas</p> <p>(...)</p> <p><u>Geplant ist eine Strategie der inneren Sicherheit auf der Grundlage der uneingeschränkten Achtung der Grundrechte und der Solidarität zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten, die mit Umsicht und der festen Entschlossenheit, sich den zunehmenden grenzüberschreitenden</u></p>

wirkliche Solidarität zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten zeigen. Sie wird klarstellen, wofür die nationalen Behörden zuständig sind und was hingegen wirksamer auf Ebene der EU durchgeführt werden kann.

Back translation:

A EUROPE THAT OFFERS PROTECTION

Europe provides the necessary framework conditions for the protection of CITIZENS from cross-border threats. The European Union must develop a strategy of internal security which is in accordance with fundamental rights and which is based on a collective understanding of the issues. This strategy must demonstrate a real solidarity between the Member States. It will make clear what the national authorities are responsible for and what, on the other hand, can be carried out more effectively at the EU level.

Bedeutung ist. Unter anderem sind Terrorismus und organisierte Kriminalität, Drogenhandel, Korruption, Menschenhandel, Schleusung sowie illegaler Waffenhandel weiterhin Herausforderungen für die innere Sicherheit der Union. Die grenzüberschreitende weitverbreitete Kriminalität ist mittlerweile eine dringende Herausforderung, die ein deutliches und umfassendes Handeln erfordert.

Back translation:

A EUROPE THAT PROTECTS

Internal Security Strategy

The European Council is convinced that the strengthening of measures at the European level in conjunction with better coordination at regional and national level is of essential importance for protection from trans-national threats. Inter alia terrorism and organized crime, drugs trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling as well as illegal arms trafficking are still challenges for the internal security of the Union. Wide-scale cross-border crime is now an urgent challenge which requires clear and comprehensive action.

Herausforderungen zu stellen, umgesetzt werden soll. Die Strategie umfasst ein koordiniertes Konzept für polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit, Grenzmanagement, die justizielle Zusammenarbeit in Strafsachen und Zivilschutz. Wir müssen uns für sämtliche Sicherheitsbedrohungen, von Terrorismus und organisierter Kriminalität bis hin zu vom Menschen verursachten Katastrophen und Naturkatastrophen, wappnen.

(...)

Wir müssen prioritär eine Bilanz der in den letzten Jahren eingeführten Antiterrormaßnahmen ziehen und diese auf Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten prüfen, damit sie den Schutz unserer BÜRGER sichern helfen und dem Handeln der Mitgliedstaaten einen Mehrwert verleihen.

Back translation:

Guaranteeing the security of Europe

A strategy of internal security is planned on the basis of the unrestricted respect of fundamental rights and solidarity between the Member States, which, with care and the firm resolve to face the growing cross-border challenges, should be implemented. The strategy encompasses a coordinated approach to police cooperation, border management, criminal justice cooperation and civil protection. We must arm ourselves for combined security threats, from terrorism and organized crime to man-made disasters and natural disasters.

(...)

As a priority we must take stock of the counter-terrorism measures introduced in recent

		<u>years and examine them for possibilities of improvement, so that they help to safeguard the protection of our CITIZENS and provide added value to the action of the Member States.</u>
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At stage A, the DE appears to follow the discourse content of the FR text, as it describes how Europe provides the necessary conditions for a framework in which citizens can be protected from cross-border threats: ‘*Europa stellt die nötigen Rahmenbedingungen für den Schutz der **Bürger** vor grenzüberschreitenden Bedrohungen*’ (Europe provides the necessary framework conditions for the protection of **citizens** from cross-border threats). Thus, in the same way as the FR discourse, the DE discourse is not directly stating that action by the Union is essential for protecting citizens but that all the necessary conditions for this are available to citizens.

In a following segment, the narrative indicates that the strategy for internal security that is developed must be in accordance with fundamental rights but must also be a strategy ‘*der ein gemeinsames Verständnis der Problematik zugrunde liegt*’ (which is based on a collective understanding of the issues). This deviates considerably from the EN and FR versions of this segment, which equated to the need for ‘a shared vision of (EN only: today’s) challenges/stakes’. The DE version is therefore far more prescriptive as it specifies that the issues at hand must be collectively ‘understood’ rather than nebulously ‘envisioned’. However, like the FR version it does not include the notion of the here and now of ‘today’, which would necessitate an understanding of the ‘current’ issues; the element of present time has not been incorporated into the translation of this segment.

At stage B (Council) the lexical item ‘challenge’ in both verb and noun form (reproduced variously in the FR version as equivalents of ‘to threaten’ and ‘problem’) appears to follow the discourse content of the EN version. The following excerpt, which combines the two segments dealt with in the FR analysis above (containing ‘challenge’ first as a verb and then as a noun) shows this parallel translation of challenge as ‘*Herausforderung(en)*’:

*‘Unter anderem sind Terrorismus und organisierte Kriminalität, Drogenhandel, Korruption, Menschenhandel, Schleusung sowie illegaler Waffenhandel weiterhin **Herausforderungen** für die innere Sicherheit der Union. Die grenzüberschreitende weitverbreitete Kriminalität ist mittlerweile eine dringende **Herausforderung**,...‘*

Inter alia terrorism and organized crime, drugs trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling as well as illegal arms trafficking are still **challenges** for the internal security of the Union. Wide-scale cross-border crime is now an urgent **challenge** ...

Here in the DE version the issues of dealing with terrorism and organized crime, etc., are interpreted as challenges rather than purely negative threats or problems.

At stage C, a subtle difference in the discourse content on the implementation of the internal security strategy changes the possible interpretation of this segment. While the EN and FR segments make unequivocal statements about the future implementation of the internal security strategy (i.e. it ‘will be implemented’ and ‘*sera mise en œuvre*’), the DE version uses an alternative discursive construction casting a degree of doubt over the certainty of implementation. The narrative begins by stating that:

*‘**Geplant** ist eine Strategie der inneren Sicherheit ... , **die** mit Umsicht und der festen Entschlossenheit, sich den zunehmenden grenzüberschreitenden Herausforderungen zu stellen, **umgesetzt werden soll.**‘*

The literal back translation of this excerpt is:

‘A strategy of internal security is **planned** ..., **which**, with care and the firm resolve to face the growing cross-border challenges, **should be implemented.**’

An event that is ‘planned’ only denotes intention and does not necessarily lead to the act of concrete implementation. However, it could be implied from the use of the future tense ‘will’ in the EN and ‘*sera*’ in the FR that implementation is indeed expected to take place in future time. Thus, it could be argued that the DE version does not produce the same epistemic future certainty regarding implementation of the internal security strategy achieved in the EN and FR versions. In addition, one could interpret overt deontic overtones (rather than temporal future ones) from the DE version, as it states that an internal security strategy ‘should’ be implemented. Consequently, a subtle difference in modality may be evident in the DE speaker’s position in that implementation is portrayed as a deontic command, necessity or obligation rather than an envisaged future scenario without any suggestion of deonticity (EN and FR). In summary, therefore, while the EN and FR versions project implementation of an internal security strategy with a perceptible degree of certainty, the DE version could be seen as casting doubt on future implementation (as it is only planned); however, at the same time, it also depicts implementation as an obligation and necessity even though it may not yet be certain to occur.

Here again, it should be highlighted that this is only one interpretation of one instance of this usage in one particular EU institutional document, comparing in this case the DE version with an EN and FR one. As we have stated earlier, the nature of the micro analysis in this thesis necessarily promotes subjectivity in cross-lingual analyses of extracts. For this reason, we again emphasize that compiling a body of comparative data in these and other languages would provide supporting evidence for the tentative claims made here about trans-drafting alternatives and the viewpoints they may project in their respective institutional voices.

The final discourse feature of note in the DE version at stage C is the lexical choice of verb in the following excerpt dealing with the need to ‘address’ (EN), ‘*s’attaquer á*’ (FR: literally ‘attack oneself at’, in the sense of tackle vigourously) the common security threats such as terrorism and organized crime. This is produced in the DE version as follows:

‘Wir müssen uns **für** sämtliche Sicherheitsbedrohungen, von Terrorismus und organisierter Kriminalität bis hin zu vom Menschen verursachten Katastrophen und Naturkatastrophen, **wappnen**.‘

‘We must **arm** ourselves **for** combined security threats, from terrorism and organized crime to man-made disasters and natural disasters.’

Despite the fact that the verb ‘wappnen’ is obviously understood here figuratively and means to prepare or ready oneself to confront adversity, it is still conceptually far more combative than certainly the verb ‘address’ (EN). In addition, compared to the FR conceptualization, the speaker is placed in a different position in relation to threats; in the FR text, the speaker is encouraging the active ‘tackling’ (attacking) of threats, whereas in the DE version the speaker is encouraging preparation to deflect (defend) against these threats.

5.4.4 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – NL Version

Example 3 NL - Cross-Border Threats, Organized Crime and Terrorism

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>EEN BESCHERMEND EUROPA</i></p> <p><i><u>BEWONERS</u> in de EU</i> <i>beschermen tegen</i> <i>bedreigingen die geen grenzen</i> <i>kennen is alleen mogelijk</i> <i>binnen het Europese kader. De</i> <i>Europese Unie moet een</i> <i>strategie voor interne</i> <i>veiligheid bedenken die strookt</i> <i>met de grondrechten en die een</i></p>	<p><i>EEN BESCHERMEND</i> <i>EUROPA</i></p> <p><i>Strategie voor interne</i> <i>veiligheid</i></p> <p><i>De Europese Raad is ervan</i> <i>overtuigd dat de intensivering</i> <i>van de acties op Europees</i> <i>niveau, samen met een betere</i> <i>coördinatie met (sic)¹³⁴ de</i></p>	<p><i>De veiligheid van Europa</i> <i>garanderen</i></p> <p>(, ,)</p> <p><i>Een strategie voor interne</i> <i>veiligheid die gebaseerd is op de</i> <i>volledige eerbiediging van de</i> <i>grondrechten en op solidariteit</i> <i>tussen de lidstaten, zal met de</i> <i>nodige waakzaamheid en</i></p>

¹³⁴ The more usual preposition would be *van* (of) and not *met* (with) so, on the one hand, we can assume here that this is an editing mistake on the part of the NL drafter. Notwithstanding, it could of course also be simply an exact and faithful parallel of the EN and FR versions, which also both use ‘coordination with’ and ‘coordonner avec’, respectively. The use of ‘with’ is slightly non-committal in EN in any case and could feasibly have been left ‘unnaturally’ vague and ‘perplexing’, thus becoming a challenging section ‘for readers and translators alike’ (Sosoni 2011: 88). If a source text is vague, it is up to the translator to decide whether this vagueness is deliberate and whether obscurity was the author’s original intention. If the translator does not think so, he/she can then try to interpret it and render it as clearly as possible in the target language (ibid.). In this case, the NL translator may have decided to maintain vagueness for fear of causing a wrong interpretation by opting for clarity.

<p><u>gemeenschappelijke visie weerspiegelt op hetgeen er op het spel staat. Deze strategie moet een echte solidariteit tussen de lidstaten tot uiting laten komen. Zij moet duidelijk maken wat tot de bevoegdheid van de nationale autoriteiten dient te behoren en wat daarentegen doeltreffender op het niveau van de Unie kan gebeuren.</u></p>	<p><u>maatregelen op regionaal en nationaal niveau, een essentiële rol speelt bij de bescherming tegen internationale bedreigingen. Onder meer terrorisme, georganiseerde criminaliteit, drugshandel, corruptie, mensenhandel, mensensmokkel, wapenhandel en andere misdrijven blijven een gevaar voor de interne veiligheid van de Unie. Wijdverbreide grensoverschrijdende criminaliteit is een urgent probleem geworden dat om een duidelijke en alomvattende reactie vraagt.</u></p>	<p><u>vastberadenheid in praktijk worden gebracht om het hoofd te bieden aan de toenemende grensoverschrijdende uitdagingen. Dit vergt een gecoördineerde aanpak van de politieke samenwerking, het grensbeheer, de justitiële samenwerking in strafzaken en de civiele bescherming. We moeten alle gemeenschappelijke veiligheidsdreigingen aanpakken, van terrorisme en georganiseerde misdaad tot de veiligheidsaspecten die verband houden met door de mens veroorzaakte calamiteiten en natuurrampen.</u></p>
<p>Back translation:</p> <p>A PROTECTIVE EUROPE</p> <p>Protecting INHABITANTS in the EU against threats which know no borders is only possible within the European framework. The European Union must devise a strategy for internal security which is in accordance with fundamental rights and which reflects a collective vision of what is at stake. This strategy must allow the expression of a real solidarity between the Member States. It must make clear what should belong to the competence of the national authorities and what on the other hand can take place more effectively at the Union level.</p>	<p>Back translation:</p> <p>A PROTECTIVE EUROPE</p> <p>Strategy for Internal Security</p> <p>The European Council is convinced that the intensifying of actions at European level, together with better coordination with the measures on regional and national level, plays an essential role in the protection against international threats. Inter alia terrorism, organized crime, drugs trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of human beings, arms trafficking and other crimes remain a danger for the internal security of the Union. Wide-spread cross-border crime has become an urgent problem which requires a clear and comprehensive reaction.</p>	<p>(...)</p> <p><u>Prioritair moeten we de balans opmaken van de terrorismebestrijdingsmaatregelen die de afgelopen jaren zijn vastgesteld en nagaan op welke manier deze kunnen worden verbeterd om bij te dragen tot de bescherming van onze BURGERS en toegevoegde waarde te bieden voor de maatregelen van de lidstaten.</u></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Guaranteeing the security of Europe</p> <p>(,,)</p> <p>A strategy of internal security that is based on the full respect of fundamental rights and on solidarity between the Member</p>

However, we can also note that in the DE version of this clause, an interpretation has indeed been made for the sake of clarity; but this has nevertheless caused an intrinsic difference in the content of the text. In the DE, it is explicitly the ‘coordination’ that is on a regional and national level (‘in Verbindung mit einer besseren Koordinierung auf regionaler und nationaler Ebene’ - in conjunction with better coordination at regional and national level); in the EN version it could be either the ‘coordination’ or the ‘actions’ that are on a regional and national level (‘combined with better coordination with actions at regional and national level’) – this ambivalent EN interpretation is also maintained in the NL. Incidentally, it is also worth noting that the FR version makes it grammatically explicit that it is the actions/measures that are on the regional and national level (‘et de mieux les coordonner avec celles [les mesures] qui sont déployées aux niveaux régional et national’ - and to better coordinate them with those [the measures/actions] which are deployed at the regional and national levels). As the FR translator (or drafter) opted for a construction with a demonstrative pronoun, ambivalence is automatically ruled out; the demonstrative pronoun *celles* (those) is in the feminine plural form, thus referring back to *mesures* (feminine plural noun).

		<p><u>States</u> will with the necessary vigilance and resolve be put into practice <u>in order to face the growing cross-border challenges</u>. This <u>requires a coordinated approach</u> to police cooperation, border management, criminal justice cooperation and civil protection. <u>We must tackle all collective security threats</u>, from terrorism and organized crime to safety aspects that are related to man-made disasters and natural disasters.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p><u>As a priority we must take stock of the counter-terrorism measures that have been established in recent years and consider in what way these can be improved in order to contribute to the protection of our CITIZENS and offer added value to the measures of the Member States</u>.</p>
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Stage A of the NL version presents a first discourse segment which is strikingly different in content from all the other versions. As discussed in previous sections, the other versions stated that in order to protect people/inhabitants/citizens of the EU from cross-border threats that do not stop at/disregard borders, the following scenarios are the case: (1) Action at European level is ‘key’ (EN); and (2) Europe either ‘offers an indispensable framework’ (FR) or ‘provides the necessary framework conditions’ (DE). In other words, the main message of these three language versions is that (the action of) Europe plays a crucial (‘key’), indispensable or necessary role in protecting citizens (people/inhabitants). However, here in the NL version the narrative has actually changed and states that: *‘bewoners in de EU beschermen tegen bedreigingen die geen grenzen kennen is alleen mogelijk binnen het Europese kader.’* Literally back-translated this segment equates to: ‘Protecting **inhabitants** in the EU against threats which know no borders is only possible within the European framework’. This discursive shift signals that the NL speaker wishes to make it unequivocally clear that the *only* solution to cross-border threats is for Member States to work within the European framework. This is very different from stating that Europe’s action is ‘key’ (crucial) or that the framework it provides is indispensable or necessary, as these positions do not rule out any alternative scenarios; the NL version rules out all other

possibilities by stating that protection is ‘only possible’ under the conditions of the European framework it describes.

In this context, we in fact also see that the other versions mutually produce subtle differences in deontic modality in terms of judging degrees of necessity for Europe’s action or framework (conditions) to be provided. In the EN version, for example, deonticity is very close to the speaker’s self on the modal axis as the term ‘key’ expresses a necessity of crucial importance; something which is key is normally associated with being the one element needed to make a certain condition workable. The FR version is also very close to this degree of necessity given that something that is indispensable is needed to enable a particular situation to function (i.e. the situation would definitely not come about in its absence). Finally, the DE version is further away from the speaker’s self on the deontic axis, as framework conditions which are merely ‘necessary’ are not such an urgent requirement as ‘indispensable’. When something is indispensable, this means that it cannot be feasibly or usefully replaced by anything else if the same result is desirable. In the DE version, however, ‘necessary’ framework conditions do not rule out similar conditions perhaps being achieved by other means (other than by Europe). The language versions of EN, FR and DE therefore all express varying subtle degrees of deonticity (necessity for Europe to provide protection for citizens). However, in the NL version, it is an epistemic type of modality that is being suggested; it is not the degree of necessity for European action in protecting citizens that is being emphasized here but the degree of possibility. The NL version closes off all other possible world views of protecting citizens from cross-border threats other than that provided within the European framework.

A further salient point of interest is the production of the expression ‘*hetgeen er op het spel staat*’, which corresponds to the FR term ‘*les enjeux*’ (translated as ‘challenges’ in the EN version but which can, in certain instances, also be translated as ‘the stakes’). The translational choices for this term are decisive for the conceptual difference now prevailing between the EN and NL versions of the text segment. While the FR term ‘*les enjeux*’ may be translated into EN as either the ‘challenges’ or the ‘stakes’, depending on context, the terms ‘challenges’ and ‘stakes’ in EN are not closely related from a conceptual perspective. Nevertheless, taken in isolation, the

NL parallel text for the FR: (the internal security strategy) ‘*qui exprime une vision commune des enjeux*’ - back translated as ‘which expresses/reflects a common vision of the stakes/what is at stake’ - would be acceptable. However, when placed alongside the EN version, which favours the alternative interpretation of ‘challenges’, it becomes clear that conceptual equivalence has been lost in the EU’s processes of ‘Chinese whispers’ parallel language production. Thus, the EN version reads as follows:

‘The EU must devise an internal security strategy that respects fundamental rights and reflects a shared vision of **today’s challenges.**’

The NL version and its back translation read as follows:

*‘De Europese Unie moet een strategie voor interne veiligheid bedenken die strookt met de grondrechten en die een gemeenschappelijke visie weerspiegelt op **hetgeen er op het spel staat.**’*

The European Union must devise a strategy for internal security which is in accordance with fundamental rights and which reflects a collective vision of **what is at stake.**

In terms of conceptualization, ‘today’s challenges’ and ‘what is at stake’ transmit two very different messages: the first implies that there is a positive process in the here and now of present time in which advantage may be gained and difficulties overcome; the second suggests precariousness with a tangible future risk of a negative outcome and loss of present conditions.

At stage B (Council), it is striking that only in this NL version has the term ‘trans-national’ threats (EN, FR and DE versions) been reproduced as ‘international’ threats. This is particularly decisive for the interpretation of the following discourse segment:

‘De Europese Raad is ervan overtuigd dat de intensivering van de acties op Europees niveau, samen met een betere coördinatie met (sic)¹³⁵ de maatregelen op regionaal en nationaal niveau, een essentiële rol speelt bij de bescherming tegen internationale bedreigingen.’

Back translation:

The European Council is convinced that the intensifying of actions at European level, together with better coordination with the measures on regional and national level, plays an essential role in the protection against **international threats**.

The NL version is actually creating a different spatial reality from all the other language versions; here, ‘international’ conceptualizes threats as crossing the national remits of individual Member States within the Union (i.e. these threats produce an inter-relationship between nations); on the other hand, ‘trans-national’ suggests merely that threats may come from anywhere beyond the bounds of national geographic spaces in a multinational sense and no inter-relationship between these national spaces is explicitly denoted. Thus, in the NL version a joint (inter-related) space of threat is implied (and perhaps also joint responsibility of EU Member States for this threat); in contrast, the other languages (EN, FR and DE) portray these threats as occurring outside and beyond the boundaries of the EU as a collective whole (i.e. internal security concerns protecting the EU from outside threats from within). Consequently, the NL version is emphasizing more strongly the internal dimension of security as also including internal security problems between Member States themselves within the EU area. This means that the discourse segment is incongruous and conceptually non-equivalent to the other ‘parallel’ language versions. This view is supported by the online Oxford English Dictionary (OED), which points to a salient difference between ‘international’ and ‘trans-national’; the adjective ‘international’

¹³⁵ See footnote 134.

infers relations between separate or different nations whereas ‘trans-national’ merely denotes an extension of interests beyond national borders.¹³⁶

Moreover, from the excerpt below and its back translation, it seems likely that at least these segments of discourse have been based on the FR version analysed earlier:

*Onder meer terrorisme, georganiseerde criminaliteit, drugshandel, corruptie, mensenhandel, mensensmokkel, wapenhandel en andere misdrijven **blijven een gevaar** voor de interne veiligheid van de Unie. Wijdverbreide grensoverschrijdende criminaliteit is **een urgent probleem** geworden dat om een duidelijke en alomvattende reactie vraagt.’*

Back translation:

Inter alia terrorism, organized crime, drugs trafficking, corruption, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of human beings, arms trafficking and other crimes **remain a danger** for the internal security of the Union. Wide-spread cross-border crime has become **an urgent problem** which requires a clear and comprehensive reaction.

¹³⁶ The difference between the terms ‘trans-national’ and ‘international’ is perhaps for many a moot point, given that these two terms can easily be used with the same meanings in all four languages (i.e. the inter-relationship between all national borders on a global scale). However, the online Oxford English Dictionary (OED) clearly distinguishes between the two meanings as follows:

Trans-national: ‘Extending or having interests extending beyond national bounds or frontiers; multinational’.

Source: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/204944?redirectedFrom=transnational#eid>

Accessed on 29/05/2013

International: ‘Existing, constituted, or carried on between different nations; pertaining to the relations between nations’.

Source: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/98072?redirectedFrom=international#eid>

Accessed on: 29/05/2013

The (electronic) monolingual Dutch dictionary, the *Grote Van Dale*, also supports this: the prefix ‘trans-’ is defined as ‘... *overschrijdend, overstijgend*’ (exceeding/going beyond, transcending/surpassing), e.g. ‘*transnationaal*’; whereas ‘*internationaal*’ is denoted as ‘*tussen verschillende naties resp. staten bestaand ...*’ (existing between different nations, states, respectively).

The list of threats to internal security such as terrorism and organized crime are said to ‘remain a danger’ and wide-spread cross-border crime is said to have become ‘an urgent problem’ These two specific features of the discourse are almost exact semantic reproductions of the FR discourse; in much the same way, these text segments were interpreted in tandem by the EN and DE versions, not as ‘danger’ and ‘problem’ but as challenge(s), as discussed in earlier sections of this analysis.

Finally, the example below illustrates how, as in the FR and DE narratives, there can be no ambiguity here in the conceptualization of ‘common security threats’, an ambiguity which is in fact possible in the EN version (i.e. ‘commonly occurring’ threats). Here, all ‘common’ security threats necessarily denotes common in the sense of ‘collective’ among the Member States. The statement must therefore be interpreted as taking the position that it is the collective responsibility of Member States to tackle such threats within the European Union area, in which these threats are common to all.

*‘We moeten alle **gemeenschappelijke** veiligheidsdreigingen aanpakken ...’*

Back Translation:

We must tackle all **collective** security threats ...’

5.5 External Security

5.5.1 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – EN Version

Example 4 EN - Access to Europe in a Globalized World

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p><i>More secure access to the territory</i></p> <p>In a globalising world, <u>the Union must facilitate mobility while ensuring PERSONAL safety</u> as part of an integrated approach to controlling entry.</p> <p><i>Control and surveillance of borders</i></p> <p>Development of integrated border management <u>requires</u> the continued modernisation of the Schengen <i>acquis</i> and increased cooperation in order to ensure better coordination of the objectives of controlling the different flows (goods and PEOPLE). Maintaining a high level of internal security must go hand in hand with absolute respect for human rights and international protection.</p>	<p>Access to Europe in a globalised world: Access to Europe for businessmen, tourists, students, scientists, workers, persons in need of international protection and others having a legitimate interest to access the Union's territory has to be made more effective and efficient. At the same time, the Union and its Member States have to guarantee security for their CITIZENS. Integrated border management and visa policies should be <u>construed</u> to serve these goals.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>7. EUROPE IN A GLOBALISED WORLD — THE EXTERNAL DIMENSION OF FREEDOM, SECURITY AND JUSTICE</p> <p>As reiterated by the 2008 European Security Strategy report, internal and external security are inseparable. <u>Addressing threats, even far away from our continent, is essential to protecting Europe and its CITIZENS.</u></p>	<p>The Union <u>will pursue</u> an integrated approach to the control of access to its territory in an enlarged Schengen area, to further facilitate mobility and ensure a high level of internal security. Visa liberalisation will be pursued in particular with neighbouring countries <u>in order to facilitate PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE contacts</u> based on clearly defined conditions.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Internal and external policies in the area of freedom, security and justice are inextricably linked. Continuity and consistency between internal and external policies are essential to produce results, as is coherence and complementarity between the Union and Member States' action.</p>

While the discourse chains in the preceding section 5.4 concerned threats to the security of citizens within the European Union itself (internal security), this section 5.5 concerns the need to control the outside borders of the EU and manage access to the European Union territory.

In the first paragraph of stage A, the EN version states, under the heading of ‘More secure access to the territory’, that the globalizing nature of the world means that a balance must be achieved between facilitating mobility and at the same time ensuring personal safety (of citizens). This balance is said to be part of the ‘integrated approach to controlling entry’. The next paragraph then explains how this balance may be achieved, under the heading ‘Control and surveillance of borders’. In this way, the continued modernization of the Schengen *acquis* (the collective legal instruments developed under the Schengen agreement) and increased cooperation will ensure that the objectives of controlling what are referred to as ‘the different flows’ can be better coordinated; these flows are further defined as ‘goods and people’ (although these ‘people’ will not necessarily all be European citizens, as access of non-European citizens via the outside borders of the EU territory is now being controlled). Once again, the Commission (at stage A) also reiterates that the maintenance of high levels of internal security must ‘go hand in hand with absolute respect for human rights and international protection’.

At stage B (Council), emphasis is placed on making ‘Access to Europe in a globalized world’ more effective and efficient for those who have ‘a legitimate interest to access the Union’s territory’; these are qualified, for example, as ‘businessmen, tourists, students, scientists, workers, persons in need of international protection’. At the same time, this discourse strand also makes clear that the Union and the Member States must ‘guarantee’ the security of ‘their’ citizens. A particularly vague and unusual verb choice ‘construe’ signals that this should be achieved by ‘construing’ (the particular design) of integrated border management and visa policies.

The second discourse segment at stage B makes clear the link between the notion of ‘Europe in a globalizing world’ and the necessity for the/a policy on freedom, security and justice to incorporate an external dimension. In referring to the 2008 European Security Strategy report, it is stated that ‘internal and external security are inseparable’; this implies that, in order to protect ‘Europe and *its* citizens’, it is essential to address threats that are ‘even far away from *our* continent’. Perhaps the most striking discourse feature here is the spatial construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’. Threats are far away (pertaining to ‘otherness’) from ‘us’, located at the deictic here of self and indicated by the possessive pronoun ‘our’ (continent); ownership of the

continent (of Europe) is thus claimed by the speaker. However, at the same time, the protection of Europe and 'its' citizens suggests that the speaker is not in the same conceptual space as Europe, since there is no first person possessive pronoun (our) claiming ownership or belonging with these citizens. Thus, this statement is deictically incongruent. In the first clause, the speaker is distal from Europe (and 'its' citizens) and, in the second clause, the speaker is proximal to Europe ('our' continent), as illustrated below:

'Addressing threats, even far away from **our** (speaker is proximal) continent, is essential to protecting Europe and **its** (speaker is distal) **citizens**.'

Stage C (Commission Action Plan) of the discourse goes further than stage A (Commission proposal) - which suggests the continued 'modernization' of the Schengen *acquis*; stage C proposes that the Union will pursue an integrated approach to controlling access to its territory in an 'enlarged' Schengen area as a way of further facilitating mobility and ensuring a high level of internal security. Visa liberalization with neighbouring countries is also suggested so that this mobility can result in '**people-to-people**' contacts based on clearly defined conditions'.

As at stage B, it is reiterated here at stage C that internal and external policies in the area of freedom, security and justice are 'inextricably linked'. Therefore, to produce results there must be 'continuity and consistency' between internal and external policies and 'coherence and complementarity' between Union and Member States' action.

5.5.2 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – FR Version

Example 4 FR - Access to Europe in a Globalized World

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Un accès plus sécurisé au territoire</p> <p>Dans un monde en voie de globalisation, <u>L'Union doit faciliter la mobilité tout en assurant la sécurité des PERSONNES</u> dans le cadre d'une approche intégrée du contrôle de l'accès au territoire.</p> <p>Le contrôle et la surveillance des frontières</p> <p>Développer une gestion intégrée des frontières <u>suppose</u> la poursuite de la modernisation de l'acquis de Schengen et le renforcement des coopérations afin d'assurer une meilleure coordination des objectifs de contrôle des différents flux (biens et PERSONNES). Le maintien d'un haut niveau de sécurité intérieure doit aller de pair avec le respect absolu des droits de l'homme et de l'accès à la protection internationale.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>More secure access to the territory</p> <p>In a globalizing world, <u>the Union must facilitate mobility while at the same time ensuring the security of PERSONS</u> in the framework of an integrated approach to controlling access to the territory.</p> <p>Control and surveillance of borders</p> <p>Developing integrated border management <u>assumes</u> pursuing the modernization of the Schengen <i>acquis</i> and the strengthening of cooperation with the aim of ensuring better</p>	<p>L'accès à l'Europe à l'heure de la mondialisation: l'accès à l'Europe pour les hommes d'affaires, les touristes, les étudiants, les chercheurs, les travailleurs, les personnes ayant besoin d'une protection internationale et celles ayant un intérêt légitime à accéder au territoire de l'Union doit être rendu plus efficace et efficient. Parallèlement, l'Union et ses États membres doivent garantir la sécurité de leurs CITOYENS. La gestion intégrée des frontières et les politiques en matière de visas devraient être <u>conçues</u> de manière à servir ces objectifs.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>7. L'EUROPE À L'HEURE DE LA MONDIALISATION – LA DIMENSION EXTÉRIEURE DE LA LIBERTÉ, DE LA SÉCURITÉ ET DE LA JUSTICE</p> <p>Comme l'a rappelé le rapport de 2008 sur la mise en oeuvre de la stratégie européenne de sécurité, les dimensions intérieure et extérieure de la sécurité sont indissociables. <u>Pour protéger l'Europe et ses CITOYENS, il est essentiel de faire face aux menaces, même lorsqu'elles se manifestent loin de notre continent.</u></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Access to Europe at the hour of globalization: access to Europe for business men, tourists, students, researchers, workers, persons needing international protection and those having a legitimate interest in accessing the territory</p>	<p>L'Union <u>adoptera</u> une approche intégrée du contrôle de l'accès à son territoire dans un espace Schengen élargi, afin de faciliter encore la mobilité et de garantir un niveau élevé de sécurité intérieure. Elle poursuivra la libéralisation du régime des visas, notamment avec les pays voisins <u>afin de faciliter les contacts entre les POPULATIONS</u> fondés sur des conditions clairement définies.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Les politiques intérieure et extérieure dans le domaine de la liberté, de la sécurité et de la justice sont inextricablement liées. La continuité et la cohérence entre les deux sont essentielles à l'obtention de résultats, tout comme la cohérence et la complémentarité entre l'action de l'Union et celle des États membres.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The Union <u>will adopt</u> an integrated approach to the control of access to its territory in an enlarged Schengen area, so as to further facilitate mobility and guarantee a high level of internal security. It will pursue the liberalization of the visa system, particularly with neighbouring countries <u>so as to facilitate contacts between POPULATIONS</u> based on clearly defined conditions.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The internal and external policies in the area of freedom, security and justice are inextricably linked. Continuity and coherence between the two</p>

<p>coordination of the objectives of controlling the different flows (goods and PERSONS). Maintaining a high level of internal security must go hand in hand with the absolute respect of human rights and access to international protection.</p>	<p>of the Union must be made more effective and efficient. In parallel, the Union and its Member States must guarantee the security of their CITIZENS. Integrated border management and policies concerning visas should be <u>conceived</u> in a way that serves these objectives.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>7. EUROPE AT THE HOUR OF GLOBALIZATION – THE EXTERNAL DIMENSION OF FREEDOM, SECURITY AND JUSTICE</p> <p>As the 2008 European Security Strategy report has recalled, the internal and external dimensions of security are indissociable. <u>To protect Europe and its CITIZENS, it is essential to face the threats, even when they manifest themselves far from our continent.</u></p>	<p>are essential for obtaining results, as are coherence and complementarity between the action of the Union and that of the Member States.</p>
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At stage A, the FR version produces two interesting differences in its discourse chain. The first concerns the way in which the expression ‘personal safety’ in the EN version shifts in the FR version: the statement on facilitating mobility, while also protecting the safety of people, reads as follows: *‘l’Union doit faciliter la mobilité tout en assurant la sécurité des **personnes**’* (the Union must facilitate mobility while at the same time ensuring the security of **persons**). Although this shift may appear only minor in semantic terms, the difference between ‘**personal** safety’ and ‘the safety of **persons**’ may become salient if, in a particular instance, ‘persons’ takes on the meaning which it carries within European legislation on the free movement of persons (FR: *libre circulation des personnes*). This may potentially imply that ‘*personnes*’ here in the FR could claim a greater degree of protection (in line with the rights of European citizens) than those claiming ‘personal safety’ in the wider human rights perspective. One could also speculate as to whether the EN version sought to avoid the phrase ‘the safety of persons’ in order to circumvent the inter-textual association with free movement of persons legislation.

The second point worth noting is as follows: a difference in lexical verb choice between the FR and EN in discussing integrated border management and the implication of this for modernizing Schengen may be decisive in shaping the degree of assertion in this discourse segment. The FR version states that developing integrated border management (IBM) ‘suppose’ (assumes) the pursuit of modernization, whereas the EN text claims that IBM ‘requires’ this modernization. The verb ‘supposer’ is less deontic than ‘require’ in that it does not convey the same force of necessity; while modernization may be implied as a consequence of IBM, it is not expressed as absolutely necessary.

As mentioned in the EN version at stage B (Council), the statement dealing with how IBM and visa policies should be negotiated to make access to the EU territory more effective and efficient - while also guaranteeing the security of citizens - was allotted a particularly vague lexical verb choice (construe). This is in fact mirrored in the FR parallel version:

*‘La gestion intégrée des frontières et les politiques en matière de visas devraient être **conçues** de manière à servir ces objectifs.’*

Back translation:

Integrated border management and policies concerning visas should be **conceived** in a way that serves these objectives.

The FR verb ‘concevoir’ (conceive) is thus equally vague and constitutes a linguistic hedge in which the exact interpretation of how IBM and visa policies may be modified is left open.

Also at stage B, the segment stating that, in order to protect Europe and its citizens, threats must be faced ‘even far away from our continent’ presents a slight pragmatic nuance in the FR text. Here, these threats are said to ‘se manifestent loin de notre continent’ (manifest themselves far from our continent). By employing the verb ‘manifest’ (i.e. to be represented or evident), it is inferred that these threats – although

not *physically* present within Europe (as they are ‘far from our continent’) *do* in fact show evidence of themselves elsewhere in the perception of those looking out from Europe; in contrast, threats that are simply ‘far away from our continent’ (EN) are not necessarily perceptible from Europe. As a result, the conceptual proximity of threats to Europe is increased in the FR version.

The segment at stage C stating that the aim of liberalizing visa policy, particularly with neighbouring countries, is to facilitate contact is expressed quite differently from the EN to the FR version; the former describes this as ‘**people-to-people** contacts’ and the latter as ‘*les contacts entre les **populations***’ (contacts between **populations**). While the FR version is not at all ambiguous - it is clear that this contact is to entail the meeting of populations (of different countries), the EN version could be construed as either the meeting of individuals *or* populations (i.e. either individual persons or collective peoples of a nation).

5.5.3 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – DE Version

Example 4 DE - Access to Europe in a Globalized World

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Bessere Sicherung des Zugangs zur EU</p> <p>In einer zunehmend globalisierten Welt <u>muss die EU</u> durch ein integriertes Konzept für die Kontrolle des Zugangs zum EU-Gebiet <u>für mehr Mobilität sorgen und gleichzeitig den Schutz der BÜRGER gewährleisten.</u></p> <p>Kontrolle und Überwachung der Grenzen</p> <p>Ein integriertes Grenzmanagement <u>setzt</u> die weitere Modernisierung des Schengen-Besitzstands und den Ausbau der Kooperationen <u>voraus</u>, so dass die Kontrollziele für den Güter- und den PERSONENVERKEHR</p>	<p><i>Zugang zu Europa in einer globalisierten Welt: Der Zugang zu Europa für Geschäftsleute, Touristen, Studenten, Wissenschaftler, Arbeitnehmer, Personen, die internationalen Schutz benötigen, und sonstige Personen mit einem berechtigten Interesse an der Einreise in das Gebiet der Union muss effektiver und effizienter gestaltet werden. Gleichzeitig müssen die Union und ihre Mitgliedstaaten die Sicherheit ihrer BÜRGER gewährleisten. Das integrierte Grenzmanagement und die Visumpolitik sollten so angelegt sein, dass sie diesen Zielen dienen.</i></p> <p>(...)</p>	<p><i>Die Union <u>wird</u> den Zugang zu ihrem Gebiet in einem erweiterten Schengen-Raum mithilfe eines integrierten Konzepts <u>kontrollieren</u>, um die Mobilität weiter zu erleichtern und ein hohes Maß an innerer Sicherheit zu gewährleisten. Die Visaliberalisierung wird insbesondere mit Nachbarländern vorangetrieben, <u>um den BÜRGERN auf der Basis klarer Bedingungen direkte persönliche Kontakte zu erleichtern.</u></i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Interne und externe Maßnahmen im Bereich Freiheit, Sicherheit und Recht sind untrennbar miteinander verknüpft.</i></p>

<p>besser koordiniert werden können. Ein hohes Maß an innerer Sicherheit muss mit der uneingeschränkten Achtung der Menschenrechte und der Garantie von internationalem Schutz Hand in Hand gehen.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p><i>Better security of access to the EU</i></p> <p>In an increasingly globalized world, <u>the EU must ensure more mobility through an integrated approach to controlling access to the EU-area and at the same time guarantee the protection of CITIZENS.</u></p> <p><i>Control and surveillance of borders</i></p> <p>Integrated border management <u>requires/assumes</u> the further modernization of the Schengen <i>acquis</i> and the enhancement of cooperation, so that control objectives for the MOVEMENT of goods and PERSONS can be better coordinated. A high level of internal security must go hand in hand with the unrestricted respect of human rights and the guarantee of international protection.</p>	<p>7. EUROPA IN EINER GLOBALISIERTEN WELT — DIE EXTERNE DIMENSION VON FREIHEIT, SICHERHEIT UND RECHT</p> <p><i>Wie in dem Bericht von 2008 über die Europäische Sicherheitsstrategie bekräftigt wird, sind interne und externe Sicherheit untrennbar miteinander verbunden. <u>Die Abwehr von Bedrohungen, auch fernab von unserem Kontinent, ist entscheidend für den Schutz von Europa und seinen BÜRGERN.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Access to Europe in a globalized world: Access to Europe for business people, tourists, students, scientists, workers, persons who need international protection, and other persons with a rightful interest in entry into the Union area must be constructed more effectively and more efficiently. At the same time, the Union and its Member States must guarantee the security of their CITIZENS. <u>Integrated border management and visa policy should be applied so that they serve these aims.</u></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>7. EUROPE IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD – THE EXTERNAL DIMENSION OF FREEDOM, SECURITY AND JUSTICE</p> <p>As was confirmed in the 2008 European Security Strategy report, internal and external security are inextricably linked to one another. <u>Defence from threats, also far away from our continent, is decisive for the protection of Europe and its CITIZENS.</u></p>	<p><i>Ergebnisse sind nur zu erzielen, wenn zwischen den internen und externen Maßnahmen Kontinuität und Kohärenz gewahrt ist und die Union und die Mitgliedstaaten in Abstimmung miteinander und komplementär handeln.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The Union <u>will control</u> access to its territory in an enlarged Schengen area with the aid of an integrated approach, in order to further facilitate mobility and guarantee a high level of internal security. Visa liberalization will be pursued in particular with neighbouring countries, <u>in order to facilitate for CITIZENS first-hand personal contacts on the basis of clear conditions.</u></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Internal and external measures in the area of freedom, security and justice are inextricably interlinked/meshed (knotted). Results are only to be achieved if continuity and coherence is guaranteed between internal and external measures and the Union and the Member States act in coordination with one another and in a complementary way.</p>
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In the EN and FR versions at stage A, we have seen that the EU must ‘facilitate’ mobility; the DE version takes a different discursive stance. Here the necessity expressed is not to facilitate mobility but to ensure ‘more mobility’ (*für mehr Mobilität sorgen*). This is strikingly different in meaning and in no way constitutes either a translational or conceptual equivalent to either the EN or FR, which, as is often the case, replicate each other in this respect; the DE version is clearly supporting a quantitative increase in mobility as opposed to merely making mobility easier.¹³⁷

In addition, the DE, like the EN, takes a more assertive stance with respect to the fact that integrated border management (IBM) ‘requires’ (*setzt voraus*) rather than ‘assumes’ (FR: *supposer*) the modernization of Schengen. This statement is in fact also upgraded by the fact that it is the ‘further modernization of the Schengen *acquis*’ (*die weitere Modernisierung des Schengen-Besitzstands*) that is ‘required’.

However, we should also emphasize here that comments made relating to the micro analysis should be interpreted with some degree of caution. We have remarked above that the DE version appears to project a relatively more assertive stance compared to the other languages - ‘ensure’ rather than ‘facilitate’ (FR and EN) mobility and IBM ‘requires’ (EN *and* DE) rather than ‘assumes’ (FR) the modernization of Schengen. Nevertheless, we must also acknowledge that our micro analysis may rely at times too heavily on inherent word meanings which are not always necessarily linked enough to the wider macro discourse context - and subsequent textual features of that discourse - in any given language. That is to say, we make suppositions about word meanings based on – possibly subjective – back translations; we then compare these to other back translations, without having full knowledge of the exact political context within the institutional process by which these meanings came to be selected in individual languages.

At stage B, as discussed in earlier sections, the EN and FR versions both employ a particularly vague lexical choice for the verb to describe how integrated border management and visa policy should be designed (respectively, ‘construed’ and

¹³⁷ One could of course also argue that facilitating action of some kind (i.e. access to a website) would also in most cases mean that the action itself is likely to increase (i.e. more people ultimately visit the website). However, the fact remains that in this case a policy aimed at *facilitating* mobility does not automatically assume the commitment to actively aim to increase the *amount* of mobility.

‘conçues’ – conceived). The DE version also uses a relatively vague lexical verb choice (*anlegen* ‘apply’), which is also not particularly prescriptive as to the exact nature of what integrated border management and visa policy should be. However, the subtle difference is that the clause in the DE version makes the link between the application of policy and the prescription of serving goals (carried by the deontic verb ‘should/must’ in all versions) more explicit:

‘Das integrierte Grenzmanagement und die Visumpolitik sollten so angelegt sein, dass sie diesen Zielen dienen’.

Back translation:

Integrated border management and visa policy **should be applied so that they** serve these aims.

In other words, it is inferred more strongly that integrated border management and visa policy should be designed in such a way that *they* do in fact physically serve these goals; in the EN and FR versions these goals are to be served by the manner of ‘construing’ policy but not specifically by the policies themselves.

Also at stage B, again there is a difference in the statement concerning the need to ‘address’ or ‘*faire face à*’ (face) threats that are ‘even far away from our continent’ (of Europe). This statement is translated into the DE as:

*‘Die **Abwehr** von Bedrohungen, auch fernab von unserem Kontinent, ist entscheidend für den Schutz von Europa und seinen **Bürgern**’.*

Back translation:

Defence from threats, also far away from our continent, is decisive for the protection of Europe and its **citizens**.

In this instance, it is not the particular construal of ‘far away from our continent’ that is of interest, as it was in the EN and FR versions, but the lexical choice for describing how these threats are to be addressed/faced. The connotation of the expression ‘*Abwehr von Bedrohungen*’ with the notion of *Politik der Abwehr*, strongly associated with exclusionist (immigration) policy,¹³⁸ is perhaps unintentional here, but it is nevertheless a striking discourse feature which colours the conceptual interpretation of the text; and most particularly because this part of the discourse is dealing specifically with threats to the external security of the Union, one of which may be unauthorized access to the EU territory in the form of illegal immigration. Also noteworthy in the DE version are the military connotations carried by the lexical choice of *Abwehr* (defence) not present in the other versions (i.e. threats are ‘addressed’/‘faced’); this suggests a fortress-type protection of Europe and its citizens.

Finally, at stage C, in the context of facilitating ‘**people-to-people** contacts’ (EN) and ‘*les contacts entre les **populations***’ – ‘contacts between **populations**’ (FR) with neighbouring countries, the DE deviates from both these parallel versions. The text segment produced describes facilitating: ‘*den **Bürgern** ... direkte persönliche Kontakte*’ (for **citizens** first-hand personal contacts ...). There are two important differences here. The first is that the text makes explicit that this facilitation is directed specifically at citizens; and the second is that ‘personal contacts’ makes it clear that these contacts are not necessarily about the meeting of ‘populations’ (as in the FR) but rather that of individuals on a personal basis.

¹³⁸ ‘Politik der Abwehr und Abschottung’ is the title of an article in the online version of the German newspaper *Berliner Zeitung*; it makes a direct link between ‘defence policy’ (*Politik der Abwehr*) and ‘separation/partitioning off’ (*Abschottung*). This illustrates the ‘us’ (domestic nationals) and ‘them’ (foreigners/immigrants) mentality perpetuated by the phrase *Politik der Abwehr*. This article also claims that the EU ideal of a common asylum policy has ‘broken down’ (*ist gescheitert*). Martina Doering, ‘Politik der Abwehr und Abschottung’, *Berliner Zeitung* online (4 October 2013) < <http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/meinung/europaeische-union-politik-der-abwehr-und-abschottung,10808020,24531692.html> > [Accessed 20 February 2014]. See also Holdsworth (2014: 41)

5.5.4 Individual Language Discourse CHAIN – NL Version

Example 4 NL - Access to Europe in a Globalized World

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>Een beter beveiligde toegang tot het grondgebied</p> <p>Tegen de achtergrond van de mondialisering <u>moet de Unie de mobiliteit faciliteren maar tegelijk de veiligheid van PERSONEN garanderen</u> in het kader van een geïntegreerde aanpak van de controle op de toegang tot het grondgebied.</p> <p>Controle en bewaking van de grenzen</p> <p>Een geïntegreerd beheer van de grenzen <u>veronderstelt dat verder werk wordt gemaakt</u> van de modernisering van het Schengenacquis en dat de samenwerking nog verder wordt uitgebreid om te zorgen dat de doelstellingen inzake controle op de verschillende stromen (goederen en PERSONEN) beter gecoördineerd worden. Het handhaven van een hoog niveau van interne veiligheid moet gepaard gaan met een absolute eerbied voor de mensenrechten en de toegang tot internationale bescherming.</p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p><i>Better secured access to the territory</i></p> <p>Against the background of globalization, <u>the Union must facilitate mobility but at the same time guarantee the security/safety of PERSONS</u> in the framework of an integrated approach to controlling access to the territory.</p>	<p>Toegang tot Europa in een geglobaliseerde wereld: Voor zakenlui, studenten, wetenschappers, werknemers, mensen die internationale bescherming behoeven en anderen die er een legitiem belang bij hebben het grondgebied van de Unie te betreden, moet toegang tot Europa effectiever en efficiënter worden. Tegelijkertijd moeten de Unie en haar lidstaten hun BURGERS veiligheid kunnen bieden. <u>Geïntegreerd grensbeheer en visumbeleidsmaatregelen moeten zo zijn geconcipieerd dat (sic)¹³⁹ deze doelstellingen dienen.</u></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>7. EUROPA IN EEN MONDIALE WERELD — DE EXTERNE DIMENSIE VAN VRIJHEID, VEILIGHEID EN RECHT</p> <p><i>Zoals herhaald is in het verslag over de Europese veiligheidsstrategie 2008, zijn de interne en de externe veiligheid onlosmakelijk met elkaar verbonden. <u>De bescherming van Europa en zijn BURGERS staat of valt met het beperken van bedreigingen, zelfs als zij van ver buiten ons continent komen.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Access to Europe in a globalized world: For business people, students, scientists, workers, people who require international protection and others who have a legitimate</p>	<p><i>De Unie <u>zal</u> een geïntegreerde aanpak <u>nastreven</u> met betrekking tot de controle van de toegang tot haar grondgebied in een uitgebreid Schengengebied om de mobiliteit verder te vergemakkelijken en een hoog niveau van interne veiligheid te waarborgen. <u>Om contacten tussen MENSEN te vergemakkelijken zal in het bijzonder ten aanzien van buurlanden visumversoepeling worden nagestreefd.</u></i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Het interne en het externe beleid op het gebied van vrijheid, veiligheid en recht zijn onlosmakelijk met elkaar verbonden. Om resultaten te bereiken, zijn continuïteit en coherentie tussen het interne en het externe beleid van cruciaal belang, net zoals coherentie en complementariteit tussen het optreden van de Unie en dat van de lidstaten.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The Union <u>will aspire to</u> an integrated approach in relation to the control of access to its territory in an enlarged Schengen area in order to further facilitate mobility and guarantee a high level of internal security. <u>In order to facilitate contacts between PEOPLE visa liberalization will be aspired to (pursued) in particular with respect to neighbouring countries.</u></p> <p>(...)</p>

¹³⁹ The pronoun *ze* (they) is also missing in the original text.

<p><i>Control and surveillance of borders</i></p> <p>Integrated management of borders <u>assumes</u> that the modernization of the Schengen <i>acquis</i> will be <u>pursued further</u> and that cooperation will be extended still further in order to ensure that the objectives concerning control of the different flows (goods and PERSONS) are better coordinated. Maintaining a high level of internal security must go hand in hand with an absolute respect for human rights and access to international protection.</p>	<p>interest in entering the territory of the Union, access to Europe must become more effective and more efficient. At the same time the Union and its Member States must be able to offer their CITIZENS security. <u>Integrated border management and visa policy measures must be conceived in such a way that they serve these aims.</u></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>7. EUROPE IN A GLOBAL WORLD— THE EXTERNAL DIMENSION OF FREEDOM, SECURITY AND JUSTICE</p> <p>As reiterated in the 2008 European Security Strategy report, internal and external security are inextricably linked to one another. <u>The protection of Europe and its CITIZENS stands or falls with (depends entirely on) the limiting of threats, even when/if they come from far outside our continent.</u></p>	<p>Internal and external policy in the area of freedom, security and justice are inextricably linked to one another. To achieve results, continuity and coherence between internal and external policy are of crucial importance, as are coherence and complementarity between the action of the Union and that of the Member States.</p>
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The NL text appears to have followed the FR at stage A, in that it is ‘the security/safety of **persons**’ (*de veiligheid van personen*) that must be guaranteed at the same time as facilitating mobility. There is also a similar association made with the ‘free movement of persons’ within the EU, mentioned earlier in the discussion, as opposed to the EN formulation of more generic ‘personal safety’.

Moreover, the NL narrative also represents the segment on the integrated management of borders (IBM) and the modernization of Schengen slightly differently. Rather than simply stating that IBM ‘assumes’ the modernization of Schengen, this is further elaborated on and produced as:

‘Een geïntegreerd beheer van de grenzen veronderstelt dat verder werk wordt gemaakt van de modernisering van het Schengenacquis.’

Back translation:

Integrated management of borders **assumes** that the modernization of the Schengen *acquis* **will be pursued further**.

The NL discourse not only introduces the assumption that there will be modernization but also implies that such attempts at modernization have already been made; it may also be that the speaker is not entirely satisfied with the efforts so far in this regard, as it is stated that this issue needs to be pursued further.

With respect to these comments however, we should reiterate earlier comments made about the DE version above. The relative degrees of assertiveness of stance-taking cannot be seen in a vacuum based on possibly inherent or subjective word meanings produced by back translation. We must also look beyond the micro analysis and take into account the political context of institutional discourse production which may prevail. While, in this particular chapter on security, we do point intermittently to the potential implications of cross-lingual micro differences (semantic-pragmatic tension) for the political interpretation (the macro context) of certain language versions, a systematic contextualization of the wider European political and institutional backdrop falls outside the scope of this study. We should therefore again state that cross-lingual comparative interpretations should be considered with a degree of caution.

At stage B, the NL also produces a vague hedging verb '*concipiëren*' to describe how IBM and visa policy should be formulated to serve the desired goals:

*'Geïntegreerd grensbeheer en visumbeleidsmaatregelen moeten **zo zijn geconcipieerd dat** (sic)¹⁴⁰ deze doelstellingen dienen'.*

¹⁴⁰ See previous footnote.

Back translation:

Integrated border management and visa policy measures must be **conceived in such a way that (they)** serve these aims.

This is in keeping with the EN and FR versions, which also opted for lexical hedges at this juncture in the narrative. However, it is also worth noting that, while the NL version follows this key EN and FR lexical choice (policy is ‘conceived’), the grammatical construction of this clause closely resembles the DE version. In this way, the NL text also creates a stronger link between the actual application of policy (rather than the manner of its design or ‘conception’) and the serving of prescribed aims.

One particularly interesting example is found in the segment which discusses the protection of Europe and its citizens from threats that lie beyond Europe (our continent). The reason that this example in the NL is so salient is that it includes the dynamic verb ‘*komen*’ (come), which plays a decisive deictic role in determining the rhetorical stance of the speaker. The NL version of this segment and its back translation read as follows:

‘De bescherming van Europa en zijn burgers staat of valt met het beperken van bedreigingen, zelfs als zij van ver buiten ons continent komen.’

Back translation:

The protection of Europe and its **citizens stands or falls with** (depends entirely on) **the limiting of** threats, even when/if they **come** from far **outside** our continent.

There are a number of discourse features in the above segment that suggest a subjective reproduction of a source text for translation into NL. The first and most overriding of these is, as already indicated, the use of the dynamic verb ‘*komen*’; this makes it clear that, despite these threats being conceptually positioned ‘far outside’

our continent, they are - in the perspective of the speaker - moving, do (regularly) move or are likely to move into our continent (Europe).

In all the other language versions, the distal position of the threats is described as ‘far (away)’, which of course indicates a considerable distance from the deictic ‘here’ coordinate of the speaker; however, this does not conceptualize in any way whether the threats are or should be excluded from the conceptual space of the speaker. This brings us to the second point of difference between this NL version and the other versions: the use of the locational preposition ‘*buiten*’ (outside), which categorically positions the threats beyond the borders of Europe (‘our continent’). Therefore, these threats are strongly associated with a sense of ‘otherness’ from a space beyond Europe from which those within Europe are separated; the ‘us’ and ‘them’ discourse of inclusion (equals safe and protected) and exclusion (equals dangerous and threatening) is thus constructed in an indirect way.

The third particularly striking point of difference with all the other versions is the speaker’s discursive positioning that the protection of Europe’s citizens depends categorically (stands or falls) on the limiting of these threats. Even though the other versions state that addressing/facing these threats is ‘essential’ (EN and FR) or ‘decisive’ (DE: *entscheidend*) for protecting Europe and its citizens, they in no way imply, as the NL version does, that ‘limiting’ these threats will determine the ultimate success or failure of protecting citizens within Europe.

Finally, at stage C two further features of difference can be explored. The first relates to the positioning of the discourse on the integrated approach to controlling access to EU territory in an enlarged Schengen area. Other language versions state that the Union: ‘will pursue’ (EN); ‘will adopt’ (FR: *adoptera*) this integrated approach; or ‘will control’ (DE: ‘*wird kontrollieren*’) access to its territory with the help of an integrated approach in order to further facilitate mobility and guarantee a high level of internal security. However, in contrast to this, the NL version states that the Union will ‘*een geïntegreerde aanpak nastreven*’ (aspire to an integrated approach); the verb ‘*nastreven*’ introduces doubt into the certainty of what will occur, as an aspiration constitutes only a future wish or ambition, with no guarantees that it will actually be achieved. This is similar to the case of the EN verb choice ‘pursue’, which infers

action(s) with the aim or desire to achieve a defined goal but, again, does not necessarily imply that achievement is guaranteed; on the other hand, the verb choices in the two other languages (FR and DE, ‘will adopt’ and ‘will control’, respectively) produce relative epistemic certainty that the integrated approach will be applied.

The second feature of the NL discourse analysed here at stage C concerns the issue of visa liberalization, in particular with neighbouring countries, to facilitate contact between people/citizens. This has been drafted variously across the languages as: ‘people-to-people contacts’ (EN); ‘contacts between populations’ (FR); and ‘citizens’ first-hand personal contacts’(DE). Here in the NL version, a further alternative emerges in the form of: ‘*contacten tussen mensen*’ (**contacts between people**), which is actually not as ambiguous as the EN version’s ‘people-to-people contacts’; ‘people’ could imply either people as a population of a nation or people in the more generic sense of a group of people (i.e. the plural of person). As a result, the NL version in fact differs from all other versions as it does not designate people explicitly as citizens (as in the DE version) and nor is it possible for these contacts between ‘people’ (*mensen*) to be interpreted as contacts between national collectives or populations (as made explicit in the FR version). This is because a translational equivalent of ‘contact between people’, in which ‘people’ means ‘populations’ - a possible alternative reading in the EN version - can only be conveyed in the NL language by explicitly substituting the lexical term ‘*volkeren*’ (populations) for ‘*mensen*’ (people).

5.6 Conclusion

The approach taken in this chapter has been different to the previous analysis chapter and the discussion of findings has worked on two dimensions. It has not only highlighted differences between conceptual representations of space, time and modality among language versions (labelled as *semantic-pragmatic tension* in Chapter 4)) but has also explored these differences as they occur within the discourse chain between the Commission and the Council.

5.6.1 Supranational and Intergovernmental: Micro and macro discourses

The fact that a great number of important conceptual differences were identified within and between the two institutional voices of the Commission (stages A and C) and Council (stage B) narratives is significant as these institutions represent two different institutional viewpoints. The Commission is a supranational body and is expected to retain a stable narrative voice in support of the interests of the EU as a whole; neither should it portray any evidence of alternative stance-taking in any one particular language and/or in the interests of any one national or language community. Its narrative is therefore said to be multiply authentic and neutral in all languages and in respect of all national politics. On the other hand, the Council is an intergovernmental body and, as such, represents the views of the heads of state and government of the individual Member States. In this capacity, one may then anticipate its institutional narrative to be more susceptible to conveying subjectivity at particular discursive junctures. In other words, the micro discourse of the separate language versions of the text could be influenced by the individual intergovernmental macro discourses in those languages on more politically sensitive issues, such as threats to internal and external security. Nevertheless, regardless of the possibility (or even expectation) of linguistically representing intergovernmental interests, the narrative in each language version should also be multiply authentic; moreover, it should in principle remain stable in the conceptual representations it portrays within each parallel text segment.

However, as we have seen in the analysis, there were innumerable examples of conceptual instability across language versions, not only at the Council intergovernmental stage (which is to be perhaps more anticipated) but also at the Commission supranational stage; there were even instances where it appeared that languages had become cross-contaminated as a result of the institutional chain of multilingual language production. At certain discursive junctures, this was particularly evident in the NL versions of text excerpts, which showed signs of having been influenced by any or all of the other language versions at any given time; however, this was most particularly in instances where issues of threat and security

were at stake. This then suggests that the EU's text production process, in which translation is based on any source text available, can also significantly influence micro discourses by introducing macro interpretations originally present in other language versions. This means that the NL discourse could be affected at the micro level by macro discourses on security accessed via translational mechanisms involving all three languages of EN, FR and DE.

On the other hand, there was also evidence of linguistic independence in the NL version, whereby its micro discourse conveyed conceptualizations not available in the other languages analysed; this is salient as, even if the translational process of multilingual language production means that the NL version can be based on features of any other language used as a source text, NL is not a language that is independently drafted (it is always translated). It is therefore interesting to note that – in particular at the intergovernmental level of the Council – its micro discourse seems to have been influenced by macro discourses not necessarily based on other (translated) language narratives.¹⁴¹

While we have said that such subjectivity can be expected at the intergovernmental level of discourse, this still causes conceptual instability across languages in the same parallel segment of narrative, as these then do not convey the same conceptualization of key elements at this intergovernmental level. Such instability and linguistic independence was also found to a lesser extent in the DE versions of text; this was also predominantly at the intergovernmental Council stage B and invariably concerning issues of threat to security. There were also similar instances in the EN and FR versions; however, these were less frequent given that these two languages

¹⁴¹ This disparity between Dutch and other languages is particularly salient given that most political and institutional redrafting decisions - based on more strategic, content-related or stylistic considerations - are taken in the original drafting language (usually EN) and thus before the translation process begins into all the other languages (Koskinen 2008). Moreover, Loos (2004) has described this intertextual multilingual process (at the European Parliament) as one that generates 'panacea texts'. This suggests that translators have very little choice or influence over how the 'one-size fits all' types of uniform texts are produced. We can then only speculate that there were indeed modifications in the micro discourse either during, after or as a direct result of the multilingual trans-drafting process. Such considerations relate to many issues which could be raised about choices made by (or imposed upon) translators during the EU's trans-drafting process. Although this thesis does not address these choices directly, we acknowledged earlier that there are many influencing factors; these are predominantly related to house-style constraints, machine translation and translation memory usage.

have a tendency to resemble each other to a greater extent both linguistically and conceptually.

The purpose of this chapter has been to combine two analytical dimensions, the *vertical* multilingual dimension (semantic-pragmatic tension from Chapter 4) and a second *horizontal* dimension (the discourse chain and its three stages). It was possible to explore both these dimensions simultaneously by analysing each individual language chain (the horizontal dimension) consecutively and then comparing each one with the other language chains and stages (the vertical dimension); how the micro narratives of individual language versions behave as a result of both the horizontal (institutional) and the vertical (multilingual) dimensions that determine their conditions of production - and the macro discourses that may influence this production – then became more visible.

Within the context of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), conditions of language production are referred to as the social practice of discourse; knowledge of particular social practice is used to inform a broader context-related analysis of the macro discourse of a particular narrative. In this case, the conditions of social practice may have resulted in subjective and/or politically-motivated stance-taking; such stance-taking was identified through incongruent translational phenomena producing conceptual non-equivalence and/or semantic-pragmatic tension.

5.6.2 Overview of the Analysis Findings

In contrast to the preceding chapter, the data on citizenship and security was tabulated horizontally by language version in order to track the specific progression of the discourse stages A, B and C per discourse chain. The four discourse chains analysed were: the political priority of security; protection of personal data; internal security; and external security. Within these language-specific discourse chains, a large number of discourse features were identified, analysed and discussed, while also continually cross-comparing language versions as the chains progressed. The various

types of discourse phenomena encountered are summarized briefly in the following two paragraphs.

In a considerable number of instances, tension or non-equivalence between language versions was the result of alternative stance-taking or positioning of the speaker which led to the subjective conceptualization of narrative features. This was often variation in lexical choice but also frequently the result of widely varying constructions and discourse-content which could not feasibly have been intended to emulate one or more of the other language versions. There was therefore some evidence of adaptation for certain purposes as opposed to translation. However, it was also evident that, where ‘translations’ could remain ambiguous in one language (i.e. hedging or vagueness), this was not always possible in others due to lexico-syntactic limitations on the language system. In such instances, languages appeared to have made a choice in favour of one interpretation of meaning over another. Given that four languages were analysed, this tended to accommodate equivalence among some languages but prevent equivalence among others.

Through the course of the analysis, it appeared that certain language versions had based their ‘translations’ on certain others as source texts. While there were no real consistent patterns, it was usually possible to trace the origin of a translation source text, except when a particular language created an independent version of the discourse which did not closely resemble any other language. As we have already said, at certain junctures, this was found to be most particularly the case with the NL version and, to a lesser extent, the DE text. To a large degree, the languages of EN and FR imitated one another in both structure and content. These last findings (the behaviour of languages in relation to one another) are closely linked to the EU’s processes of institutional language production - the discourse practice of ‘hybridization’; this is the result of both parallel text production (among, for example, the EN and FR versions) and the hybrid ‘translation’ of languages (i.e. NL and to a lesser extent DE) based on any number of source texts. It is these phenomena of hybridity and hybridization within the EU’s many discursive voices (the multilingual, the institutional and the translational) that will form the final focus of analysis in Chapter 6, dealing with the overarching theme of Citizenship and Justice.

Chapter 6

Citizenship and Justice

STEP 4 – The Hybrid Multilingual Institution

6.1 Introduction

Europe's institutions need to be capable of producing a single voice or message in key conceptual areas, as this is of vital importance in furthering coherence within the European integration process. We have seen in the preceding two analysis chapters that in many instances this is not (or is only partially) possible due to the many factors involved in the EU's trans-drafting process. Not least of these are the number of language combinations available and translational practices using pivot or bridging languages that lead to hybridity; the EU's key institutional discourses are produced as 24 parallel language versions carrying multiple authenticity (Koskinen 2008: 63). This chapter will explore in detail the cross-lingual phenomena that are specific to the *hybrid genre* of text production within key EU institutional documents. More particularly, it will seek to understand in how far cross-lingual variances directly linked to hybridity at the multilingual interface can influence discursive 'positioning' in key text segments; it will also explore how this in turn may lead to conceptual incoherence beyond the boundaries of the ideational 'monolingual' discourse narrative.

6.1.1 EU Multilingualism, Hybridity and Translation 'Equivalence'

It is important to recognize two key features of EU parallel language documentation. Firstly, although the European Union does not profess to strive for absolute equivalence in its multilingual text production, it does stipulate that its key

documentation should be equally authentic across all language versions; in other words, there is an ideational single version represented by all the (currently 24) languages in which documents are produced (Wagner et al. 2002: 8). Therefore, it will be assumed here that equal authenticity of all language versions may reasonably entail an attempt to conceptualize key citizenship themes in a relatively coherent manner cross-lingually.

The second significant feature of the EU's multilingual text production process is the phenomenon of *hybridity*.¹⁴² Hybridity is the term used in the fields of translation studies, linguistics and discourse analysis to describe a specific genre or text type (Schäffner and Adab 2001: 168). Hybrid texts are extremely complex in nature as they are 'not only the product of a translation process but [...] can also be produced as original texts in a specific cultural space, which is often in itself an intersection of different cultures' (Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 277); such a phenomenon therefore occurs typically within global organizations characterized by their multilingual or multicultural communicative settings such as the European Union and its institutions. Hybridity refers not only to the processes but also to the final-product outcomes of translation and can lead to either homogenous or heterogeneous discourse production. In the case of the EU institutions, texts are generated either: (1) concurrently as parallel 'trans-drafted' versions in dominant languages (usually EN and FR and occasionally DE); or (2) through translation into other (minority) languages (such as NL) - this translation situation does not recognize (or indeed use) any one single language version as the source text.¹⁴³

Therefore, translation equivalence cannot be used as a comparative yardstick as individual language versions are not produced based on direct correspondence with any one other version designated as either a source or a target text. For this reason, the discourse narratives of each language should be assessed on their own terms as stand-alone authentic versions. Moreover, from a translational perspective, it is not clear what the relationship between equivalence, multiple (equal) authenticity and conceptual representation is or should be within the EU's parallel language versions.

¹⁴² e.g. Trosborg 1997; Schäffner 1997; Schäffner and Adab 2001; Tirkkonen-Condit 2001. See also footnote 5 in Chapter 1.

¹⁴³ See Schäffner 1997; Wagner et al. 2002; Koskinen 2008.

In order to come some way towards defining this relationship, the phenomenon of hybridity will be analysed using the final data set selected from the corpus relating to Citizenship and Justice. Within this, the following three questions will be explored:

- (1) Which languages concur and where?
- (2) Which languages diverge and where?
- (3) What evidence (if any) is there that certain language (segments) may have been used as ('translation') source texts for others, and where?

6.1.2 Structure of the Analysis

As the purpose of this chapter is to concentrate in particular on the possible effect of hybridity on the cross-lingual representation of the citizenship narrative, the initial discussion of the EN monolingual 'template' chain will be dispensed with; it is primarily the (subjective) conceptualization of the four language versions as they may influence each other *simultaneously* as a *hybrid* chain (in stages A to C) that is of interest here. This is in direct contrast to the progression of the chain from a comparative linguistic perspective departing specifically from a discussion of the EN version, as in the previous Chapter 5. This Chapter 6 is thus distinct from Chapter 5 in that it seeks to analyse the chains of discourse in all four language versions at the same time; the aim of this is to explore evidence of both *intra-textual hybridity* (within one document or stage of the chain) and *inter-textual hybridity* (across more than one document or stage of the chain).

The analysis will be divided thematically into four main sections (6.2 to 6.5) as follows: (6.2) The Political Priority of Justice; (6.3) Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU; (6.4) Access to Justice; (6.5) Global Justice: Rights of Third-country Migrants. Again, these themes are particularly salient to an analysis of how micro discourses could differ across language versions. Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU is a topic on which Member States do not necessarily share the same views. Although parallel texts are intended to project the same viewpoint, this may not be the case, particularly given the fact that this Council programme on

Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen appeared just as the global economic crisis was taking hold, and particularly the Euro crisis; as a result, some poorer Member States were offered financial bailouts to be funded by the other more wealthy Member States. The global (and European) banking crisis also shook trust and confidence in public institutions as a whole, which may also be reflected in the different language versions of discourse in these areas. The themes of Access to Justice and Global Justice and rights of third-country migrants are also both very emotive subjects. The rights of European citizens are juxtaposed to a wider moral issue, that of embracing those who seek refuge in the EU within the framework of the wider human rights agenda. In particular, the discourses on affording third-country (i.e. non-EU) migrants the same rights as EU citizens may be subject to differing interpretations across languages – and indeed in this chapter across discourse stages. In this chapter an attempt is also made to track how translational shifts in a particular language may influence the trans-drafting or hybrid translational phenomena at another or other stages; this may be visible across stages A to C (Commission, Council, Commission) and may then also affect the stability of the institutional voices projected in the discourse chain.

Each main theme will be discussed by analysing parallel cross-lingual data segments in EN, FR, DE and NL corresponding to either two (A and B) or three (A, B and C) stages of the discourse chain. Section 6.3 analyses the progression from stages A to B only, while sections 6.4 and 6.5 both analyse progression stages A, B and C. The reason only stages A and B are analysed in 6.4 is that a suitable discourse match was not found at stage C. Similarly, the discussion of the chain in section 6.2 - The Political Priority of Justice - firstly analyses multilingual segments at stages A and B simultaneously and then at stage C only. This is because the discourse content that appeared to function as a priority statement on justice at stage C (Commission Action Plan for implementation) was not a satisfactory match for stages A and B. Nevertheless, the topic it deals with - ‘strengthening confidence in the European judicial area’ - is a key discursive theme relating strongly to analysis section 6.3 – Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU. It is therefore also revisited to an extent in this section.

The overall aim of this analysis chapter is to discuss simultaneous cross-lingual shifts in the discourse chain across different successive stages. The purpose of this is to explore and highlight the exact nature of any hybrid phenomena and their effect on the multilingual discourse chain as it progresses as a multiply authentic¹⁴⁴ narrative. This relates to the three questions set out in subsection 6.1.1 as follows. Multiple authenticity among parallel versions may be reasonably assumed to imply, at least in the majority of instances, concurrence in the conceptual representation of key discourse content (Question 1); this question was of course also explored in detail in Chapter 4, where concurrence and non-concurrence were labelled, respectively, *semantic-pragmatic harmony* and *semantic pragmatic tension*. Question 2 in this present Chapter 6 then deals with the issue of parallel language divergence (*semantic-pragmatic tension*) and where, specifically, this occurs, i.e. between which languages and at what points in the chain. This question was also dealt with previously in Chapter 5, which addressed in particular the consequences of *semantic-pragmatic tension* for discourse content from a CDA perspective; the concern here was particularly the subjective positioning of individual actors within the discourse chain: both (multi)linguistic actors (EN, FR, DE and NL versions) and institutional actors (Commission and Council voices). Effectively, this present Chapter 6 then brings together both of these questions and frames them within the final Question 3: this explores and discusses data findings in the context of a hybrid multilingual *and* institutional process. Where and how do concurrence and non-concurrence develop *hybridly* throughout the chain? How does the development of the chain as a multilingual hybrid network (nexus) influence conceptual representations in different languages and at different stages of the chain in those languages? In other words, how can the multilingual nexus be made visible across languages (intra-textual hybridity) and time (inter-textual hybridity)? Question 3 then asks if there is evidence of ‘translational’ procedures which have become not only *intra-textually hybrid* but also *inter-textually hybrid* (i.e. a ‘source’ text influences other ‘target’ languages hybridly over more than one stage and/or not necessarily at mutually corresponding stages).

¹⁴⁴ As noted on various occasions previously in this thesis, the notion of *multiple authenticity* (Koskinen 2008: 63) is a fundamental prerequisite of EU policy in support of linguistic democracy between all 24 official (working) languages of the Union. It is then certainly part of the approach of the thesis to suspend judgement as to the feasibility of multiply authentic text production (at least in terms of conceptual representation), as well as remaining open to questioning the linguistic and communicative basis of this whole notion.

The following (deliberately ironic) hypothetical example may provide some insight into how impossibly convoluted a process intra-textual hybridity can produce. Imagine that a small (sub-)segment of text (perhaps as little as two or three words or a short expression) in DE and NL corresponds to EN at stage A; the DE version then retains this correspondence at stage B, while the EN version is modified (and the NL version parallels this). At the same time, a FR version may also correspond with EN at stage A, but not at stage B, and then reverts back to mirror EN at stage C. In the meantime, the DE version at stage C modifies to the FR version as it was produced at stage B - even though this version now no longer exists in FR at stage C (FR now corresponds to EN at stage C, as noted above). Finally, the NL version at stage C corresponds to DE as it existed at stage B (based on the former EN version at stage A); but the DE version at stage C now corresponds to the FR version as it existed at stage B. One net result of this intricate web of inter-lingual transfer is: EN influences DE at stage A (*intra-textual hybridity*, i.e. within the same stage chronologically); but EN also affects DE at stage B (*inter-textual hybridity*, i.e. its effect is retentive - it originates in stage A, but no longer applies in EN at stage B). There is also a ‘Chinese Whispers-like’ inter-textual hybrid influence between all four languages of EN, FR, DE and NL and across all three stages A, B and C. Needless to say, this description has been very difficult for the reader to follow. And indeed for the author to compose! This is precisely the point of the exercise here. The same then applies to the real hybrid process or nexus itself; it is so complicated to track and analyse - even with only four out of a possible 24 language variables – that both translation and discourse models are inadequate to the task.

This chapter uses Step 4 of the bespoke framework and deals with the discourse narrative in the context of the EU as a hybrid multilingual institution (as hypothetically depicted in the preceding paragraph). The parallel data segments are again presented in tabulated form and the analysis of linguistic and translational hybridity within each main themed section (6.2 to 6.5) is organized into subthemes. As we have already said, the cross-lingual discourse segments selected for analysis form part of a linked discourse chain, so that any one subtheme may apply to either one or more of the discourse stages within a main themed section.

6.2 The Political Priority of Justice

The following two tables (Examples 1A and 1B) give the discourse segments for the Justice priority statement in, respectively, the Commission proposal (stage A) and the Council adopted programme (stage B). Given that the discourse segments for these two stages are extremely similar, with only slight linguistic variations across languages, they will be analysed together under the same subthemes.

Example 1A

STAGE A – Commission Communication 262
<p>Making life easier — a Europe of Justice: The achievement of a European area of justice must be <u>consolidated</u> so as to move beyond the current fragmentation. Priority should be given to mechanisms that facilitate PEOPLE’S access to the <u>courts</u>, so that they can enforce their rights <u>throughout the Union</u>.</p>
<p><i>Faciliter la vie des CITOYENS – une Europe de la justice: la réalisation d’un espace européen de la justice doit être <u>approfondie</u> afin de dépasser la fragmentation actuelle. En priorité, il s’agit de mettre en place des mécanismes pour faciliter l’accès des PERSONNES à la <u>justice</u> afin qu’elles puissent faire valoir leurs droits <u>partout dans l’Union</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Facilitating the life of CITIZENS – a Europe of justice: the realization of a European area of justice must be <u>deepened</u> in order to go beyond the current fragmentation. As a priority, it is a question of putting in place mechanisms to facilitate the access of persons to <u>justice</u> in order that they can (SUBJ) make valid/assert their rights <u>everywhere in the Union</u>.</p>
<p><i>Erleichterungen für die BÜRGER – Europa als Raum der justiziellen Zusammenarbeit: Der europäische Rechtsraum muss <u>ausgebaut</u> werden, um den aktuellen Flickenteppich zu überwinden. Vorrangig wären Verfahren einzuführen, die den Zugang zur <u>Justiz</u> erleichtern, damit Rechte <u>überall in der Union</u> geltend gemacht werden können.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Facilitations/making (things) easier for CITIZENS – Europe as an area of judicial cooperation: The European judicial area must be <u>extended</u> in order to overcome the current patchwork. As a priority measures are to be (SUBJ)/should be introduced to facilitate access to <u>justice</u> so that rights can be made valid/asserted <u>everywhere in the Union</u>.</p>
<p><i>het leven van de BURGER gemakkelijker maken – een justitieel Europa: de Europese justitiële ruimte moet <u>verder</u> worden <u>uitgewerkt</u> om de huidige versnippering te verhelpen. In de eerste plaats moeten procedures worden ingevoerd die de BURGER gemakkelijker toegang tot de <u>rechter</u> geven, zodat hij zijn rechten <u>overal in de Unie</u> kan doen gelden.</i></p>

Back translation:

making the life of CITIZENS easier – a judicial Europe/a Europe of justice: the European judicial area must be further worked out/elaborated in order to remedy the current fragmentation. In the first place procedures must be introduced that give the **CITIZEN** easier access to the judge so that he can make valid/assert his rights everywhere in the Union.

Example 1B

STAGE B – Council Programme C 115

A Europe of law and justice: The achievement of a European area of justice must be consolidated so as to move beyond the current fragmentation. Priority should be given to mechanisms that facilitate access to justice, so that **PEOPLE** can enforce their rights throughout the Union.

*Une Europe du droit et de la justice: la réalisation d'un espace européen de la justice doit être approfondie afin de dépasser la fragmentation actuelle. La priorité devrait être donnée à la mise en place de mécanismes destinés à faciliter l'accès à la justice afin que les **CITOYENS** puissent faire valoir leurs droits partout dans l'Union.*

Back translation:

A Europe of law and justice: the realization of a European area of justice must be deepened in order to move beyond the current fragmentation. The priority should be given to putting in place mechanisms aimed at facilitating access to justice in order that **CITIZENS** can make valid/assert their rights everywhere in the Union.

*Europa als Raum des Rechts und der Justiz: Der europäische Rechtsraum muss so konsolidiert werden, dass die derzeitige Zersplitterung überwunden wird. Vorrangig wären (SUBJ) Verfahren einzuführen, die den Zugang zur Justiz erleichtern, damit die **MENSCHEN** ihre Rechte überall in der Union geltend machen können.*

Back translation:

Europe as an Area of Law and Justice: The European judicial area must be consolidated in such a way that the current fragmentation is overcome. As a priority measures are to be (SUBJ)/should be introduced that facilitate access to justice so that **PEOPLE** can make valid/assert their rights everywhere in the Union.

*Een Europa van recht en justitie: De Europese justitiële ruimte moet verder worden uitgewerkt om de huidige versnippering ongedaan te maken. In de eerste plaats moeten mechanismen worden ingevoerd die de **BURGER** gemakkelijker toegang tot de rechter geven, zodat hij zijn rechten overal in de Unie kan doen gelden.*

Back translation:

A Europe of law and justice: The European judicial area must be further worked out/elaborated in order to undo/rectify the current fragmentation. In the first place mechanisms must be introduced that give the **CITIZEN** easier access to the judge (the courts) so that he can make valid/assert his rights everywhere in the Union.

6.2.1 Lexical Inferences of Space and Time: Consolidate, deepen, extend and work out

At stage A, the first sentence of this priority statement refers to the fact that the achievement of a European area of justice must be ‘consolidated’ (EN version) in order to move beyond what is described as ‘current fragmentation’. The replication of the notion of consolidation in the other language versions is lexically variant across all languages. From a time perspective, the lexical domain of ‘consolidation’ (EN) could be interpreted as suggesting that the European area of justice has already been largely achieved;¹⁴⁵ this is because ‘consolidate’ infers that something that already exists is being brought together or strengthened into a single cohesive unit. However, from a spatial perspective, ‘consolidate’ *does* infer that achievements need to be repositioned, united or differently arranged. The FR version has not mirrored this and proposes that the realization of the area be ‘deepened’ (*approfondie*); in one reading, this could suggest that realization may currently be considered inadequate and/or incomplete, thus requiring further work into a future time. In the same way, the DE and NL versions can also be interpreted as inferring inadequacy and/or incompleteness in present time. In the DE text it is suggested that the area must be ‘extended’ (*ausgebaut*) and in the NL text there is a necessity that the area be ‘further worked out/elaborated’ (*verder ... uitgewerkt*). In summary, therefore, the EN version could be inferring present completeness of the area but that the elements of this area simply need to be rearranged to move beyond fragmentation; in contrast, the other language versions appear to suggest that the area is not yet complete and needs to be either ‘deepened’, ‘extended’ or ‘further worked out’. In this reading, we could infer not only incompleteness but possibly also that the elements required for completion have not yet been developed or are not yet in place.

To reiterate, a substantial corpus of similar texts with multiple instances of trans-drafting decisions in EU text production would naturally provide usage-based evidence for making what are here – to an extent – informed assumptions about

¹⁴⁵ We may also note that the EN version opens this statement with: ‘The achievement of a European area of justice ...’, whereas in DE and NL the phrase ‘the achievement of ...’ is absent (or has been omitted, depending on the drafting/translational procedure). Even though FR has the parallel phrase: ‘*La réalisation de ...*’, it is nevertheless still not clear whether ‘achievement’ refers specifically to a product or a process here.

alternative institutional discourse positioning. The micro analysis undertaken in this study, while based on proven theoretical conventions about the pragmatic interpretation of time, space and modality, remains highly subjective; it would therefore undoubtedly benefit from the empirical scaffolding that can be provided by more evidence-based research.

If we now examine this same segment at stage B of the chain, we see that a semantic change has taken place in the DE version, which has now opted to follow the lexical domain choice of the EN version. Now, the DE version is also suggesting that the area only needs to be ‘consolidated’ (*konsolidiert werden*); it thus rejects its former position of inferring incompleteness in time and space in line with the FR and DE versions at stage A. It should be noted that the lexical choices of the FR and NL versions remain unchanged from stage A to B at ‘deepened’ and ‘worked out’, respectively. This suggests that the phenomenon of translational hybridity has affected the DE version at stage B, as it appears to have been adjusted to the EN version as a source text; the other two conceptually ‘authentic’ language versions remain unaffected by hybridity at this juncture.

6.2.2 A Complicated Equation

(A Europe of Justice) + (Europe as an Area of Judicial Cooperation) = (A Europe (as an Area) of Law and Justice)

A clear semantic shift has also taken place from stage A (Commission proposal) to stage B (Council programme) in the wording of the overall title of this priority. There is homogeneity between the three languages of EN, FR and NL at stage A, in expressing the fact that making life easier or facilitating the life of citizens will be achieved by a ‘Europe of Justice’; this suggests that the EN and FR were concurrently (or very closely) trans-drafted and that the NL version was translated possibly using any one (or both) of these two languages as a source text. However, one may also note that the use of the adjective ‘*justitieel*’ (judicial) in the NL language at stage A does in fact pose a problem of conceptual equivalence for the following reason. In

EN and FR, the equivalent lexical item in the noun form (justice/*justice*) is ambivalent as it can refer to both the abstract concept of justice and the more concrete institutions pertaining to the exercise of that justice. However, in NL the noun '*justitie*' (and by inference the adjective '*justitieel*') refers to the more concrete institution only, as the corresponding abstract concept is '*recht*' (law). The EN and FR versions are therefore afforded an ambiguity which the NL version does not have, given that the adjective '*justitieel*' is not ambivalent (as indeed neither is the EN adjective 'judicial'). Consequently, the NL version constructs Europe explicitly as a space in which concrete institutions for the exercise of justice are present rather than hedging between two possible definitions of Europe (as in EN and FR): *either* Europe upholds the principle of justice conceptually *or* Europe is concretely involved in the exercise of justice through its institutions.

However, it is apparent that the DE version has not relied on either the EN or the FR version for its rendition of this title, which is semantically a radical departure: '*Europa als Raum der justiziellen Zusammenarbeit*' (Europe as an Area of Judicial Cooperation). Thus, the spatial conceptualization of the DE version casts Europe as a forum in which, implicitly, Member States are deemed to cooperate in the context of judicial matters. This notion of Europe as a cooperative space is also accentuated by the inclusion of the lexeme 'area', which is not present in the other languages; here, Europe is only described as having the quality of *being* 'judicial' (a Europe *of* Justice) rather than constituting a space in which cooperation of a judicial nature may take place.

Moving to stage B, again a hybrid semantic variation has taken place, in that the titles across all languages have changed and the influence of the DE language version at stage A is apparent here. A linguistic compromise seems to have been reached as two semantic changes have occurred. Firstly, the DE version no longer carries the semantic value of 'cooperation' (*Zusammenarbeit*) and its title now reads '*Europa als Raum des Rechts und der Justiz*' (Europe as an Area of Law and Justice). Thus, while the notion of cooperation has been rejected at this stage B, the spatial conceptualization of 'area' has indeed been retained from stage A. Secondly, however, the other versions have also changed semantically in accordance with the DE version and 'A Europe of Justice' has now become 'A Europe of *Law* and Justice'

across the board. This infers that the DE version may have been influential in a change of title to also include the notion of ‘law’. The addition of the term ‘law’ implicitly adds a more concrete dimension to the content of the discourse as it infers the practical activity of law-making within a European space as a distinct legal entity rather than one that simply promotes the conceptual principle of justice. In other words, the DE version may still have maintained a covert inference of stage A’s ‘judicial cooperation’ (between Member State legal systems); it does so by converting the space that is Europe at stage B into an area that is not only qualified as one of justice but also one of ‘law’. Based on the tabulated comparative linguistic data in Example IB, one could argue that this conversion (to include the notion of ‘law’) seems to have been adopted by the EN and FR versions and subsequently taken over in translation by the NL version.

However, it is not possible to draw any definitive conclusions about the exact order of this semantic change without producing concrete empirical evidence from research specifically into how progressive drafts of these documents in EN, FR, DE and NL were re-formulated and re-translated *in situ*.¹⁴⁶ Such research would reveal whether the DE version did in fact precipitate the use of the lexeme ‘law’ in addition to that of ‘justice’ and whether this was then adopted by the EN and FR versions, one or both of which were then used as a source text for a NL translation. Such a discussion is of course highly speculative and is not the aim of this thesis. All this thesis can highlight is that, in the title of the clause analysed, the DE version is clearly consistent in its description of Europe as an ‘area’ (*Raum*) of ‘judicial cooperation’ at stage A and one of ‘law and justice’ at stage B; the DE clause at stage A was inconsistent with all other language versions but did become largely consistent with others at stage B by virtue of including the term ‘law’. This may suggest that DE had an influential role in hybrid ‘translational’ or re-drafting processes in the title of this clause.

As we said at the beginning of this chapter, hybridity is a complex process that can generate ‘original texts in a specific cultural space, which is often in itself an intersection of different cultures’ (Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 277). Here, hybridity

¹⁴⁶ See Koskinen (2008), who researched into the different stages and versions of the drafting process for Finnish EU documentation using a combination of textual analysis, and interviews and focus groups with EU translators.

represents a mix of Member State cultures and the language cultures that represent them. This is particularly the case for the data at stage B, which is the Council intergovernmental stage where Member State interests are more likely to come to the fore in the linguistic expression of discourse. What is not clear, however, is which combination and order of languages were specifically involved in this process of hybridity. Therefore, the analysis can only conclude that the resulting hybrid discourse content, particularly in the DE version, brings about semantic changes. These semantic changes lead to differences in possible pragmatic inferences between languages (semantic-pragmatic tension); and these in turn prevent complete conceptual equivalence with and between other parallel versions.

6.2.3 Who is Doing What, and Where?

As pointed out by Footitt (2002) in a discussion of ‘grammars’ of citizenship (see Chapter 2), posing certain key questions may reveal how a citizen(ship) narrative is being constructed. These questions include: ‘Who is the citizen? What is the citizen doing?’ (Footitt 2002: 106). In the second sentence of this extract over stages A and B, these questions are of relevance. It is also worth noting how the behaviour of linguistic and translational hybridity may contribute to the way in which these questions can be answered. The following discussion will focus around the statement that priority should be given to measures that facilitate: either ‘citizens’ or ‘people’ accessing either ‘the courts’, ‘the judge’, or ‘justice’, so that they can either ‘enforce’ or ‘assert’ their rights either ‘everywhere in’ or ‘throughout’ the Union.

6.2.4 Who are European Citizens?

Taking the first semantic difference of ‘citizens’ and ‘people’, at stage A (Commission proposal), those accessing justice are denoted not as ‘citizens’ but as ‘people’ in both the EN and FR (*personnes*) versions; the DE in fact avoids the problem of this lexical choice by omitting the agent possessing this right and merely states that ‘access’ (*Zugang*) should be facilitated. However, the NL version deviates

significantly and refers to those who should have easier access as the ‘citizen’ (*burger*). Thus, the EN and FR are homogeneously produced in this respect, whereas both the DE and NL languages have not been ‘translated’ based on an equivalence relationship with either the EN or the FR version. In fact, due to the nature of this semantic difference, the shift in discourse is neither linguistically nor conceptually equivalent. This is because, from a spatial perspective, the description ‘citizen’ places those accessing justice within the legal framework of those holding a nationality of one of the EU Member States; the term ‘people’ is generic and does not necessarily limit itself to the conceptual space of European citizenship and could feasibly include those falling under international law within the European area, i.e. non-EU citizens. What is particularly striking is the switch in both semantic and conceptual equivalence that then occurs at stage B (Council programme) in the FR and DE versions. Now, the FR version adopts the lexeme ‘citizens’ (*citoyens*) to describe those who should be able to assert their rights in the Union and the DE version refers to them as ‘people’ (*Menschen*). As a result, it appears that the DE has now been at least partially translated based on the EN version (or indeed the former FR version at stage A); the FR version has now opted for the same lexical choice (‘*citoyen*’) as the NL ‘citizen’ (*burger*). However, one could also reasonably speculate that the FR version was changed independently and the NL then became either equivalent by default or was modified (re-translated) based on the FR version as a source text. This is because statistically most EU texts, and in particular the first drafts of those of the Commission (Robinson 2008: 2), are originally written in either EN or FR (and to a much lesser extent DE).¹⁴⁷ Texts are therefore more likely to be modified first in a usual drafting language and then have the relevant section(s) re-translated into languages not considered usual drafting languages, such as NL. Nevertheless, regardless of the exact nature of the process by which these semantic shifts occurred, the linguistic analysis here clearly shows the following: it is not the EN and FR versions that equate to one another here but the EN and DE versions, and the FR and NL versions, respectively. This situation is representative of a highly hybrid text

¹⁴⁷ According to *Drafting of EU Legislation: A View from the European Commission* by William Robinson (2008: 2), the then Coordinator of the Legal Reviser Group at the European Commission Legal Service, a survey in 2000 and 2001 showed that 55% of Commission documents were originally drafted in English, 42% in French and 1-2% in German. Since that time the trend to increasingly use English as a drafting language has continued, reaching 80% of documents by 2009.

production process in which conceptual equivalence seems to oscillate between parallel versions without any identifiable patterns of consistent language behaviour.

6.2.5 Where and How Should Citizens Access Justice?

At stages A and B, what is being expressed is that the access of citizens (or indeed ‘people’) to justice should be facilitated so that they can claim their rights to this justice in the Union. The previous statement has been deliberately paraphrased. This is because, as shown in the data tables, there is no semantically homogeneous way of expressing what is being said by all equally ‘authentic’ language versions simultaneously in one single statement; they all deviate from each other in different ways across stages A and B.

Taking firstly the aspect of access to justice, at stage A this is expressed in the EN as access to ‘the courts’, in the FR and DE as ‘justice’ and in the NL as ‘the judge’ (*de rechter*). Thus, three different spatial relationships between citizens and justice are constructed here. Stating that citizens should have access to justice is a generic description which does not personify the provider of justice; provision is thus agentless and impersonal. However, stating that accessing justice may in fact entail gaining direct access to courts or a judge is not agentless and places the citizen at a closer proximity to justice than in the case of the generic description ‘justice’. This is because the lexical specificity of ‘courts’ and the ‘judge’ necessarily places the citizen in either a specific spatial location (a court of law) or before a physical person who is an agent of that court of law (the judge). Reference to ‘justice’ *only* cannot position the citizen in a physical location as it is a concept or principle, rather than a place where - or person (agent) from whom - concrete judicial rights may be obtained. The specificity of ‘courts’ or the ‘judge’ is also far more prescriptive of where and how entitlement to legal recourse should be secured, in comparison to the alternative vague statement that access to justice (in general) should be facilitated. It therefore appears that the DE version has been based on the FR as a source text, at least in this lexical choice; moreover, the EN and FR have not been homogenized in this respect, as the former depicts the citizen as accessing courts and not merely justice. In addition, it

seems likely that the NL version has been sourced from the EN as its conceptual equivalence is expressed through an idiomatic equivalence between the EN ‘courts’ and the NL ‘judge’ (*rechter*).

What is striking at stage B (Council programme), however, is that the lexical choice of ‘courts’ has now been abandoned in the EN version, whereas the lexical choice of ‘judge’ has been maintained in the NL version. This is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, at stage B the EN version becomes lexically homogenized to the FR and DE versions. This means that the EN discourse now also reflects ‘justice’ as a generic and non-prescriptive statement of principle, whereby the provider of this justice is agentless and relatively distal from citizens. Secondly, the NL version maintains its linguistic independence, despite reflecting at stage A an idiomatic translation of the EN version’s ‘courts’ as ‘judge’ (*rechter*). Now there can be no question of the NL being based on the EN version, as this has been modified and the NL has not been re-translated to reflect this modification. So the NL version also maintains closer proximity between citizens and justice compared to the other languages by virtue of its personification of the principle of justice as the ‘judge’.

The final part of this segment concerns citizens laying claim to legal rights within the European Union area. One striking feature in the DE version is that this statement is expressed as a passive grammatical construction at stage A: ‘*damit Rechte überall in der Union geltend gemacht werden können*’ (... so that rights can be made valid/asserted everywhere in the Union). In all other language versions, citizens (or people) are included in this statement - and they are *both* agentive *and* the subject of the grammatical clause. However, at stage B, the DE is grammatically homogenized to the other versions so that ‘people’ are now referred to and actively do the ‘asserting’ themselves. This therefore increases their proximity to the assertion of rights, which was made distal by the agentless passive grammatical construction at stage A.

A second important feature here relates to the lexical choice in the EN version of ‘enforce’ to describe the way in which citizens should be able to lay claim to rights within the Union; this is not conceptually equivalent to the choices in the other languages, which equate more closely to the lexical field of ‘validate’ (make valid).

The notion of ‘enforce’ entails the concept of ‘force’ and is usually linked with legal enforcement; it is therefore a stronger and more aggressive expression of claiming - ‘validating’ suggests the action of promoting one’s rights without the inference of forcing another to provide them (possibly against their will). One may validate (in the sense of assert) an opinion without others having to accept it; on the other hand, if one enforces this opinion it is implied that others lose their free will and are coerced into acceptance. The lexical choice ‘enforce’ also implies that those using such a method are bestowed with more power to act and gain satisfaction than those merely ‘validating’ (asserting). This then infers a closer conceptual proximity to rights or the opportunity of gaining rights than ‘validate’. The lexical choice ‘enforce’ is maintained at stage B as well, where all other versions also remain with the choice of ‘make valid/validate’. In this respect, therefore, the EN and FR versions are not conceptually equivalent; in addition, neither the DE nor the NL version has used the EN text as a source for this verb choice.

The third aspect of note concerns the difference in spatial conceptualization between the expressions ‘throughout’ (EN) and ‘everywhere in’ (equivalents in FR, DE and NL) the Union as the domain in which citizens should be able to validate/enforce their rights. While the lexical choice ‘throughout’ denotes the complete coverage of a specified area (in this case the Union), it is not the most common equivalent of, for example, ‘*partout dans*’ in FR, which would more usually elicit a translation of ‘everywhere in’.¹⁴⁸ For this reason, it seems likely that the EN version was drafted first and that the other versions were then made equivalent to the FR version’s parallel ‘drafting’ of the EN version. Taking ‘throughout’ the Union as a source would be more likely to elicit expressions equating to ‘in the *whole* Union’: in FR ‘*dans toute l’Union*’; in DE ‘*in der ganzen Union*’; and in NL ‘*in de hele Unie*’. This is because there is a spatial difference between ‘throughout’ and ‘everywhere’. The notion of ‘throughout’ conceptualizes the location as a whole entity and does not emphasize specific parts, whereas the compound term ‘everywhere’ (which contains the word ‘every’) also denotes the separate parts of that whole (i.e. in this case, every Member

¹⁴⁸ However, one could of course also argue that ‘throughout’ is an idiomatic expression or a question of stylistic considerations on the part of drafters.

State forming part of the EU territory).¹⁴⁹ There are therefore possibly grounds to argue the avoidance of the term ‘everywhere’ in the EN version in favour of a less specifically inclusive term which merely denotes the blanket coverage of a general location, that of the European Union. This argument is perhaps particularly salient as the lexical choice ‘throughout’ in EN remains unchanged from stages A to B, as do the other language version equivalents denoting ‘everywhere’. Hybridity is therefore present in this instance as semantic and conceptual equivalence are not achieved, possibly due to hybrid translation into DE and NL based on the FR version as a source text over and above the EN version.

The third data table (Example 1C below) in this section is a segment from the Commission Action Plan for implementation which appears to function as a priority statement on justice. Subsection 6.1.2 above on the structure of the analysis explained that this segment does not match the discursive content in Examples 1A and IB, although it does emphasize the need to strengthen confidence in the European judicial area. It goes on to underline that the European judicial area and the proper functioning of the single market depend on mutual recognition (between national legal practices); this is in turn dependent on mutual trust among legal practitioners, businesses and citizens. There is therefore a direct link between strengthening confidence in the European judicial area and the need for mutual trust. The discussion of this data will centre around two main translational points. The first concerns the way in which the notions of (1) confidence and (2) trust are negotiated cross-lingually. The second relates to translational behaviour of the term ‘single market’ (EN version) across languages.

Example 1C

STAGE C – Commission Communication COM 171
<p>Strengthening <u>confidence</u> in the European judicial area</p> <p>The European judicial area and the proper functioning of the <u>single market</u> are built on the cornerstone principle of mutual recognition. This <u>can</u> only function effectively on the basis of mutual <u>trust</u> among judges, legal professionals, businesses and CITIZENS.</p>

¹⁴⁹ It is also worth stressing here that, in terms of cross-lingual comparison, the FR, DE and NL words ‘*partout*’, ‘*überall*’ and ‘*overal*’, respectively, do not break down in the same way as the EN word ‘everywhere’. They therefore do not entail specifically separate parts of a place as the EN compound lexeme EVERY + WHERE (= all + place) does.

Renforcer la confiance dans l'espace judiciaire européen

*L'espace judiciaire européen et le bon fonctionnement du marché unique reposent sur le principe fondamental de la reconnaissance mutuelle. Or, celui-ci ne peut véritablement s'appliquer que sur la base d'une confiance mutuelle entre les juges, les autres professionnels du droit, les entreprises et les **CITOYENS**.*

Back translation:

Strengthening confidence in the European judicial area

The European judicial area and the good functioning of the single market rely/are based on the fundamental principle of mutual recognition. Yet, this can only really be applied on the basis of mutual confidence/trust between judges, other legal professionals, businesses and **CITIZENS**.

Stärkung des Vertrauens in den europäischen Rechtsraum

*Der europäische Rechtsraum und das ordnungsgemäße Funktionieren des Binnenmarkts beruhen auf dem zentralen Prinzip der gegenseitigen Anerkennung. Voraussetzung hierfür ist Vertrauen. Vertrauen unter Rechtsanwendern ebenso wie unter Unternehmen und **BÜRGERN***

Back translation:

Strengthening confidence in the European judicial area

The European judicial area and the orderly/proper functioning of the internal market rely on the central principle of mutual recognition. A prerequisite for this is trust/confidence. Trust/confidence among legal practitioners as well as among businesses and **CITIZENS**.

Het vertrouwen in de Europese justitiële ruimte versterken

*De Europese justitiële ruimte en de goede werking van de interne markt zijn gegrond op het fundamentele beginsel van de wederzijdse erkenning. Dat kan alleen effectief werken op basis van wederzijds vertrouwen tussen rechters, beoefenaars van juridische beroepen, ondernemingen en **BURGERS**.*

Back translation:

Strengthening trust in the European judicial area

The European judicial area and the good working/functioning of the internal market are based on the fundamental principle of mutual recognition. That can only work effectively on the basis of mutual trust/confidence among judges, practitioners of legal professions, businesses and **CITIZENS**.

6.2.6 ‘Confidence’ and ‘Trust’: same or different?

The title of this segment: ‘Strengthening confidence in the European judicial area’ (EN version) is in fact homogeneous across all languages, with the translations of

‘confidence’, respectively, in the other languages as: ‘*confiance*’ (FR); ‘*Vertrauen*’ (DE); and ‘*vertrouwen*’ (NL). While these cross-lingual equivalents of ‘confidence’ are obvious lexical choices in the other languages here, this is not the only instance in this segment where the notion of having confidence in persons or a process is described. Another instance of this is found in the second statement that mutual recognition can ‘only function effectively on the basis of mutual trust among judges, legal professionals, businesses and citizens.’ (EN version)

The EN version makes a specific distinction between the closely linked semantic fields of *trust* and *confidence*, while this specific semantic distinction is not reflected by a lexical shift in the other languages. These versions actually all maintain the use of their former lexical choice for the equivalent of ‘confidence’ (in the European judicial area), as cited above for each language. As a consequence, the notion of ‘confidence’ shared among legal actors and citizens is not categorically recontextualized as mutual ‘trust’ as it is in the EN version. However, a complicating factor here is that the terms ‘*confiance*’ (FR), ‘*Vertrauen*’ (DE) and ‘*vertrouwen*’ (NL) all carry the semantic value of *both trust and confidence*. This means that what is made explicit as mutual ‘trust’ in the EN version conveys an ambivalent and/or ambiguous meaning in the other versions; it is then open to interpretation as to whether here the notion of ‘trust’ or ‘confidence’ is most appropriate.

In this instance, the DE and NL texts mirror the FR version: all three lack the semantic distinction made in the EN version between ‘confidence’ (in the European judicial area), on the one hand, and mutual ‘trust’ (among judges, legal professionals, businesses and citizens), on the other. Speculating on the possible drafting sequence here, it is then at least one possibility that the DE and NL have relied on the FR as a source text for translation. Equally, however, the FR and DE versions could have arrived at this drafting decision independently, with the NL relying on either one of these languages as a translation source text. Another possibility is that the FR version was an original draft and the DE version was not. As a result, the DE text could have been translated based on the FR and then used as a bridging language for translation into NL. None of these possibilities can be proved definitely; they are only speculated on here to illustrate the range of multilingual flux and indeed cross-contamination that can occur as a result of hybrid text transfer. This is significant as

the content of discourse is said to undergo any further institutional or political re-drafting prior to this juncture. However, an outside observer might be at pains to see how *all* these versions could be both institutionally and politically authentic at this point.

The question then remains as to whether this hybridity between ‘trust’ and ‘confidence’ is salient as a semantic shift and, if so, why. If we consider that this semantic variation was judged to be worth portraying in the EN version, then we must also acknowledge an intention to imply a clear difference in meaning: that is to say, between (1) the assurance citizens may feel towards the inanimate European judicial area (confidence); and (2) assurance felt towards the animate legal actors that are judges, legal professionals and businesses (trust). The lexical field of ‘trust’ may infer stronger grounds for assurance than that of ‘confidence’, which - although implying grounds for assurance - nevertheless also suggests that this is often founded on inconclusive evidence. For instance, if one is called upon to place confidence in someone or something, there is a possibility that this emotional or moral reliance may be misplaced and indeed betrayed. It is the ensuing evidence of whether this confidence has been either well placed or betrayed that determines the degree of trust then experienced as a result.¹⁵⁰ From a sociological point of view, it can also be acknowledged that the relationship between confidence and trust is ‘a highly complex research issue’ (Luhmann 2000: 98). There may indeed be a marked distinction between confidence and trust in that confidence can turn into trust and vice versa:

‘elections may to some extent convert political confidence into political trust, at least if your party wins. Conversely, trust can revert to mere confidence when the opinion spreads that you cannot really influence political behaviour through the ballot.’

(Luhmann 2000: 98)

According to this, there is an implication that trust is superior to confidence as it is a prerequisite for taking participative action; i.e. trust is downgraded to confidence when actions taken on trust with an expectation of a specific outcome (e.g. winning an

¹⁵⁰ ‘Most certainly, we should assess the capacity for harm as well as the capability for good in every person that we would trust. Such a private inventory can reveal the degree of confidence we should extend in any given situation.’ (Wilson 1967: 144)

election) are fruitless. While it appears that a general form of confidence in the political system or political institutions can remain in the absence of trust, it is a lack of trust that prevents individuals from actively engaging with political or financial institutions. Luhmann goes on to say that:

‘Mobilizing trust means mobilizing engagements and activities, extending the range and degree of participation. [...] They will not save and invest if they lack trust ...’

(Luhmann 2000: 99)

We have thus argued that there is a salient difference between the semantic values of the lexical items ‘confidence’ and ‘trust’. However, it is also important to recognize that the cross-lingual lexical difference between ‘confidence’ (i.e. FR and in certain instances EN) and the alternative ‘trust’ (DE and NL and in certain instances EN) may not necessarily be a question of choice. Sample searches of the EU’s multilingual term base *InterActive Terminology for Europe* (IATE)¹⁵¹ - matching the EN source expression ‘mutual trust’ with FR, DE and NL equivalents - consistently translated ‘trust’ as *confidence*, *Vertrauen* and *vertrouwen* in FR, DE and NL parallel text segments, respectively. This result was the same across the board regardless of the type of EU document domain flagged up (i.e. trade, business, land transport, international agreement, criminal law, etc.). In addition, it should be noted that stylistic issues will also have played a role in the language drafting and translation process. In particular, the question of usual collocations with the word ‘mutual’ in EN and in the other language equivalents is of importance. In EN ‘mutual trust’ is a much more common collocation than ‘mutual confidence’ (which produced no matches on the IATE website when parallel FR, DE and NL text segments were searched simultaneously). Moreover, the NL *vertrouwen* (trust) happily collocates with *wederzijds* (mutual), as does *Vertrauen* (trust) with *gegenseitig* (mutual) in DE. In the same way, FR collocates typically as *la confiance mutuelle* (mutual confidence). These collocates are also borne out by the results of multilingual searches carried out for ‘mutual trust’ in EN on the IATE website.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Searched on 17/06/2013 at: <http://iate.europa.eu/iatediff/SearchByQuery.do>

¹⁵² See footnote 155. It could of course also be argued that FR, DE and NL simply do not differentiate between confidence and trust, linguistically and/or culturally; this difference is however clearly salient in EN from a (socio-)linguistic viewpoint (e.g. see Tonkiss 2009 on trust and confidence in economic crisis, cited in footnote 153 below).

A second point of hybridity concerns the grammatical construction used to convey degrees of certainty associated with the fundamental principle of mutual recognition and the fact that it can only function effectively on the basis of this mutual trust. The epistemic certainty expressed in the EN, FR and NL versions is comparable as all three versions use a modal verb equating to ‘can’ (EN): thus *pouvoir* – ‘*peut*’ (FR) and *kunnen* – ‘*kan*’ (NL); this is combined with parallel focusing elements equating to ‘only’ (EN): thus ‘*ne ... que*’ (FR) and ‘*alleen*’ (NL). However, the DE version does not concur with this modality and opts for an expression denoting a condition rather than a possibility, as in the case of ‘can’: ‘*Voraussetzung hierfür ist Vertrauen*’ (A prerequisite’ - for this mutual recognition - is trust/confidence). In addition, this condition (or prerequisite) is emphasized by the marked positioning of ‘*Voraussetzung*’ at the head of the sentence; *Voraussetzung* is thus topicalized, which means that the rhetorical reiteration of the word ‘trust/confidence’ (*Vertrauen*) which follows - also in a marked clause-initial position – then becomes the focus of the clause. The DE version therefore not only differs in that it does not use a modal verb but also in that it uses a different focusing mechanism: ‘Trust/confidence (*focus*) among legal practitioners as well as among businesses and citizens’ (*Vertrauen unter Rechtsanwendern ebenso wie unter Unternehmen und Bürgern*). The effect of this is that the importance of trust/confidence as a condition (prerequisite) for mutual recognition is emphasized more in the DE version.

In conclusion, therefore, varying degrees of hybridity over the four language versions means that the position of the citizen undergoes conceptual shifts in relation to (1)

A European Commission webpage (in its official languages of EN, FR and DE only) on Agriculture and Rural Development (Organic Farming) also conforms to this view as it translates ‘Consumer Trust’ into FR and DE as ‘Consumer Confidence’, respectively, ‘*Confiance des Consommateurs*’ and ‘*Verbrauchervertrauen*’.

Accessed on 18/02/2014 at:

http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/organic/consumer-trust/index_en.htm

http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/organic/consumer-trust/index_fr.htm

http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/organic/consumer-trust/index_de.htm

To quote another example, also including a NL version, Commission Communication COM(2011) 551 final, entitled: ‘Building Trust In EU-Wide Justice: A New Dimension to European Judicial Training’ contains the phrase in EN ‘mutual confidence and trust’; the parallels in FR, DE and NL, respectively, are ‘*une confiance mutuelle*’, ‘*gegenseitigen Vertrauens*’ and ‘*wederzijds vertrouwen*’ (European Commission 2011). All of these versions back translate in EN as ‘mutual confidence’ (or indeed ‘trust’) only; they therefore fail to convey the dual semantic value of trust *and* confidence made possible solely in the EN version. One could therefore reasonably assume that theorising about the difference between the two relates here typically and specifically to the EN case.

confidence in the European judicial area and (2) mutual trust/confidence in the legal actors involved as (3) either making possible or providing a condition for mutual recognition (of legal practices among Member States). In situation (1), citizens' feeling of assurance is implied to be equi-distant from the European judicial area, as strengthening 'confidence' is a semantic non-variable across all language versions. In situation (2), mutual 'trust' is cited in the EN version. As argued above, 'trust' may denote more emotional assurance than the FR, DE and NL semantic equivalents of 'confidence'; the latter may suggest a more cerebral/rational relationship between citizens and their potential confidants (i.e judges, legal professionals and businesses).¹⁵³ While there is of course a reasonable possibility that 'confidence' could be interpreted on close reading as having similar qualities to 'trust' (given that FR, DE and NL do not distinguish semantically between 'trust' and 'confidence'), this nevertheless remains implicit. The 'trust' scenario in the EN version explicitly creates a closer (emotional) relationship of assurance between citizens and legal actors in the European judicial area than in the case of 'confidence' (FR, DE and NL). Finally, citizens' trust (or confidence) is seen as either a possibility (EN, FR and NL) or a condition/prerequisite (DE) for mutual recognition. There is thus firstly an initial hybrid shift from conceptual equivalence ('confidence' in the European judicial area) in all languages to explicit derogation ('trust' versus 'confidence') in EN; a second shift occurs in the explicit difference in epistemic modality - 'mutual trust/confidence' is said to represent either a possibility (EN, FR and NL) or a condition (DE) for enabling mutual recognition.

¹⁵³ Tonkiss (2009) argues this view. While market confidence can be re-constructed via formalized economic conditions (cerebral), trust is the basis for action and risk assessment (human – emotional – agency); once damaged, trust is thus difficult to rekindle. 'A critical reason why the massive financial market failure has proved so difficult to resolve is the associated collapse of trust as a foundation for economic action and a means of mediating risk. Trust cannot easily be restored once it has eroded, but more formal means of securing confidence through credible sources of information, fair forms of contract, and disinterested forms of regulation provide reliable conditions for economic behaviour.' (Tonkiss 2009: 202)

Interestingly, there is also an argument that the difference between trust and confidence is more strongly related to linguistic rather than socio-linguistic factors. This becomes evident in a publication by *De Nederlandsche Bank* (DNB) – The Dutch Bank - on confidence and trust in the Dutch financial sector. In this publication, the study differentiated typically between 'trust in institutions and confidence in the economy' (Mosch and Prast 2008: 54). This suggests that trust is more associated with agency-like organizations which it is possible to personify; confidence is then more associated with impersonal entities such as the economy, to which individual (human-like) agency cannot be attributed. We see from this that the lexical differentiation between trust and confidence can in fact easily be applied to cultural settings other than only English-speaking ones such as the UK and the US, for example.

6.2.7 Conceptualizing the EU Market: spatial implications of ‘single’ or ‘internal’

The first clause in this segment of the Commission Action Plan (stage 1C) states that the European judicial area and the proper functioning of the ‘single’ market (EN version) rely on mutual recognition. Within this, the cross-lingual reproduction of the term ‘single market’ is of interest as it is lexicalized here in two distinct ways: (1) the EN and FR versions concur in their equivalents of ‘single market’ and ‘*marché unique*’ (single market); and (2) the DE and NL versions concur in their equivalents of ‘internal market’ (DE – ‘*Binnenmarkt*’, literally: within market; and NL – ‘*interne markt*’ – internal market¹⁵⁴). The alternative lexical choice in EN for describing the EU’s economic market (formerly known as the ‘common market’) is also ‘internal market’ and this is likewise possible in FR (*marché intérieur* - ‘interior market’). Equally, lexical alternatives denoting ‘single market’ are possible in DE and NL, respectively: *Der einheitliche (europäische) Binnenmarkt* – ‘the single (European) market’; and *de (Europese) eenheidsmarkt* – ‘the (European) single market’. From a spatial perspective, describing the EU market as either ‘single’ or ‘internal’ creates two different conceptual arrangements of the same scene. In the first instance, ‘single’ or ‘unique’ denotes that the quality of being one collective entity, set apart and resembling no other, is being portrayed as the most important; in the second instance, however, ‘within’, ‘internal’ or ‘interior’ emphasize the quality of being contained within a specified conceptual or physical space (in this case, the European Union). While the EN and FR versions mirror one another lexically, (semantically) and conceptually, hybridity occurs where the DE and NL versions are lexically, (semantically) and conceptually non-comparable with these two versions, although they are clearly comparable with one another.

While the most common ‘translations’ of ‘single market’ in DE and NL are in fact *Binnenmarkt* and *interne markt*, as stated above,¹⁵⁵ lexical alternatives more

¹⁵⁴ It should be noted here that in NL the word ‘*binnenmarkt*’ (literally: within market) is also available but is not used in this segment in favour of the alternative expression ‘*interne markt*’.

¹⁵⁵ The website page of the European Union dealing with the topic of the single market can be accessed in the 24 official EU languages. The page entitled: ‘Border-free Europe (single market)’ contains the following statement: ‘Although we now take it for granted, the ‘single market’ (sometimes also called the ‘internal market’) is one of the EU’s greatest achievements.’ This implies that there are two

equivalent to the EN and FR versions in this particular text segment do exist but have not been used. Likewise, the FR and EN versions have not used the possible lexical alternatives ‘internal market’ and ‘*marché intérieur*’ to homogenize with the DE and NL texts. There are then grounds to speculate that the source text for translating this term into the DE version was not necessarily the EN or FR, but that the NL version *was* translated based on the equivalent term in the DE version. Thus, hybridity occurs where the same physical space or location (the ‘single/internal market’) is lexicalized

possible ways of referring to this market (one common and one less common). When this page was accessed in the other languages of FR, DE and NL, the most common expression for the ‘single market’ in FR was given as *marché unique* (single market); the less common expression was *marché intérieur* (internal market) – thus in parallel with the EN version of this webpage. Interestingly, however, no alternative expressions were given in the DE and NL versions of the page, which both only referred to border-free Europe as the ‘internal market’ (*Binnenmarkt* and *interne markt*, respectively).

Webpage address for EN: <http://europa.eu/pol/singl/>

Webpage address for FR: http://europa.eu/pol/singl/index_fr.htm

Webpage address for DE: http://europa.eu/pol/singl/index_de.htm

Webpage address for NL: http://europa.eu/pol/singl/index_nl.htm

All accessed on 18/06/2013

In addition, a search of the EN expression ‘single market’ (which also flagged up the alternative ‘internal market’) on the EU’s multilingual term base IATE (*InterActive Terminology for Europe*) website produced the following results. For a ‘reliable’ Commission (COM) documentary source dealing with the European construction and economics (Term Reference: Communication - A single market for 21st century Europe CELEX: 52007DC0724), the term ‘single market’ in EN is given as *marché unique* (‘unique’/single market) in FR and *Binnenmarkt* (‘within/inside’/internal market) in DE. However, interestingly, there are several alternatives offered for the NL language: *gemeenschappelijke markt* (common market), *eenheidsmarkt* (‘unified’/‘one’/single market) and *interne markt* (internal market) - all labelled as ‘Admitted’ terms; and *eengemaakte markt* (‘made as/into one’/single market) – labelled as the ‘Preferred’ term. Searched on 19/06/2013 at <http://iate.europa.eu/iatediff/SearchByQuery.do>

For a ‘very reliable’ documentary source - this time from the Council – also dealing with the European construction and economics (Term Reference: Treaty establishing the European Community (Nice consolidated version) Article 14(2), CELEX: 12002E014), the searched term ‘single market’ was represented as ‘internal market’ in EN and as *marché intérieur* (internal market), *Binnenmarkt* (‘within/inside’/internal market) and *interne markt* (internal market) in FR, DE and NL respectively. Searched on 19/06/2013 at <http://iate.europa.eu/iatediff/SearchByQuery.do>

Navigating via the ‘Full Entry’ link in the COM (Commission) documentary source gave the following note on language usage:

‘Two different terms - "common market" and "internal market" - are used side by side in the consolidated text of the abovementioned Treaty. In new legislation (and Treaties) only the term "internal market" is used. Sometimes the terms "internal market" or "single market" are used to designate the market common for all EU countries in a particular domain, e. g.: internal market in agriculture.’

Searched on 19/06/2013 at:

<http://iate.europa.eu/iatediff/SearchByQuery.do?method=searchDetail&lilId=767068&langId=&query=single%20market&sourceLanguage=en&domain=0&matching=&start=0&next=1&targetLanguages=de&targetLanguages=fr&targetLanguages=nl>

in two different ways; this then leads to a spatial shift and conceptual non-equivalence between the EN and FR, on the one hand, and the DE and NL on the other. An alternative possibility is of course that, because the phrase ‘internal market’ is used so frequently, the drafter/translator simply opts – almost as a reflex - for the most widely used version. As footnote 155 suggests, these are ‘single market’/*marché unique* (EN/FR) and *Binnenmarkt/interne markt* (DE/NL). This lexical selection is also highly likely to be the result of extensive use of translation memory (TM) tools within the EU’s translation services; as we have already said, these **technologies** routinely reproduce for the translator stored former translations of similar/identical pieces of text. This means that - at least in some cases - translator decision-making is dictated by the TM in any given source-to-target scenario. It could then also mean that accepted and entrenched usages of certain terminology are not subject to (regular) cross-lingual scrutiny across different languages. Here our example concerns the internal market but this could be the case for all manner of economic, political or social concepts.

6.3 Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU

The following section will revisit the lexeme ‘confidence’ already discussed in the previous section; it will explore further ways in which hybridity among language versions contributes to the re-contextualization of the notion of ‘public confidence’ in the EU in respect of the criminal justice system and the rights of the individual in criminal proceedings. As depicted in the tabulated Example 2 below, in this instance the analysis will be limited to two short text segments at stage A (Commission proposal) and B (Council Programme) only; these are mutually comparable as parallel text excerpts across these two stages.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ From the corpus data, there was no segment at stage C (Commission proposal for an Action Plan) that sufficiently resembled these segments at stages A and B. For this reason, stage C data was not included in this section of the analysis.

Example 2 – Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU

STAGE A – Commission Communication COM 262	STAGE B – Council Programme C 115
<p>In parallel, the rights of the defence will have to be strengthened. Progress is vital not only to uphold individuals’ rights, but also to <u>maintain</u> mutual trust between Member States and PUBLIC confidence in the EU.</p>	<p>The protection of the rights of suspected and accused persons in criminal proceedings is a fundamental value of the Union, which is essential in order to <u>maintain</u> mutual trust between the Member States and PUBLIC confidence in the Union.</p>
<p><i>Parallèlement, les droits de la défense devront être renforcés. Des progrès sont essentiels non seulement pour préserver les droits individuels, mais aussi pour <u>assurer</u> la confiance mutuelle entre États membres et la confiance des CITOYENS dans l’Union.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>..., but also to <u>ensure</u> mutual trust/confidence between Member States and the trust/confidence of CITIZENS in the Union.¹⁵⁷</p>	<p><i>La protection des droits des suspects ou des personnes poursuivies dans le cadre des procédures pénales est une valeur fondamentale de l’Union, essentielle pour <u>maintenir</u> la confiance mutuelle entre États membres et la confiance de la POPULATION dans l’Union.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>..., essential for <u>maintaining</u> mutual confidence/trust between Member States and the confidence/trust of the POPULATION in the Union.</p>
<p><i>Gleichzeitig müssen die Verteidigungsrechte gestärkt werden. Dies ist nicht nur zum Schutz individueller Ansprüche von wesentlicher Bedeutung, sondern schafft auch gegenseitiges Vertrauen unter den Mitgliedstaaten und <u>stärkt</u> das Vertrauen der BÜRGER in die EU.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>..., but also creates mutual trust/confidence among the Member States and <u>strengthens</u> the trust/confidence of (the) CITIZEN(S) in the EU.</p>	<p><i>Der Schutz der Rechte von Verdächtigen oder Beschuldigten im Rahmen von Strafverfahren ist ein Grundwert der Union, der für die <u>Aufrechterhaltung</u> des gegenseitigen Vertrauens zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten und des vertrauens der ALLGEMEINHEIT in die Union von wesentlicher Bedeutung ist.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>..., which is of essential importance for the <u>maintenance</u> of mutual trust/confidence between the Member States and of the trust/confidence of the COMMUNITY/GENERAL PUBLIC in the Union.</p>
<p><i>Tegelijk moeten de rechten van de verdediging worden versterkt. Vooruitgang op dit punt is niet alleen noodzakelijk om de individuele rechten te vrijwaren, maar ook om het onderlinge vertrouwen tussen lidstaten en het vertrouwen van de BURGERS in de Unie <u>veilig te stellen</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>..., but also to <u>secure</u> mutual trust/confidence between Member States and the trust/confidence of CITIZENS in the Union.</p>	<p><i>De bescherming van de rechten van verdachten en beklaagden in strafzaken is een fundamentele waarde van de Unie, en van essentieel belang om het onderlinge vertrouwen tussen de lidstaten en het vertrouwen van de BURGERS in de Unie <u>in stand te houden</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>..., and of essential importance in order to <u>maintain</u> mutual trust/confidence between the Member States and the trust/confidence of the CITIZENS in the Union.</p>

¹⁵⁷ In the interests of space-saving in the table, only the parts of segments at stages A and B that are specifically analysed and discussed have been back translated into FR, DE and NL.

The table above is constructed so that both stages (A and B) of each language version can be seen as a continuum. The analysis will firstly compare the representation of ‘public confidence’ (EN version) across languages at stage A (Commission proposal) and then at stage B (Council Programme). Following this, there will be a comparison of stages A and B in each language version in respect of differences in the linguistic representation of ‘citizens’/public confidence’ in the EU/Union. As the conceptual difference between mutual ‘trust’ and ‘confidence’ has been dealt with in detail in the previous Section 6.2 (The Political Priority of Justice), the specific conceptual relationship of interest here will be that between: (1) ‘public confidence’, (2) ‘the EU’ and (3) the manner in which it is suggested that the relationship between (1) and (2) be managed.

6.3.1 STAGE A - Confidence in the EU/Union: ‘public’ versus ‘citizens’

Firstly, there is a clear lexical divide between the EN version and the other three language versions in terms of expressing confidence in the EU as pertaining to either the ‘public’(EN) or ‘citizens’ (FR, DE and NL). Thus, hybridity occurs firstly where the EN and FR versions do not concur in this lexical choice (possibly hybrid concurrent ‘trans-drafting’), and secondly where the ‘translations’ for this lexical item in the other two languages (DE and NL) appear to have selected FR as a source text; or indeed the NL may have been translated based on the DE as a source text. This lexical difference between ‘public confidence’ and ‘the confidence of citizens’ has implications for conceptualization. ‘Public’ is a generic descriptor which can refer to any actors in public life and does not specifically denote only those who are citizens of the Union, whereas ‘citizens’ clearly does. The effect on spatial conceptualization is that a ‘public’ could also view and assess the situation of confidence in the EU from outside (either physically or conceptually) the Union area; for instance, as we have already noted, any participant in public life may form part of an anonymous ‘public’. In contrast, those denoted explicitly as citizens of the Union are - by virtue of this citizenship - either physically or conceptually contained within the EU area (i.e., they have the status of members of that area even if they are living outside the Union); they

are therefore making this assessment of confidence from within, whether this is in the physical sense or in the sense of conceptual belonging. Consequently, the confidence expressed in the EU in the FR, DE and NL versions places the notion of citizenship closer to Europe and the Union (as it is contained within); this is in direct comparison to the notion of ‘public’, which does not infer containment and could even involve scrutiny from outside the EU by a public that are not all necessarily European citizens.

A second point of relevance here for the discussion of linguistic and translational hybridity is as follows. While the FR, DE and NL versions concur with one another and reject the lexeme ‘public’ proposed in EN, they then go on to diverge in a later part of the clause: ‘confidence’ is not expressed uniformly as ‘in the EU’. This in fact occurs only in two out of the four languages (EN and DE), which also suggests a possible further point of hybrid concurrent ‘trans-drafting’ between the EN and FR versions. Moreover, the NL translated version is now also shown to be hybrid as it concurs with the FR (or indeed DE) as a possible source text for the expression referring to ‘confidence of citizens’; yet it reverts to the FR text *only* as it reproduces the lexically equivalent ‘in the Union’ (as opposed to ‘in the EU’). While ‘in the EU’ and ‘in the Union’ are semantic equivalents of one another in this type of EU discourse, one could argue that the lexical representation of the term ‘Union’ in contrast to the acronym EU produces a different conceptualization. The fact that ‘Union’ is lexically related to other lexemes such as ‘unify’ and ‘unity’, the spatial notion of oneness and sameness is lexically foregrounded, whereas this is not achieved by ‘EU’. In addition, there is no clear reason why one expression should be favoured over another, save for the argument that lexical difference has been produced by the process of hybrid translation involving shifting source text selection within even the smallest of text segments. One may therefore also argue that this process of hybrid text production has generated unnecessary differences in spatial conceptualization and therefore conceptual non-equivalence.

6.3.2 STAGE B – Confidence in the Union: (general) public, population, citizens

Comparing stage B now to stage A in respect of the linguistic representation of public confidence/confidence of citizens in the EU/Union, some striking differences can be noted. As we observed at stage A, there was homogeneity in three of the four languages analysed, in that the description of confidence was ‘confidence of citizens’ in FR, DE and NL; only in the EN version was there non-concurrence, demonstrated by the alternative lexical expression: ‘public confidence’. However, at this stage B, there is now no homogeneity whatsoever in the description of ‘confidence’, represented linguistically as, respectively: ‘**public** confidence’ (EN), which is unchanged; ‘*confiance de la **population***’ (FR) - confidence of the **population**; ‘*Vertrauens der **Allgemeinheit***’ (DE) - confidence of the **general public**; and ‘*vertrouwen van de **burgers***’ (NL) - confidence of the **citizens**. This NL version also remains unchanged, having been seemingly based on the FR or DE version at stage A. However, since both the FR and DE versions have modified their lexical choice here, the hybridity carried over in the NL text from stage A has now actually become non-equivalent with all other versions. What is also striking is the apparent attempt by the DE version to homogenize now to the EN in rendering ‘confidence of the general public’ as an approximation to ‘public confidence’. In contrast, the FR version appears to have made a lexical choice here in isolation from all other versions in stating ‘confidence of the population’.

Taking each language version separately, we can explore how these semantic shifts have affected the conceptualization of citizenship. Only the NL version makes explicit that the protection of the rights of suspected and accused persons in criminal proceedings is a fundamental value essential for the confidence of ‘citizens’; this contrasts conceptually with the more general descriptions of ‘population’ and ‘general public’ in FR and DE. The ‘population’ of the EU, however, does not necessarily only refer to citizens as it is quite possible for non-EU citizens to be physically living within the Union. ‘Population’ then only denotes the number of persons living in the geographic space of the European Union territory; in a similar way, ‘general public’ in the DE version merely infers those persons forming a part of general public life in

the geographic space of the EU, in much the same manner as ‘public’ (EN). There is no indication semantically that these persons are necessarily ‘citizens’ of the EU.

A further semantic shift in two of the versions means that, where there was lexical and conceptual incongruence at stage A between confidence ‘in the EU’ (EN and DE) and ‘in the Union’ (FR and NL), there is now lexical and conceptual equivalence. Here, in all languages this ‘confidence’ is described as ‘in the Union’. This demonstrates that the EN and DE lexical expressions have homogenized to the FR and NL ones and the expression ‘in the EU’ has been abandoned.

As an addendum to the discussion on the (general) public, population, and citizens having confidence in the Union, the following is also salient. Although this does not concern a cross-lingual feature of the discourse that changes between stages, there is an instance of three languages (EN, FR and NL) being able to remain ambiguous or ambivalent across both stages A and B by virtue of their grammatical systems. On the other hand, for one language (DE) it is not possible to remain ambivalent, also by virtue of its grammatical system. In the EN, FR and NL versions the prepositions ‘in’, ‘dans’ (in)¹⁵⁸ and ‘in’ are used, respectively, to describe the need for the (general) public/citizens/populations to have confidence/*confiance*/*vertrouwen* in the EU/Union. All three prepositions can mean that either: (1) citizens are confident *of* (or place confidence *in*) the Union as an institution; or (2) that they feel confident being physically contained *in* the Union themselves. While this second semantic possibility is extremely unlikely, it is still not ruled out as a grammatically correct reading of the expression. Conversely, in DE the case system makes it impossible to be ambiguous here. This is because in order to imply that citizens feel confident while physically contained *in* the Union, a different grammatical case is required; the dative expression *in der EU/Union* would be needed to explicitly denote static location as opposed to dynamic movement *into* that location. In this instance, however, the accusative case is used (*in die EU/Union*), which can only refer to the confidence of citizens in the Union as an institution (i.e. just as some may have

¹⁵⁸ It should be noted here that the FR language has two alternate ways of expressing confidence ‘in’ and these are different depending on whether the direct object is animate (i.e. a person) or inanimate (i.e. an institution). For a person, typically the preposition *en* is used, whereas for an institution *dans* is appropriate. In this case, therefore, the FR language benefits from an ambiguity that would not have been grammatically available if the direct object in which confidence was being placed had been animate. This would have ruled out the use of *dans*, which here retains polysemy.

confidence in their national government or the church); this is in direct contrast to a general feeling of confidence experienced as a result of being physically located within the Union (i.e. living in the EU area as a European citizen).

6.3.3 STAGE A – Time Frames and the Management of Confidence

The way it is suggested that ‘confidence’ in the EU/Union be managed is firstly subject to lexical and semantic differences across languages; this points to hybrid effects which create subjective linguistic representations of whether ‘confidence’ has already been achieved and/or how secure this confidence is seen to be. For example, in the EN version it is stated that progress ‘is vital ... to maintain ... and public confidence in the EU’. On the conceptual time axis, the verb ‘maintain’ signals that public confidence has already been achieved as it is now vital to prevent its loss. However, the FR version employs the verb ‘*assurer*’ (ensure), which implies that confidence has not yet been achieved and should be secured in some way in future time. The DE version lexicalizes this relationship between time and confidence in yet another way, stating that strengthening the rights of the defence also strengthens (*stärkt*) confidence in the EU; this implies as well that confidence already exists and merely needs to be reinforced. The existence of ‘confidence’ in present time is also emphasized in DE in a further two ways in comparison to the other languages. Firstly, the verb ‘strengthen’ (*stärken*) is used in the present tense, which suggests that conditions for strengthening the trust of citizens in the EU are closer to present time than in the other languages. The EN, FR and NL versions all use grammatical constructions conveying a cause and effect relationship - between progress (the cause) and the ability to/*pour/om* maintain/ensure/secure both mutual trust between Member States and public/citizens’ confidence (the effect). While this cause and effect relationship does not overtly ascribe mutual trust and confidence to a future event (as there is no future tense in any of the languages), neither does it place this event in present time. This is because linguistically EN, FR and NL all use a tenseless purpose clause, whereas the DE version is not tenseless (it uses a present tense); it therefore expresses not purpose but simultaneity - i.e. progress and strengthening are occurring at the same time.

Secondly, the phrase used in the other languages equating to ‘progress is vital ... to ...’ is modified and the lexical item ‘progress’ – denoting the need for future action – is replaced in DE by deictic ‘this’ (*dies*); this is a referential pronoun signifying prior existence or given information. Thus, confidence is conceptualized as already existing as it is referred to in present time and this is constructed via both lexical and grammatical variation as compared to the other languages. Finally, the NL version lexicalizes this segment as the need to secure (*veiligstellen*) ‘confidence of citizens in the Union’. This denotes that confidence has not yet been securely achieved – or is not securely in place in present time, given that something that requires ‘securing’ is necessarily ‘insecure’; the need for future corrective action is then also inferred. However, this lexicalization also changes conceptualization in another way as the compound verb *veilig-stellen* contains the word ‘veilig’ (safe); consequently, the literal back translation of this verb is: to put (*stellen*) safe (*veilig*), which implies that confidence may even be in danger or under threat; at the very least, there is present insecurity (unsafeness) associated with ‘confidence of citizens in the Union’.

Thus, across all four versions there is hybridity in the lexicalization of the need to create citizens’ confidence in the EU/Union; these differences cause varying time frames to be constructed, relating to either a present situation of confidence or a desired future of confidence. Due to the considerable lexical differences, it is not apparent which language versions have been used as source texts for others, although the NL ‘secure’ (*veiligstellen*) equates the most closely to the FR version (ensure – *assurer*); moreover, these two versions also concur in suggesting that confidence does not yet exist in present time. In the same way, the EN and DE versions also approximate to one another in terms of their time frame constructions, both implying that citizens’ confidence in the EU already exists in present time; however, the DE then deviates much more strongly from all other versions by eliminating the lexical item denoting a need for ‘progress’ and replacing it with referential ‘this’ (*dies*). The reference *dies* points back generally to the preceding clause relating to ‘strengthening the rights of the defence’ rather than specifically to the need for ‘progress’ in future time.

6.3.4 STAGE B – Time Frames Revisited

By comparing stages A and B regarding the time frames constructed for managing ‘confidence in the Union’, it is evident that further semantic shifts have taken place in the lexical choice of verb. As we saw at stage A, these choices were very heterogeneous across languages, conveying conceptualizations of time which suggested that ‘confidence’ either: (1) already existed in present time; or (2) was yet to be achieved in future time. However, now all versions have been homogenized to the verb choice of the EN text: ‘maintain’; the protection of the rights of suspected and accused persons in criminal proceedings is a fundamental value of the Union, essential for ‘maintaining’ (FR: *maintenir*), ‘for the maintenance of’ (DE: *Aufrechterhaltung* - verbal noun) and ‘in order to maintain’ (NL: *in stand houden*) confidence in the Union. Consequently, stage B exhibits homogenization in the conceptualization of time, as all verb choices now suggest that confidence *already* exists in present time and the aim is now to preserve (maintain) the current situation.

6.4 Access to Justice

The next section of analysis explores the discourse chain ‘Access to Justice’, which also builds on the discussion of certain discursive aspects included in section 6.2 – ‘The Political Priority of Justice’. As segments of this same discourse chain can be linked over the three documents (Commission proposal, Council Programme and Commission proposal for an Action Plan), the three stages A to C will be discussed in turn. These stages are set out below in one single table which is designed to clearly demonstrate the linguistic and translational phenomena produced by the process of hybrid document production at the multilingual interface.

The modified heading below ‘The Hybrid Multilingual Template’ is introduced at this point¹⁵⁹ in order to emphasize that this penultimate section on ‘Access to Justice’ now

¹⁵⁹ This heading was not introduced in the first two analysis sections of this chapter as neither of these dealt with all three stages of the discourse chain simultaneously. The first analysis section dealt initially with stages A and B and then stage C separately. The second analysis section dealt with stages A and B only.

incorporates a cross-lingual analysis of all *three* stages of the discourse chain (A, B and C) simultaneously. Recalling that the EU’s overarching democratic language policy champions the status of all official languages as equally or multiply authentic, we may reasonably refer to a ‘multilingual hybrid template’; this incorporates each of the three stages and each of the four languages of a discourse chain. We may then also infer that this ‘template’ can be assumed to represent any and all permissible linguistic and translational interpretations of this same discourse narrative.

The Hybrid Multilingual Template

Example 3 – Access to Justice

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>The European judicial area must allow CITIZENS to <u>assert</u> their rights <u>anywhere</u> in the Union by facilitating their access to justice.</p>	<p>The European judicial area must also allow CITIZENS to <u>assert</u> their rights <u>anywhere</u> in the Union by <u>significantly raising overall awareness</u> of rights and by facilitating <u>their</u> access to justice.</p>	<p>Establishing rights is not enough. Rights and obligations will become a reality only if they are readily accessible to THOSE ENTITLED to them. INDIVIDUALS need to be <u>empowered to invoke</u> these rights <u>wherever in the union they happen to be</u>.</p>
<p><i>L'espace judiciaire européen doit aussi permettre aux PERSONNES de <u>faire valoir</u> leurs droits <u>partout</u> dans l'Union en facilitant l'accès à la justice.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The European judicial area must also allow PERSONS to <u>assert</u> their rights <u>everywhere</u> in the Union by facilitating their access to justice.</p>	<p><i>L'espace judiciaire européen doit aussi permettre aux CITOYENS de <u>faire valoir</u> leurs droits <u>partout</u> dans l'Union en <u>améliorant sensiblement la connaissance globale</u> de ces droits et en facilitant l'accès des CITOYENS à la justice.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The European judicial area must also allow CITIZENS to <u>assert</u> their rights <u>everywhere</u> in the Union by <u>considerably improving overall knowledge</u> of these rights and by facilitating CITIZENS' access to justice.</p>	<p><i>Établir des droits ne suffit pas. Les droits et obligations ne deviendront en effet une réalité qu'à la condition d'être aisément accessibles aux PERSONNES CONCERNÉES. CES DERNIÈRES doivent être <u>en mesure de faire valoir</u> leurs droits <u>quel que soit l'endroit ou elles se trouvent dans l'union</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Establishing rights is not enough. Rights and obligations will in fact become a reality only on the condition that they are easily accessible to the PERSONS CONCERNED. THE LATTER must be <u>in a position to assert</u> their rights <u>whatever the place where they may find themselves in the Union</u>.</p>

<p><i>In einem europäischen Rechtsraum muss der Zugang zum Recht erleichtert werden, damit BÜRGER ihre Rechte <u>überall</u> in der EU <u>geltend machen</u> können.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>In a European judicial area access to law must be facilitated, so that CITIZENS can <u>assert</u> their rights <u>everywhere</u> in the EU.</p>	<p><i>Im europäischen Rechtsraum müssen die BÜRGER ferner ihre Rechte <u>überall</u> in der Union <u>geltend machen</u> können, indem <u>das allgemeine Bewusstsein</u> für diese Rechte <u>erheblich gestärkt</u> und der Zugang der BÜRGER zur Justiz erleichtert wird.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>In the European judicial area CITIZENS must also be able to <u>assert</u> their rights <u>everywhere</u> in the Union by/while considerably strengthening <u>the general awareness</u> of these rights and facilitating CITIZENS' access to justice.</p>	<p><i>Nur Rechte einzuführen, reicht nicht. Realität werden Rechte und Pflichten erst dann, wenn sich DEREN INHABER ohne Weiteres <u>auf sie berufen können</u>. Der EINZELNE muss <u>in die Lage versetzt werden</u>, seine Rechte <u>überall in der Union geltend zu machen</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Only establishing rights is not enough. Rights and obligations will only become reality if THEIR OWNERS can readily <u>invoke</u> them. The INDIVIDUAL must be <u>put in a position to assert</u> his rights <u>everywhere</u> in the Union.</p>
<p><i>De Europese justitiële ruimte moet er ook voor zorgen dat de BURGERS gemakkelijker toegang hebben tot de rechter, zodat zij hun rechten <u>overal</u> in de Unie kunnen <u>doen gelden</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The European judicial area must also ensure that CITIZENS have easier access to the judge (justice), so that they can <u>assert</u> their rights <u>everywhere</u> in the Union.</p>	<p><i>De Europese justitiële ruimte moet er ook voor zorgen dat de BURGERS hun rechten <u>overal</u> in de Unie kunnen <u>doen gelden</u> door te <u>bewerkstelligen dat mensen zich meer bewust zijn</u> van hun rechten en door de toegang tot de rechter te vergemakkelijken.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>The European judicial area must also ensure that CITIZENS can <u>assert</u> their rights <u>everywhere</u> in the Union by <u>bringing about that people are more aware</u> of their rights and by facilitating access to the judge (justice).</p>	<p><i>Het vaststellen van rechten is niet voldoende. Rechten en plichten zullen pas realiteit worden wanneer zij gemakkelijk toegankelijk zijn voor de RECHTHEBBENDEN. INDIVIDUEN moeten <u>mondiger worden gemaakt om deze rechten in te roepen waar ook in de unie zij zich bevinden</u>.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Establishing rights is not enough. Rights and obligations will only become reality if they are easily accessible for THOSE ENTITLED. INDIVIDUALS must be <u>empowered to invoke</u> these rights <u>wherever they find themselves</u> in the Union.</p>

6.4.1 STAGES A and B

‘Anywhere’, ‘everywhere’ revisited

Returning to the discussion from the first themed analysis section in this chapter: ‘The Political Priority of Justice’, at stages A and B there was a clear absence in the EN version of the lexicalization of ‘everywhere’ or ‘anywhere’¹⁶⁰ in favour of the alternative construal ‘throughout’. This was despite the fact that the construal ‘everywhere/anywhere’ would have been the most obvious equivalent of the same section of the segment in the other language versions. However, in this rendition of the discourse on Access to Justice, the EN version has been homogenized to the other language versions, which now all state that the European Judicial Area must allow citizens to assert their rights ‘anywhere/everywhere’ in the Union/EU. As argued in subsection 6.2.5 of this chapter, there is a spatial difference between ‘throughout’ and ‘everywhere’, as the notion of ‘throughout’ conceptualizes a location as a whole entity, while not emphasizing its specific parts. Conversely, the compound term ‘everywhere’ denotes the separate parts of a whole (i.e. each Member State as part of the EU territory). Therefore, where hybridity created conceptual non-equivalence in the discourse segment ‘The Political Priority of Justice’, homogeneity here now generates conceptual equivalence; this is striking given that the content of the two pieces of discourse in question is almost identical.

¹⁶⁰ Two factors are salient in this discussion; the grammatical rules for using the EN adverb ‘anywhere’ (as opposed to ‘everywhere’ - in every place); and the possibilities available for translation equivalence in the other languages of FR, DE and NL. The adverb ‘anywhere’ is typically used in negative sentences, e.g. ‘Citizens cannot go anywhere’, or questions, e.g. ‘Do you think citizens should be allowed to go anywhere?’ However, it is also used without negation for emphasis, e.g. ‘Citizens can go anywhere in the world.’ It is this latter case that applies in the EN version at stages A and B here. The question then remains as to whether this emphasis is transmitted quite as strongly in the remaining language versions. While FR, DE and NL are also able to convey the emphasis of ‘anywhere’ as follows, respectively, *n’importe où*, *wo(hin) (auch) immer*, *waar dan ook*, these expressions are more colloquial and are often used in informal spoken language. In addition, the parallel expressions here are indeed typically used for translations of ‘anywhere’ in ENG, respectively, *partout*, *überall*, *overall*. However, the fact remains that all three of these expressions can be translated into EN as either ‘anywhere’ or ‘everywhere’, which means that the EN version here achieves an emphasis which may or may not be wholly interpretable in the other language versions.

‘Assert’ and ‘enforce’ revisited

The discussion in subsection 6.2.5 of this chapter also highlighted the fact that, at stages A and B relating to ‘The Political Priority of Justice’, the EN version maintained the lexical choice of enabling citizens to ‘enforce’ rights; this is in direct comparison to the cross-lingual equivalents of ‘asserting’ rights in the other language versions. Firstly, the lexical field of ‘enforce’ includes the concept of ‘force’ and is therefore a much more aggressive expression of claiming rights, inferring that another may possibly be coerced into providing these rights against their will. Secondly, the lexical choice ‘enforce’ also implies a greater possession of power to act than ‘assert’. As a result, it was argued earlier that ‘enforce’ infers a closer conceptual proximity to rights or the opportunity of gaining rights than ‘assert’. Given the lexical homogeneity of ‘assert’ that now prevails across stages A and B in this segment, the conceptual incongruence between language versions dissipates. Hence, in this particular instance, hybridity - by bringing into line the EN version with, for example, the FR version - has restored the conceptual equivalence relationship across all language versions.¹⁶¹

6.4.2 STAGE B

Increasing ‘overall/ general awareness/knowledge’ or ‘people’s awareness’

At stage B, the discourse turns to *how* (by what method) citizens may be allowed to assert their rights anywhere in the Union. Part of this method is stated to be

¹⁶¹ Variation in the use of the EN lexemes ‘enforce’ and ‘assert’, on the one hand, and ‘throughout’ and ‘anywhere’ on the other (discussed here and in section 6.2.5 ‘Where and how should citizens access justice?’) in fact raise a more general question about the lexical coherence of the multilingual texts at the several stages. There seems no explanation for why in one section of the EN texts at stages A and B - dealing with access to justice - citizens should be able to ‘enforce’ their rights and in a later section only ‘assert’ these rights; as discussed, the second lexical alternative also actually creates more homogeneity with other language versions. This is particularly salient as the other languages consistently maintain the same lexical choices for parallel equivalents of both ‘enforce’ and ‘assert’. It also suggests that hybridity is a cause of conceptual incoherence but only in the EN version in this instance. The same applies to the question of where these rights should be enforced/asserted; the switch in EN from ‘throughout’ in an earlier part of the texts to ‘anywhere’ in a later part is not mirrored in the other languages, as they again consistently maintain the same equivalents in both cases.

‘considerably raising/strengthening general awareness/overall knowledge of these rights’ (as well as by facilitating citizens’ access to justice, which is not discussed again here). The construal mechanisms used to express this notion are relatively uniform across three of the language versions (EN, FR and DE). In these three languages, the raising of general awareness of rights is not specifically linked to raising awareness in citizens (or people). The grammatical structure of the clause in FR and DE is largely commensurate with that in the EN version. For example, the aim of ‘significantly raising overall awareness (of rights)’ is expressed in FR as ‘by considerably improving overall knowledge (of these rights)’ - *en ameliorant sensiblement la connaissance globale (de ces droits)*; in DE this is expressed as: ‘so that the general awareness (of these rights) is considerably strengthened’ - *indem das allgemeine Bewusstsein (für diese Rechte) erheblich gestärkt [...] wird*. However, it should also be noted that there is a subtle difference grammatically between the precise subordinating conjunctions used; in the EN version ‘by’ is unambiguously resultative, i.e. the assertion of citizens’ rights is made possible through two elements: significantly raising overall awareness and facilitating access to justice; in the FR version, both simultaneity and cause and effect come to the fore, with *en* denoting that assertion of rights happens either as a result of *or* at the same time as raising overall awareness and facilitating access; in the DE version, *indem* is, like the FR, also ambivalent and can express either resultative ‘by’ (in the sense of *dadurch daß* - literally, ‘through this that’, in other words ‘so that’) or simultaneous while/whilst. Thus, the FR and DE versions can remain equally ambivalent, hedging between suggesting a relationship of means (cause and effect) or simultaneity, or indeed both. There is therefore a semantic discrepancy between what is suggested in the EN clause (means only), on the one hand, and in the FR and DE clauses (means or simultaneity or a combination) on the other. This could be salient from a discursive viewpoint for the following reason. The EN text seems to actively promote the message that the assertion of rights is made possible by increasing awareness and facilitating access to justice (as the means and the necessary conditions); in the FR and DE texts, however, the implied combination of means and simultaneity suggests that any upgrade in awareness and access to justice is not only a condition but also a natural by-product of the process - and this process is then not necessarily made up purely of pro-active measures for promoting the assertion of rights. From a translational perspective, this also suggests that the EN and FR versions were constructed as closely related (though

not identical) drafts of one another; the DE version then appears to have been translated as closely as possible to either one or a combination of both these versions.

However, construal in NL is at variance with the other versions in that it makes citizens (people – *mensen*) instrumental in this increase in awareness of rights; here, the discourse states that the aim is to ‘bring about’ that ‘people are more aware’ of their rights (*‘bewerkstelligen’ dat ‘mensen zich meer bewust zijn’ van hun rechten*). This automatically changes the perspective on the conceptual scene as citizens (people) are now agentive in becoming more aware of their rights; in the other language versions, there is no mention of citizens (or people) playing any part in the increase in general/overall awareness of rights. From a spatial perspective, therefore, this brings citizens closer to the discourse world of the speaker in this NL version only. Thus, in this segment, hybridity has two effects. The first is the likely concurrent text production (or trans-drafting) between EN and FR and the conceptually ambivalent rendition of this in the (translated) DE version, possibly drawing on both EN and FR as source texts. The second effect is the hybrid translational phenomenon in the NL version; while the notion of increasing awareness of rights is preserved, this is also in fact re-conceptualized by introducing citizens (people) as agents actively involved in the process.

6.4.3 STAGE C

Who is entitled (to rights)?

The first sentence in the segment at stage C states that establishing rights is not enough and that these rights will only become a reality if they are made readily accessible to those persons who are entitled to them. However, there is non-homogeneity between the language versions in the way in which ‘those’ are linguistically described. In this instance, the EN and FR versions do not concur from a conceptual viewpoint. While the EN version makes it very clear that ‘those’ are ‘those entitled’, the FR version leaves this description as more vague in stating that these are *‘personnes concernées’* (persons concerned). ‘Those’ are therefore not

explicitly semantically linked to entitlement of rights as they are in the EN version. Moving to the DE version, ‘those’ are expressed as ‘*deren Inhaber*’ (those who own – rights) so that here there is much more semantic and conceptual equivalence with the EN version than the FR. The same is the case for the NL version, which also makes explicit that ‘those’ are those who are entitled to or who ‘have’ rights (*Rechthebbenden*). Thus, even in this small cross-linguistic detail there is a significant difference between language versions; for this particular lexical expression, the texts in DE and NL suggest conformity with the EN version over the FR version. This is because the explicitness of ‘those entitled to rights’ (and equivalent expressions in DE and NL) rules out conceptual equivalence in the FR version; this version does not even imply that persons are necessarily entitled to rights but only that they have an involvement or are ‘concerned’ with the entitlement of such rights. As an addendum, it can also be noted that the FR adjective *concerné* is often employed as a translation of the adjective ‘relevant’ in EN; this adjective is in turn invariably used to hedge or leave a close reading open to interpretation.

How are they entitled?

The next sentence in this segment describes both how and where ‘those’ are entitled to rights. In this analysis subsection, the question of ‘how’ will be dealt with firstly. The sentence begins by referring again to those who are entitled to rights and how this entitlement should be realized. However, the first point to note is that those entitled are still not referred to specifically and generic lexical expressions of persons are employed, which promotes semantic vagueness. For example, in the EN version those entitled are described as ‘individuals’, the semantic equivalents of which are also used in the DE and NL versions, respectively: ‘*Der Einzelne*’ (the individual); ‘*individuen*’ (individuals). However, the FR version does not concur and produces a lexical expression which is even vaguer (*ces dernières* – ‘the latter’) and merely refers back to the already non-specific description ‘*personnes concernées*’. The notion of those entitled to claim rights associated with European citizenship - already expressed vaguely as ‘those entitled’ and ‘individuals’ in the EN, DE and NL versions - is then, in the FR version, now even further removed conceptually from the other language versions.

Moving now to the issue of how these rights are to be accessed, there is considerable lexical variation among language versions involving shifts in the degree of power associated with ‘individuals’ accessing rights. The hybrid linguistic representation of this power can be divided into two categories. The first involves either: (1) lexical choices equating to being ‘(put) in a position to’ ‘assert’ rights (FR and DE); or (2) lexical choices equating to being ‘empowered’ to ‘invoke’ rights (EN and NL). As a result, the FR and DE versions state that ‘the latter/the individual’ must be ‘*en mesure de*’ and ‘*in die Lage versetzt werden*’ - (put) in a position to – ‘*faire valoir*’ (*leurs droits*) and (*seine Rechte*) ‘... *geltend zu machen*’ – assert (their /his rights). In contrast, in the EN and NL texts, ‘individuals’ need to/must be ‘empowered to invoke’ these rights and ‘*mondiger worden gemaakt*’ (*om deze rechten*) ‘*in te roepen*’ (also: empowered to invoke these rights). However, there is a more subtle difference within the EN and NL versions (which we have already said relate to one another globally within the semantic frame of empowerment). The ‘translator’ has opted for the phrase ‘*mondiger maken*’, which the *Van Dale* English-Dutch dictionary suggests as a partial equivalent only for the entry ‘to empower’ in EN (denoted by the symbol ±); moreover, the meaning of *mondig* can relate to a combination of semantic frames including empowerment but also assertiveness, emancipation, maturity and wisdom. The use of the comparative (*mondigER*) in NL (i.e. *more* empowered/assertive) is also significant as it implies that some degree of power/assertion is at least already present; on the other hand, to EMpower in EN implies the bestowal of power where there is none at all in the first place.

The main conceptual differences between these two types of lexical construal are as follows: (1) The assertion of rights implies that rights already exist and can be affirmed with assurance or confidence - the fact that those asserting the rights must/need to be (put) in a position to do so does not negate the fact that these rights are assured. (2) Empowerment to invoke rights denotes that, firstly, power is lacking - otherwise EMpowerment would not be necessary (we note here, as above, that the NL version infers that a degree of power does in fact already exist but must be enhanced - i.e. individuals must be made ‘*mondigER*’ – *more* empowered/assertive); secondly, the act of invoking means to call upon or appeal to and does not necessarily guarantee that what is being invoked will come to fruition (i.e. a request has been made but may or may not be heeded). Thus, ‘invoking’ suggests a more conditional

situation than the act of assertion, which as stated above implies confident affirmation. Therefore, in this case, the hybrid nature of text production and translation has produced two different conceptual versions of the same discourse segment. One suggests a more assured attitude than the other towards claiming existing rights associated with European citizenship. The FR and DE versions retain their earlier ‘equivalents’ to the EN ‘enforce/assert’ (rights) – ‘*faire valoir*’ and ‘*geltend machen*’, respectively, implying an assured ability to claim these rights; on the other hand, the NL text - and the EN version on which the NL appears to be predominantly based - follow the semantic frame of ‘invoke’ (call upon/appeal to), which casts some degree of doubt over whether these rights will actually be attained.

Where are they entitled?

The second discourse element in the second sentence at stage C concerns the notion of place. *Where* are these rights to be asserted/invoked? Recalling the discussion of ‘anywhere/everywhere’ in stages A and B, we see that at stage C the lexicalization of ‘everywhere’ in the Union is now only reproduced in the DE version – ‘*überall in der Union*’. In all other versions the discourse world has now been recontextualized to accommodate a slightly different conceptualization of the notion of being ‘anywhere/everywhere’. Where rights are now to be asserted/invoked in the EN, FR and NL versions is a space described lexically as either: ‘wherever in the Union they (those entitled to rights based on European citizenship) happen to be’ (EN); ‘whatever the place where they may find themselves in the Union’ – ‘*quel que soit l'endroit ou elles se trouvent dans l'Union*’ (FR); or ‘wherever they find themselves in the Union’ – ‘*waar ook in de Unie zij zich bevinden*’ (NL). What is common to all of these latter three language versions is the conceptualization of the location where rights may be asserted/invoked as ‘wherever *they* (those entitled) - *are* (happen to be/find themselves) as opposed to ‘everywhere’ (DE). The most salient difference in the ‘wherever *they* are’ scenario is that those who are entitled to rights are made agentive - *they place themselves* within any location in the conceptual space of the Union. Consequently, the choice of location by the asserter of rights is emphasized as much as the location itself (the Union); in this reading, we are thus called upon to also consider the active role of the asserter of rights in where they move around freely

within the Union. In the former description (everywhere in the Union), we are merely given the information that any location within the Union is valid for asserting rights by those entitled to do so.

In conclusion, it is likely that concurrent trans-drafting of the EN and FR versions has formed the basis for the source text for translation into NL; both semantic and conceptual equivalence has been achieved. However, the DE version has clearly carried over the translational move ‘everywhere in the Union’ from a similar text segment from stages A and B, as shown in an earlier subsection (6.2.5)¹⁶² of this Access to Justice analysis.¹⁶³ It is then perhaps a key finding of this analysis that we are able to demonstrate the following: hybridity is not only a drafting and translational feature across languages within *one* single document (*intra*-textual hybridity) but can also apply across texts. This is where one language version ‘recycles’ a (partial) text segment causing hybrid phenomena within a further document (*inter*-textual hybridity).

¹⁶² Subsection 6.2.5 ‘Where and how should citizens access justice?’ (Chapter section 6.2 ‘The Political Priority of Justice’) also contains the segment in DE ‘*überall in der Union*’ and it is feasible that a Translation Memory (TM) tool could have suggested this same segment as similar to a later segment in the text. Even though the parallel segments in EN, FR and NL were not semantic or conceptual equivalents in this case, the DE segment may still have been accepted by the translator.

¹⁶³ The fact that the DE version deviates to such an extent semantically compared to the homogeneity over the three other versions in EN, FR and NL suggests that there may be a wider issue concerning the cross-lingual/multilingual coherence of the texts over the several stages. Again, this may be related to the practical processing of ‘translated’/drafted texts within the EU, such as the use of Translation Memories (TMs) or other machine-assisted translation tools (i.e. term banks). However, this thesis cannot attempt to tease out the complexities of adding this dimension to the analysis process but will merely point to it as a possible additional reason for semantic and conceptual deviations that occur.

6.5 Global Justice: Rights of Third-country Migrants

Intra- and Inter-textual Hybridity at the Multilingual Interface of Discourse¹⁶⁴

The final section of this analysis chapter dealing with the main theme of Citizenship and Justice explores the issue of global justice and how the rights of legal immigrants should be made comparable to those of European citizens. As the three segments from stages A, B and C of this chain of discourse are highly mutually comparable, they will be analysed together under the subheading of ‘Intra- and Inter-textual Hybridity’. As explained at the end of the last analysis section (6.4), *intra-textual* hybridity refers to hybrid features within one single document and *inter-textual* hybridity refers to hybrid features occurring across one or more discursively linked documents. The following table shows all three stages (A-C) of one discourse chain (rights for legal immigrants comparable to that of European citizens) in all four language versions (EN, FR, DE and NL).

The Hybrid Multilingual Template

Example 4 - Global Justice: Rights of Third-country Migrants

STAGE A	STAGE B	STAGE C
<p>A proactive policy based on a European status for <u>legal immigrants</u></p> <p>To do this an Immigration Code should be adopted to ensure a uniform <u>level of rights for legal immigrants comparable with</u> that of COMMUNITY CITIZENS.¹⁶⁵</p>	<p>Proactive policies for <u>migrants</u> and their rights</p> <p>A more vigorous integration policy should aim at granting them <u>rights and obligations comparable to</u> those of CITIZENS OF THE UNION.</p>	<p>Putting solidarity and responsibility at the heart of our response</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The EU must strive for a uniform <u>level of rights and obligations for legal immigrants comparable with</u> that of EUROPEAN CITIZENS.</p>

¹⁶⁴ As this title reflects, the purpose of the last section in this final analysis chapter is to demonstrate the fully-formed CDA model for exploring hybrid phenomena at the multilingual interface of discourse from a simultaneous two-dimensional perspective: (1) the *intra-textual* - cross-linguistic and textual features within one stage of the discourse (A, B or C); and (2) the *inter-textual* - cross-linguistic and textual features across two or more stages of the discourse chain (A to C).

¹⁶⁵ As the start of this segment suggests, there is a piece of discourse (omitted from the table here) that follows immediately after the title ‘A proactive policy based on a European status for legal

<p><i>Une politique volontariste, basée sur un statut européen pour les <u>immigres legaux</u></i></p> <p><i>Un Code de l'immigration devrait être adopté à cette fin assurant aux <u>immigres legaux</u> un <u>niveau de droit uniforme et comparable à celui des CITOYENS COMMUNAUTAIRES.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>A proactive policy, based on a European status for <u>legal immigrants</u></p> <p>An Immigration Code should be adopted to this end ensuring <u>legal immigrants</u> a uniform level of <u>rights comparable to that of COMMUNITY CITIZENS.</u></p>	<p><i>Des mesures proactives en faveur des <u>migrants</u> et de leurs droits</i></p> <p><i>Une politique d'intégration plus énergique devrait viser à accorder à ces personnes des <u>droits et obligations comparables à ceux des CITOYENS DE L'UNION.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Proactive measures in support of <u>migrants</u> and their rights</p> <p>A more vigorous policy of integration should aim at granting these persons <u>rights and obligations comparable to those of CITIZENS OF THE UNION.</u></p>	<p><i>Centrer notre action sur la solidarité et la responsabilité</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>L'UE doit s'efforcer d'atteindre un <u>niveau uniforme de droits et d'obligations pour les immigrants legaux, comparable à celui dont jouissent les CITOYENS EUROPEENS</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Centering our action on solidarity and responsibility</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The EU must endeavour/strive to attain a uniform <u>level of rights and obligations for legal immigrants comparable to that enjoyed by EUROPEAN CITIZENS.</u></p>
<p><i>Eine proaktive Politik auf der Grundlage einer europäischen Rechtsstellung für <u>legale Einwanderer</u></i></p> <p><i>Zu diesem Zweck sollte ein Einwanderungskodex beschlossen werden, der den <u>legalen Einwanderern</u> einen einheitlichen <u>Rechtsstatus, vergleichbar dem der GEMEINSCHAFTSBÜRGER, garantiert.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>A proactive policy on the basis of a European legal status for <u>legal immigrants</u></p> <p>To this end an Immigration Code should be</p>	<p><i>Eine proaktive Politik für <u>Zuwanderer</u> und ihre Rechte</i></p> <p><i>Eine energischere Integrationspolitik sollte darauf ausgerichtet sein, ihnen <u>vergleichbare Rechte und Pflichten wie UNIONSBÜRGERN</u> zuzuerkennen.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>A proactive policy for <u>(im)migrants</u> and their rights</p> <p>A more vigorous integration policy should be aimed at granting them <u>comparable</u></p>	<p><i>Solidarität und Verantwortung als Richtschnur unseres Handelns</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Ziel der EU muss ein einheitlicher <u>Sockel an Rechten und Pflichten für legale Migranten sein, der denen EUROPÄISCHER BÜRGER vergleichbar ist.</u></i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Solidarity and responsibility as a guideline of our action</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The aim of the EU must be a uniform</p>

immigrants', and thus precedes: 'To do this an Immigration Code ...'. In the interests of coherence and for the reader's information, the content of this text is as follows: 'To maximise the positive effects of legal immigration for the benefit of all - the countries of origin and destination, host societies and immigrants - a clear, transparent and equitable approach that respects human beings is required.' A parallel text then naturally also appears in the other languages of FR, DE and NL, although these will not be given here.

<p>concluded/determined, which guarantees <u>legal immigrants</u> a uniform <u>legal status, comparable to</u> that of the COMMUNITY CITIZEN.</p>	<p><u>rights and obligations to</u> UNION CITIZENS.</p>	<p><u>basis/foundation of rights and obligations for legal migrants, which is comparable to</u> that of EUROPEAN CITIZENS.</p>
<p><i>Een proactief beleid op basis van een Europese status voor <u>legale immigranten</u></i></p> <p><i>Daartoe moet een immigratiecode worden aangenomen die <u>legale Immigranten</u> een uniforme <u>rechtsstatus</u> verleent die <u>vergelijkbaar is met</u> die van EU-BURGERS .</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>A proactive policy on the basis of a European status for <u>legal immigrants</u></p> <p>To this end an Immigration Code must be adopted that provides <u>legal immigrants</u> with a uniform <u>legal status</u> that is <u>comparable with</u> that of EU CITIZENS.</p>	<p><i>Een proactief beleid voor <u>migranten</u> en hun rechten</i></p> <p><i>Een krachtdadiger integratiebeleid moet erop gericht zijn hen <u>rechten en plichten</u> te geven die <u>vergelijkbaar zijn met</u> die van de BURGERS VAN DE UNIE.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>A proactive policy for <u>migrants</u> and their rights</p> <p>A more vigorous/robust/forceful integration policy must be aimed at giving them <u>rights and obligations</u> that are <u>comparable with</u> those of the CITIZENS OF THE UNION.</p>	<p><i>Solidariteit en verantwoordelijkheid als de kern van onze reactie</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>De EU moet voor <u>legale immigranten</u> <u>rechten en plichten</u> nastreven <u>die van een vergelijkbaar niveau zijn als</u> die van EUROPESE BURGERS.</i></p> <p>Back translation:</p> <p>Solidarity and responsibility as the core of our reaction/response</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>The EU must strive for <u>rights and obligations</u> for <u>legal immigrants</u> that are <u>of a comparable level to</u> those of EUROPEAN CITIZENS.</p>

6.5.1 The Representation of Legal Immigration

At stage A (Commission proposal), the title of all language versions carries the semantic equivalents of ‘legal immigrants’ (DE – *legale Einwanderer*) who are to be granted rights via an Immigration Code. The same is true of the body of the text segment. Therefore, at this stage there is no evidence of intra-textual hybridity. However, in the following document (stage B – Council adopted Programme), the discourse world has shifted and no longer describes those to be offered rights as ‘legal immigrants’ but as ‘migrants’. This automatically changes the spatial conceptualization of these persons as, in the first instance (stage A), their status as those outside the EU is emphasized; they are granted rights but only by virtue of being legally allowed into the EU from the starting point of being outside. In the

second instance (stage B), they are described as those who exist within the EU and are moving around this space in which they are enclosed (they are thus migrating rather than immigrating). Moreover, according to the OED, the most salient difference in meaning between a migrant and an immigrant is that a migrant is said to be motivated to move to another country or town especially for the purposes of (finding) employment. Although the definition of a migrant is also indicated as interchangeable with ‘immigrant’, the movements of an immigrant are not particularly associated with the motivation to (find) work.¹⁶⁶ Any linguistic/translational decisions to describe persons entering or seeking to enter the EU as either migrants or immigrants could therefore be significant in shaping the nature of political narratives.

At stage B, all language versions comply semantically with the generic lexical choice of ‘migrants’ in the title to this segment, with one exception. The DE version uses a lexical choice of ‘*Zuwanderer*’, which, depending on context, may be translated either as ‘migrants’ *or* ‘immigrants’. The spatial conceptualization achieved by the other versions of ‘migrants’ - those who are no longer being described as ‘immigrants’ (i.e. outsiders who are allowed ‘inside’ due to the legality of their status) - is therefore not reproduced in the DE version. Depending on the interpretation of a close reading of ‘*Zuwanderer*’, these persons could be viewed as either immigrants *or* migrants; intra-textual hybridity thus occurs whereby one language version has chosen a varying lexical representation which is not specifically based on any one of the other versions as a source. The lexical choice ‘*Migranten*’ is not ruled out in DE in this instance and it could therefore be concluded that ‘*Zuwanderer*’ was the preferred linguistic and conceptual representation for this text segment. As an addendum to this, ‘*Zuwanderer*’ collocates strongly with ‘illegal’, which also increases its role in the conceptual shift from ‘migrant’, a term not generally associated with illegality as is often the case of ‘immigrant’. We may then reasonably conclude that the reading of

¹⁶⁶ The free online OED gives the following definition for a ‘migrant’: ‘A person who moves permanently to live in a new country, town, etc., esp. to look for work, or to take up a post, etc.; an immigrant.’

Accessed on 25/06/13 at: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/118321?redirectedFrom=migrant#eid>

However, the following – not completely reciprocal - definition is given for an ‘immigrant’: ‘One who or that which immigrates; a person who migrates into a country as a settler.’

Accessed on 25/06/13 at: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/91896?redirectedFrom=immigrant&>

the DE ‘*Zuwanderer*’ - although ambivalent - is more heavily weighted towards the interpretation ‘immigrant’ than ‘migrant’.

A further development occurs in the representation of persons described as ‘legal immigrants’ at stage A and as ‘migrants’ by three of the four languages at stage B. Now at stage C, the majority choice of the text segment returns to referring to these persons as ‘legal immigrants’. However, once again, the DE version deviates lexically and conceptually. Its choice is in fact made up of two lexical elements: one that was employed in all languages at stage A (legal); and another used by all language versions but its own at stage B (migrants/*Migranten*).¹⁶⁷ What has occurred is the hybrid transfer of text elements *inter-textually* (between documents); this appears to have caused, in the present document (stage C), not only conceptual non-equivalence (i.e. the difference between migrants and *Zuwanderer* argued earlier) but also semantic non-equivalence. The other language versions in this segment all refer to the semantic and lexical equivalents of ‘legal immigrants’; as we noted earlier, these equivalents foreground the otherness and exclusion of those ‘outside’, mitigated only by the legality of their status. Here the DE version represents these same persons as ‘*legale Migranten*’ (legal migrants), which infers that they are seen as ‘within’ rather than ‘outside’ the conceptual space of the EU; in addition, qualifying migrants as ‘legal’ is not normally necessary as these are generally workers employed *legally* in a country or state of which they are not a national.

¹⁶⁷ Search results on the *IATE (Interactive Terminology for Europe)* website under headings relating to EU migration issues suggest differences between the DE terms ‘*Einwanderer*’ (stage A), ‘*Migrant*’ (stage C) and ‘*Immigrant*’ (not used here but also possible) as follows: *Einwanderer* equates to the notions of ‘immigrant’ in EN, FR and NL and collocates typically with adjectives such as illegal, irregular and clandestine. In contrast, *Migrant* equates to the term ‘migrant’ in the other three languages; while this can in principle also collocate with adjectives such as irregular and illegal, irregular is preferred or more usual. *Immigrant* in DE equates to both *Einwanderer* and *Zuwanderer*, which means that all of these three terms can equate, in various circumstances, to ‘immigrant’ in EN, FR and NL. The DE language thus varies its terminology for denoting ‘immigrant’, whereas this is not the case in the other languages analysed here. It was noted previously that immigrants are associated with being excluded as they come from outside the EU free movement area; on the other hand, migrants are associated with inclusion as they are exercising their right as European citizens to free movement within the EU. The difference in terminology between immigrant and migrant is thus extremely salient to any discussion of the inclusion/exclusion polarity at the multilingual interface of discourse.

< <http://iate.europa.eu/SearchByQuery.do> > [Accessed 6 March 2014]

6.5.2 Levels of Rights

All three stages of this chain of discourse refer to establishing a uniform structure of rights for legal immigrants/migrants. However, analysing over the three documents, some lexical, semantic and conceptual changes occur which can be described as both intra- and inter-textually hybrid. Taking firstly stage A, there is a clear two-way division between the representation of this discourse element over the four language versions. The EN and FR both denote this using lexical choices equating to ‘uniform level of rights’, whereas the DE and NL versions do not concur with this and employ an expression that is the equivalent to ‘uniform legal status’ (DE – ‘*einen einheitlichen Rechtsstatus*’; and NL – ‘*een uniforme rechtsstatus*’). It appears here that: (1) neither the DE nor the NL version has used the EN or FR version as a source text for translation; (2) the DE version was possibly involved in the drafting process and the NL text may have been influenced as a result (by using DE as a source text, for example). Therefore, inter-textual hybridity has caused a lexical and semantic incongruence between the EN and FR versions, on the one hand, and the DE and NL versions, on the other. In the context of conceptualization, this difference in drafting or ‘translation’ is also salient, for the following reason. Defining a uniformity of rights as a ‘level’ (EN and FR) is a generic description which does not carry the specificity of the term ‘status’; thus, the latter term could also imply a more legally specific connotation for the provision of rights.

At stage B, the discourse has shifted from describing the provision of ‘rights’ for migrants to the provision of ‘rights and obligations’ and there is complete equivalence over language versions as regards this lexical and semantic change. In this respect, there is then no evidence of intra-textual hybridity. It is only when the discourse chain reaches stage C (Commission proposal for an Action Plan) that both intra- and inter-textual hybridity are clearly evident. Across the board in all languages the discursive shift to referring to ‘rights and obligations’ as opposed to only ‘rights’ is maintained. However, there are three instances of discrepancies in equivalence concerning the manner in which the notion of ‘level’ of ‘rights and obligations’ is reproduced. Firstly, the EN and FR versions maintain the phrase ‘uniform level of rights (and obligations)’, which is a hybrid discursive construct made up of their

linguistic content at stages A and B. In the DE version, however, ‘level’ now becomes ‘*Sockel*’ (basis, foundation), which implies a non-quantifiable amount of rights and obligations as opposed to the measurability suggested by the lexical choice of ‘level’. This is then an instance of intra-textual hybridity as it cannot be traced back to a lexical element found in an earlier version (i.e stage A or B) of this discourse chain. Finally, in the NL version, a further lexical shift has taken place in that rights and obligations are no longer described as being of a ‘uniform level’ but of a ‘comparable level’ (to those of European citizens): ‘*van een vergelijkbaar niveau ... als die van Europese burgers*’. The translational move here is very significant for the discourse content and the conceptualization of the discourse ‘scene’. This is because there is a considerable difference between describing something as being: either (1) at a uniform level comparable to something else; or (2) at a comparable level to something else. In (1) it is the level that is defined as ‘uniform’ and this level (which is not quantified) is then in some way comparable (although not measurably so) to something else. In (2) the level itself becomes comparable to something else and must therefore be both quantifiable and measurable in order to make this comparison possible. In this context, what the level is being compared to is the rights and obligations of European citizens; therefore, (2) - which is the scenario in the NL version - suggests that comparison between the rights and obligations of legal immigrants, on the one hand, and European citizens, on the other, is quantifiable and measurable. This is not the case in any of the other language versions, which merely suggest a uniform level that is comparable *in some unspecified way*. This latter example therefore constitutes an instance of inter-textual hybridity as the construal mechanism in the NL version is made up of linguistic elements that can be located in earlier versions (stages A and B - level - uniformity - comparability) of the segment. What produces inter-textual hybridity in particular is the ‘recycling’ of discourse elements in a different configuration at a new stage of the discourse chain (in this case C) - i.e. ‘level’ becomes ‘comparable’ rather than ‘uniform’; this then also leads to intra-textual hybridity and non-equivalence (in this case, lexical, semantic *and* conceptual) cross-lingually at the new discourse stage (C).

6.5.3 Comparability of Rights

Although the notion of comparability has been partially dealt with in the previous section, this section will explore specifically whose rights (and obligations) those of illegal immigrants/migrants are to be made comparable to. This concerns primarily the way in which EU citizens are linguistically represented in this comparison both intra-textually (within one discourse stage) and inter-textually (across the three discourse stages).

At stage A, it is stated in three language versions (EN, FR and DE) that an Immigration Code should provide legal immigrants with rights that are comparable to those of ‘Community citizens’ (FR: *citoyens communautaires*; DE *Gemeinschaftsbürger*). Only in the NL version are these citizens referred to as ‘EU citizens’ (*EU-burgers*). From a conceptual perspective, this difference is significant as the definition of citizens as ‘community’ or ‘EU’ could have legal implications. This is because the rules and regulations concerning the European *Community* apply largely to economic cooperation only prior to the Single European Act, which codified European political cooperation and preceded the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy of 1992. Even if this legal significance is not enforceable and is merely symbolic in language, it still constitutes a difference in conceptualization, whereby political cooperation is only really inferred by the use of ‘EU’ citizen.

At stage B, once again, there is lexical, semantic and conceptual equivalence as all languages refer to the rights and obligations of migrants being comparable to those of ‘citizens of the Union/Union citizens’. Thus, the conceptual discrepancy between ‘Community citizens’ and ‘EU citizens’ has been homogenized to a uniform representation of European citizenship (those within the EU). At stage C, again, certain elements of hybridity are present, although this is not associated with the way in which citizens themselves are referred to; this is now also homogeneous as ‘European citizens’ in all language versions. The most significant shifts occur in the way in which the comparability to the rights and obligations of these European citizens is referred to. The FR version deviates from the EN and DE versions, which merely state that (the level/basis of) rights and obligations should be comparable with

those of European citizens. In FR the phrase used is ‘comparable to that enjoyed by European citizens’ (*comparable à celui dont jouissent les citoyens européens*). In terms of mental space theory, the expression ‘enjoyed by’ could be viewed as a lexical space builder; stating that rights are not only owned but enjoyed by citizens further qualifies them in a way not present in other languages. Furthermore, the specificity of the qualification sets up a new *enjoyment* space relative to the discourse *base space* (Fauconnier 1997: 42); the *base space* contains the two common elements ‘rights and obligations’ and ‘European citizens’ (i.e. the generic space shared by all versions). The verb ‘enjoy’ adds the sense that EU citizens’ rights and obligations are experienced as positive (they can be enjoyed and not only owned); they are thus a privilege, a further semantic qualification not made explicit in the other language versions.

Consequently, there is a conceptual discrepancy between the FR version and the other versions; however, this is only a case of intra-textual hybridity as the lexical expression ‘enjoyed by’ cannot be traced back to the earlier stages (A and B) of this discourse segment. Therefore, in this respect, the EN and FR versions do not concur entirely and it would appear that the DE version concurs most closely with the EN text. The phrase in the NL version relating to the conceptualization of comparability in levels of rights between legal immigrants and European citizens has been dealt with in depth in the previous subsection 6.5.2 - Levels of Rights. It was clear from the discussion that there was a degree of both intra- and inter-textual hybridity in the composition of this clause in the NL discourse segment.

6.6 Conclusion

The introduction to this chapter explained that the phenomenon of hybridity is a significant feature of the EU’s institutional multilingual text production process; moreover, its presence within this process means that translation equivalence cannot be used to successfully assess the behaviour of individual language versions. In addition, direct correspondence between languages is not always possible as no one language version is designated as either a source or a target text for any other.

Therefore, discourse narratives within each language should be assessed based on criteria that specifically take into account the behaviour of language versions in parallel text segments under the conditions of two types of hybridity. These are: (1) *intra-textual hybridity* (lexical, semantic and/or conceptual non-equivalences within one cross-lingual discourse stage - or document - of an institutional chain); and (2) *inter-textual hybridity* (lexical, semantic and/or conceptual non-equivalences across more than one cross-lingual discourse stage).

As a result of the phenomenon of hybridity, it is not clear what the relationship between equivalence, multiple authenticity and conceptual representation is or should be within the EU's parallel language versions. The four sections of data analysis in this chapter attempted to explore this relationship, using the final data set of the corpus relating to Citizenship and Justice. The analysis was set out thematically in four main sections: The Political Priority of Justice; Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU; Access to Justice; and Global Justice: Rights of Third-country Migrants. Each of these main themes formed a separate discourse chain and was analysed according to successive tabulations of cross-lingual data segments corresponding to discourse stages A to C for each chain. The discussion of linguistic and translational hybridity within each main analysis section was organized into subthemes applying to either only one or more of the linked discourse stages.

In the first analysis section, 'The Political Priority of Justice', lexical inferences of space and time were explored and a great number of instances of intra-textual hybridity were revealed; this demonstrated how conceptualization within individual language versions can be affected by concurrence or non-concurrence with (various configurations of) other language versions.

It was also possible, based on detailed analyses of lexicalization and semantic equivalences and variances, to speculate as to which language versions may have been used as source texts for translation into others and which languages may have been (at least partially) concurrently trans-drafted. The assumption for this had been that EN and FR are largely concurrent and that the other two languages (DE and NL) often base their linguistic representations on either one (or a hybrid mixture of both) of these languages. While this was frequently the case, the results of the analysis

showed that the construal mechanisms occurring within the process of hybridity were more intricate, with EN and FR not showing significant concurrences in many instances. Moreover, at times the other two languages (DE and NL) also produced individual construals that appeared independent of the other languages as they could not be traced to any of the remaining three parallel versions. In a sense, this could be seen as certain versions of text segments becoming hybrid within themselves; i.e. an individual clause is the result of a complex process of inter-related meaning construction which cannot be directly linked to any one clear process of language-to-language meaning transfer.

The second analysis section, ‘Mutual Trust and Public Confidence in the EU’, explored semantic differences between confidence and trust, and notions of the citizen and public confidence in the EU; within this, the hybrid conceptualization of managing confidence was discussed as a function of time frames constructed in the various language versions. Once again, hybridity appeared to have a significant effect on the nature of conceptualization and cross-lingual subjectivity in the discourse narrative. This section sought to discuss the subthemes more specifically across discourse stages A and B in order to begin to trace hybrid effects back to earlier stages in the discourse; in this context, language versions may ‘recycle’ certain expressions or clauses and reproduce them at a later stage, creating incongruities in conceptualization and lexical and semantic non-equivalences.

The section ‘Access to Justice’ was the third main theme, and this built on the stage-by-stage approach to the cross-lingual analysis; in this section, the first Hybrid Multilingual Template was presented for following a main discourse theme through the three hybrid stages (A to C) of the linked institutional relationship between the Commission and the Council. The subthemes discussed within each stage included the conceptualization of asserting rights and the empowerment of citizens. In order to do this, certain questions were asked such as: Who is entitled to rights and where and how are they entitled? This analysis section concluded that there was a great deal of evidence in the discourse segments that both intra- and inter-textual hybridity: (1) played a significant role in the lexicalization and semantic content of individual language versions; and (2) contributed to discrepancies in conceptualizations cross-lingually.

The fourth and final analysis section, ‘Global Justice: Rights of Third-country Migrants’, continued on the basis of the linked institutional discourse chain from stages A to C and concentrated more fully on the interaction between the two types of hybridity (intra- and inter-textual) at the multilingual interface of discourse. A second Hybrid Multilingual Template was produced in the form of a linked discourse chain from stages A to C and the analysis explored the evidence for the two types of hybridity at each stage separately. This was carried out also according to subthemes, allowing cross-lingual conceptual equivalences among certain discourse elements to be assessed in detail. These subthemes were: the representation of legal immigration; levels of rights; and comparability of rights. The analysis findings showed even more clearly that the phenomena of both intra- and inter-textual hybridity are: (1) a function of the EU’s institutional text production process; and (2) a significant factor in how linguistic and translational concurrences and non-concurrences are construed among various language combinations. Moreover, this was evident in both single parallel language documents (stages) and across more than one document (stage) in a linked chain of institutional discourse.

6.6.1 General Directions of the Intra- and Inter-textual Analysis

This final analysis chapter has thus shown that within the EU’s multilingual parallel discourses there is a clear interaction between what is happening at the micro level and the macro level of discourse. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, the European Union’s policy on multilingualism is dictated by the requirement of *multiple authenticity*, which is seen as the vehicle by which linguistic democracy should be achieved. Within this Utopian view of creating all languages equal, the process by which multiple authenticity is sought (hybrid trans-drafting and translation based on no fixed source or target texts) at times appears to paradoxically also create precisely that which it seeks to avoid (cross-lingual incongruence and inequality of conceptualization). The two earlier analysis chapters (4 and 5) demonstrated initially how this took place within one stage or document of the discourse chain; Chapter 4 described and illustrated intra-textual hybridity, which suggested that ideological viewpoints of either Commission (supranational) or Council (intergovernmental) were

not necessarily stable - in some key discursive areas semantic-pragmatic tension was produced across different parallel versions of the same stage (supranational or intergovernmental) in the chain. This means that recipients and users of the documents (whether these be institutional discourse participants themselves or European citizens) would be able to interpret texts differently depending on the language they happened to access. This could potentially disadvantage some and promote the interests of others.

This latter idea of different languages becoming the vehicle by which certain ideas or viewpoints could be promoted to the detriment of another or others was taken up more fully in Chapter 5; this chapter concentrated on exploring the nature of ideological instability within important elements of policy on European internal and external security, the perception of threat and exclusion/inclusion polarities. It showed how some language versions could be accentuating the nature of threat more than others, suggesting greater discrepancies between the notions of being within or outside Europe or being classed as non-EU or non-European as opposed to being a European citizen. Within the scope of this research there is of course no way of identifying whether such discrepancies in the micro text of different language versions were produced either deliberately or inadvertently (as a result of hybrid trans-drafting and translational procedures). However, the fact remains that such important discrepancies could be clearly identified and as such affected the macro text interpretation of the discourse in different languages.

6.6.2 General Directions for Macro Analysis

In this final analysis chapter 6, we explored the relationship between micro and macro multilingual text production further based on excerpts from the overall theme of justice. We tried to track in more detail how these cross-lingual discrepancies were possibly being transferred from the linguistic micro text of different parallel languages to the ideological macro text of Commission or Council institutional voices. We saw again that within key discourse themes, such as access to justice, trust and confidence in the EU and global justice relating to the rights of third-country

migrants, certain key elements had been conceptualized differently and could therefore have alternative interpretations depending on the language version consulted. However, in this chapter we also explored how - possibly through hybrid cross-lingual contamination during the trans-drafting and/or translational process - one ideological institutional voice (Commission or Council) could be transferred (appropriately/intentionally or perhaps inadvertently) between different discourse stages in the chain. This could mean for example that the conceptual interpretation of a worker from outside the EU as either a 'migrant', a 'legal migrant' or an 'immigrant' could be transferred - via one language version to another - from one institutional voice to another. Even if this were not a deliberate 'drafting' choice in a certain language or languages, it is difficult to believe that any of the alternative interpretations of 'migrant', 'legal migrant' or 'immigrant' would be just as appropriate in discourses on global justice to either Commission or Council discourses. This is because, were this the case, the institutional voices of both Commission and Council would be unstable; that is to say, one may expect an interpretation of 'migrant' on the part of the Commission, as its supranational mandate is to project the values of free movement of persons within the EU; within such an interpretation, all those seeking work from within the Union are EU migrants (i.e., free to move across Europe) and can never be classed as 'immigrants', legal or otherwise. On the other hand, and particularly in view of the upsurge in right-wing (anti-immigration) political allegiances and rhetoric within a number of European countries in recent years (notably the Netherlands and France), one could envisage an interpretation of 'immigrant' or 'legal migrant' on the part of a Council discourse. This is because the Council is an intergovernmental body and therefore supports the interests of the separate Member States as a whole. It could then possibly have been influenced by a drafting decision in a particular language in support of views projected by its own Member State interests or prejudices; a viewpoint which could increase the belief of the reader in threat or danger from outside the EU could prevail in a certain language; if this interpretation somehow became part of the trans-drafted material to be used to generate other language versions - and this not only travelled via language version (i.e. perhaps from DE to NL or from EN to FR and DE, and then to NL via translational shifts based on parts of both FR and DE, or indeed EN, FR *and* DE) but also to a new alternative institutional text (or voice) in the chain of discourse (i.e., Council to Commission); this could then produce inadvertent discrepancies in

views - and these views may be partly or wholly inappropriate to the particular institutional discourse (Commission or Council) in which they have then become embedded.

Taking again the examples of ‘migrant’, ‘legal migrant’ and ‘immigrant’, we argued in this last analysis chapter that all three of these conceptualizations have distinct connotations: i.e. ‘migrant’ is a neutral statement about a person who has come from another territorial jurisdiction to look for work; the addition of the adjectival qualifier ‘legal’ suggests that illegality could also be a possibility; and an ‘immigrant’ is seen as having fewer rights to not only look for work but also to reside, as an ‘immigrant’ is typically collocated with ‘illegal’ in many popular politically right-wing viewpoints. One interpretation may have originated in a Commission voice at stage A (supranational – promoting the rights of European citizens but also championing the human rights of asylum seekers and those whom the EU may seek to protect) in one language; it may then move through a Council voice at stage B (intergovernmental - possibly maintaining a more protective stance towards those within their own Member State who feel threatened by the whole issue of immigration) via another language; and it could then return to a Commission voice at stage C (supranational). In this twofold process, intra- and inter-textual hybridity occurs seemingly randomly; as a consequence, institutional ideological voices may oscillate in their translational interpretations based partially on different language versions that have appeared at an earlier discourse stage. This suggests that the political impact of the EU’s multilingual text production process could be considerable where particularly emotive themes are evoked. Such themes have been highlighted specifically in this chapter (to reiterate - trust and confidence in the EU, access to rights, rights of migrants) and in the previous Chapter 5 (internal and external EU security, threat and danger from outside).

As we have highlighted in the previous section, Chapter 6 attempts to analyse for both intra- and inter-textual hybridity at the same time. That is to say, it attempts to forge a first approach to comparing what is going on discursively in a set of particular languages *simultaneously* at a particular discourse stage. Chapter 6 does point intermittently to differences in possible macro interpretations of the discourse at different stages of the chain (Commission supranational stage A, Council

intergovernmental stage B and Commission supranational stage C); it also commentates on the implications that this incongruity may have for instability in the two institutional voices of Commission and Council. However, one of the main limitations of the analysis in Chapter 6 is that it does not sufficiently, consistently or systematically marry up language shifts to which specific languages (EN, FR, DE or NL), at which specific stages in the chain and in or between which institutions (Commission or Council).

Therefore, the only way to make the impact of this research more relevant politically would be to modify and build on the Bespoke Tool for Multilingual Discourse Analysis developed in this thesis so that the behaviour of micro cross-lingual shifts could be made systematically visible between institutions and across discourses. In this way, one could then increase the viability of the multilingual tool as a CDA approach, as it would then be capable of assessing imbalances of power between languages (the intra-textual), institutions (Commission and Council) and possibly Member States and their relative influence in the institutional and political drafting procedure as it passes through the chain of discourse (the inter-textual).

CONCLUSION

Chapter 7

‘Essentially, all models are wrong, but some are useful.’

(Box and Draper 1987: 424)

The purpose of this conclusion is to sum up what has been achieved in the three successive data analysis chapters forming the body of this thesis; these three chapters have constituted a detailed multilingual case-study approach to analysing an EU narrative on Freedom, Security and Justice serving the citizen with the aim of answering the central research question below:

What is the relationship between the EU’s multilingual text production process and the conceptual representation of institutional voice(s) across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative?

In order to answer this question, the following three secondary research questions will be addressed.

- (1) What role does linguistic and translational hybridity play in the relationship between the EU’s multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence?
- (2) What role does the institutional re-contextualization of the same discourse narrative between the Commission and the Council play in the relationship between hybridity and conceptual equivalence?
- (3) And how do both (1) and (2) affect the conceptualization of key aspects of the discourse narrative across language versions?

Each of these questions will be discussed in terms of the three analysis chapters to which they respectively relate.

7.1 Linguistic and Translational Hybridity and Conceptual Equivalence: STEPS 1 and 2 of the CDA Framework

In the first analysis chapter (Citizenship and Freedom), we saw that it was possible to explore the way in which the parallel language versions of EN, FR, DE and NL either produced linguistic and translational equivalences or non-equivalences within the specific conceptual categories of space, time and modality based on Chilton's 2004 model of Discourse Space Theory (DST). The cross-lingual analysis compared semantic changes across versions within single stages of a number of themed discourse chains. Where semantic changes were found to have occurred, these were highlighted and explored in terms of their pragmatic effect on the discourse narrative among any number of language combinations. Non-equivalence was termed *semantic-pragmatic tension* because it had a context-related influence on one or more language versions compared to others. However, it was also important to note that, despite the great number of instances of tension, there were also very many instances of *semantic-pragmatic harmony*, where any number of different language combinations did in fact concur in many respects. Steps 1 and 2 of the bespoke CDA framework were used to explore these relationships.

Step 1 first established a monolingual EN template which set out the storyboard of the discourse content against which the semantic and/or pragmatic interpretations of this content could be compared. Step 2 of the bespoke framework then examined the multilingual interface of the discourse in more detail according to a number of key themes for each discourse chain, examining stages A, B and C separately for what was termed *intra-textual hybridity*. This was where hybrid linguistic and translational effects across parallel language versions were identified within one stage (or document) *only* of a discourse chain. There were a great many of these hybrid effects, which showed that chains of discourse at the multilingual interface were very often unstable in conceptual meaning cross-lingually. This is very significant, given the

EU's policy on the multiple authenticity of its parallel language documents. Clearly, if there are salient conceptual differences which can ultimately lead to alternative readings or subjective interpretations of policy documentation, it is an issue of great importance. This could mean that a document that is accessed in several different language versions could be given different interpretations by different language users. Such varying interpretations could then go on to influence further policy document generation in one or any number of other language versions of similar documentation.

While the effects of *intra*-textual hybridity are complex and cannot be categorized according to set behaviours within specific language versions, certain general features were identified. The EN language version, which was used as the discursive monolingual template for the analysis, did not always concur with the FR version. This had not been anticipated. While EN does dominate as an original drafting language, where FR is not the drafting language it is still often based strongly on EN as a source text for translation. On the whole, one would then expect more EN-FR concurrence than this analysis suggests. At times, there were considerable conceptual variances between the EN and FR text segments and there were also many instances where this changed the conceptual interpretation of a key discourse feature in important ways.

In addition, while the NL language is always translated *into* using the various source texts and translators available, at certain junctures this language also showed evidence of not being based on any one of the remaining three languages analysed; it in fact produced a significant number of independent conceptual construals that could not be traced back to a source. This was also the case at times in the DE version and, in some instances, conceptual equivalences between the language versions was significantly affected. At this point then, regardless of the EU's policy of multiple authenticity, it is clear that if no one language version may prevail as an 'original' - and at the same time language versions convey different conceptual meanings - there will inevitably be discrepancies in the interpretations of key policy documents. It is also likely that these will go largely undetected, as language users are not in the habit of comparing versions since they know that all texts are said to have equal (or multiple) authenticity and are expected to also have equally valid content; users will

thus consult the language version appropriate to them and make the assumption that it is an equivalent parallel of any other.

In conclusion, we can say that linguistic and translational hybridity is certainly a determinant of conceptual equivalence in EU multilingual text production. However, the nexus which is formed by the shifting semantic and pragmatic roles among parallel language combinations is complicated and opaque. In some instances, and in some language combinations, conceptual equivalence is achieved. Nevertheless, it is impossible to say whether this is always by design or at times the result of a serendipitous convergence between two or more languages that just happen to have produced a match - a set of haphazard hybrid translational moves can produce this effect at any given time.

7.2 Institutional Re-contextualization and the Relationship between Hybridity and Conceptual Equivalence: STEP 3

The second analysis chapter (Citizenship and Security) dispensed with looking at both instances of semantic-pragmatic harmony *and* tension in the narrative and focused on examining in greater detail instances of such tension or non-equivalence between languages. Step 3 of the CDA model thus focused on the discourse as a product not only of *multilingualism* but also of *institutionalism*. It examined the separate language chains of matched discourse segments in each language, comparing each chain with others in their entirety. This made it possible to explore how the discourse content and conceptual interpretations within this changed and were re-contextualized from the Commission at stage A, to the Council at stage B and back to the Commission at stage C.

The findings implied that any conceptual discrepancies that were already present within one single stage of a discourse could then be compounded by the development of the narrative from stage A to B or B to C, for example. Certain (hybrid) discourse content was taken over from one stage to another with slight linguistic or translational modifications which subtly influenced cross-lingual conceptual equivalences at the

multilingual interface; this also revealed how the institutions of the Commission and Council did not necessarily maintain stable ideological viewpoints (supranational and intergovernmental) within discourse stages. In other words, cross-lingual conceptual discrepancies already present could be compounded by discourse segments being partially taken over between discourse stages but not in a homogeneous manner across languages. For example, a discourse segment that was very similar between Commission stage A and Council stage B may be reused with slight differences; but these differences may not be the same in all language versions. As we have said, this then firstly affects the institutional ideological viewpoint in an incongruous manner across languages; however, in addition, it could then be explored how this incongruity in text segments of certain languages (the micro discourse) could affect interpretations of policy or produce subjective political attitudes (the macro discourse).

Thus, Step 3 of the CDA model – the Multilingual Institution – is able to analyse for another kind of hybridity: *inter*-textual hybridity, which means cross-lingual discrepancies in conceptual equivalence occurring between different stages of a discourse chain. This is also of particular relevance as a research tool as there is much evidence that translation memories have become almost intractable in their power to navigate translators towards certain ‘pre-packaged’ translational choices; trans-drafted EU documents in their multilingual forms can often be significantly influenced by memories storing past similar translated segments recycled from other documents, whether these be from Commission, Council or other EU institutional sources. Arturo Tosi speaks in this context of translators ‘operating under horrible time pressures’ making choices ‘at the click of a mouse’ that ‘become final solutions, once they are memorised by the workbenches’ (Tosi 2006: 16). He leaves us with the following thought:

‘All proposals for decisions, directives and regulations may be available on the Internet for everybody to read, judge and react to, but it is most unlikely that anyone will succeed in challenging the validation of the choices made by a translator’s terminal, once they are put in cyberspace to feed a memory for years to come.’

(Tosi 2006: 16)

7.3 Effects on the Conceptualization of Key Aspects of a Discourse Narrative across Language Versions: STEP 4

The final step of the bespoke CDA framework for analysing multilingual discourses (Step 4 – The Hybrid Multilingual Institution) combined, in the third analysis chapter (Citizenship and Justice), a discussion of both *intra*- and *inter*-textual hybridity; it followed the chain of discourse not as single language chains but as a multilingual language chain across the three stages. As a result, it was possible to isolate instances of cross-contamination not only between language versions but also between varying institutional construals of similar discourse segments (across stages A to C); again, the themes that were explored highlighted conceptual equivalences or non-equivalences in space, time and modality. Because discourse chains were analysed in all language versions simultaneously, it was possible to examine in detail how discourse segments may have been subject to cross-contamination from stage to stage, but invariably in ways that caused non-concurrences in conceptualization.

The relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence across parallel language versions in a specific discourse narrative (in this case that of citizenship) is a complex one. It operates on several dimensions, as the sections of this conclusion have already suggested. Firstly, there is the *monolingual* dimension, as any single language version is authentic in its own right and can thus convey valid stand-alone discourse content; in our analysis we used the monolingual EN template for this purpose as it is the dominant drafting language of the EU. Secondly, there is a *multilingual* dimension as, again, all language versions are multiply authentic, and therefore all languages meet as equal partners at the multilingual interface. Thirdly, the EU is not only multilingual but a *multilingual institution* and, fourthly, the nature of its discourse production makes it also a *hybrid multilingual institution*.

Traditional CDA models and translation equivalence theories both fall short of being able to unravel this complex and multi-layered relationship between the EU's multilingual text production process and conceptual equivalence for two reasons. Firstly, CDA models are designed to only analyse in monolingual scenarios; and

secondly, the single-source-to-single-target-text constructs of translation equivalence theories cannot take into account the hybrid nature of text production that the multilingual institutional setting produces. The unique contribution of the bespoke framework for multilingual CDA developed in this thesis can therefore perhaps come some way to problematizing the above statement by Arturo Tosi: no one is likely to successfully question the validity of choices made by translators within the myriad of multilingual versions of EU documentation currently in the public domain.

7.4 Critical Reflection on the Success and Limitations of the Research

As we have already indicated, the methodology applied and the CDA model developed in this case study successfully isolated, explored and discussed particular language behaviours of four separate languages (EN, FR, DE and NL) operative as parallel versions within the EU's multilingual text production process. It did this in four ways: it established a monolingual EN template version (Step 1 – Chapter 4) against which linguistic and translational phenomena in the other three languages were compared; this was done firstly on the vertical multilingual dimension, where all languages were analysed and cross-compared together within particular discourse segments (Step 2 – Chapter 4). Secondly, the notion of the horizontal institutional discourse chain (from Commission to Council to Commission) was introduced and then all the separate language chains were analysed consecutively, again based initially on the monolingual EN version of the chain (Step 3 – Chapter 5). Finally, in Step 4 (Chapter 6) the analysis moved to both the vertical multilingual *and* the horizontal institutional dimension in which the language chain was treated as a multilingual whole; here the discussion highlighted instances where the discourse developed in different ways in different languages, however not necessarily consistently or in parallel across either institutional stages or language versions. In Step 4 particular attention was also given to the incidence of hybridity and where this appeared to be influential either across institutional stages, language versions or both (either in parallel or precisely not in parallel).

The analysis was thus able to show that the EU's text production process is not simply a question of generating texts in relevant language versions: it is in fact complicated and opaque; it requires a multi-faceted methodological approach to tease out and make visible its different dimensions.

- it is *monolingual*: EN is usually the original drafting language and it is also in this language that most institutional and political redrafting takes place prior to any concrete language transfer procedures;
- it is *multilingual*: texts are then produced in all the other official languages – FR, DE and NL only analysed here – but this is not necessarily a process which produces cross-lingual conceptual equivalence (labelled here *semantic-pragmatic harmony*) and can produce many and varied instances of conceptual non-equivalence (labelled here *semantic-pragmatic tension*);
- it is *institutional*: segments of the discourse narrative – which may be conceptually equivalent or non-equivalent across languages - are modified and re-contextualized across Commission and Council stages of a discourse chain;
- and it is ultimately a *multilingual institutional discourse chain* producing either equivalence or non-equivalence across language versions due to the intricate interplay between mechanisms of both institutional and multilingual voice: these are respectively (1) possible supranational and intergovernmental agendas inherent within Commission and Council drafting procedures; and (2) in-house constraints and requirements incumbent on translators, as well as the effect of hybrid trans-drafting procedures (no fixed source or target language) applied according to the democratic notion of multiple authenticity.

The bespoke model for multilingual critical discourse analysis (CDA), which applied Chilton's conceptual categories of space, time and modality, was therefore successful: it produced a method for assessing the relationship between conceptual equivalence

and the EU's multilingual text production process as an institutional chain of discourse. Notwithstanding, there are a number of limitations to the research which will now be highlighted below.

The chain was constructed in three stages only (A, B and C) for the purposes of simplifying the analysis of the discursive interplay between the Commission and the Council. In reality there would be many intermittent stages, including, for example, European Parliament (EP) debating, voting and adoption procedures, lobbying activities and the involvement of EP, Commission and Council committees. There is then of course no way of knowing how these sub-stages may have influenced the final versions of the discourse segments that were analysed in this study, either in terms of parallel language version comparison and/or textual and discursive content.

Moreover, even though the three usual working languages of the Commission are English, French and German, the EP - as a democratically elected institution - uses all 24 official languages in the conduct of its affairs; in addition, intergovernmental meetings and committees of the Council can use any number or combination of these languages considered appropriate to its members at the time of negotiation and discussion.

In this respect, we should also bear in mind that the analysis did only encompass *four* languages; this is a very limited number given that the EU currently has a total of 24 official working languages. There could be influences of languages other than EN, FR, DE and NL; for instance, Spanish or Italian (or indeed any of the other 24 languages not included in this case study) could have acted as pivots in some translational scenarios between any of the four languages analysed here. Such considerations fall outside the scope of this analysis and could only really be taken into consideration in a very large-scale corpus-based study capable of addressing the volume of translational permutations that this would entail.

While Chilton's discourse space theory (DST) was used to successfully construct a bespoke multilingual model, it would also be naïve to ignore the potential pitfalls of using a monolingual model to analyse multilingual data. Firstly, much of the criticism of CDA methodologies as an approach has centred on the fact that it is essentially subjective. CDA is not normally a corpus-based approach and therefore

cannot rely on the evidence produced by statistical analysis of data showing that certain (cross-)linguistic phenomena occur in statistically significant volumes. As in this study, the amount of text analysed is small and the analysis detailed; it is then also certainly influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher's view of what the text signifies. If we consider that this is already the case in a monolingual scenario, one can only assume that when the discourse analysed is multilingual (four languages in this case) the criticism of subjective analysis must become far more salient.

Furthermore, in the analysis, and in particular in Chapter 5, where each parallel language chain was analysed and cross-compared consecutively, the role and influence of English as a monolingual template version cannot be ignored. However objective the researcher has tried to be in using a fixed set of conceptual categories to cross-compare language versions, this was invariably based on the EN version as a point of departure (i.e. the initial storyboarding of the discourse content was always in English). The analysis would undoubtedly have been influenced differently had the FR, DE or NL versions been taken as a point of departure for discourse chain comparison instead of the EN version.

Following on from this, in this study we have inevitably relied on back-translations into English of three other languages (apart from the English version itself) to cross-compare, explore and discuss a diverse array of linguistic features and phenomena which could impinge on the micro and macro interpretations of text segments. The back translations are then also subjective as they have been carried out and used in the analysis by the researcher; they are – like any translation – open to opinion and criticism as to their appropriateness and accuracy. Ironically then, the question of translational equivalence itself also forms part of the subjective nature of the research tools used for our object of analysis: conceptual equivalence in the discourse narrative of citizenship.

Secondly, a central argument for justifying the use of Chilton's DST as an appropriate methodology for exploring conceptual equivalence (as opposed to semantic equivalence, for example) has been that it is able to circumvent differences in language grammars across diverse language systems. This is because it analyses according to conceptual *categories* (space, time and modality) rather than the

language-specific lexico-syntactic *constructions* which convey these concepts of space, time and modality. The analysis is then able to largely (although not always - at times the subject of language grammars is problematized in footnoted commentary) disregard the way in which parallel versions construct space, time or modality in favour of the way in which their varied constructions frame the *construal* of conceptual scenarios. Accordingly, very different constructions in two or more different languages can be deemed equivalent if they exhibit features of equivalent conceptual construal.

However, as we have already indicated, it is not always possible to disregard the lexico-grammatical features of individual languages; differences or the interpretation of these differences may be contentious, debatable or simply ambivalent. This is perhaps particularly relevant across languages when discussing the implications of a shifting deictic centre or the inclusion/exclusion polarity relating to security or migration/immigration issues; this can affect the discursive position of the citizen or the speaker/drafter (in relation to the European Union or other important discourse elements) in one language version but not in another or others. However, as most discourse recipients/users would not consider the possible (conflicting) interpretations of text segments to such an analytic degree as our multilingual CDA model, they may also be resistant - or at least ambivalent - to suggestions of contentious cross-lingual comparisons. The multilingual CDA model could be further developed to take into account such issues, although again, for the purposes of simplifying the analysis here, this falls outside the remit of this thesis.

Finally, as we have continually mentioned throughout the thesis, the particular working methods of the EU's translation services (i.e. the institutionalized use of machine translation tools and house-style rules) cannot but contribute to the (hybrid) outcomes of text production in the various language versions. This was also discussed briefly in section 7.2 above on institutional re-contextualization and the relationship between hybridity and conceptual equivalence. This study has chosen to specifically leave these considerations outside the scope of the multilingual CDA model. While this was necessary, again to simplify the process of analysis and minimize the number of variables included in the translational phenomena explored, it is unrealistic to assume that these issues are not relevant to the CDA analysis as such. All CDA

models should ultimately be capable of including all aspects of discourse production (thus also machine translation and house-style stipulations) in order to arrive at a construct that reflects as much as possible the ideologies which drive the relationship between discourse production and power. In this case, we think specifically of one imposed translational norm: translation memories offer translators quick solutions in the form of pre-packaged re-cycled text segments which may well have benefited from more ‘human’ scrutiny, given the sensitive nature of some of the discourse elements involved (i.e. security and migration issues).

A further development of the CDA model would ideally also build into its analytical framework the translational norms of the EU’s multilingual text production machinery. These norms could also be problematized as an element of influence in the relationship of language and power within the hybrid text production process; it is in fact through the vehicle of these norms that the very ideology of multilingualism (albeit a noble democratic goal) can generate texts displaying at times seemingly arbitrary translational phenomena. This is a result of not only an enormously hybrid procedure (languages undergo a number of pivot stages via many other language versions) but also one which now designates normally English (sometimes French and very sporadically German) as the institutional and political drafting language; other less prominent languages (i.e. Dutch) cannot then fail to be marginalized and discriminated against in the process of language transfer which ensues.

7.5 Implications and Future Research Directions

Having addressed the success and limitations of the multilingual CDA model in the previous section, we now turn our attention to the practical implications of the findings for the various areas and disciplines that relate to this multidisciplinary research field.

EU documentation (in this study, from the Commission and the Council) is now produced and disseminated in 24 official working languages, having increased gradually over time from the original 6 Member States (France, Belgium, Germany,

Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands) and their 4 languages at the founding of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957. Successive enlargements have continued to compound the level of complexity involved in the production of EU documentation in all its multilingual parallel versions. The research findings in this thesis have also highlighted this level of complexity and the multilingual outputs this produces. From this, two important consequences have come to the fore. The first is that sensitive discursive issues such as security, migration and free movement may not receive the attention they deserve from a discourse analytic perspective. In some instances the findings of the analysis suggested that widely varying interpretations of the same parallel segments in different languages were possible. Bearing in mind that this research has only dealt with four out of a possible 24 languages, the complexity (and potential for error, mistranslation, cross-lingual contamination and arbitrary translation memory solutions) must surely increase exponentially on the full scale of all 24 language versions. While there will perhaps be those who believe that the advent of machine translation is a safeguard against many of the well-known translational ills (some of which are mentioned above), there is a need to look further than the process-based production of parallels, all trans-drafted as ‘originals’ (although this is officially refuted by the policy of ‘multiple authenticity’) mainly in English and then progressively transmuted into other language versions. While, in many instances, the analysis demonstrated adequate conceptual equivalents among two or three of the languages discussed, invariably – and often at key junctures in the discourse (i.e. security, migration, free movement) at least one or more languages did not concur conceptually; in addition, the conceptual message in several languages was not only unstable across languages within the context of one institution’s documentation (i.e. the Commission) but also across institutions (from Commission to Council and vice versa). One then wonders how the messages of supranationality and intergovernmentalism can be reliably preserved within the documentation of these two separate and ideologically distinct institutions.

Translation theories have come a long way since the first inroads into defining what equivalence is or should be. From semantic and linguistic equivalence to pragmatic and functional equivalence, successive theorists have attempted to hone the methods available for assessing in how far the salient message in one language is faithfully and reliably transferred to another. However, all of these theories are essentially two

dimensional – they deal with the transfer of one message from one source to one target language. International and global organizations such as the European Union do not fit into this pre-defined mould. Here the equivalence relationship is not binary but multi-faceted and multi-layered. It is not merely the transfer of language from one to another but the production of many parallels which is subject to the equivalence measure; within this, the development of that language transfer process as a discourse as it passes through the stages from its genesis to a fully-fledged multilingual narrative should also be problematized and scrutinized. As we have seen, this involves different discourse stages making up a chain of discourse. In a globalized world (dominated also by the production and re-contextualization of many languages over the Internet), it is no longer the binary source-target relationship which carries discourse narratives forward but the relationship of many languages to one another – and these languages meet (or should meet) simultaneously as equals at the multilingual interface of discourse.

It is difficult to imagine how theories within translation studies will be able to adapt to accommodate this multilingual relationship among languages unless translation equivalence models move from the two dimensional (one source to one target comparison) to the three dimensional level (comparison of multilingual versions simultaneously). Taking this further, a translation equivalence theory in the fourth dimension would encompass not only the language transfer process among many languages simultaneously but would also take into account the genesis and morphology of this process as it moves between mediums and channels of production in those many languages. It is in this area of study that we see there is certainly an even greater need to combine translation theories with discourse analytic theories as together they can bring to the table the elements now required to engage with the new dynamics of discourses in the emerging multilingual world: product and process on a multilingual *and* multi-medium scale.

Looking ahead to new avenues of research to which the multilingual CDA model developed in this thesis could be applied, a few concluding thoughts. Certainly the idea of the chain of discourse and its morphology through different institutions could lend itself to all manner of research into conceptual equivalences in multilingual settings. This could be applied not only to supranational public organizations such as

the European Union and the United Nations and their respective institutions but also to charitable organizations and NGOs. For example, one could envisage developing new ways of tracking multilingual variances in discourses on important and sensitive topics such as Aids, food security and poverty. The CDA tools would allow text analysis in various languages simultaneously to explore issues of prejudice, exclusion and injustice; these may be present within different structures and groupings of the same multilingual organization through the medium of ongoing discourses that develop over time. In terms of electronic (social) media platforms, the model would also be useful for analysing the dynamic development of networking and cross-fertilization of ideas and world views in multilingual lobbying scenarios.

7.6 Expanding the Scope of Political Impact of the Research

The European Union is currently facing a number of growing concerns in relation to the financial crises still prevailing in some Member States; the rise of right-wing political ideologies in others (i.e. anti-Islamic, racist, and even anti-Semitic discourses thought to have been relegated to the past); and in still others calls for treaty reform, caps on (im)migration and a general malaise and fear of the perceived threat of ‘foreigners’ penetrating the EU borders from without. The risk of certain EU Member States exiting the Union has now even become a very real proposition due to both the financial and immigration crises of recent years. In and amongst these pan-European concerns, the two most powerful institutions of the EU are engaged in a tension between their respective political institutional mandates: the Commission’s mandate to promote the supranational aims of ever closer Union between the Member States; and the Council’s intergovernmental mandate to protect and further the interests of those Member States both individually and together. As we have demonstrated in the analysis, this cross-institutional tension is played out to a large extent through the discourses produced on all manner of European issues - including the central issue of European citizenship - negotiated within and between the Commission, Council and other institutions (i.e., the European Parliament) and bodies (committees, lobbies and interest groups). In the current climate prevailing within the EU and among its Member States, it seems clear that an enhanced version of a bespoke tool for

multilingual CDA for analysing EU parallel text production could: (1) address many of the macro political concerns mentioned above; it could also, with the aid of more sophisticated corpus tools for handling much larger amounts of languages and cross-lingual extracts and data (2) systematically track the behaviour of language versions within and across the EU institutional chain of discourse as the debates and documentation on such macro political concerns are constantly generated, re-contextualized and re-produced. It may then be possible to make visible the effect that the multiply authentic trans-drafting procedure may have on the EU's institutional voices but possibly also on those of some of the individual Member States themselves; this is because Member State delegations of both political and linguistic advisors function within and influence the Council's institutional and political drafting procedure (normally in English); subsequent hybrid trans-drafting and translational shifts of those discourses, whether intentional or unintentional, would then also be influenced by their intervention.

7.7 Final Concluding Thoughts

We will return finally to our point of departure: the citizenship narrative within the discourses of the European Union. Until now we have concentrated on the chain of discourse as the written rather than the spoken word. The marrying of translation and discourse theories does not preclude application to spoken language scenarios. One such area which would be of great interest to the European Union would be the development of discourses on the citizenship question in European Parliamentary debates, in which simultaneous interpreting into all the languages of the Union takes place. It would be interesting to track how conceptual equivalences (or non-equivalences) in this high-pressured multilingual scenario are produced; this would of course be without the input of tools such as translation memories and term banks and with the human input of interpreters who make split-second decisions on extremely sensitive political issues. The multilingual interpretation data could then form the first part of the discourse chain, which could then feed into a second part of the chain, an EP committee or lobbying group using the multilingual interpreted data from the debate. A third part of the chain could be a second parliamentary debate which is also

interpreted multilingually and draws on the discourse content of both the first and second parts of the chain.

It will have become clear that the applicability of this kind of bespoke multilingual CDA model will be abundant. However, suffice to say that putting such a model into practice is complicated and intricate. Even in the simplified scenario of three discourse stages, two discourse producers (Commission and Council) and only four out of a possible 24 language versions the analysis in this thesis was dense and complex. Designing a model to analyse data on a more far-reaching scale (more discourse producers, more discourse participants, more languages and more discourse stages) would undoubtedly benefit from the input of corpus linguistic tools of analysis. This would also promote a reduction in the inherently subjective nature of CDA analysis.

By way of a final concluding thought, we will return to the spirit of what is cited at the beginning of this chapter. ‘Essentially, all models are wrong, but some are useful’ (Box and Draper 1987: 424). I would certainly place the model developed in this thesis into this category. While the model is imperfect and has flaws which will remain contentious as they concern matters of interpretation and opinion such as what the true nature of translation is and is not, whether certain conceptual categories can be usefully analysed on a multilingual scale and in how far a monolingual framework such as Chilton’s Discourse Space Theory can be modified to accommodate such multilingual analysis. Nevertheless, the bespoke model developed in this thesis has in many ways been able to show a clear relationship between conceptual equivalence and the EU’s multilingual text production process in the specific discourse narrative of citizenship. However imperfectly this has been achieved, it has also highlighted the need for such bespoke multilingual CDA models in order to embrace the blurred lines which now exist between translation studies and critical discourse analysis at the multilingual interface of the global society.

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