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— edited by Joachim Grzega —

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Joachim Grzega

Preface to the Proceedings of the Eurolinguistics Conference 2017 at Volkshochschule Donauwörth

After the sudden unexpected closing of Europäisches Haus Pappenheim, where I had also organized three international Eurolinguistics conferences, I was very fortunate in getting the offer to continue many of my concepts as well as develop new ideas at a further-training institute for adults. The institute's name is Volkshochschule Donauwörth (Vhs Donauwörth) and those who gave me this chance are the institute's president, **Paul Soldner**, and its director, **Gudrun Reißer**. There had been some loose contact with them already since my time in Pappenheim and I am happy that my work made Paul Soldner and Gudrun Reißer have enough confidence in me establishing a new project section at their institution. We call this project section "Innovative Europäische Sprachlehre (InES)" 'Innovative European Language Teaching'.

The InES project rests on two pillars:

(1) The first pillar consists of developing, testing and offering more efficient ways toward foreign language competence, especially as a beginner: here, I continue to offer my three empirically already well analyzed language teaching models: *Basic Global English*, the Language Workout method in the form of *SprachFitnessStudios* 'language gyms' on European languages for homogeneous learner groups (from Europe), and the *Sprach-Not-Arzt* model 'Language Emergency Doctor' for heterogeneous learner groups from all over the world so that they can quickly acquire knowledge in a European language (here, German). Despite the already proven efficency, I am constantly looking for improvements; meanwhile the 5th and improved edition of my Sprach-Not-Arzt book has been published (cf. Grzega/Sand/Schweihofer 2017). Recently, we have also tested out the concept of the *Alphabet-Not-Arzt* 'Alphabet Emergency Doctor' for those learners of German who are not familiar with the Latin alphabet yet; further, we are experimenting with new ways of training communicative competence on the intermediate level.

(2) The second pillar consists of developing, testing and offering more efficient ways toward native language competence, especially regarding a better understanding of the interconnection between language, thought, and action: here, I continue to offer my *Ort-und-Wort-Wanderung* 'Town and Tongue Tour', which guides a group through the center of a European town, stopping at various spots, asking how things surrounding the group are and were designated in European languages and illustrating what the designations tell us about Europe's cultural history. Besides, I have further elaborated my "edutaining" European quizzes, with additional audio and video material apart from questions. Based on such questions I published a European quiz book in a German and an English version (cf. Grzega 2017a, Grzega 2017b). Moreover, I have developed more interactive and "edutaining" lectures on the interconnection of language, thought and action in European languages, related to the following topics: music, food, celebrations, the use of numbers, freedom, peace, ecology and economy. The lectures are spiced up with musical performances related to the topic. Sometimes, such lectures require extensive research as part of the project. The research results have partly been gathered in a book (Grzega 2017c): The main parts of the book are written in a style for a broad audience; the footnotes and the appendix give all necessary academic figures, brief definitory discussions and concrete sources. I have also started to create interactive poster series: The two series that exist so far (in German) are "Language and

Peace" and "Language and Ecology". Finally, we have begun to offer cultural training and political education by using poems that are intelligible all over Europe (Grzega 2017d) and by using musical renditions of some of these poems.

In addition to on-site offers in Donauwörth and other parts of Germany, we have started to give insight into our project work by recording a few videos with examples and putting them on YouTube (they can be found by inserting "Innovative Europäische Sprachlehre" into the search line or looking for entries under my user name "Joachim Grzega").

I would like to emphasize, again, that all activities in the InES project are Eurolinguistic *stricto sensu*: This means that all measures take into account all large sub-zones of Europe, no matter whether a political, geographical or cultural definition is set for a certain topic (cf. the definitory discussion in Grzega 2012 and 2013). It is in this vein that we should understand Eurolinguistics as a discipline of its own—a discipline that helps us see the true core of Europe and understand differences within Europe, thus delivering for more empathy within Europe and beyond. This is why I have again added the 2015 Memorandum at the end of this issue.

As part of the InES project, we were able to carry out the first international Eurolinguistics conference at Vhs Donauwörth from 29 September to 1 October 2017. Here too, contributions were supposed to relate to all large geo-cultural zones of Europe—either in the results or in a new methodology. Apart from the academic contributions, the international audience was entertained with (a) the musical version of poems that do not have to be translated because they consist of words, phrases and word-elements known all over Europe, (b) a tour through Donauwörth relating to the European history of designations, (c) new publications from Applied Eurolinguistics.

Since it is the goal of the InES project to make a general public more empathetic for linguists and linguists more empathetic for the general public, I also included (as I did at my previous Eurolinguistics conferences) a section in which all guest speakers briefly presented their results from academic research in a style that was also intelligible for laypeople and that attracted some of them to formulate interesting questions. This section was well received by both laypeople and researchers alike. Our thanks go to all conference participants who engaged in this attempt to make academic research interesting for non-experts.

In the organization of the conference, I was assisted by Vhs Director Gudrun Reißer, whom I would like to thank for this. Financial help for the conference came from Donauwörth's Lord Mayor Armin Neudert (who also opened the conference), Sparkasse Donauwörth, and Raiffeisen-Volksbank Donauwörth. People who participated in the conference were from all areas of Europe: the west (Germany, Austria), the south (Spain, Italy), the east (Hungary, Poland) and the north (Sweden). Some of the presentations given at the conference are published in this volume. These researchers and topics are:

- Prof. Dr. **Rosa Maria Calafat Vila** (University of Palma, Spain): "Lenguas minorizadas europeas: texto y contexto – actitudes lingüísticas del hablante"
- Prof. Dr. **Magdalena Szulc-Brzozowska** (University of Lublin, Poland): "EUROJOS: A Project for Developing Cognitive Definitions of Selected Concepts Across Europe"
- **Marlene Herrschaft-Iden** M.A. (University of Passau, Germany): "The Notion of *Europe* in British Conservative Parliamentary Speeches"
- Dr. **Bea Klüsener** (Vhs Wuppertal & University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany): "120 Years of Dracula – An Essay on Vampires and Other Blood-Suckers in European Literary and Non-Literary Discourse"

- Prof. Dr. **Joachim Grzega** (Vhs Donauwörth & University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany): "Qualitative and Quantitative Comments on Peace and War from a Eurolinguistic Perspective"
- Prof. Dr. **Laura Ferrarotti** (University of Rome-La Sapienza, Italy): "English in the Linguistic Landscape and Its Potential for English Language Teaching"
- Prof. Dr. **Joachim Grzega** (Vhs Donauwörth & University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany) & Dr. **Bea Klüsener** (Vhs Wuppertal & University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany): "New Ideas for Testing and Training Communicative Competence"

In addition to the papers published here, Prof. Dr. Dr. **Wolfgang Dietrich** (University of Innsbruck, Austria, UNESCO Chair of Peace Studies) spoke on "Interpretations of the Many Peaces in History and Culture", capturing them under the categories energetic peaces, moral peaces, modern peaces, postmodern peaces and transrational peaces. Prof. Dr. **Bernhard Pöll** (University of Salzburg, Austria) offered "Some Comments on Pluricentric Languages in Europe" and showed that pluricentrism can be understood as a purely descriptive concept, or as a political concept supporting measures that make a speech community distributed over more than one country accept the co-existence of several standard norms. Prof. Dr. **Manuela Cipri** (University of Rome-La Sapienza, Italy) gave an insight into gender-related stereotypes ("Stereotipi di genere nella cultura europea"), bringing together observations from linguistics, semiotics and arts. Ass.Prof. Dr. **Andrea Reményi** (University of Budapest-Piliscsaba, Hungary) presented her theoretical and practical thoughts on "EU Integration Through a Possible New (Language) Teacher Exchange Programme", based on a number of empirical data (such as interviews). Dr. **Beyza Björkman** (University of Stockholm, Sweden) presented several findings on "English as a European Business Lingua Franca" (focusing on pragmatic aspects) and also answered quite a number of questions on English as a European Lingua Franca in general.

The contributions at the conference also related to aspects of peace, sometimes very directly (as in the talks by Grzega and Dietrich), sometimes indirectly—in the lexical treatment of different social groups (as in the talks by Klüsener and Herrschaft-Iden), in linguistic rights and tolerance (as in the talks by Calafat and Pöll), in the development of intercultural linguistic competence (as in the talks by Reményi and Björkman and the didactic ones by Ferrarotti as well as Grzega and Klüsener). Applied Eurolinguistics, indeed, can well be seen as a branch contributing to Peace Studies—especially at times where peace is more and more threatened.

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Rosa Calafat Vila

Lenguas minorizadas europeas: Texto y contexto – Actitudes lingüísticas del hablante[*]

Abstract

21st-century Europe struggles between two sociolinguistic options: the need to preserve its historical languages and the perseverance with hegemonic state languages, which keep a constant competition towards the less favoured ones. This paper, with a diachronic approach to language diversity, exposes how the design of some language policies can reverse the situations of minoritised languages. It also portrays the diverse picture of cross-border languages, as a result of the different realities they face. In nowadays Europe there are languages in a position to overcome the depreciation of some legal contexts to which they have been submitted. The Catalan language community, for example, divided into autonomous communities in Spain and areas beyond the Spanish border, proves how planning new cultural and linguistic habits, fomented by governmental resources, modifies speakers' behaviours using tools that provide them with linguistic security.

Sommaire

L'Europe du 21e siècle lutte entre deux options sociolinguistiques: le besoin de préserver ses langues historiques et l'obstination des langues hégémoniques de l'état qui opposent les langues moins favorisées. Cette contribution, avec son approche diachronique à la diversité linguistique, montre comment le dessin de quelques politiques linguistiques peuvent inverser les situations de langues minoritaires. Elle illustre aussi l'image diverse de langues transfrontalières, résultat des réalités diverses auxquelles elles font face. En Europe contemporaine, il y a des langues qui sont dans la position de surmonter la dévaluation à laquelle des contextes légales les ont faites succomber. La communauté catalane, par exemple, divisée en communautés autonomes en Espagne et au-delà de la frontière espagnole, fait preuve de que la planification de nouvelles coutumes culturelles et linguistiques, ranimées par des ressources gouvernementales, modifie les comportements des locuteurs par des instruments qui leur donnent de sécurité linguistique.

Zusammenfassung

Das Europa des 21. Jahrhunderts quält sich zwischen zwei soziolinguistischen Optionen: die Notwendigkeit zum Erhalt seiner historischen kontinentalen Sprachen und das Beharren auf hegemonischen Staatssprachen, die permanent gegen die weniger favorisierten Sprachen konkurrieren. Dieser Beitrag mit seinem diachronischen Blick auf die Sprachenvielfalt legt dar, wie die Gestaltung einiger sprachpolitische Konzepte die Situationen von Minderheitensprachen umkehren kann. Es zeigt auch das vielfältige Bild von grenzübergreifenden Sprachen, als Ergebnis der unterschiedlichen Wirklichkeiten, denen sie sich gegenüber sehen. Im heutigen Europa gibt es Sprachen, die in der Position sind, die Abwertung, der sie durch rechtliche Kontexte unterworfen waren, zu überwinden. Die katalanische Sprachgemeinschaft beispielsweise, die auf autonome Gemeinschaften Spaniens und andere Staaten aufgeteilt ist, zeigt, wie das Planen von neuen kulturellen und sprachlichen Gewohnheiten, angefacht durch staatliche Quellen, das Verhalten von Sprechern ändert, indem sie Instrumente anwenden, die ihnen sprachliche Sicherheit geben.

[*] Este artículo forma parte de las líneas de investigación del Instituto de Estudios Hispánicos de la Modernidad (UIB) y del Grupo de investigación en Història de la Llengua Catalana de l'Època Contemporània, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). Las líneas de investigación de la autora se centran en el estudio de los textos producidos por los medios de comunicación y su influencia en el debate ecolingüístico. A ello responden algunas de sus publicaciones como: *Torcebraç entre dues cultures. De l'ecosistema de les llengües: de discursos i de percepcions*, pròleg de Salvador Cardús, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Càtedra UNESCO de Llengües i Educació, 2010; y *Per a un ús ètic del llenguatge*, Barcelona: Angle Editorial, 2010; amb pròleg d'Enric Marín (premio Josep Irla).

Resumen

La Europa del siglo XXI pugna entre dos opciones sociolingüísticas: la necesidad de preservar las lenguas históricas del continente y la perseverancia en el diseño de lenguas estatales hegemónicas, que se alzan en competencia constante hacia las menos favorecidas. Este artículo, dando un enfoque diacrónico de la diversidad lingüística, expone cómo el diseño de determinadas políticas lingüísticas puede revertir situaciones de minorización. A su vez, se muestra cómo lenguas transfronterizas gozan de realidades vitales diversas, dependiendo de su contexto legal. En la Europa actual hay lenguas capaces de superar la minusvalidez a la que ciertos contextos legales las han sometido. La comunidad lingüística catalana, pro ejemplo, que vive fragmentada en comunidades autónomas, en España, y por fronteras diferentes, da cuenta de cómo la planificación de nuevos hábitos culturales y lingüísticos, dispuestos a partir de los recursos gubernamentales, modifican los comportamientos de los hablantes, dándoles seguridad lingüística.

Resum

L'Europa del segle XXI pugna entre dues opcions sociolingüístiques: la necessitat de preservar les llengües històriques del continent i la perseverança amb les llengües estatals hegemòniques, les quals mantenen una competència constant cap a les menys afavorides. Aquest article, amb un enfocament diacrònic de la diversitat lingüística, exposa com el disseny de certes polítiques lingüístiques pot revertir les situacions de minorització d'una llengua. Alhora, dibuixa el panorama divers de llengües transfrontereres, en resposta a les legalitats diferents que viuen. A l'Europa actual hi hagi llengües en condicions de superar la minusvalidesa a què alguns contextos legals les han sotmeses. La comunitat lingüística catalana, fragmentada en comunitats autònomes, a Espanya, i en fronteres diferents, és la mostra de com la planificació de nous hàbits culturals i lingüístics, fomentats a partir dels recursos governamentals, modifica els comportaments dels parlants, a partir d'eines que els permetin la seguretat lingüística.

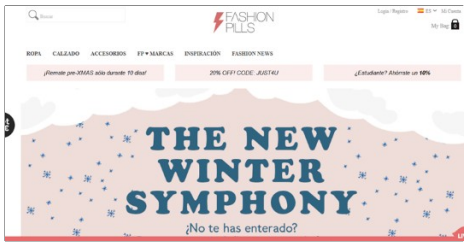
1. La diversidad lingüística, una historia controvertida de Europa

La diversidad lingüística en Europa es bien conocida por todos, aunque ni el concepto ni la realidad estén exentos de desviaciones discursivas. Nuestra Europa ha actuado en materia lingüística premiando unas lenguas e ignorando, cuando no socavando, a otras. Los avatares políticos han marcado el espíritu de las lenguas y sus representaciones colectivas. De modo y manera que su evolución y prestigio han dependido más de sus contextos políticos que no de otros factores. Si en pleno siglo XIII la lengua inglesa se resistía a la presión del francés, actualmente representa la lengua de comunicación del continente que nos ocupa.

En el siglo XX, la ideología de la globalización se cierne en torno al inglés: motivos económicos, políticos y de mercado así lo han ido diseñando. Actualmente, la lengua inglesa interfiere no solo en los espacios de relación sino también en los sistemas lingüísticos de otras lenguas y, por ende, de sus hablantes, que van modulando su percepción psicológica a las estructuras de la lengua global.
A través de los medios de comunicación catalanes, ocupados en diseñar líneas pedagógicas para la promoción de la lengua inglesa en los programas infantiles, se ha planteado hasta qué punto esta lengua afecta a las estructuras de la lengua propia. Así, el responsable del Departamento de programas televisivos para el aprendizaje ponía de manifiesto la importancia de los espacios infantiles en lengua inglesa, a la vez que se hacía eco de los problemas que conlleva tal necesidad. Poniendo de ejemplo el compuesto *sweet dreams* con su traducción literal *dolços somnis*, exponía una de las consecuencias de la hibridación lingüística, el cambio en la psique colectiva del hablante hacia un nuevo imaginario. En catalán, los sueños no son dulces sino angelicales. De tal manera que a *sweet dreams* le correspondería la estructura *somiar amb els angelets* y no *dolços somnis* (cf. Calafat 2010b: 18-39).

De cómo afecta la lengua de comunicación a las demás lenguas y a la percepción de sus hablantes, lo manifestaba a modo de opinión, en 2016, un usuario cibernético a propósito de la terminología cinematográfica: "*Making of* me parece la forma más correcta; no creo que haya que tener prejuicios contra los anglicismos en un mundo cada vez más global. Así es, en un mundo

globalizado con una palabra en un solo idioma es suficiente y muy eficiente"[1]. Para los usuarios de hoy, la publicidad, así como el cine, se ha convertido en un ámbito propicio al cambio lingüístico a favor del inglés, lengua con el atributo de moderna y eficaz.



<http://www.fashionpills.es/> (12-01-2016)

Si realizamos una mirada diacrónica, constatamos como en la Europa de la Edad Moderna las lenguas ya competían por su prestigio e internacionalización. Es harto conocida la frase atribuida a Carlos I de España asignando valores sociales a los idiomas de la época. El monarca consideraba el latín adecuado para hablar con Dios, el italiano para la música, el español para hablar con las damas, el alemán para usarlo con los criados y el inglés para dirigirse a los caballos.[2] Las lenguas vernáculas, convertidas paulatinamente en nacionales, intentarán expandirse y para ello generarán ideologías que avalen sus ansias de crecimiento. En los siglos XVI y XVII, términos administrativos, legales y militares españoles penetraban en la lengua italiana. A su vez, esta se imponía en el idioma francés con italianismos, tales como *spaceger*, *strade*, *bon garbe* o *à bastanse*. El impresor Henri Estienne, al tildar estos términos de "ejemplos de 'esa bárbara jerga llamada lenguaje de cortesanos'" (Burke 2001: 109), dejaba entrever la latente rivalidad de las estrenadas lenguas nacionales, cuya expansión surgía en un contexto cultural de cambio lingüístico en que el latín dejaba de ser lengua de comunicación para ceñirse a los ámbitos estrictamente de erudición.

> "Se hizo hincapié en el latín como la lengua de Cicerón y Virgilio, la lengua del mundo antiguo, no en el latín medieval como lingua franca de la educación y las relaciones intelectuales. El latín como lengua elegante que era vehículo de una gran literatura era el objeto adecuado de estudio. Las obras eruditas se siguieron escribiendo en latín durante algún tiempo, pero el ascenso en categoría de las lenguas vernáculas europeas y la extensión de la educación secular en unos estados seculares impulsaron las lenguas nacionales como los medios apropiados para la publicación erudita y científica." (Robins 2000: 161).

Entre el siglo XVI y el XVIII, la preponderancia que paulatinamente van consolidando estos idiomas los convertirá en pilares políticos e ideológicos de sus estados. Con estas palabras lo relata, en el Setecientos, el conde Galeani Napioni al determinar el vínculo entre lengua, patria y un determinado carácter nacional: *Le lingue sono un risultamento del clima, dell'indole, del naturale ingegno, del carattere morale, delle arti dominanti, degli studi, delle professioni, della istituzione política delle nazioni diverse* (cit. en Burke 2001: 110). En este acontecer, el francés mostrará su primacía ante las demás: "En 1671 aparecen los *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, del padre Bohours, que celebran la superioridad del francés sobre todas las demás lenguas modernas, pero también sobre el latín" (Casanova 2001: 94).

La disputa por consolidar ámbitos propios e invadir espacios colaterales protagonizará la historia social de las lenguas a partir de la Europa Moderna. En Francia, el intendente Carlier, en 1762, publica una ordenanza para que, en Perpiñán, cuyo idioma territorial es el catalán, la enseñanza primaria se haga en francés: "*Il n'y a rien qui entretienne l'union et l'amitié entre des peuples de différentes nations que la conformité du langage*" (Prats en <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-HP-0530801.xml> (13-11-2017). Denis Diderot en *L'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des*

[1] http://gramaticacomosedice.blogspot.com.es/2013/10/se-escribe-making-of-o-making-off.html (12-01-2016).

[2] Para ampliar el concepto del prejuicio lingüístico y su uso a través de la historia de las lenguas, véase Tuson (1988) y para la cita, Tuson (1988: 32).

Sciences des Arts et des Métiers (1751-1765), define a las lenguas diferentes del francés de "*langage corrumpu tel qu'il se parle presque dans toutes les provinces [...] On ne parle la langue que dans la capitale*" (cit. en Certeau/Julia/Revel 1975: 51). Se concebirá la nación, la moral y el idioma como una tríada inseparable para formar buenos ciudadanos a través de la educación, la cual servirá para socializar las leyes del Estado. Así lo expresa el informe Talleyrand, en 1791: "*Les écoles primaires mettront fin à (une) étrange inégalité: la langue de la Constitution et des lois y sera enseignée à tous; et cette foute de dialectes corrompus, dernier reste de la féodalité, sera contrainte de disparaître*" (cit. en Boyer 1992: 116).

La ideología lingüística dictará los cánones que asentarán los juicios de valor desfavorables para las lenguas sin poder político propio. Es el concepto mismo de la *lumière,* que asienta la dicotomía entre el substantivo *"*lenguas" y el término *patois*. Así, los ángeles hablarán francés y los mortales, solo valón.[3]

2. La Europa de las lenguas

La Europa contemporánea ocultará lenguas, seccionará variedades y dividirá comunidades lingüísticas, producto todo ello de procesos de colonización, descolonización, desplazamientos e ideologías. Para los enciclopedistas, la lengua es la expresión de la razón[4], de ahí que resulte capital que todos los ciudadanos converjan en un mismo idioma y en un mismo pensamiento. Se trata de educar en la lengua legitimada por el poder.

Los funcionarios del siglo XVIII, desplazados en territorios anexionados, deberán hacer cumplir la ley de la capital, para lo que echarán mano de las ideologías emanadas desde el Estado. Por los Decretos de Nueva Planta (1707 a 1715), la Corona Catalanoaragonesa ve anulado su derecho de extranjería civil, pasando a depender jurídicamente de la Corona de Castilla. Los empleados del rey, intendentes, regentes, síndicos personeros, fiscales, corregidores, se afanarán en construir una red de escuelas y centros que permitan "convertir" a los catalanes en españoles. El 30 de noviembre de 1789, el funcionario del Consejo de Castilla José Ruiz de la Torre, desplazado a Mallorca, escribía a Madrid recomendando que se usará un anillo como estigma para los niños que hablasen catalán en la escuela, a imitación de lo que la Sociedad Económica Vasca, de corte castellana, ya practicaba. El citado funcionario consideraba que se debían erradicar de la isla "las costumbres, algo góticas y africanas" (cit. en Calafat 1999: 46), consecuencia todo ello de no ajustarse a las leyes y a la lengua del poder.

Los avatares históricos nos han situado en una Europa en que no solo lenguas diferentes coexisten dentro de un mismo Estado, sino que estas se extienden más allá de una sola frontera, dando lugar a las "lenguas trasfronterizas" (cf. Argenter 2011: 8), de suerte muy diversa; y entre las que figuran lenguas mayoritarias como el alemán, que, a pesar de su peso cultural y político, no queda exenta de pugnas lingüísticas en el Sur del Tirol por tener que compartir ámbitos de uso con el italiano[5]. Así, la lengua neerlandesa en los Países Bajos vive con plenitud de usos, mientras que en Bélgica ha tenido que competir con el prestigio del francés. La diferencia sociolingüística de ambos territorios provoca actitudes lingüísticas, es decir sentimientos y opiniones que se reflejan en el uso de la misma. Gran parte de los neerlandeses, cuando el primer ministro sale al extranjero y no puede hablar la lengua del lugar, creen que este tendría que hablar en inglés. Contrariamente, tal como observa el profesor Salverda (2011: 27), de la Universidad College London, los flamencos piensan

[3] Cf. Tuson (1988) para el estudio de los prejuicios lingüísticos en Europa, y para la cita, Tuson (1988: 73).

[4] Si para los lingüistas de Port-Royal la razón es el agente productor de la lengua, los enciclopedistas se ceñirán en el lenguaje como productor de razonamiento. Para ahondar en el análisis del lenguaje y el Siglo de las luces, véase Bustos (2006: 127-134).

[5] Por cuanto a la norma lingüística del alemán y su gestión trasnacional, véase Eichinger (2011: 15-23).

que en las mismas circunstancias su primer ministro debe hablar neerlandés y hacer servir un intérprete. La actitud de protección de los flamencos, sigue afirmando Salverda, se debe a un estado de alerta constante por contacto lingüístico con el francés, mientras que los holandeses se pueden permitir, por situación histórica y lingüística, rezagarse[6].

Entre las transfronterizas puede darse que una lengua se vea dividida administrativamente dentro de un mismo Estado. Es el caso del vasco, entre la comunidad autónoma de Navarra y la de Euskadi, o el catalán, para las comunidades autónomas de Cataluña, Valencia, Islas Baleares, Aragón y Murcia. Ambas lenguas tienen la condición de doble frontera, puesto que a las interiores deben añadírseles las exteriores: para el vasco, entre España y Francia; para el catalán, entre estos dos, Andorra e Italia[7]. Evidentemente, su salud está condicionada por las políticas lingüísticas que rigen en cada uno de los territorios mencionados[8].

Las fronteras políticas europeas, en constante movimiento a lo largo de la historia más reciente, han convertido a unas lenguas en *normalizadas*, cuyo uso está plenamente garantizado. Este es el caso de las veinticuatro lenguas oficiales de la Unión Europea. Ahora bien, en el seno de este continente se hablan más de medio centenar de lenguas, aunque sea difícil precisar el número[9], con suerte muy diversa. Están las llamadas *lenguas minorizadas*, cuya vitalidad se ve mermada por tener que compartir espacio con otra que ostenta el poder legal. Es el caso de lenguas como el catalán o el escocés, que deben compartir funciones con el español, la primera, y el inglés, la segunda. Estos idiomas, modificando sus realidades políticas, bien podrían pasar cómodamente al grupo de las normalizadas. Ha sido el caso del lituano o el letón, que han visto como su estatus lingüístico subía al pódium ganador al cambiar sus condiciones políticas. En Letonia, la nueva ley estatal de 1999 garantiza una política lingüística capaz de revertir el bilingüismo asimétrico que imponía el contacto con el ruso, lengua dominante:

> "Durant els darrers 15 anys, la situació sociolingüística de Letònia ha canviat radicalment. L'any 1989, a la República Soviètica de Letònia hi havia dues llengües oficials: el rus, que era oficial arreu del territori de la Unió Soviètica, i el letó, la llengua pròpia de la República, que també era llengua oficial. Amb anterioritat, la llengua letona era utilitzada i reconeguda per la majoria de la gent, com les altres llengües minoritàries, en un grau inferior especialment en l'àmbit de l'educació. Tot i així, l'estatus del rus com a llengua internacional era aclaparadorament superior en aquesta part del món. Des d'un punt de vista sociolingüístic podem dir que el letó era una llengua minoritària: la situació actual és la contrària; el letó és una llengua majoritària, mentre que el rus és una llengua minoritària dins de la nova República democràtica de Letònia, membre de la Unió Europea." (Poggeschi 2004: 1).

En tercer lugar, Europa cuenta con *lenguas minoritarias*, como el occitano y el sardo. Este tipo de lenguas perviven en estado crítico, debido a la imposición de políticas desfavorables para su supervivencia. Por cuanto al sardo se refiere, Giuseppe Corongiu, del Servizio Lingua e cultura Sarda, planteaba el dilema de la continuidad de este idioma como lengua representativa de un pueblo o permanecer sujeto, en condiciones dialectales, a la lengua italiana, considerada "superior"

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[6] La Unión de la Lengua Neerlandesa, a través de la Taalunie, órgano de política lingüística que se ocupa de la estandarización y elaboración terminológica de la lengua neerlandesa, así como de su proyección internacional, consolida el espacio transfronterizo neerlandés. Véase Salverda (2011: 28-33).

[7] En cuanto a las lenguas trasfronterizas de Europa y su situación geolingüística y sociolingüística, véase Argenter (2011: 7-14).

[8] Las diferencias de usos lingüísticos y actitudes de los hablantes entre las tres comunidades autónomas de lengua catalana inmersas en el Estado español dependen, en buena parte, de la política lingüística ejercida por los respectivos gobiernos autonómicos. Véase, a modo de estudio académico sobre la cuestión, las publicaciones de la Xarxa CRUSCAT: "Representacions, coneixements i usos del català", en http://blogs.iec.cat/cruscat/ .

[9] En cuanto a la diversidad lingüística de Europa y a la distinta suerte de sus lenguas, véase *Linguamón*, "Les llengües d'Europa", en http://www.observatoireplurilinguisme.eu/portalingua/www10.gencat.cat/casa_llengues/AppJava/ca/diversitat/diversitat/llengues_europa.html (03-11-2017).

(Corungiu 2011: 40). Del mismo modo, el francoprovenzal, subordinado a la presión de lenguas dominantes como el francés y el italiano, ve disminuir cada día sus ámbitos de uso:

> "La Vall d'Aosta és una regió alpina, força turística, del nord-oest d'Itàlia, fronterera amb França i Suïssa, regió de pas per la seva situació geogràfica. Italiana des de 1861 i regió autònoma plurilingüe des de 1948, compta amb dues llengües oficials: el francès i l'italià, i amb un enclavament de parla germànica dialectal. La proximitat lingüística entre el francoprovençal i el francès, i el prestigi de la llengua francesa —llengua de cultura i de l'administració— han fet disminuir els àmbits d'ús del francoprovençal, que resta en general com a llengua de la pagesia. Es pot aprendre en els primers estaments de l'ensenyament en algunes escoles i com a assignatura facultativa; s'utilitza en alguns articles de revista." (Cotano 2000: 43).

Por último, debemos mencionar a las minorías lingüísticas, producto de desplazamientos masivos de grupos humanos hacia otros territorios. La suerte lingüística de cada grupo depende de las políticas aplicadas en el territorio de acogida, así como del prestigio de la lengua desplazada: "why is so little attention devoted to the Russian linguistic minority in the Baltic States and many other minorities like the Occitan in France or Asturian in Spain?" (Joan 2005: 180).

3. Políticas lingüísticas aplicadas

Actualmente, el estatus de las más de cincuenta lenguas de Europa dista mucho de ser el mismo. La situación sociolingüística de cada una de ellas, derivada de la política lingüística que se les aplica, garantiza, o no, su vitalidad. La entereza de una lengua se mide por ámbitos de uso y por las actitudes de sus hablantes. A mayor vitalidad, más positiva será la actitud. En cambio, lenguas con hablantes bilingües socialmente, que deben compartir espacio lingüístico con otra lengua habitualmente dominante, tienden a convergir hacia la lengua de los monolingües, legitimados, estos últimos, por estructuras de poder. Así, los frisones cambian al neerlandés ante hablantes de esta lengua; los vascos o catalanes, al español o francés; los bretones, al francés; y sucesivamente en casos similares.

Ciertamente, en la medida en que una lengua se ve favorecida por una legislación, no solo aumenta su uso, sino también su prestigio. Los hablantes necesitan sentirse protegidos por el entorno y seguros en sus intercambios lingüísticos (cf. Encrevé 1976: 22): "Ce qui unifie une communauté sociale, c'est le pouvoir politique et les institutions (= la langue), les lois (= la 'norme légitime') qu'il impose par la violence, symbolique ou non (= instances pédagogiques)." La asunción de la variedad estándar y la imposición de unas leyes que la protejan convierten a los hablantes en usuarios autónomos y de pleno derecho.

> "Com que existeix una representació dels diversos aspectes que configuren el món i la societat, existeix una representació de l'ús lingüístic i, en funció d'aquest, de la forma lingüística, i, com que la comunicació lingüística és un factor indispensable de l'activitat social, aquesta darrera implica el coneixement de la forma i de les normes d'ús de la llengua en tota la seva complexitat. Funcions lingüístiques de la societat són, doncs, les que, d'una banda, generen una representació de l'ús i de la forma lingüístics ─*funcions de consciencia*─ i, de l'altra, estableixen i garanteixen les normes d'ús de les diverses formes lingüístiques ─*funcions de control*." (Lamuela 1987: 64).

La diferencia entre una lengua normalizada y una minorizada o minoritaria se refleja en que la primera gozará de valor de uso general, con una codificación, elaboración terminológica y la suficiente elaboración estilística para cubrir las necesidades del hablante, permitiéndose un funcionamiento autónomo, sin espacios lingüísticos compartidos ni interferencias en sentido estricto[10]. Contrariamente, las lenguas minorizadas crean una dependencia unilateral hacia la lengua dominante. Así lo reflejan los estudios de Dressler (1987: 87-96), Payrató (1985: 57-58), Boix/Vila

[10] Las características que diferencian una lengua subordinada de una lengua con valor de uso general se citan en Lamuela (1987: 68-70).

(1998: 235-236), Bibiloni (1997: 49-56), entre otros, dedicados a las consecuencias en la estructura de la lengua del bilingüismo institucionalizado: “Per exemple, quina paraula més útil podria ser en català *feriment*, que permetria la simetria d’una frase com *la bomba ha provocat la mort de tres persones i el feriment d’altres vuit*! Per què el català no ha produït aquesta paraula, quan sí que ho ha fet l’italià (*ferimento)*?” (Bibiloni 1997: 54). En este caso, el autor achaca la falta del término *feriment* en catalán a la dependencia política y, por ende, lingüística de este hacía el castellano.

El grado de subordinación de unas lenguas hacia sus respectivas dominantes tiende a variar según las condiciones políticas. El hecho de que en estos momentos, a diferencia de periodos anteriores recientes[11], el gobierno español reconozca la diversidad lingüística, ha contribuido a revitalizar el uso y la enseñanza del vasco y el catalán, dos de las lenguas minorizadas que conviven en este Estado. La legislación actual permite que, en un territorio autónomo con lengua propia, esta se enseñe un mínimo de cinco horas, pudiendo llegar a convertirse en la lengua principal de la enseñanza, tal como ha sucedido en Cataluña y, en parte también, en las islas Baleares. En un estudio comparativo entre catalán y vasco, publicado en 2009 por la revista de *Psicodidáctica* de la Universidad del País Vasco, se concluye que si las posiciones actitudinales favorables hacia el catalán son muy superiores con respecto del euskera se debe a la mayor presencia socioeducativa de la lengua catalana (cf. Rojo/Huguet/Janés 2009: 82). El hecho de que la escuela sea una instancia pedagógica capaz de vehicular y generar la visión propia de cada sociedad, de su manifestación cultural más íntima y global, la convierte en un capital simbólico imprescindible para modelar y difundir comportamientos (cf. Laumela 1987: 63). A más recursos o capitales económicos, culturales, lingüísticos, sociales y simbólicos, más garantías para la lengua (cf. Boix/Vila 1998: 139-141). El finés es una lengua de Europa con menos hablantes que el catalán, sus organismos gubernamentales se enfrentan al peso del inglés, fabricando ideología lingüística positiva capaz de generar gran capital simbólico. En 2009, el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, en su sección *This is Finland*, lanzaba la pregunta siguiente: “¿Quién tiene miedo al finés?”. Su respuesta se formulaba en términos de lealtad lingüística o pensamiento organizado (Weinreich 1979). La supuesta dificultad, afirmaban, solo lo es para los extranjeros adultos, subrayando que esta lengua no tiene características difíciles sino simplemente diferentes al inglés (cit. en Calafat 2010a: 98). El gobierno se enfrentaba, de este modo, al prejuicio extendido de la opacidad del finés para los extranjeros, que optan por la lengua de comunicación, dejando a un lado la lengua territorial, a la que consideran inaccesible. Actualmente, la misma sección destaca la proyección exterior de la lengua de Finlandia por estar presente en el film *Blade Runner 2049*.

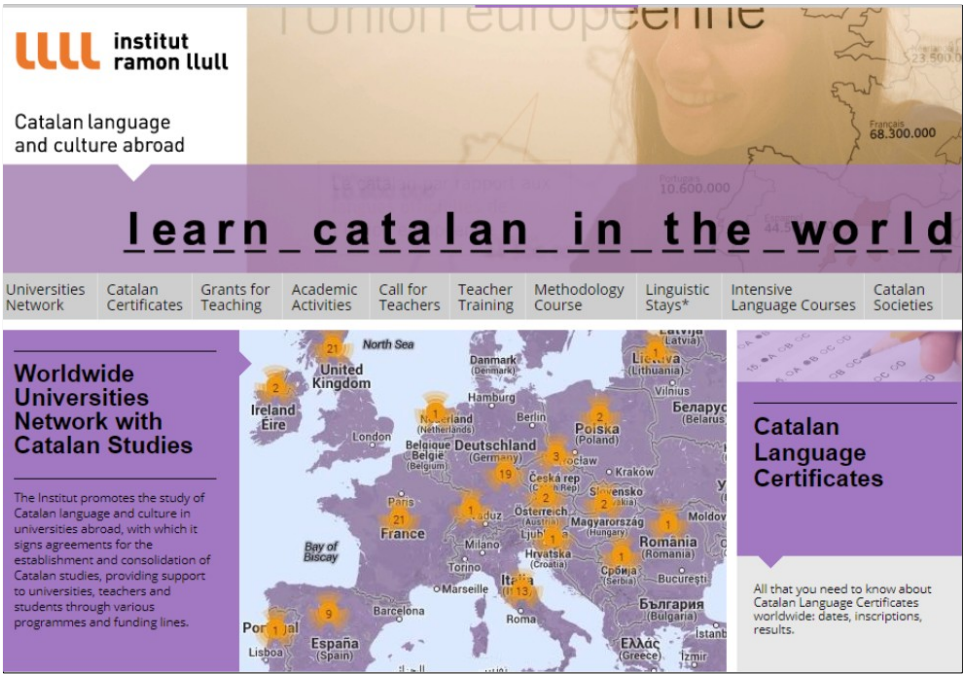
> “You know that feeling when you’re abroad and you hear somebody speaking your language? Your ears perk up; you automatically turn your head. That feeling just hit the big screen for Finnish speakers. In *Blade Runner 2049* (premiere October 6, 2017), we find ourselves 30 years beyond the original *Blade Runner* movie, which was set in 2019. (It premiered in 1982.) In the dark, dystopian Los Angeles of the future, many languages are spoken – and apparently Finnish is among them.” (<https://finland.fi/category/arts-culture/> (20-11-2017), Sección *This is Finland*).

Los imaginarios colectivos se construyen dentro de las instancias pedagógicas de un Estado. En el espacio de las lenguas minorizadas, la comunidad autónoma de Cataluña, con el Estatuto de Autonomía de 2006, que sustituye al de 1979, en su artículo 6.3., no solo enfatiza el uso y el reconocimiento oficial del catalán por ser la propia, sino que se marca el objetivo de situarse en el enclave público europeo: “La Generalitat i l’Estat han d’emprendre les accions necessàries per al reconeixement de l’oficialitat del català a la Unió Europea i la presència i la utilització del català en

[11] En la época de la dictadura de Francisco Franco (1936-1975), el idioma catalán se vio perseguido, así como sus hablantes: “10-III-1938. Sevilla: ‘Corresponde a la multa impuesta [50 pesetas] a Juan Merida por el Iltmo. Sr. Delegado de Seguridad Interior y Orden Público de Sevilla y su provincia, por la falta de patriotismo y descortesía al hablar el dialecto catalán en el comedor del Hotel Itálica en presencia de otros comensales de nacionalidad española” (en Solé/Villarroya 1993: 39-40).

els organismes internacionals i en els tractats internacionals de contingut cultural o lingüístic" (cit. en <http://web.gencat.cat/ca/generalitat/estatut/estatut2006/titol_preliminar/>). La planificación de esta representación simbólica la sitúa en una buena posición y la pone en línea de avanzada dentro del conjunto transfronterizo de su comunidad lingüística, a distancia de un catalán de Perpiñán, de Valencia o de Ibiza, por ejemplo, aunque estos dos últimos tampoco desmerezcan, al verse inmersos en sendas planificaciones para la normalización del catalán. Por lo que al País Valenciano se refiere, cabe destacar la labor de normalización lingüística de las escuelas en valenciano[12].

Atendiendo al trabajo que realizan instituciones de política lingüística con voluntad transfronteriza y de proyección exterior, debemos citar entidades como la *Taalunie*, instrumento activo de planificación para los territorios de habla neerlandesa: "The Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch Language Union) is the international organisation in which the Netherlands, Flanders (Belgium) and Suriname combine their strengths to support the Dutch language at home and around the world in order to keep the language as dynamic and vigorous as today. The actual baseline is: 'Taal schept kansen' (language offers opportunities)" (cit. en la página oficial de la Taalunie, <http://taalunie.org/>, 02-09-2017). Por su parte, la lengua catalana cuenta para la salvaguarda de su unidad lingüística con el *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. Más allá de la labor que las respectivas administraciones autonómicas puedan realizar, existen otras organizaciones, a manera de paraguas interestatal, que aglutinan las universidades de habla catalana presentes en cuatro estados europeos y tres comunidades autónomas españolas, como la *Xarxa Vives d'Universitats* (<http://www.vives.org/>). En consonancia con el trabajo exterior de la *Taalunie*, está el *Institut Ramon Llull*, cuya misión es la de promocionar el estudio del catalán en las universidades del exterior. En estos momentos, ciento cincuenta universidades enseñan catalán en el mundo.



https://www.llull.cat/english/aprendre_catala/mapa_llengua.cfm (04-03-2017)

[12] "Escola Valenciana–Federació d'Associacions per la Llengua, és la suma de 24 Coordinadores Comarcals i entitats culturals que treballen per la normalització de la llengua a tot el País Valencià. Les Coordinadores Comarcals són el resultat de les inquietuds de mestres, professorat, pedagogs i pedagogues que, des dels primers anys de democràcia, van apostar per una escola de qualitat i en valencià sota postulats de renovació pedagògica. És en aquest context on sorgiren les primeres Trobades d'Escoles en Valencià, les festes d'estima per la llengua", en https://escolavalenciana.org/qui-som/organigrama/ (08-10-2017).

Puede que la proyección, allende sus fronteras, del neerlandés y del catalán se asemeje, como hace notar Salverda (2011: 32). A diferencia de instituciones como el British Council, el Goethe, el Instituto Cervantes o el Dante Alighieri, que poseen institutos y centros propios, las representaciones exteriores catalanas y neerlandesas carecen de estos núcleos, debiendo de establecer alianzas puntuales de cooperación. Además, ambas lenguas, sigue asintiendo Salverda (2011: 27), han implementado una política educacional taxativa que permite hablar del catalán y el flamenco como dos casos ejemplares de éxito de la Europa de las regiones. Si se entrevé la lengua catalana en el grupo de las normalizadas, es porque cuenta, en el ámbito de la comunidad autónoma de Cataluña, especialmente, y en mayor o menor grado en los demás territorios catalanohablantes, con: (a) universidades que difunden y crean conocimiento en catalán; (b) una ley de educación que la prioriza; (c) un programa de voluntariado lingüístico, que incluye la enseñanza de esta lengua al migrado; y (d) unos medios de comunicación activos[13]: televisión, radio, prensa e Internet en catalán.

> "Because of its linguistic tools. It is a fully encrypted, standardized language with a total academic and citizen consensus has a recognized linguistic authority, and its linguistic resources and studies on grammar, lexicography, etymology, dialectology, terminology, history of the language and names, are comparable to those of the great Latin languages. It has a standardized dictionary (that of the Institute of Catalan Studies) and a large number of published dictionaries, as well as bilingual dictionaries for the most widely spoken languages in the world, such as English, Castilian, French, German, Russian and Chinese. In addition, Catalan has a notable capacity for creation and spreading of neologisms of all types, and an organized system for its standardisation (Termcat Centre of Terminology: http://www.termcat.cat), as well as a Commission of Place Names, which is the advice, consultation and proposal board in terms of official setting of place names in Catalonia."[14]

A mayor distancia, están aquellas lenguas cuyo estado de minorización no les permite realizar este recorrido. Es el caso de la lengua frisona. Sus condiciones sociopolíticas vetan su plena presencia en universidades y otros ámbitos vitales para la buena salud lingüística de sus hablantes. La presencia del frisón en los medios de comunicación dista mucho de cumplir con los cánones de normalidad social para una lengua: "Los habitantes de Frisia están expuestos al inglés diariamente. Su televisión 'habla en inglés' gran parte del tiempo, porque los programas norteamericanos o británicos conservan la banda sonora original y subtitulan en holandés" (Gorter 2005: 54). El Consejo Inter frisón, una organización que abarca los grupos lingüísticos de Alemania (frisón oriental y septentrional) y de los Países Bajos (frisón occidental), basa su trabajo en la difusión del concepto histórico de la hermandad frisona y en el interés lingüístico, que no en la proyección interna o externa de la lengua tal como hacen los organismos neerlandeses o catalanes respectivamente.

Está sobradamente demostrado que la vitalidad de una lengua la miden las políticas lingüísticas que se le aplican. De manera que una misma lengua puede tener estados de salud diferentes a un lado u otro de la frontera. Así, para la lengua occitana, lengua europea que vivió su resplandor entre los siglos XI y XIII y ahora está en peligro de extinción, la situación sociolingüística dentro de los límites de la comunidad autónoma de Cataluña, en el territorio de la Val d'Aran, le permite un cierto respiro, en comparación con la esperanza de vida en la zona francesa o italiana. A partir de la creación de los Estados-nación, la escuela pública francesa castigaba por hablar patois u occitano. En 1951, la ley Deixonne permite que esta lengua se enseñe, aunque limitadamente. Actualmente, las escuelas en occitano, llamadas *calandretes*, las estatales bilingües y algunos colegios intentan

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[13] La Corporació Catalana de Mitjans de Comunicació (CCMA) es el ente público que gestiona los medios de comunicación de la Generalitat de Cataluña, véase http://www.ccma.cat/.

[14] Citado en la publicación institucional de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Departament de la Vicepresidència Secretaria de Política Lingüística), *Catalan, language of Europe*, p. 20, en http://llengua.gencat.cat/permalink/91192f76-5385-11e4-8f3f-000c29cdf219.

asegurar la transmisión lingüística. La constitución francesa, en su reforma del año 2008, en el artículo 75, reconoce que las lenguas regionales son patrimonio de Francia. El Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña, de 2006, otorga al occitano el valor de lengua oficial, junto con el catalán, como lengua propia, y el castellano. Este reconocimiento político ha supuesto que el occitano en Arán se enseñe en todos los niveles de la educación obligatoria y sea lengua vehicular en los centros educativos. El *Conselh Generau d'Aran* y los ayuntamientos del territorio usan el occitano como lengua de comunicación administrativa. Aran es el único territorio de Occitania en que la lengua tiene plena oficialidad[15].

4. Actitudes lingüísticas del hablante

Los hablantes de lenguas normalizadas ejercen el derecho al monolingüismo, sin cuestionarse qué lengua deben usar, cuándo y con quién. Los cambios lingüísticos que puedan realizar son pactados, conscientes y con una finalidad concreta. En cambio, los usuarios de lenguas que conviven territorialmente con otra dudan, en el mejor de los casos, qué lengua deben emplear en cada ocasión.[16]

Este tipo de hablantes pueden seguir manteniendo un apego, una inclinación, hacía su lengua y no traducirlo en una dinámica de uso cotidiano. La mayoría han adquirido el hábito, por capital simbólico, de la subordinación lingüística. Esta respuesta se debe a múltiples factores, enlazados a dos hechos fundamentales: primero, han visto cómo sus derechos se conculcaban durante un largo período de tiempo; segundo, han sido privados de la enseñanza en su lengua materna, siendo esta sustituida por la dominante. La falta de formación en la lengua propia (L1), que sienten suya de una manera casi privada e íntima, convierte al hablante en un usuario minusválido, incapaz de actuar sin la ayuda de la lengua dominante. Cuando el hablante subordinado intenta resistirse a la mayoría y a la normalidad social, en este caso a la veneración hacia la lengua prestigiada, nada contra corriente, con el riesgo de ser estigmatizado. Así lo expone Gorter (2006: 57-58) en su estudio sobre el uso de la lengua frisona en contacto con el neerlandés:

> "La interacción es un proceso de negociación donde nada se organiza con antelación. Las reglas forman parte de las ideas normativas sobre el uso apropiado de la lengua (…). Normalmente, el frisón es la lengua evidente, la marcada, y el holandés marca la pauta en la comunidad, una situación que se da por hecha. Alternar frisón y holandés en una conversación exige un esfuerzo adicional. Una persona que continúa hablando en frisón a otra que no es frisona corre el riesgo de ser tachada de activista frisón o de ser considerada una persona que no sabe hablar holandés correctamente."

Estas apreciaciones sobre los usos de las lenguas se deben a los juicios de valor que se les aplica, dando cuenta del imaginario colectivo (Calafat 2010a: 103-128), orquestado y pensado desde el poder. Las ideas aprehendidas por normalidad social condicionan nuestra actitud lingüística. Las actitudes hacia las lenguas pueden incluso limitar sobremanera la percepción de la realidad, confundiendo la evidencia con el prejuicio adquirido o juicio de valor prediseñado. En la Eurocámara, el 15 de setiembre de 2004, se asistió a un acto lingüístico motivado por el imaginario predefinido. Aquel día, en pleno debate sobre el tratado constitucional europeo, el presidente del Parlamento, que en aquel momento era el español José Borrell, atendía a las intervenciones de los

[15] Véase la publicación oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Departament de Vicepresidència, Secretaria de Política Lingüística), *Occitània i occità*, in http://llengua.gencat.cat/web/.content/documents/publicacions/publicacions_en_linia/arxius/occitania.pdf (02-09-2017).

[16] Algunos hablantes, con reconocimiento legal, pueden sucumbir ante la presión de otra lengua por razones de su historia social y sociolingüística. Así, los hablantes de maltés, aunque gocen de pleno reconocimiento desde 1934, asisten a un desplazamiento de la lengua propia a favor del inglés, que va ocupando los ámbitos de uso formales. Este fenómeno se explica por haber sido colonia inglesa y por compartir oficialidad con esta lengua, presente en la enseñanza. Véase Cotano (2000: 100-101).

asistentes. Cuando llegó el turno del representante del grupo Verdes-Alianza Libre Europea, José Borrell cedió su puesto al portugués António Costa, con la consigna de no dejar que el ibicenco Bernat Joan hiciera su intervención en catalán. Pese a todo pronóstico, el ibicenco empezó su intervención en alemán, lamentando no poder usar su lengua materna. Costa, a los pocos minutos, ordenó a Bernat Joan que parase de hablar, prohibiéndole seguir usando una lengua europea no oficial en aquel parlamento. Los eurodiputados germanófonos, sorprendidos, profirieron sonoras carcajadas (cit. en Calafat 2010a: 72). El prejuicio de Costa le impidió observar netamente la realidad y, por tanto, darse cuenta, a pesar de la distancia lingüística, que no se estaba usando el catalán sino el alemán.

En los estudios sobre la adquisición de una lengua extranjera (L2) en adultos migrados se ha mostrado fundamental trabajar la actitud, debido a su peso en el hablante. Si bien es importante el aprendizaje gramatical, la predisposición psicológica hacia el mundo simbólico de la lengua meta (L2) se convierte en una herramienta imprescindible para obtener buenos logros. El concepto mismo de *actitud*, como noción interdisciplinar entre la psicología, la antropología, la historia y la sociología (Baker 1992: 1), responde, en palabras de Mallart (2008: 109), a la necesidad humana de valorar el entorno (cit. por Estors 2014: 153). Las actitudes sobre una lengua serán proporcionales a los recursos simbólicos de que dispone. De esta manera, un mismo idioma puede tener hablantes con múltiples respuestas actitudinales según el contexto simbólico en que habitan. Un hablante de neerlandés de la parte suroeste de Flandes, anexionada a Francia, se ve abocado a un proceso de extinción avanzado, a causa de que en el siglo XVII se prohibió su uso oficialmente (Cotano 2000: 74).

Una política lingüística que desee mejorar el estatus de una lengua, no solo se procurará un contexto legal óptimo para tal objetivo, sino que trabajará por cambiar las actitudes de los hablantes[17]. Siguiendo esta premisa, el gobierno autonómico catalán, paralelamente al despliegue de una ley de educación, ha promovido campañas de política lingüística encaminadas a modificar las actitudes de minorización de los hablantes del catalán como L1. En la década de los ochenta, poco después de la instauración del período constitucional español, se empezaron las campañas, más o menos eficaces, para prestigiar la lengua propia. Se pretendía hacerla imprescindible entre una población demasiado acostumbrada al cambio lingüístico. En recientes publicaciones, los testimonios de nuevos hablantes han puesto de manifiesto los logros de esta política de reversión:

> "'(parlar el català) és una manera de mostrar-los que jo també sóc d'aquí; estic aquí, però sóc d'aquí també' Ousseynou Niang (primera llengua: wòlof)'. 'Els catalanoparlants no haurien de canviar de llengua, perquè en el fons és l'única manera de trobar espais on aprendre la llengua (...)' Carmen Pérez (primera llengua: castellà). '(Que no et parlin en català) t'impedeix portar una vida normal, perquè quan tu vas a comprar el pa, comprant-lo ja t'estan recordant que no ets d'aquí...' Aleksandra Lun (primera llengua: polonès). 'Aprendre el català és una forma d'aproximar-se, no només a uns costums i a unes tradicions, sinó al cor de la gent' Robert Mettini (primera llengua: castellà). 'Qui vol prosperitat, ha d'aprendre el català' Mohammed Iqbal (primera llengua: urdú)."[18]

La comunidad autónoma de Cataluña, según datos del 2011[19], cuenta con una tasa de inmigración, referenciada con el término *nouvinguts*, del 15,7% de la población total. El objetivo último de los órganos de gobierno para hacer frente a las nuevas oleadas migratorias será la de convertir la lengua catalana en vehicular y de convergencia de todos los colectivos, migrados y autóctonos. Se partía de una población acostumbrada al terreno ganado por el español, con la prohibición durante décadas de usar el catalán, lo cual se sumaba a oleadas migratorias de hispanohablantes en tiempos de la

[17] El lingüista Albert Bastardas (1996: 149-164) expone diversos procesos europeos de reinversión del estado de subordinación lingüística, encaminados hacia la plena normalización de la lengua.

[18] Publicado en *Guia d'acollida* (2005: 1).

[19] Véase http://www.gencat.cat/catalunya/cat/.

dictadura que, obviamente, tendían a restar protagonismo a la lengua catalana. Este panorama había generado unos hábitos psicolingüísticos nocivos para la lengua autóctona, sometida al bilingüismo unidireccional.

Desde el 1980 el Gobierno autonómico ha lanzado diversas campañas para el uso social del catalán. La primera de las promociones pretendía la recuperación del ámbito público. Las campañas más recientes se dirigen a animar a la población al cambio a favor del catalán. Con lemas como *Encomana el català* se pretende cambiar las condiciones psicolingüísticas de la población, fomentando actitudes positivas y motivando el uso del catalán. En la campaña de 2013 se da un paso: el Gobierno autonómico incluye en la promoción a toda la comunidad lingüística catalana, con independencia de su circunscripción autonómica. Con el lema *El català, llengua per a tothom* se fomentan valores de modernización, cohesión grupal y europeización[20].



En estos momentos, están a disposición del usuario materiales en línea para el aprendizaje de la lengua catalana como lengua de acogida (L2). Con un enfoque comunicativo y haciendo uso de las teorías pragmáticas y del análisis contrastivo de lenguas, los textos *Aprenem català des de*[21] ofrecen las primeras herramientas para la destreza cultural y lingüística en catalán a los hablantes de francés, urdú, árabe, rumano, amazig, español, penjabi, ruso y chino. A continuación, se muestra un ejemplo del *Aprenem* desde el rumano:

> Això és un bitllet de metro ?
> No, és una targeta T-10 (te-deu). Té deu viatges i surten més barats.
> *Acesta e un bilet de metrou?*
> *Nu, e o cartelă T-10 (te-zece). E de zece călătorii Şi aŞa iese mai ieftin*

El material se elabora a partir de frases cotidianas que garanticen tanto la competencia sociocomunicativa como la adhesión lingüística. A los nuevos usuarios se les atribuye un papel sociolingüístico activo, por cuanto se les prepara para corregir el cambio lingüístico hacia el español

[20] Véase http://llengua.gencat.cat/ca/serveis/informacio_i_difusio/campanyes.

[21] En el siguiente enlace el usuario puede constatar las innumerables publicaciones destinadas al aprendizaje del catalán como L2, http://serveiseducatius.xtec.cat/vallesoccidental6/wp-content/uploads/usu1109/2017/03/Cat%C3%A0leg-de-materials-per-alumnes-nouvinguts.pdf.

que pudieran realizar los hablantes de L1 catalán, bajo el influjo de cargas educativas heredadas de tiempos anteriores:

> "Si no heu entès bé el que us han dit, podeu dir: M'ho pot repetir, si us plau? *Tzemmard ad ayi-t-t awded, mara texsed*? Per dir que no parlin tan de pressa, podeu dir: M'ho pot dir més a poc a poc, si us plau? *Tzemmard ad ayi-t-tinid cwayt cwayt*, *mara texsed*? Per dir que fa poc que heu arribat, podeu dir: Fa poc temps que he arribat, pot parlar més a poc a poc? *Drust zeg wami d leh ge, tzemmard ad tessiwled cwayt cwayt?* D'aquesta manera, les persones de parla catalana, podran respectar el temps de comprensió de cadascú sense haver de canviar de llengua. (versión: catalán-amazig)."

Por último, debemos citar el esfuerzo de las universidades de la comunidad lingüística catalana en la integración de estudiantes extranjeros. Con programas de voluntariado lingüístico, tándems lingüísticos, cursos específicos adaptados al Marco común europeo de referencia para las lenguas (MERC), se pretende no solo aumentar el número de hablantes de catalán sino convencerlos de la utilidad y prestigio de este idioma. Se sigue, así, trabajando la motivación, a la vez que se intenta prevenir, y en su caso revertir, posibles prejuicios, derivados de la presión del español como lengua mayoritaria y de contacto: "Would you like to have a go at speaking Catalan and practising it in a natural and relaxed manner? Become a learner! Do you speak Catalan habitually and have some time to talk with a person who wants to practise? Become a volunteer! You only need one hour a week and to feel like talking!"[22]. Estos programas de fomento lingüístico tienen su vertiente municipal y autonómica en el *Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística*[23], una red de veintidós centros, creada por la Generalitat de Cataluña y las administraciones locales, para la normalización lingüística del catalán, y distribuida por todo el territorio de la comunidad autónoma.

5. Conclusión

Europa ha visto como la tensión entre el reconocimiento de unas lenguas con plenitud de usos y el apoyo irregular y velado, en ocasiones, de otras, ha creado una grieta entre la Europa legalizada y la Europa de la diversidad lingüística.

Si bien el prejuicio lingüístico parece consustancial a la esencia humana, la Europa Moderna, situando las lenguas vernáculas en los ámbitos de primer orden y sustituyendo al latín, inicia la pugna por los usos lingüísticos y su pervivencia. Con la creación de los Estados-nación, unas lenguas universalizarán su uso, discriminando a otras. Las nuevas lenguas de poder harán de la homogeneización lingüística la piedra angular de su proyecto político.

El panorama lingüístico actual, herencia de siglos anteriores, sitúa a unas lenguas a la avanzadilla del grupo, mientras que relega a otras a un futuro nada esperanzador. Y, como nos demuestran los casos del letón o el lituano, el futuro de una lengua puede variar al cambiar su contexto sociopolítico.

Es difícil ocultar la importancia que revisten las condiciones sociopolíticas entre lenguas transfronterizas, como evidencia el contraste entre la vitalidad del catalán de Barcelona frente al de Perpiñán, del que se infiere que un mayor capital político y lingüístico contribuye poderosamente a dotar de un mayor grado social para una lengua.

Toda política lingüística encaminada al fomento de una lengua debe articularse a partir de un imaginario colectivo asertivo hacia la norma lingüística y a su implementación social. Revertir un

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[22] Fragmento extraído del web de la Universidad Pompeu Fabra (UPF), https://www.upf.edu/web/voluntariat-linguistic.

[23] Para más información del despliegue de medios para la promoción del catalán, véase http://www.cpnl.cat.

estado de subordinación incluye dotar a la lengua de prestigio contextual, aportándole suficiente capital simbólico. Actualmente, lenguas como el catalán se posicionan en los primeros peldaños del reconocimiento legal, debido a políticas lingüísticas aplicadas que trabajan las actitudes de sus hablantes (L1) y la promoción de esta lengua entre los nuevos usuarios (L2), a los que se les hace partícipes de tal recuperación. En este proyecto de recuperación lingüística, la comunidad autónoma de Cataluña está a la cabeza por cuanto a la comunidad lingüística catalana se refiere.

El futuro de las lenguas más desfavorecidas de Europa depende, además de políticas lingüísticas internas, de una educación en el respecto y la diversidad lingüística de todos los ciudadanos europeos, lo cual requiere una planificación educativa en el espacio global de este continente.

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EUROJOS: A Project for Developing Cognitive Definitions of Selected Concepts Across Europe*

Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to present the theoretical and methodological issues of the EUROJOS project, which is rooted and has been developed in ethnolinguistics. It aims to create a cognitive definition of selected concepts, regarded as values in European culture. The cognitive definition is based on 3 types of data: lexicographical sources, surveys, and text corpora, with the last playing a crucial role in profiling the concepts. The methodological criteria are shown to have been validated by the description of the chosen results from other research papers regarding the concept WORK in some languages and the concept DEMOCRACY in Polish and German. Whereas the study of the concept WORK serves to demonstrate the all-embracing definition of the concept, including its universal semantic aspects, the example of DEMOCRACY shows the relevancy of profiling, and thus of the role of public discourse and the media.

Sommaire

L'objet de cette contribution est de présenter les aspects théoriques et méthodologiques du projet EUROJOS, lequel s'est développé dans le cadre ethnolinguistique. Le but du projet est de créer une définition cognitive d'une sélection de concepts regardé comme des valeurs dans la culture européenne. La définition cognitive se base sur 3 types de dates: des sources lexicographiques, des enquêtes et des corpus linguistiques. Ces derniers jouent un rôle central pour la définition ("la profilation") d'un concept. Les critères méthodologiques sont confirmés par les résultats d'autres études sur les concept TRAVAIL dans quelques langues et le concept DÉMOCRATIE en polonais et allemand. L'étude sur le concept TRAVAIL sert à élucider la définition général du concepts, les éléments universels de sa sémantique; l'exemple de DÉMOCRATIE, cependant, sert à illustrer l'importance de la profilation et ainsi le rôle du discours public et les médias.

Zusammenfassung

Das Ziel des Beitrags ist es, theoretische und methodologische Fragestellungen des Projekts EUROJOS darzustellen, das in der Ethnolinguistik verankert ist und weiterhin entwickelt wird. Es beabsicht die Erschaffung der kognitiven Definition von bestimmten Konzepten, die in der europäischen Kultur als Werte gelten. Diese Definition stützt sich auf 3 Datentypen: lexikographische Quellen, Befragungsdaten und Textkorpora, wobei die letzten die entscheidende Rolle beim Profilieren der Konzepte spielen. Die methodologischen Kriterien werden durch die Beschreibung von ausgewählten Ergebnissen des Konzepts ARBEIT in einigen Sprachen und des Konzepts DEMOKRATIE im Polnischen und Deutschen als begründet erklärt. Die Studie über das Konzept ARBEIT dient dazu, die übergreifende Definition des Konzepts, seine universellen Bedeutungsaspekte zu erörtern, das Beispiel DEMOKRATIE dagegen, um die Relevanz des Profilierens aufzuzeigen, somit die Rolle von öffentlichem Diskurs und von Medien.

Rekapitulacja

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie kwestii teoretycznych i metodologicznych naukowego projektu EUROJOS zakotwiczonego i rozwijanego w etnolingwistyce. Zakłada on tworzenie definicji kognitywnej określonych konceptów, które w kulturze europejskiej są postrzegane jako wartości. Definicja kognitywna oparta jest o trzy typy danych: leksykograficzne, ankietowe i tekstowe, z których te ostatnie odgrywają kluczową rolę w profilowaniu konceptów. Przedstawiony opis wybranych wyników badań nad konceptem PRACA w niektórych językach oraz nad konceptem DEMOKRACJA w języku polskim i niemieckim ukazuje zasadność założeń metodologicznych. Wywód dotyczący konceptu PRACA posłużył do zilustrowania syntetycznej definicji konceptu, jego uniwersalnych aspektów znaczeniowych, natomiast na przykładzie konceptu DEMOKRACJA została uwidoczniona relewancja profilowania, tym samym rola dyskursu publicznego i mediów.

* The present article is a shortened English version of the German lecture "EUROJOS: Ein Projekt zur Erschaffung von kognitiver Definition bestimmter Konzepte im europäischen Vergleich".

1. The EUROJOS Research Project – an Introduction

The EUROJOS research project "Językowo-kulturowy obraz świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów na tle porównawczym" 'The linguistic-cultural worldview of the Slavs and their neighbours from a comparative point of view' is rooted in anthropological-cultural linguistic studies. The theoretical principles are formed by the theory of linguistic worldview (Wilhelm von Humboldt, Leo Weisgerber) and the concept of relativism (Edward Sapir, Benjamin Lee Whorf), which, as part of cognitive linguistics[1], has been continued and developed mainly by Jerzy Bartmiński in Lublin, the founder of *Lublin School of Ethnolinguistics*. The name EUROJOS now refers to an international group in which axiological comparative studies have been carried out and published since 2001[2]. The EUROJOS program is referred to as a reconstruction of those values which determine the identity of a language community, namely a certain linguistic worldview, which consolidates certain communities like the familiar, regional, national and transnational and which creates their identity, is contained in language as a result of the experience, the conceptualisation as well as the interpretation of the world.

Comparative studies of the linguistic worldview have been underpinned by similarities and differences in the conceptualisation of the world of different communicative communities, concerning both specific national and universal aspects (cf. Bartmiński u.a. 1989a, 1989, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008a,2008b, 2008c, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Bartmiński/Chlebda 2008).

The focus of EUROJOS is to provide cross-language and cross-cultural analysis of different concepts in Slavic and other European languages. The first phase of studies of axiological values embraced values such as HOUSE/HOME, EUROPE, WORK, FREEDOM, HONOUR. Others, such

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[1] Cognitive ethnolinguistics has been distinguished in the Slavic field from the dialectological (N. and S. Tołstoj) and etymological ethnolinguistics (W. Iwanow und W. Toporow). Cf. Duličenko (2011:155), Zinken (2009), Nepop-Ajdaczyć (2007), Vaňková (2010).

[2] The denotation EUROJOS comes from the abbreviation of EUROPA and JOS (*językowy obraz świata* 'linguistic worldview'). The first results of the interest in values were the Polish axiological dictionary (Bartmiński 1989), the study of values entitled *Nazwy wartosci: Studia leksykalno-semantyczne* 'Names of values: Lexical-semantic studies' (ed. Bartmiński/Mazurkiewicz-Brzozowska 1993) and *Pojęcie ojczyzny we współczesnych językach europejskich* 'The concept of homeland in modern European languages' (ed. Bartminski 1993a). The idea of EUROJOS was born earlier, in 1985, taken up later at many linguistic conferences and was founded as an international seminar (EOROJOS-2) in 2009 at the Slavic institute of PAN (The Polish Academy of Sciences) in Warsaw. Alongside linguists, sociologists and cultural experts also announced their willingness to participate in EUROJOS. The participants came from 19 foreign and 12 Polish institutions: the Slavic Institute (Moscow/Russia), the Ural Federal University (Yekaterinburg/Russia), the Belarusian State University (Minsk/Belarus), Charles University (Prague/Czech Republic), Constantine the Philosopher University (Nitra/Slovak), Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Lviv/Ukraine), the Humboldt University (Berlin/Germany), the Centre for Serbian (Novi Sad/Serbia), the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow/Russia), Vilnius University (Vilnius/Lithuania), Taras Shevchenko University of Kiev (Kiev/Ukraine), the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (Athens/Greece), the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Zagreb/Croatia) the Democritus University of Thrace (Komotini/Greece), the Institute for the Bulgarian Language (Sofia/Bulgaria), the Department of Psychology of Portsmouth University (Portsmouth/UK), Ghent University (Ghent/Belgium), the Department of Slavic Languages at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (Milwaukee/USA), Stockholm University (Stockholm/Sweden). Universities and higher schools from Poland have also announced their willingness to participate in EUROJOS: the University of Opole, the University of Wrocław, the "Artes Liberales" Faculty of the University of Warsaw, the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, the University of Silesia in Katowice, the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, the University of Warsaw, the Pultusk Academy of Humanities, the East European State Higher School in Przemyśl, the Institute of Slavic Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. The journal *Etnolingwistyka* has become the journal of EUROJOS.

as DEMOCRACY, JUSTICE, HEALTH, HOME/HOME COUNTRY, FAMILY, NATION, PATRIOTISM, SOUL, SOLIDARITY, TOLERANCE are being pursued at the moment[3].

13 EUROJOS workshops/conferences have taken place in Poland and abroad, including Portsmouth/UK and Moscow/Russia; participants have come from different countries: Poland, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, Chechia, Serbia, Croatia, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Australia, Japan, and Mexico.

1.1. Key Concepts of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics

This and the following subsection present chosen cognitive ethnolinguistic terms in the form of concise definitions in order to give an insight into the study subject and methods used (the Polish terms are given right of the slashes).[4]

- **linguistic worldview/*językowy obraz świata* –** an interpretation of the world contained in a language; a collection of statements about the world perpetuated in grammatical forms, in lexis, in "cliché texts" or in "implicated texts" (cf. Bartmiński 1990: 110).
- **stereotype/*stereotyp* –** a perception of an object constituted by social experience, perpetuated in the language, included in common world knowledge; basic perception, basic concept (cf. Bartmiński 1996: 9).
- **cognitive definition/*definicja kognitywna*** – a definition unit is a mental object; projection, not a reflection of a real object. It aims at a description of the understanding of the object, i.e. of the knowledge of the world, of a categorisation of its phenomena, characteristics, and evaluation; the knowledge is socially established, recognisable through the language (cf. Bartmiński 1988: 169-170). The cognitive definition is an instrument used to describe stereotypes.
- **profiling/*profilowanie*** – a subjective-conceptual process which aims to create an object image, capturing it in terms of certain aspects, such as appearance, function, experience, according to the requirements of a certain point of view, an accepted value hierarchy, a communicative intention (cf. Bartmiński/Niebrzegowska 1998: 212-213).
- **profile/*profil*** – a result of profiling; an imagination variant of an object, constituted by the choice of aspects and their order, according to the implication rules; a variant created by a mode (cf. Bartmiński/Niebrzegowska 1998: 217). The profile is a variant of basic perception, created from a subjective point of view, i.e. according to the accepted values and communicative intention, e.g. a liberal or Catholic profile. Sub-profiles are variants of a profile (cf. Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013: 272). – The variants of basic perceptions are different under aspects of style, genre, space and time. They are understood as profiles of a linguistic worldview. Profiles are built by the choice of aspects, their order, fillers, depending on the knowledge and communicative intention (cf. Bartmiński/Niebrzegowska 1998: 217; Bartmiński 1993a). A profile is in coherence with a given discourse, its ideological bias. Therefore, it is appropriate to talk about linguistic worldviews: the singular form is traced back to the common basic perception.
- **point of view/*punkt widzenia*** – a subjective-cultural factor; a collection of directives which forms the content of words and statements, their content structure. It is considered to be the basis for the identification of speech genres; it decides on the manner of speech, on

[3] The volumes of *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów* (Bartmiński 2015ff.) that have already been published are on: (1) DOM 'house' (edited by Bartmiński/Bielińska-Gabriel/Żywicka), (2) PRACA 'work' (edited by Bartmiński/Brzozowska/Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska) and HONOR 'honour' (edited by Ajdačić/Sotirov). In preparation are EUROPA 'Europe' (edited by Jerzy Bartmiński) and WOLNOŚĆ 'freedom' (edited by Maciej Abramowicz and Jerzy Bartmiński).

[4] The order of the terms is determined by content-based criteria.

categorisation, on the choice of features which are claimed in particular statements about the object (cf. Bartmiński 1990: 111).

- **subject/*podmiot*** – lies behind the point of view; it acts, conceptualises, verbalises the perceived and experienced objects, according to certain aims and needs, i.e. according to what the speech community considers as important, valuable, good (cf. Bartmiński 2008b).
- **value/*wartość*** – a linguistic worldview depends on a value system, evident or latent. Values are a factor which directs the construction of the view of reality (by the subject who experiences and conceptualises the world, e.g. by the speech community). Values constitute the cultural and social identity of the language community (cf. Bartmiński 2003: 62-63).

1.2. Other Cognitive Ethnolinguistic Concepts

- **facet/*faseta*** – a collection of statements; a component of explication (cf. Bartmiński/ Niebrzegowska 1998: 215). The facet is a subcategory, which is formulated during the analysis. A similar concept can be found by Ronald Langacker regarding the "domain". Facets might be clustered in categories (STIN 1979: 45). Additionally, it is regarded as a scheme to order the corpus, as well as being applied to compare descriptions.
- **term/*pojęcie*** – a result of the cognitive process in which a certain structure is given to reality according to the categories of the human brain (such as space, time, substance, amount, possibility, necessity). The term reflects not only the categorisation rule, but also current conceptualisation and profiling, which are aspects of the mental experience. The term is not the sum of the object's features, but a holistic *gestalt* with a central area and peripheries (cf. Szczepankowska 2011: 111-112).
- **concept/*koncept*** – is composed of cognitive, emotional and pragmatic content, based on individual and social experiences, i.e. cultural connotations are attributed to the term, which is axiological marked (cf. Bartmiński 2015: 9; Bartmiński/Chlebda 2013: 71). – The understanding of the concept corresponds to that of the Russian researcher Sergey Askoldov. Askoldov understood the concept as a mental product, which represents a collection of the same type of objects. The concepts are shaped depending on education and personal experience. They vary from terms, which are steady, universal, accurate, according to the convention rule; they are subjected to deliberate regulations, while concepts can be not only thought but also experienced; they are objects of emotions, sympathy or antipathy, they sometimes are entangled in contradictions, develop spontaneously, and can only be reconstructed (cf. Gryshkova 2012: 225).

2. Methodological Approach

2.1. Corpus

The corpus is first built by *hard* data – system data from lexicons, including etymology and phraseological dictionaries as well as dictionaries of synonyms and antonyms. The lexical-semantic network is formed by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships: hyperonyms/hyponyms, opposites, synonyms, derivatives (word-formation derivatives and semantic/metaphorical derivates), collocations, and proverbs.

Experimental data, i.e. inquiry data, constitutes the other type of data. The open question: *What in your opinion forms the true x?* is preferred. The study population includes a minimum 200 students, evenly balanced in terms of sex (50% men and 50% women), divided into 2 groups, which present contrasting disciplines, (e.g. human science vs. natural or physical science). Finally, text data are

considered, namely varied texts – proverbs as minimal cliché texts, and texts of general standard language.

Sources are built by popular science texts, national press texts, as well as lingual corpora. The minimum amount of contexts is 300, which should be characterised by a neutral and current style. The balanced corpus is based on press texts, which are ideologically diverse. The repeatability of contexts constitutes the crucial criterion for their selection. The description of concepts (the illustration of stereotypes and specific variants) are handled according to premises of the cognitive definition (cf. Bartmiński 1988). The cognitive definition embraces the knowledge, which is socially established, of the particular language community about the typical "object". What is meant here are fixed, established, linguistic and cultural features, as well as "statements about the object"" in the shape of a sentence or a text equivalent. Features and statements are grouped in blocks called *facets*.

2.2. Approach: Separative vs. Holistic

In the **separative approach**, the data from 3 types of sources is treated separately. Clustering happens according to the types of system data, e.g. derivatives, phraseological units, opposites, etymology or according to aspects, e.g. *how/what/who is x? which function does x play? what are phenomena of x?* Inquiry data is collected according to chronological order and certain aspects: physical, biological, local, temporal, social, psychological, political, ideological, national, military, historical, ethical, esthetical, religious (cf. Brzozowska 2006: 40-41).

The following scheme illustrates the separative description of the concept EUROPE. [5]

Introduction
Research overview
Europe in the light of system data
Europe in the light of inquiry data
Europe in the light of texts data
Synthetic cognitive definition

In the **holistic approach**, all statements are clustered in parallel according to the semantic aspects/facets. The holistic description is illustrated by the example of the concept FREEDOM.[6]

[5] Cf. Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2014). The scheme was developed in reference to the materials of the workshop EUROJOS-IX, Puławy 20-22 March 2014 (the concept EUROPE in German; by Dominika Zawadzka-Koch).

[6] Cf. Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2014). The scheme was developed in reference to the materials of the workshop EUROJOS-IX, Puławy 20-22 March 2014 (the concept FREEDOM in Polish; by Jerzy Bartmiński/ Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska).

I. Introduction
1. Research overview
2. Semantic overview of the lexeme for FREEDOM

II. Reconstruction of the basic concept of FREEDOM
1. Explication considering all 3 data types
a. Denotation and etymology
b. Categorisation: FREEDOM as an action object, a target
c. Synonyms, Antonyms
d. Collocations
e. Opposites
f. Subject of freedom
g. FREEDOM in network of other values
h. Scope of FREEDOM
i. Features of FREEDOM
j. Foundations
k. Boundaries/limitations
2. Synthetic definition of FREEDOM

III. Reconstruction of specified profiles of FREEDOM
1. church-Catholic discourse
2. liberal-democratic discourse
3. feminist discourse
4. national right-wing discourse
5. extreme-liberal discourse
6. left-wing discourse

Summary: Confrontation of profiles contained in discourses

3. The Concept WORK – a Synthetic Description

The volume PRACA (Bartmiński/Brzozowska/Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2016)[7] covers the study of the concept WORK in 14 languages: Ancient Greek, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Slovakian, Czech, Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian, German, Spanish, Italian. The separative, as well as holistic, descriptions are presented in this volume, generally according to the following scheme:

Introduction
Research overview
Corpus data
WORK in the light of system data
WORK in the light of inquiry data
WORK in the light of texts data
Synthetic cognitive definition
Profiling of WORK in current discourses

[7] WORK is one of the main values which decide the life and the position of the human being in society, as well as the position of societies in the world (cf. Bartmiński 2016). Japanese and African languages were included in the volume DOM.

In what follows, selected aspects of the description of WORK are discussed, whereby the primary goal is to exemplify the efficiency of the method of the cognitive definition, and therefore to illustrate the results of the comparison in summary.

3.1. WORK According to Hard Data

3.1.1. Denotations of WORK and Its Etymology[8]

The following designations for the concept WORK appeared in Ancient Greek: *ergon* 'work, creation' *práksis* 'action, achievement', *pónos* 'effort', *póiesis* 'fertileness'.

In Sanskrit, the lexeme *varga* corresponded to the Greek *ergon* and is etymologically connected with English *work*, German *Werk* 'work', Lithuanian *vargas* 'slave'.

From the Indo-European *orbhos* we get Latin *labor* (originally *labos*) 'work, suffering, painful effort' occurred, hence Italian *lavoro*, English *labour*. Other correspondences are *rabhas* in Sanskrit, *rabh/arbh* in Hindi, *rabhas/ arbhas* in Old Germanic, *arbaiths* in Gothic, *darbas* in Lithuanian, *Arbeit* in German (Old High German *arabeit*, *arebeit* 'effort, pain, suffering, divine retribution') and a number of Slavic words: Old Church Slavonic *robota/rabota* with the meaning 'slavery, captivity', Czech *robota* 'serfage, drudgery', Polish and Ukrainian *robota* as 'work', Russ. *rabota* (Old Polish *roba* 'slave', *parobek* 'servant, farm hand', Russ. *rab* 'slave') (cf. Bartmiński/Brzozowska 2016, Eremina 2016).

Another lexical type in Slavic is *praca*: Czech *práce*, Old Czech *prácě* 'effort', Slovakian *práca*, Polish *praca* (maybe from Czech in the sense of 'effort'); Belarusian *праца* and Ukrainian *праця* may be both adopted from Polish in different phonetic variants. There are different etymologic hypotheses relating to the lexeme *praca* 'work'. One of these traces *praca* back to *part* 'heavy linen', *partać* 'work miserably' and links the lexeme *praca* with linen weave (cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1966, as cited in Bartmiński 2016: 26).

The Lithuanian *triū̲sas* 'work' is linked to *trud* 'effort, suffering, anxiety, sadness' in Old Church Slavonic; to *trud* 'effort' in Polish, and to *mpyð* 'work, effort' in Russian and Bulgarian**.**

For the French *travail*, and the Spanish *trabajo* there are also a number of etymological theories.the most accepted one being *tripalium* 'three-pole [torture instrument]' (cf. Sońta 2016, as cited in Bartmiński 2016: 27, TLFi s.v. *travail*).

3.1.2. Lexicographic Description

The dictionaries quote a different number of definitions of *work*, from 3 in Lithuanian or in German to 8 in Italian. For example in German, *Arbeit* means '1. physical or intellectual activity with a certain purpose; 2. occupational activity, to occupy oneself with sth., exhausting activity; 3. result, product, formation, a way of realisation' (Duden 1985, as cited in Bartmiński [2016: 28]). In Polish, *praca* 'work' is defined as '1. deliberate activity, occupational activity; 2. product; 3. employment; 4. the activity of organs, organism; 5. the work of a machine; 6. a place of work; 7. (physics) value, describing the energy you need to move an object' (Dubisz 2003, as cited in Bartmiński 2016: 28).

Only in these two examples it can be noted that neither the number of features nor their quality corresponds to each other. There is no consistency to the superior category which would determine

[8] Following Bartmiński (2016), Vol. 3: 25-27.

the choice of characterising features, which correspond to each other only partially (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 28).

The following **hyperonyms** of WORK, according to frequency, come into question: activity, action (Polish, Czech, Russian, Slovakian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian, German, Italian); occupation (Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish, German, Spanish); activity (Polish, Serbian, Slovakian); action (Polish, German); functioning (Polish, Slovakian); process (Ukrainian); production (Lithuanian) (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 28-29).

Among the semantic aspects/**facets** according to which WORK was described, are the superior category, the subject of activity, target, instrument, product, quality, features of activity, effort, reward, circumstances: place and time. The superior category, subject, target, and product constitute obligatory components of the definitions (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 30-31).

Among the **antonyms** were unemployment, rest, leisure, vacation, holiday, retirement, calm, relaxation, celebration, entertainment, strike, laziness, idleness, boredom (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 32-33).

Regarding **derivates**, the subject of work is raised, i.e. the worker or employee. There are derivates in Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Lithuanian, and Bulgarian denoting persons who are fond of work, who do it with pleasure, e.g. Lithuanian *darbštus*, Czech *prácemilovný* (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 33-35). On the other hand, one may refer to people which do not manage to work in moderation: Ger. *arbeitsüchtig*, Pol. *pracoholik*, Engl. *workaholic.*

In the **phraseology**, one may be confronted with such lexical elements as: *bee* (Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian), *ant* (Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Spanish, Lithuanian), *ox* (Polish, Italian, Bulgarian), *mule* (Spanish), *dog* (Italian), *animal* (Spanish) (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 33-35).

A great number of **collocations** concern the nature of the accomplished work, e.g. *physical work, intellectual work, black labour* (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 33-35). Employer, employee, instrument as well as place are fixed linguistically (especially the hand among instruments, e.g. *to have one's hands full* (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 33-35).

3.2. Survey Data

The Polish respondents emphasised financial aspects, like income and maintenance, as well as psychological aspects such as satisfaction, engagement, and passion in the answers to the question *What in your opinion forms true work?* However, the Slovakian students mentioned the possibility of personal creativity, self-realisation and joy, but also stress. In the survey data of the Belarusian respondents, preferences, payoff, maintenance, devotion, and joy were underlined. The Ukrainian opinion of work embraces such aspects as hobby, satisfaction, but also income, maintenance, insurance, the maintenance of the family, and benefits to worker and society. The Serbian students define work as an activity which should bring benefits, or effort alternatively. Work needs engagement and willingness to devotion. They also emphasise financial and mental advantages like satisfaction or respectfulness. From the survey of German people, the following concept arises as a result: work as effort, calling, activity with a target (such as income), which should provide the worker with psychical comfort. Altruism, efficiency, personal development complete the characteristic list. The Spanish interviewees point to work as effort which should ensure self-realisation, satisfaction, joy but no coercion (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 35-37).

Effort plays a dominating role in the concept of work of the Spanish, German, Serbian respondents; the Slovakian, Ukrainian, Belarusian associate work with satisfaction, passion, and self-realisation; Poles, in contrast, with income (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 37).

3.3. Summary

The analysis of the concept of WORK according to all 3 types of data in the 14 languages above revealed the following semantic aspects/facets: Work appears as **activity/occupation** in opposite to e.g. play, sport, prayer; as a vital necessity; the acting **subject** is a human being who carries out a certain **kind of work**, i. e. usually a career; the activity is concentrated on a target; it requires effort; the **result** constitutes a material product or value such as a salary; work is treated as a **moral duty**; it can be physical or intellectual, heavy or light, nice or strenuous, team work or individual, paid or unpaid, voluntary or compulsory; work often needs certain **instruments**; it occurs at a special **place**; can be characterised by temporal **limits**; it is practised according to certain **rules** (cf. Bartmiński 2016: 37-39).

3.4. Profiling

Two main profiles of work were distinguished as a consequence of comparing the analyses of texts, namely the traditional profile and the contemporary.[9] The traditional profile is based on the prototype of a farmer, his work, providing us with bread (Polish, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, Spanish). The plough, scythe, sickle denote fruitful effort. Work is understood as cooperation with nature; the human being is subordinated to work and is awarded its products. This profile is transferred to other areas of work and, building on religious motivation, lets work appear as a **moral duty**, according to the Bible.

The **contemporary** profile (Belarusian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, Spanish) is described as being pragmatic and secular. From the perspective of the employer, the product is emphasised; however, from the perspective of the employee, working conditions, quality, income are foregrounded; in the institutional subvariant, employment law must be obeyed in favour of society. There might be other variants of this profile, e.g. in Polish, work is described from the perspective of an unemployed person; in Belarusian, the youth profile shows satisfaction as a result of labour; the intellectual profile points to work without time limits.

4. DEMOCRACY in German and Polish

In this section, the differences presented refer to the profiling of the concept DEMOCRACY in German and Polish. A partial result of the profiling of the basic concept, common to both languages, will be given, which should provide evidence that the same concept can be realised in both language communities differently. This fact can lead to misunderstandings, especially at the social and political level. The illustration of the possibilities and consequences of a various profiling aims to justify the high status of this kind of research. Such studies can serve as a semantic basis for cooperation between different linguistic-cultural communities.

The stereotype of DEMOCRACY is defined in German and Polish as follows: DEMOCRACY is a form of governance, in which the whole folk/nation/majority of the community/the chosen government rules. The form of governance is based on the constitution. Citizens are equal before the law, they have rights such as freedom, equality, justice, the guarantee of constitutionality, of parties, of pluralism; in economic terms, of the free market (cf. Grzeszczak 2015:101-104, 217-

[9] For a description of these profiles cf. Bartmiński (2016: 39-40).

220). The concept can also be applied to a democratic country, the rule of social life, a synonym of equality as well as of citizens' freedom.

The stereotype of DEMOCRACY is profiled in these two language communities, whereby the following profiles are distinguished: liberal-democratic, center-right, right, Catholic (sub-profiles in Polish: church-Catholic, liberal-Catholic, national-Catholic[10], in German: Catholic, evangelical), feminist, ultra-left-wing[11]. The description of the stereotype proceeds in accordance with the semantic aspects/facets: freedom, equality, pluralism, governance, attitude to minorities, tolerance, free market, attitude to the church/ state - church relationship, attitude to worldviews, especially abortion.

Only differences in the profiling with regard to the particular aspects are discussed below. Common aspects will be not taken into account at this point.

- FREEDOM **Polish, national-Catholic**: each nation is vested with the right to self-determination; full national freedom is postulated
- EQUALITY **Polish, national-Catholic:** equality before the law for unborn children is emphasised the; **German evangelic:** equal status in terms of religious education in public schools is postulated; also, equal treatment of religion and ethics, the equality of all people as well as the participation of all people in all church structures
- PLURALISM **Polish, church-Catholic:** political pluralism is assumed, but axiological pluralism is rejected; **national-Catholic:** the requirement of respecting Christian values in the law plays a dominating role; this brings a rejection of axiological pluralism and of the pluralism of worldviews; the pluralism of the media is postulated, regarding Catholic media; **German Catholic:** the pluralism of religions and worldviews are both possible
- GOVERNANCE **Polish, church-Catholic:** the governance of the whole community regarding the rule of the common good is predicated; **national-Catholic:** the governance of the nation, nations of Europe, not of a democratically chosen majority, is postulated; **liberal-Catholic:** there is talk of governance by a majority that respects minorities
- ATTITUDE TO MINORITIES **Polish, church-Catholic:** there is no acceptance of the rights and requirements of sexual minorities (the rights of the traditional family are defended); **national-Catholic:** there is an acceptance of rights for different minorities except for sexual minorities
- TOLERANCE **Polish, centre-right:** homosexual relationships/marriages and their equal treatment are rejected; **national-Catholic:** respect and high esteem for believers, religious symbols are required; tolerance is sensible only if it supports the inherent dignity; **German liberal-democratic:** tolerance to Muslims and foreigners are underlined
- FREE MARKET **Polish, liberal-democratic:** the free market adds to inequality, supports the best in society; **ultra-left-wing:** the free market is a space for immorality, crimes; **German feminist:** Capitalism spoils human nature, is orientated only towards profit; **ultra-left:** the consequence of capitalism is the fact that only the interests of the rich minority are represented; the free market is set against the interests of the majority
- ATTITUDE TO CHURCH **Polish, church-Catholic:** the state should preserve natural rights; **national-Catholic:** state law should be based on God's law**; liberal-Catholic:** dialogue and compromise in terms of the worldview are postulated; also, the friendly separation of church and state; respect for each other; **feminist:** democracy is contrasted with the church hierarchy; **ultra-left:** the church is treated as anti-democratic; **German**

[10] The church-Catholic profile refers to the Catholic doctrine *sensu stricto*, and therefore to texts such as encyclicals; liberal-Catholic to the statements of persons, who write for the journal *Tygodnik Powszechny*; the national-Catholic profile is formed by the media *Radio Maryja* and the TV channel *Trwam*.

[11] The description of the differences is based on the research paper by Grzeszczak (2015:180-197, 295-301).

Catholic: the separation between religion and politics is accepted, as well as the legal self-determination of church and state; also, the rule of neutrality of worldviews is accepted; the task of the church is religious education; **evangelic**: belief neutrality of the state, evident separation of church and state, partnership of church and state are expected

- ATTITUDE IN TERMS OF WORLDVIEWS **Polish centre-right:** protection of unborn children is postulated; **church-Catholic** the same; **liberal-Catholic:** a debate between parties about abortion law is assumed, resulting in a compromise; **national-Catholic:** the protection of the unborn is the first and the most important law of democracy; the benchmark for democracy is the prohibition of abortion; **German Catholic:** the protection of life/the unborn and of others is a duty**; German centre-right:** decisions in terms of the worldviews belong to the majority

The differences in the profiling of the concept DEMOCRACY can be traced back to the statements of the Catholic profile in Polish, and especially to the national-Catholic variant of the profile. The presented selection of research results from the profiling of DEMOCRACY allows the conclusion to be drawn that the description of profiling must be an integrated, obligatory element of the research of concepts, and thus of creating their cognitive definition. The cognitive definition is substantiated in such a way that the particular concept could be compared with one similar from other languages regarding its full range of semantic structure. Consequently, reliable statements could be made related to such a comparison.

5. Summary

In the present article, the EUROJOS science project was outlined, which aims to investigate the cognitive definition as a method for describing the semantic structure of concepts/values from a comparative European perspective. The focus lay on the methodology, and thereby its efficiency was exemplified by a selection of research results about the concept WORK and the concept DEMOCRACY. The interest of the author was directed towards a synthetic, all-embracing definition in the languages compared, and therefore towards lexical-semantic similarities, universal aspects which arose from the analysis of all three data types. However, specific aspects were taken into account. At the same time, the methodological procedures could be illustrated in single steps. In contrast, the example of DEMOCRACY was used to outline the relevance of the exploration of profiles, i.e. the study left no doubt as to what extent media discourse can contribute to the creation of a semantic structure of concepts. Hence, the crucial role of the media may play an important part in reaching an understanding between various language communities.

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The Notion of *Europe* in British Conversative Parliamentary Speeches

Abstract

This article addresses the use of the word *Europe* in parliamentary speeches by the leaders of the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom. A special focus is on the speeches in which former party leader Iain Duncan Smith, in office from September 2001 to November 2003, mentioned the word "Europe", since he later also featured prominently in both the pro-Brexit campaign and the still ongoing Brexit debate . Both the number of occurrences of the word *Europe* and its use and collocations are taken into account in the analysis. In concrete collocations, *Europe* is connected with 'possibly positive in the future' and 'negative status quo'.

Sommaire

Cet article adresse l'usage du mot *Europe* dans le discours parlementaire mené par les leaders du parti conservatif au Royaume-Uni. L'ancien leader Iain Duncan Smith, qui continue à participer au débat autour le départ du Royaume Uni de l'Union Européenne jusqu'à ce jour, est le personnage central de cette analyse. L'usage et les collocations du mot *Europe* seront analysés. On verra que, dans des collocations concrètes, le mot *Europe* est lié à 'possiblement positif dans l'avenir' et 'status quo négatif'.

Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Artikel beschäftigt sich mit dem Gebrauch des Wortes *Europe* in den Reden von konservativen Parteivorsitzenden im britischen Parlament. Der Fokus liegt hierbei auf dem ehemaligen Vorsitzenden Iain Duncan Smith, der sich bis heute in die anhaltende Brexit-Debatte einmischt und unbeirrt für einen raschen und kompromisslosen Austritt aus der EU eintritt. Sowohl der Gebrauch als auch die Kollokationen des Begriffs werden analysiert. In konkreten Kollokationen zeigt sich eine Verknüpfung von *Europe* mit 'möglicherweise positiv in der Zukunft' und 'negativer Status Quo'.

1. Introduction

How do politicians in the UK use the term *Europe* in parliamentary discourse? This question is especially relevant because the relationship between the UK and the continent has been and is very controversial. The "Brexit" referendum last year has certainly added importance to this research area, with negotiations still underway at the time of writing this article.

Adopting Chilton's view that there is a "deep link between the political and the linguistic" (Chilton 2004: xi) and a constructivist view of language in general leads me to the hypothesis that to understand the current positions of the British Conservative government, we have to understand what "Europe" means to them and how the leaders of the Conservative Party have been using the term. This paper will focus on Iain Duncan Smith, who was party leader from September 2001 to November 2003. He became a prominent pro-Brexiter as a Cabinet minister under David Cameron (see e.g. Mason 2016) and continues to contribute to the ongoing debate, advocating a hard Brexit if the EU does not make concessions to the UK (see e.g. Groves 2017).

2. Research Design

My research questions are, therefore:

- How is the word *Europe* used in political discourse?
- Is it used as a synonym for the EU or to refer to the continent? Is the UK included in the notion or imagined as outside of it?
- Which collocations are frequently used in connection with the term “Europe”?

The data I analysed in order to answer these questions are speeches made by Conservative Party leaders in parliament. The period from 1997 to 2010 was chosen because many important events happening in European politics during this time made it likely that the concept of Europe would be discussed in Parliament. This includes the Amsterdam Treaty, the proposed EU constitution but also the big enlargement in 2004. A corpus consisting of all documented speeches made by party leaders in parliament was thus drawn up, followed by a lexical search for occurrences of the word *Europe*. After this quantitative analysis, all the instances in the relevant speeches were then analysed individually.

3. Results

Overall, Conservative Party leaders made contributions to 867 debates in Parliament between 1997 and 2010. The word *Europe* was used 441 times in the speeches by Conservative party leaders. It was used in 129 different speeches. This means the term *Europe* was mentioned in roughly 15% of all contributions. Since all five opposition leaders used it, we can conclude that there was a pretty constant discussion of the term over the researched period.

Focusing now on Iain Duncan Smith in particular, it emerged that he referred to *Europe* even more often, when speaking about relative numbers: Out of the 102 speeches he made overall during his term of office as party leader from September 2011 to November 2003, he mentioned *Europe* 65 times, in a total of 21 debates (see Table 1). This means he talked about this term in 20,5% of all the speeches he made in parliament.

Name of Debate	*Date*	*Hansard Volume no.*	*occ.*
Engagements	28/11/2001	375	2
Engagements	12/12/2001	376	1
European Council (Laeken)	17/12/2001	377	9
Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting	06/03/2002	381	3
European Council (Barcelona)	18/03/2002	382	8
Engagements	10/04/2002	383	1
AMENDMENT OF THE LAW	17/04/2002	383	2
European Council (Seville)	24/06/2002	387	10
Engagements	17/07/2002	389	1
European Council	28/10/2002	391	10
Engagements	04/12/2002	395	1
European Council (Copenhagen)	16/12/2002	396	3
Iraq	18/03/2003	401	1
Iraq and European Council	24/03/2003	402	1
AMENDMENT OF THE LAW	09/04/2003	403	1
Engagements	21/05/2003	405	1
European Council	23/06/2003	407	2
Engagements	10/09/2003	410	1
Engagements	17/09/2003	410	1
Engagements	29/10/2003	412	5
Engagements	05/11/2003	412	1
Total: 21 debates			*65*

Table 1: List of Speeches by Iain Duncan Smith mentioning Europe

In some of those speeches, the word occurred more than once; the debates on the European Council summits in Laeken, Barcelona, Seville as well as a "normal" one in Brussels stand out, as does one session of Prime Minister's Questions (titled "Engagements" in the official report, the *Hansard*) right at the end of Iain Duncan Smith's term of office. It can be concluded that the term *Europe* is a meaningful term which is often discussed in the British Parliament. Yet what is this *Europe* that is mentioned so often? This question will be addressed in the following, looking at all the occurrences individually and using examples by to illustrate the findings.

This second analysis step led to the exclusion of 9 occurrences of the word *Europe* from the corpus, because it was either used in a quote of someone else's speech (4 cases), or simply referred to the name of a Secretary of State, the "Minister for Europe" (5 cases). The remaining 56 instances were then analysed in more detail, determining from the context in which sense the word *Europe* was used in each case. The topics or rather policy areas addressed in connection with the word *Europe* were the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the EU enlargement, and the Constitution treaty.

In the following, extracts from the five speeches by Iain Duncan Smith containing the most numerous occurrences of the word *Europe* will be analysed as examples before the more general results will be summarised. In the first of these speeches", Iain Duncan Smith sharply criticised the outcome of the Laeken European Council from December 2001 (my emphasis in bold):

> "I shall quote from the declaration: "Over the last ten years, construction of a political union has begun". Furthermore, the document asks, How [sic] can the authority and efficiency of the European Commission be enhanced? Is that really what **the nations and the people of Europe** have been crying out for: enhanced significance and power for the Commission and deeper political union? […]
> Notwithstanding the Prime Minister's words, the document discusses dismissively the importance of national Parliaments. It says: The national parliaments also contribute towards the legitimacy of the European project. I thought they were **the legitimacy of anything in Europe**, rather than just contributing to it. Again, for those at Laeken the European project came first. They go on to say that they want to see **Europe more involved** in foreign affairs, security and defence". Yet again, deeper and deeper integration. […]
> Secondly, the Prime Minister cannot believe that he has moved the argument into **a federal Europe** rather than away from it in signing up to what is becoming a European constitution. […]
> As the Prime Minister said, **the future of Europe** does matter: it matters immensely. The Prime Minister has agreed to the establishment of a convention that is supposed to involve a balance of agreement **about where we are going on Europe**. Will he now say whom he intends to put on that body, from the national Parliament? We have already heard that the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Miliband) will be part of the praesidium, as they call it; and I read today that the right hon. Member for Hartlepool (Mr. Mandelson) might be on it. There seems to be no end of attempts to find a job for the right hon. Member for Hartlepool. Two weeks ago, he was going to be Mayor of London; now he will be on the praesidium **in Europe**. Is the Prime Minister prepared to open up the debate by offering such a post to somebody from the Conservative party, who would have a different view? [Interruption.] I challenge the Prime Minister: he says that he **wants a decentralised Europe**, so is he prepared to appoint to the praesidium somebody from the Conservative party who has a different view of the direction that we should take? If not, we know very well that he has no intention of seeing any change.
> The Laeken Council was about a greater move towards a European state. I am reminded of the words of Humpty Dumpty. When I use a word, he said, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less … The question is … which is to be master—that's all. Over the weekend, we learned that the Prime Minister acquiesced, once and for all, **in making the master of this process Europe**, not the nation state." ("European Council (Laeken)", 17/12/2001).

In this speech, the word *Europe* is used as a synonym for the EU and two different versions of it are presented: one that the speaker, Iain Duncan Smith, approves of, namely an EU whose legitimacy emanates from the "nations and the people of Europe" and which is organised in a way that he characterises as "decentralised" later in the speech. And the opposite version, where supranational elements like the EU Commission take precedence and the EU is an actor of its own who gets "more involved" in policy areas like foreign affairs. This personification of the notion of "Europe" is interesting in that it verbally creates a political opponent which advocates of the first version of "Europe" should therefore watch with suspicion. The last sentence in the speech repeats this meaning in that "Europe" is framed as the "master of this process" instead of the nation states, where legitimacy and the power to act and decide on the future development of the EU should be based. This predicament is further elaborated in two mentions of "the future of Europe" and the question of the direction any such future development: the central question Iain Duncan Smith frames is "where we are going on Europe". Here, the pronoun *we* together with the preposition *on [Europe]* suggests that *Europe* in this case stands not only for the EU as a political project, but that it is a topic which also includes the UK's role in the EU and the policies the UK government adopt vis-à-vis the danger of the whole project possibly going in a direction the speaker does not approve of.

Later in the same speech, the preposition *in* is used, which indicates that the word *Europe* is used here in a geographical sense. In this particular case, where the Convention on the Future of Europe is referred to, a body charged with developing a draft EU Constitution, it is additionally used as a metonymy for the city of Brussels, where this body was located.

In the next speech, occasioned by the next European Council meeting, Iain Duncan Smith uses the word *Europe* in the sense of the member states of the European Union. This time it is not the institutions in Brussels but the totality of member states and the economic situation in them. Using

the United States as a counterpart to compare to, Iain Duncan Smith criticised the pension crisis and service price levels "[i]n Europe" before he goes on to personify "Europe" again as an actor on a global scale, and an actor who has to compete with other big actors but who has not risen to this challenge. Instead, he claims that "Europe has gone backwards", casting the EU as unfit for the task and thus implicitly criticising the policy decisions taken both by the supranational and intergovernmental elements making up the EU. He finishes with criticism of the British Prime Minister's alleged lack of influence "in Europe". Here, the preposition does not refer to a geographical location but the institutions in which the national governments have a say, such as the Council of the European Union. The majority decisions taken there are obviously not to the taste of the opposition leader speaking here.

> "What about the serious crisis in pensions? **In Europe** that has been going on for years. […]
> In Lisbon the aim was 'a fully liberalised and competitive telecoms market by the end of the next year.' That was 2001. Two years later in Barcelona, we are told that 'further progress is needed.' A telephone call **in Europe** costs three times as much as in the United States. Where was the make or break there?
> Lisbon was about **making Europe more competitive**. Since then, **Europe has gone backwards**. […] The Prime Minister claims to be at the centre of European decision making. After the last summit, he said: 'Europe needs Britain to be engaged and Britain needs to have influence in Europe.'— [Official Report, 17 December 2001: Vol. 377, c. 27.] Let us look at the facts. On asylum, he has lost the bilateral agreement with France that Germany and Denmark retain. On Zimbabwe, the Commission, the Belgians and the French have all rolled out the red carpet for Mugabe. Where was the Prime Minister's influence? Is that what he calls **having influence in Europe**? I doubt it. At Nice he gave up the veto in more than 30 areas. What influence did he gain in Barcelona from any one of those? None. […]" ("European Council (Barcelona)", 18/03/2002)

The next example highlights the use of the word "Europe" both as a synonym for the EU again, when he negates the reaching of the UK government's goal of "leading in Europe". Then, he uses the same term in the sense of a group of member state leaders, "the rest of Europe". This phrasing implies that the UK is a part of this group, but also apart in that the "rest" does neither agree with nor support the UK's policy goals. The UK is thus a kind of outsider, isolated from the other group members. Duncan Smith then states that there is not even unity in the British Cabinet when it comes to a common position on European policies, thus further criticising the alleged lack of power of the British PM. Speaking metaphorically and bringing in a geographical sense, he phrases this as a failure "to carry his own Cabinet to Europe with him". This refers to Brussels as the metonymy for the seat of the EU institutions and the location of many summits where the national leaders can voice their opinions. Additionally, "Europe" appears as a heterotopia here; it is a distant place where one has to travel to and where a power struggle takes place in which the UK has a weak position:

> "None of those things, however, can obscure the underlying message from Seville: that for all the Prime Minister's talk of leading **in Europe** and winning the argument, he has once again lost the argument and been left behind. […] The Prime Minister not only **failed to carry the rest of Europe** with him—he could not even **carry his own Cabinet to Europe** with him. […] Does the Prime Minister agree with NATO's supreme commander **in Europe** when he says that NATO should have primacy over the Euro army and that his deputy should have strategic control over EU-led operations? […]" ("European Council (Seville)", 24/06/2002)

In the last part of the speech, the geographical sense of "Europe" is meant when Duncan Smith mentions NATO, but in this case the word "Europe" is completely decoupled from any reference to the EU (which is explicitly referred to with the words "Euro" and "EU") but only describes the difference to the US-dimension of NATO. Since non-EU members such as Norway, Albania or Turkey are members of NATO, this separation of meanings makes sense but also highlights the multi-faceted and sometimes frankly confusing meaning dimensions of the term "Europe", which very much depends on the immediate context in which it is used, even by the same speaker in a single speech.

In the next example, a further speech on a European Council meeting, Duncan Smith starts by using the term *Europe* as an umbrella term referring to all policies pursued within the framework of the EU by pairing it with the preposition *on*:

> **On Europe**, I congratulate the Danish presidency on keeping EU enlargement on track. […] The prospect before us is of a **new Europe built on co-operation between stable democratic nations and the prosperity of open markets**—[Interruption.] I know open markets make Labour Members very uncomfortable but they will have to live with them.
> The choice will be between an **old Europe that is always seeking to centralise power** or a **new Europe that is apparently about open markets and less regulation**. In that context, it is a pity that the Prime Minister allowed **the forces of old Europe** to sideline him so convincingly at Brussels. […]
> ("European Council", 28/10/2002)

In the following, the Conservative leader at the time uses *Europe* as a synonym for the EU and outlines his vision of how it should work in the future: he wants to see "Europe" as a space of stability, where democracy is prevalent and the nation is the centre, not a supranational organisation. This vision of a "new Europe" is also cast as a space of prosperity, and he gives his opinion that this can be reached by having open markets. Contrasting sharply with this "new Europe", Duncan Smith outlines the characteristics of the "old Europe": this obviously undesirable version of the EU "is always seeking to centralise power". This personified political actor pursuing its own goals of accumulating more power by concentrating it a the centre (an implicit hint at Brussels, presumably) takes on a threatening quality when it is strengthened with "the forces of old Europe". This implies that there are some opponents who are willing to defend this system (and they are frames as strong enough to "sideline" the UK in the process).

The last example contains further references to the UK as part of the group of EU member states or at least part of the group of countries located in the same part of the world, such as in the comparison of crime rates in the following parliamentary contribution:

> Figures released by the Home Office last Friday show that people are more likely to suffer crime in Britain than in **any other country in Europe** or north America. So will the Prime Minister tell us which country has the **highest level of violent crime in Europe**?
> […] The Prime Minister must be **the only person in Europe** who thinks that the European constitution has no constitutional implications for Britain. Does he agree with the French Prime Minister, who said recently that any true European would want a referendum? […] Let me remind the Prime Minister—because he has a very short memory—what the constitution actually provides for. It provides for an elected president, a European foreign minister, control over asylum policy, a charter of fundamental rights, and a European army—all of which the Prime Minister says is only a tidying-up exercise. That is why the German Foreign Minister has said: This is the most important treaty since the formation of the Common Market". Why is the Prime Minister **the only leader in Europe** who will not tell the truth to his own country? ("Engagements", 29/10/2003)

As the speech progresses to address the planned EU Constitution, Duncan Smith attacks the Prime Minister as "the only person in Europe" downplaying the consequences of it. Again, the British national leader is cast as a natural member of the community of "person[s] in Europe", even though he is presented as the odd one out once more and thus isolated from the opinions held by rest of his group. The same pattern appears in the last sentence, when there is a slightly more exclusive meaning of *Europe* in so far as now only "leader[s] in Europe" are mentioned as the group the PM belongs to but is once again isolated from by his position on the EU Constitution.

4. Conclusion

A conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the speeches by Iain Duncan Smith is that the notion of *Europe* is a multifaceted one in British parliamentary discourse insofar as it is used with

varying meanings in different contexts: in the overwhelming majority of cases (52), the term was used when in fact the European Union (EU) or some aspects relating to the EU were meant. Only 4 occurrences referred to a purely geographical location, where the word *Europe* was used to designate a specific location that did not relate to (prospective) EU member states.

In the cases where *Europe* was used meaning 'EU', we need to further differentiate between the usage of the term *Europe* to designate selected EU institutions or indeed only the leaders of EU member states, the EU as an organisation as a whole, which is then often personified, or the totality of member states of the EU. Occasionally, also the population included in the EU ("people of Europe") are mentioned, taken to mean all EU citizens.

It can be said that each mention of the word *Europe* can include a slightly different meaning and angle, and the usage of *Europe* as a kind of umbrella term can lead to confusion among listeners. The lack of transparency and clarity can also contribute to the impression that *Europe* varies its shape and is therefore hard to grasp, which can also help to blur the accountability attributed to specific actors and makes it easy to generalise and merge the different perspectives into one.

Overall, however, the term *Europe* as such was largely used in a quite neutral way, simply as a synonym for 'EU', by the Conservative party, that is to say the word is not negatively connotated as such all the time. How the EU was then framed in the different cases can be seen by looking at the way the term was predicated, i.e. which verbs, adjectives and nouns are used to define the meaning in more detail (Gibbins 2014: 11-12). Here, the main interest was generated by the collocations "new" and "old", which were used by Iain Duncan Smith to further define "Europe" when used as a synonym for the EU. On the one hand, positive connotations framed a good, ideal version of Europe in the future, a "new" version of the EU, which was characterised as flexible, open, efficient and a lean organisation enabling frictionless trade among its members, an organisation which refrains from taking power away from nation states. Collocations like "a decentralised Europe" and phrases like "a Europe that is more competitive" or "a new Europe rooted in its nation states" illustrated this. The Conservative Party leader presented this as the dominating vision and policy goal in parliamentary speeches, but also as an ideal that was not reached.

However, this positive vision of a possible future shaped by the British Conservatives implied criticism of the status quo, which was indeed often cast as the exact opposite. Negative connotations included Europe as a "superpower", which "is always seeking to centralise power", or the spectre of a "federal Europe". In addition, Iain Duncan Smith said that "Europe has gone backwards". The unwanted Europe in its state at the time of speaking thus stands for a centralising power, a federal superstate, a rival or opponent; in fact a dangerously power-hungry other. A clear dichotomy between two opposing models of the EU thus appeared in the speeches.

Furthermore, the UK was cast as a member of a European community even if the overall context was almost always negative, for example when Iain Duncan Smith alleged that Tony Blair "failed to carry the rest of Europe with him". The other EU member states are titled "the rest", but this means that the UK is thought to be an integral part of the EU as well. One the other hand, there were also five instances where the word "Europe" was used to designate the other EU member states but excluded the UK. In these cases, the EU member states were framed not as partners by the Conservative leaders, but as opponents or rivals.

In conclusion, I argue that a certain conception of Europe lies at the heart of the Conservative take on the EU in the United Kingdom. If a discourse reality is constructed through parliamentary

speeches where European institutions are conceived of as an actor challenging British power and sovereignty though integration, opposing the same seems logical. This is the case with the former Conservative leader Iain Duncan Smith, who seemingly holds on to this view until the present.

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120 Years of Dracula – An Essay on Vampires and Other Blood-Suckers in European Literary and Non-Literary Discourse

Abstract

The paper shows the development of the notion "vampire" from early European folklore aims of giving sense to human suffering by putting the blame on a supernatural entity to the Romantic role as entertaining character and as a symbol of political rebellion in British literary texts to Dracula as a Victorian symbol of fear of national insecurity caused by crime and changing social structures. The criminal and disease-bringing character is kept in the early 20th century, but now being conquerable by a woman, before finally changing, in the later 20th century, into a symbol of freedom, wealth, eternal love and eternal life. The related notions of "blood-suckers" and "parasites", in contrast, are still used in a negative way in current political discourse.

Sommaire

L'article montre le développement de la notion du "vampire" de l'objectif dans le vieux folklore européen de donner du sense à la souffrance humaine par blâmer un être surhumain vers le rôle romantique comme caractère divertissant et comme symbole de la rebellion politique dans des textes litéraires britanniques à Dracula comme symbole victorien de la peur d'insécurité nationale causée par la criminalité et les changements sociaux. Le caractère criminel et infectieux est gardé au début du 20e siècle, mais il est maintenant vaincable par une femme, avant qu'il devienne, dans la dernière partie du 20e siècle un symbole de liberté, prosperité, amour éternel et vie éternelle. Les notions apparantées de "sangsue" et "parasite", au contraire, sont toujours utilisées d'une manière négative dans l'actuel discours politique.

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag zeigt die Entwicklung des Begriffs "Vampirs" vom Ziel früher europäischer Folklore, menschlichem Leid einen Sinn zu geben, indem man einem übermenschlichen Wesen die Schuld gibt, über die romantische Rolle als Unterhaltungsfigur und als Symbol politischer Rebellion in britischen literarischen Texten hin zu Dracula als viktorianisches Symbol der Angst vor nationaler Unsicherheit, ausgelöst durch Kriminalität und Wandel sozialer Strukturen. Der kriminelle und krankheitsbringende Charakter wird im frühen 20. Jahrhundert beibehalten, nun wird der Vampire allerdings von einer Frau eroberbar, bevor er schließlich im späteren 20. Jahrhundert zu einem Symbol von Freiheit, Wohlstand, ewige Liebe und ewiges Leben wird. Die verwandten Begriffe der "Blutsauger" und "Parasiten" werden im gegenwärtigen politischen Diskurs jedoch weiterhin negativ verwendet.

Introductory Remarks

It was in 1897 that an Irishman named Bram Stoker composed what is nowadays often regarded as the mother of all vampire stories. In his novel *Dracula*, he told the tale of an Eastern European aristocrat trying to conquer and infect the British people with an awful disease, i.e. vampirism. Although Stoker definitely brought about a decisive step in the development of the vampire tale, he was neither the first nor the last to take up the motive of the bloodsucking undead. Then and now, vampires have served as and still can be considered symbols (cf. Klüsener 2011: 223-256).

It is this symbolic meaning that makes Dracula and other vampires a topic that is, after all, relevant to the frame theme of this symposium – European philology and societal issues. The connotations of the word *vampire* have been and still are subject to various changes – with the depiction of vampires oscillating between awe and fascination. In spite of their diversity, the common denominator of vampire creatures in literary texts and other media is that they almost always serve

as symbols of either fears or hopes of their respective cultural contexts (cf. McNally/Florescu 1994).

This paper will first shed light on vampire lore as a part of European cultural and literary heritage. In a second step, the emergence of vampires in British literature of the 19th century and their influence on their successors in 20th- and 21st-century film and fiction will be commented on. Finally, the use of vampire-related metaphors in recent debates concerning immigration, foreignness and social injustice will be briefly related to.

Is There Anything Like "European" Vampire Lore?

The roots of the vampire belief can be traced back to folklore traditions of different European and non-European countries: The "vrykolakas", people that have died without receiving any clerical rites, are an example of the undead in Greek folklore. Slovakian and Czech mythology include the "upir" and the "nelapsi". These are said to be "rotting corpses" (Karg/Spaite/Sutherland 2009: 13) of people that have recently died and return to spread disease among the living. In Bulgarian legends, the "vampir" returns from the grave with a perfectly healthy look and lives among people only to hunt them down at night. This form of existence is considered the punishment for a sinful life (cf. Karg/Spaite/Sutherland 2009: 14). The country that is most well-known for its vampire legends is, doubtlessly, Romania with famous Vlad Ţepeş. Ţepeş may have inspired Bram Stoker to write his gothic novel *Dracula* in 1897. Romanian folklore speaks of the "strigoi". This is related to the Romanian word for 'witch', namely *striga*, thus assuming that vampires can perform something like magic (cf. Karg/Spaite/Sutherland 2009: 16). In Germanic lore, there are stories of the "nachtzeherer" or "nachzehrer" and of the "alp", a shapeshifting creature that can cause nightmares and hysterical attacks; in the UK, especially female bloodsuckers have a certain history: The "baobban sith" kills travelers, while the "gwrach y rhibyn" drains the blood of children and other weak humans (cf. Karg/Spaite/Sutherland [2009: 19f.] and Klüsener/Hefele/Engelhard [2017: 5-10]).

These legends can be assumed to have had only one aim: to explain what seemingly could not be explained, to give sense to human suffering by putting the blame for natural disasters, disease and crime on a supernatural devilish entity: the vampire. Obviously, in a distant past, the idea of the vampire was instrumentalized to explain whatever seemed unexplainable, so that vampires were then probably symbols of people's fears (cf. Auerbach 1995).

Vampires in British Literature

In British literary history, vampire creatures entered the stage in the early 19th century, i.e. in the Romantic era, which was, above all, a phase of transition: Against the background of the American and French Revolutions, traditional world views became a matter of negotiation. This holds true for issues of national and international politics, for gender- and class-related debates on social injustice and also for the topic of abolition (cf. Kitson 2002: 163-176).

One of the most prominent examples of the Romantic vampire is Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Christabel* (1797/1800), a long narrative poem composed between 1797 and 1800. The poem introduces a maiden, Christabel, who meets a mysterious woman named Geraldine in the forest. Geraldine claims to have been abducted by a band of robbers. Christabel pities her and takes her home with her although Christabel already feels that something might be wrong with her visitor (Coleridge 2014: 38):

A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy;
And the lady's eyes they shrunk in her head,
Each shrunk up to a serpent's eye
And with somewhat of malice, and more of dread,
At Christabel she looked askance!—
One moment—and the sight was fled!

The two women spend the night together, which results in Geraldine putting a spell on Christabel, making it impossible for her to tell anybody about what really happened between them – with fatal consequences.

With Geraldine, the poem introduces a character that we would label a true "vamp" today (the expression being derived of the word *vampire*): She is capable of seducing men and women alike. This character does not fit in, she manipulates her environment but is yet considered fascinating by the different characters of the poem. With regard to Coleridge's political radicalism, she might in fact represent the idea of rebellion itself, which is probably even more provoking because she is a female character.

Another prominent version of the Romantic vampire is presented in Lord Byron's poem *The Giaour* (1813), which was published as one of Byron's so-called oriental tales. Byron developed the story due to the legends he had heard about vampires when he travelled to Greece. The story itself is set in Greece, then under Turkish occupation: Leila, belonging to a harem is accused of having betrayed her master, Hassan, with an infidel, a so-called Giaour. She is drowned in the sea as a punishment. The Giaour takes revenge: He slays Hassan, who curses him before with his last breath, telling him that he will never find peace but roam the world in sinfulness (Byron 2017: s.p.):

[Pain] within, thy heart shall dwell;
Nor ear can hear nor tongue can tell
The tortures of that inward hell!
But first, on earth as Vampire sent,
Thy corpse shall from its tomb be rent:
Then ghastly haunt thy native place,
And suck the blood of all thy race;
There from thy daughter, sister, wife,
At midnight drain the stream of life;
Yet loathe the banquet which perforce
Must feed thy livid living corpse:
Thy victims ere they yet expire
Shall know the demon for their sire,
As cursing thee, thou cursing them,
Thy flowers are withered on the stem.

The Giaour shows various character traits which allow for the assumption that he resembles a vampire: His thirst for blood, his omnipresence, his dark aura and his restlessness. With the Giaour, Byron voiced the Romantic call for rebellion at a point in history when most of his contemporaries were disappointed with the failed revolutions of the late 18th century. The text deals with the idea of rebellion not only with respect to gender roles (Leila), but also with regard to political oppression, i.e. the Turkish occupation of Greece and the implications of Greece as a mirror image of Britain (cf. Butler 1988: 78-96).

Romantic vampires are both gothic entertainment and symbols of political rebellion, of political ideas and hopes. They probably did not that much represent people's fears but rather the claim for liberty, self-assessment and political change. This is entirely different with Victorian vampire creatures.

Victorian Vampires, Victorian Nightmares?

In the course of the 19th century, rapid mechanization, industrialization and urbanization caused massive changes in everyday life and added to a feeling of insecurity throughout Europe. On the national level, the British public perceived massive poverty, high crime rates and the female rights movement questioning traditional role models as a threat to the existing order. On the international level, these fears were partly but not solely caused by intercultural contacts with "the other" which were believed to threaten the already unstable British identity and sense of security (cf. Harrowitz [1994: 15] and Klüsener [2014]). Fighting crime on the national level became one means of managing this crisis. Biological theories of crime boomed: Phrenological ideas merged with the notion of moral insanity, Darwinist ideas and fears of "degeneration" (cf. Rafter [2008: 27] and Ackerknecht [1992: 149]). The Italian Cesare Lombroso even developed the idea of "the born criminal", whom he saw as physically and psychologically marked by various "anomalies" (cf. Gibson / Rafter 2006: 20). The categories of "race", "class" and "gender" played an essential part for Lombroso's ideas: He was convinced that people of darker skin colour and those of lower social status were biologically "inferior" and thus likely to display criminal behavior (cf. Gibson / Rafter [2004: 15] and Rafter [2008: 21ff.]). He also expressed his belief that women who did not get married and who strove for independence were likely to become "virile", to go mad and then become criminals and 'prostitutes' as well as "true monster[s]" (Lombroso 2004: 183, 185). The late 19th-century vampire, in this context, appears as a symbol of such fears of "social degeneration", as will be shown with respect to Stoker's novel in the following.

His 1897 novel is narrated from the perspectives of a couple of people who are involved in the events around a mysterious lord from Transylvania: Count Dracula. The lawyer Jonathan Harker is sent to Transylvania by his boss in order to do business with this eccentric Count. Jonathan soon finds out that the Count is a vampire and that he is to be a prisoner in Castle Dracula. The description of the Count on Jonathan's and his first encounter already establishes close links between Stoker's creature and the above-mentioned biological theories of the criminal (Stoker 1978: 27):

> I found him of a very marked physiognomy. His face was a strong—a very strong—aquiline, with [...] peculiarly arched nostrils; with a lofty domed forehead, and hair growing scantily round the temples but profusely elsewhere. […] The mouth […] was [...] rather cruel-looking, with peculiarly sharp white teeth; these protruded over the lips, whose remarkable ruddiness showed astonishing vitality in a man of his years. For the rest, his ears were pale, and at the tops extremely pointed; the chin was broad and strong, and the cheeks firm though thin. The general effect was one of extraordinary pallor. […]
> Hitherto I had noticed the backs of his hands as they lay on his knees in the firelight […]. Strange to say, there were hairs in the centre of the palm. The nails were long and fine, and cut to a sharp point.

The murderous Count bears numerous parallels to contemporary ideas of "the criminal": He is shown to be animal-like, with teeth and claws and fur. His pallor, too, would have counted as a marker of "degeneration" in Lombroso's theory.

Besides the obvious connections between Lombroso's ideas on criminals and Stoker's depiction of the Count, Stoker himself includes a hint at Lombroso's criminal anthropology when he has Van Helsing say: "The Count is a criminal and of criminal type. Nordau and Lombroso would so classify him, and *qua* criminal he is of imperfectly formed mind" (Stoker [1978: 346], cf. Fleming [2000: 204] and Pick [1989: 172]. Both the obvious stigmata of criminality and the fear of an invisible degeneration and an infectious potential of criminal individuals are thus combined in the Count. Stoker's vampires thus obviously represent 19th-century fears of national insecurity caused by crime and changing social structures, and, at the same time, the Empire's anxiety of losing its predominant position and being interculturally "infected" with foreign ideas, identities, and blood (cf. Klüsener 2012).

20th- and 21st-Century Vampires

The 20th and 21st centuries bring uncountable transformations of the vampire in different kinds of media. One early adaptation of Bram Stoker's novel is the film *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens* from 1922/24, directed by F.W. Murnau (cf. Prüßmann 1993). The story is similar to the one of Stoker's novel – and this also holds true regarding the vampire creature it introduces: Count Orlok comes along with claws, sharp teeth, a look of disease, pallor, thirst for the blood of young women and a pack of rats. On his arrival in Wisburg, he brings the plague with him. Interestingly enough, it is a woman who brings him down in the end: Innocent Ellen diverts him until the break of dawn as he is so excited about drinking her blood that he forgets about the coming day and finally dies in a puff of smoke (cf. Penning 2005: 13-19). Here, again, the vampire brings disease. He also still resembles contemporary ideas of the criminal. What is remarkable, however, is that he is conquered by a woman – a person who was then still considered a lot weaker than men (cf. Ruthner 2006: 29-54).

In the later course of the 20th century, the vampire leaves its tomb and develops into the embodiment of secret human desires and wishes: freedom, wealth, eternal love and life (cf. Auerbach 1995). Today's literary vampires, it seems, become more and more humanized as well. For instance, the vampires of Anne Rice's *Vampire Chronicles* (1976-2014) differ a lot from 19th-century vampire creatures: They are good-looking, they are not affected by crosses, garlic or wooden stakes. They can read minds and they can move in the sunlight, at least some of them. When they feed on humans, this is an intense experience for them, similar to love-making, and they can enter relationships with humans and with each other. Anne Rice claimed that they are humans in disguise, who are looking for sense in a world in which religion does no longer play such a central role. Furthermore, they stand for unconventional individuals who live in homoerotic relationships, such as Lestat and Louis, with their adopted child Claudia (cf. Karg/Spaite/Sutherland 2009). Thus, vampires live freely where homosexual people in real-life were, in the 1970s, often discriminated against. Their vampire community is something like the utopian version of the loving family.

Last but not least, one more modern approach towards the vampire-topic can be found in the TV-series *True Blood*, which is based on the novels by Charlaine Harris. The story evolves around the waitress Sookie, her relationships with the vampires Bill and Eric and other dramatic developments with a lot of supernatural elements involved. Vampires, here, move freely within society at night because of the synthetic drug True Blood, which enables them to abstain from drinking human blood. However, the relationship between vampires and humans is by no means without probems. In the series, vampires seem to represent both the desire for immortality and power, but they also illustrate the position of social outsiders: The title sequence and many scenes in the series relate vampires to people with non-white skin colour and also to homosexual people. The vampires receive a lot of mistreatment (they are even sent to concentration camps). This reflects and criticizes

social tensions, such as discrimination against people who are different (cf. Butler [2010] and Curran [2005]). The vampire is thus again a symbol of the oppressed and can be understood as the attempt to create of certain awareness among the audience.

Not Dead Yet: Vampire-Related Metaphors in Recent Discussions Concerning Immigration, Foreignness and Social Injustice

While vampires in fiction thus serve as projections of human desires on the one hand, their darker side is not dead yet. Interestingly enough, the terms "blood-sucker" and "parasite", both of them connotations of the traditional image of bat-like creatures and other parasites, resurface in recent political debates in multifaceted ways.

Pope Francis, for instance, reportedly labelled the socially privileged "bloodsuckers" in his sermon from 19th May 2016 (Radio Vatican 2016), but an article on the news plattform *SWI swissinfo.ch* discusses whether immigrants as well as the economically underprivileged have to be considered "parasites", or "parassiti", of Europe's social systems (Summermatter 2014). Other sources of the view of migrants as parasites are pointed out by Wehling (2015).

As one can see, the topos of the vampire once more undergoes a process of refunctionalization. Although the connotations of "bloodsuckers" in political discourse are often very negative, recent fiction draws a positive picture of vampires as the better humans. As a conclusion, one might say that the critic Auerbach (1995: 145 et passim) is right when she claims that every age gets the vampire it deserves. Being symbols of both negative fears and positive desires, vampires have undergone many metamorphoses in the past. As they are immortal, we can be sure that this also holds true for the future.

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Qualitative and Quantitative Comments on Peace and War from a Eurolinguistic Perspective

Abstract

The article studies the prominence and effect of "violence" vocabulary in non-militant contexts, in militant/peace-absent contexts and in violence-provoking/peace-threatening contexts in European languages. First, European languages display many examples of the conceptual metaphors HIGH QUALITY IS A LOUD WEAPON, GAME IS WAR, SPORTS IS WAR, BUSINESS IS WAR, and POLITICS IS WAR. Second, a news magazine analysis reveals the frequency of violence-shaped main headlines: 8% of the 2016 covers of the Polish *Polityka*, 10% of the German *Der Spiegel*, 19% of the French *L'Obs*, 19% of the British *The Economist*, and 22% of the Spanish *El Tiempo*. Third, statistical analyses show better results in a number of parameters of the Social Progress Index (a) when there is less lexical gender discrimination, (b) when the word for 'power' is not derived from a word for 'able', (c) when the words for 'employer' and 'employee' are expressed as "word-giver" and "word-taker" (on the expense of other countries, though). Fourth, the military expenditures as percentage of the gross domestic product from 2006 to 2015 (calculated by SIPRI) are taken as a basis: The military expenditure is (a) lower in countries in which 'peaceful' is also a regular word for 'calm', (b) higher in countries where the words for 'loud' and 'strong, powerful' are the same, (c) positively correlated with the prominence of violence in the national anthems.

Sommaire

L'article étudie la prominence et l'effet de "violence" dans des contexts non-militants, des contexts militants/non-pacifiques et des contextes qui provoquent la violence et menacent la paix. Premièrement, les langues européennes comprennent beaucoup d'exemples des métaphores conceptuelles HAUTE QUALITÉ EST ARME À HAUTE VOIX, JEU EST GUERRE, SPORT EST GUERRE, ÉCONOMIE EST GUERRE et POLITIQUE EST GUERRE. Deuxièmement, une analyse revèle la fréquence de violence dans les gros titres de magazines politiques: 8% des couvertures de 2016 de *Polityka* (Pologne), 10% de celles de *Der Spiegel* (Allemagne), 19% de celles de *L'Obs* (France), 19% de celles de *The Economist* (Royaume-Uni), et 22% de celles de *El Tiempo* (Espagne). Troisièmement, des analyses statistique montrent des meilleurs résultats dans un nombre de paramètres du Social Progress Index (a) quand il y moins de discrimination lexicale quant aux sexes, (b) quand le mot pour 'pouvoir' ne vient pas d'un mot pour 'capable', (c) quand les mots pour 'employant' and 'employé' sont exprimé comme "donneur de travail" et "preneur de travail" (pourtant, aux dépens d'autres pays). Quatrièmement, les dépenses militaires en tant que pourcentage du produit intérieur brut de 2006 à 2015 (calculé par SIPRI) sont prises comme base: Les dépenses militaires sont (a) moins élevées dans des pays où 'pacifique' est aussi le mots régulier pour 'calme', (b) plus élevées dans des pays où mots pour 'bruyant' et 'puissant' sont les mêmes, (c) positivement correlées à la prominence de violence dans les hymnes nationaux.

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel beleuchtet Prominenz und Effekt von "Gewalt-Vokabular" in nicht-militanten, militanten/friedensfernen und gewaltprovozierenden/friedensbedrohenden Kontexten. Erstens findet man in den europäischen Sprachen viele Beispiele für die konzeptuellen Metaphern HOHE QUALITÄT IST EINE LAUTE WAFFE, SPIEL IST KRIEG, SPORT IST KRIEG, WIRTSCHATZ IST KRIEG und POLITIK IST KRIEG. Zweitens zeigt eine Nachrichtenmagazin-Analyse die Häufigkeit von gewaltgeprägten Hauptschlagzeilen: 8% der Coverseiten aus 2016 beim polnischen *Polityka*, 10% beim deutschen *Der Spiegel*, 19% beim französischen *L'Obs*, 19% beim britischen *The Economist* und 22% beim spanischen *El Tiempo*. Drittens zeigen statistische Analysen ein besseres Abschneiden bei etlichen Parameters des Social Progress Index, (a) wenn es weniger lexikalische Geschlechterdiskrimierung gibt, (b) wenn das Wort für 'Macht' nicht von einem Wort für 'fähig' stammt, (c) wenn die Wörter für 'Arbeitgeber' und 'Arbeitnehmer' als "Arbeit-Geber" und "Arbeit-Nehmer" ausgedrückt warden (dies allerdings zu Lasten anderer Nationen). Viertens wurden die militärischen Ausgaben in US-Dollars als prozentualer Anteil des Bruttoinlandsprodukts von 2006 bis 2015 herangezogen (gemäß SIPRI): Die Militärausgaben sind (a) niedriger in Ländern, wo 'friedlich' auch das reguläre Wort für 'ruhig' ist, (b) höher in Ländern, wo ‚laut' und ‚stark' gleich sind, (c) positiv korreliert mit der Prominenze von Gewalt in den Nationalhymnen.

1. Introductory Remarks

125 years ago, in 1892, the first German peace society was established: the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft. Last year, we celebrated 200 years of the first European peace society, the London Peace Society. As we can see, special organizations to promote peace are quite young. That people can get famous and popular for actively promoting peace is quite young in history, Nobel Peace Prize has only existed since 1901. For a much longer time, people have been fond and proud of fighting. No sovereign was disliked for cultural achievements, but for military success he could later receive the title "the Great", such as the Anglo-Saxon Alfred (848/9-899), Kaiser Otto I. (912-973), England's conqueror and Nordic empirer leader Knut (ca. 995-1035), Casimir of Poland (1310-1370), Louis of Hungary (1326-1382), Iwan III. of Russia (1440-1505) as well as Frederic I. of Prussia (1712-1786) and Peter I. of Russia (1672-1725), who received those titles already during their life-times.

In this presentation, I would like to shed light on how "violence" and "non-violence" vocabulary are used in non-militant contexts, in militant/peace-absent contexts and in militant-provoking/peace-threatening contexts. The overall goal is to see how language can promote peace today.

2. Violence Vocabulary in Non-Militant Contexts

As already said, the time of admiration for war-makers is much longer than the time of admiration for peace-makers. This is even reflected in our daily vocabulary when violence words are used in a positively humorous way. For example, we try to "conquer" a person that we find attractive. Virtually all over Europe, an attractive curvy woman can be called a "bomb" or "sex bomb" (e.g. G. *Sexbombe*, Du. *sexbom*, Fr. *bombe (sexuelle)*, Sp. *bomba sexual*, It. *bomba sessuale*, Hu. *szexbomba*, Sw. *sexbomb*, E. *sexbomb*). In French she can even be called a "canon": *elle est (une) canon "*she is (a) canon". In Swedish everything that is great is "canon". And when Italian skier Alberto Tomba was at its height, the press often dubbed him "Tomba la bomba".

The word for "battle" and "fight" can be found in non-militant contexts, including playful forms such as E. *pillow fight,* G. *Kissenschlacht*, Du. *kussengevecht*, Fr. *bataille de polochons ~ bataille d'oreillers*, Hung. *párnacsata*, Pol. *walka na poduszki*. In Swedish it is even a "pillow war" (*kuddkrig*).

3. Violence Vocabulary in Militant-Like Contexts

With sports, business and politics we find perfect examples of war-related conceptual metaphors in George Lakoff's sense. They are so much entrenched in people's mind that they hardly realize this. In the Lakoffian way, the metaphors can simply be formulated as SPORTS IS WAR, BUSINESS IS WAR, POLITICS IS WAR.

In all three contexts, we use the lexical type *strategy*, which originally (i.e. in French, itself in turn from Latin-Greek) meant 'art of war'. In most contries the word for "opponent in sport" and "opponent in war" is the same (exceptions are Hung. *ellenfél:rivális*, Czech *protivník:soupeř*, Swed. *motståndare:motspelare*). And even if "winner in a sport match" and "winner in a war" may be expressed with different words, the word for "loser in a sport match" and "loser in a war" can always be denoted with same word (G. *Verlierer*, Du. *verliezer*, Fr. *perdant*, Es. *perdedor*, It. *perdente*, Hung. *vesztes*, Cz. *poražený*, Swed. *förlorare*, E. *loser*). In many European languages, many sports events are battles, such as decathlon, heptathlon and pentathlon (cf., e.g., for decathlon Cz. *desetiboj*, Pol. *dziesięciobój*, Swed. *tiokamp*); in German even every sport is a fight or battle

(*Wettkampf*). If companies are about to fire people, then many European, in allusion to guillotining say that heads will roll (E. *Heads will roll*, G. *Köpfe werden rollen*), fall (Fr. *des têtes vont tomber*, It. *cadranno delle teste*) or fly (Pol. *polecą głowy*, Ru. *poletjat golowy*). As to politics, many European countries could see, over the past year, something that some call "election fight, election battle" (e.g. G. *Wahlkampf*, It. *lotta*, Hung. *harc*). In Sweden it is only an "election movement" (Swed. *valrörelse*). But most countries say "campaign", using an internationalism that goes back to 17th-century French *campagne*, itself from the military domain, meaning 'art of war'. Furthermore, there are TV "duels" in the UK, Germany, Italy and Croatia.

All these metaphorical examples are well entrenched in the languages mentioned. And they are also used in the media. More interestingly, though, are those cases that represent a use of violence vocabulary that cannot be termed lexicalized yet, especially if used on the covers of news magazines.

4. Violence Vocabulary on News Magazine Covers

For the following section I have analyzed the 2016 covers of news magazines of five countries, from five different areas of Europe, each representing the news magazine with the highest national distribution: *The Economist* (UK, representing the north), *L'Obs* (France, representing the west), *El tiempo* (Spain, representing the south), *Polityka* (Poland, representing the east), *Der Spiegel* (Germany, representing the center).

4.1. Violence Vocabulary in Non-Militant Contexts (Metaphorical Use)

Violence Vocabulary in Non-Militant Contexts occurs only once in our corpus. Obs 2678 presents "La fusée Macron" 'The rocket Macron'.

4.2. Violence Vocabulary in Militant-Like Contexts (Metaphorical Use)

Figurative uses of violence vocabulary in militant-like contexts (especially) politics abound in *El tiempo*:

- Tiempo 1730: "El nuevo **terminator** catalán" 'The new Catalan terminator'
- Tiempo 1739: "**Guerra civil** en Podemos" 'Civil war in [the political party] Podemos'
- Tiempo 1752: "La **guerra** por el último escaño" 'The war for the last seat [in parliament]'
- Tiempo 1755: "Todas las **guerras** de / Podemos" 'All the wars of / Podemos'
- Tiempo 1762: "Podemos / La **batalla** de las mujeres" 'Podemos / The battle of the women'
- Tiempo 1764: "PSOE / La madre de todas las **batallas**" '[The political party] PSOE / The mother of all battles'
- Tiempo 1767: "**Guerra** respalda la abstención" 'War supports [vote] abstention'
- Tiempo 1768: "El PSOE prepara un **calvario** para Rajoy / Operación infierno" 'The PSOE prepares a torture for Rajoy / Operation Hell'
- Tiempo 1772: "El gran / **desafío** de / Soraya" 'The big / challenge of / Soraya'
- Tiempo 1774: "El ejercito **rebelde** de Errejón" '[Politican Íñigo] Errejón's rebellion army'

In *Polityka* and *Der Spiegel* they are absent. They are comparatively few in *The Economist* and *L'Obs*:

- Economist 5/2016. "The **brawl** begins" [on the US elections]
- Economist 8/2016: "The world economy / Out of **ammo**"

- Economist 10/2016: "**Battle** lines" [on the US elections]
- Economist 32/2016: "The **ruining** of Egypt"
- Economist 15/2016: "**Imperial** ambitions" [with a picture of Mark Zuckerberg]
- Obs 2680: "Qui va **tuer** l'autre" [with pictures of François Hollande and Manuel Valls] 'Who will kill the other'
- Obs 2691: "Le vrai **pouvoir** de Google en France" 'The real power of Google in France'
- Obs 2718: "Le **duel**" [with pictures of Manuel Valls and Arnaud Montebourg] 'The duel'

Single people that sporadically occur in collocations with violence vocabulary are the Turkish president Recep Erdoğan and the Russian president Vladimir Putin, both on covers of *The Economist*.

- Economist 30/2016: "Erdogan's **revenge**" (Erdogan illustrated in a way that makes think of Hitler)
- Economist 51/2016: "The fall of Aleppo / Putin's **victory**, the West's failure"

4.3. Violence Vocabulary in Miliant Contexts (Non-Metaphorical Use)

There are a number of cases of violence vocabulary in non-metaphorical use:

- Economist 20/2016: "The **war** within / A special report on the Arab world"
- Economist 23/2016: "Free speech under attack" (note, though, that the miliant context becomes not apparent through the cover, only when you read the main article)
- Obs 2682: "L'**armée** souterraine de Daech" 'ISIS's subterranean army'
- Obs 2684: "Boris Cyrulnik / Le **terrorisme**, le mal, les héros, les victimes" '[Psychiatrist] Boris Cyrulnik / Terrorism, the evil, the heroes, the victims'
- Obs 2693: "Les nouvelles **cibles** de Daech" 'ISIS new target'
- Obs 2698: "**Attentat** de Nice / Penser l'après" 'Assasination of Nice / Thinking the after'
- Tiempo 1757: "Teléfono rojo / contra el **yihadísmo**" 'Red telephone / against jihadism'
- Polityka 12/2016: "Konstytucyjny / zamach stanu / Będzie kompromis czy **rewolucja**?" 'Constitutionary / coup d'état / Will there be compromise or revolution?"
- Polityka 21/2016: "Władza / buduje / opozycja / **rujnuje** / Jak propaganda PiS sięga po metody z PRL" 'Power will remain, opposition is ruined: How [the ruling party] PiS propaganda reaches for the method from the People's Republic of Poland'
- Polityka 36/2016: "**Bastion** się sypie / Czy PiS **przejmie** stolicę" 'The bastion falls / Does PiS take over the capital city?'
- Polityka 45/2012: "Przepis na dyktatora" 'Recipe for a dictator' [referring to the book by Mikal Hem]

With respect to the war in Syria, my student Nina Hippler (2016) already analyzed headlines of *The Guardian, The Daily Mail, Frankfurter Rundschau, Die Welt, Le Monde, Le Figaro, El País, El Mundo, Gazeta Wyborcza*, and *Gazeta Prawna*. She found that all these media create an opposition between the west, Qatar and Saudi-Arabia on the one side and Syria, Russia and Iran on the other side. It was typical of the papers that headlines feature the term "war" much more often than "peace". This is noteworthy because it risks to make readers perceive war as a normal state. Regarding the lexical field of fleeing, the German and British papers clearly prefer evaluative terms over neutral terms.

4.4. Violence-Provoking Vocabulary

My student Nora Hanusch (2014) studied metaphorical language (in George Lakoff's sense) with respect to the Iraq War in headlines of the journals *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, *The Guardian*, *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *The New York Times* in the period from 15 to 20 March 2003 (directly before the Iraq War): All, but especially the American, British and Italian press framed the approaching war as a powerful natural phenomenon and/or theater performance and/or a game. Especially the metaphors of theater performance and game make war sound acceptable, normal, harmless.

It is common knowledge by now that the US illegally caused revolts in the Ukraine that led to the War in Donbass; it is also common knowledge that the US illegally entered Syria, while Russia legally entered Syria on request of the Syrian president Assad (cf., e.g., Ganser 2016). It is less commonly known that Russia invited the western world several times, in vain, to elaborate a security area from Vladivostok to Vancouver (cf., e.g., Bröckers/Schreyer 2014, Krone-Schmalz 2014). It also less commonly known that Nobel Peace Prize Winner US President Obama led war longer than any other president before him (cf. Landler 2016). He not only continued George W. Bush's wars, but he also started new wars, new nuclear weapons were developed and military sales were higher than under Bush (Rötzner 2016). Despite all this, violence-provoking language can only be found against Putin, nothing on Obama.

- Economist 12/2016: "Hollow superpower / Putin, Syria and the propaganda machine"
- Economist 37/2016: "Art of the lie" [with a silhouette that looks like Putin]
- Economist 43/2016: "Putinism" [with a caricature of Putin looking like an evil being, with blue face and red eyes']
- Economist 51/2016: "The fall of Aleppo / Putin's victory, the West's failure"

And with unclear illocutionary, probably ironic force:

- Polityka 5/2016: "Kaczyński, maładiec! Ku radości Putina PiS przesuwa Polskę z Zachodu na Wschód" 'Kaczyński, molodyets [Russian for 'good boy']! For the joy of Putin PiS moves Poland from West to East' [with the picture of a happy Putin]

There is nothing against Putin on the cover pages of *L'Obs, El tiempo* and *Der Spiegel* on the 2016 covers. In preceding years, however, we do find a provocative headline against Putin. The cover of *Der Spiegel* 42/2015 shows Putin in a plane saying "Putin greift an" 'Putin attacks'. There had been no similar cover when western countries had entered the war in Syria before Russia; there was also no similar cover when Germany entered the war.

Throughout the US election campaign 2016, it was clear that Hillary Clinton wanted to keep up the confrontation with Russia, while Donald Trump (how aggressive his actions may be now) at that time declared that he wanted to be on good terms with Putin. This concept of reestablishing an atmosphere of peace with Russia, however, was not valued in our magazine covers. As a matter of fact, we find just the opposite, particularly in *Der Spiegel*:

- Spiegel 5/2016: "Wahnsinn / Amerikas Hetzer Donald Trump" 'Madness / America's Agitator Donald Trump'
- Spiegel 25/2016: "Die Mission / Hillary Clinton muss die Welt vor Donald Trump bewahren" 'The Mission / Hillary Clinton must save the world from Donald Trump'

- Spiegel 38/2016: "Fünf Minuten vor Trump / Hillary Clintons Schwäche wird zur Gefahr für die Welt" '5 minutes to Trump / Hillary Clinton's weakness becomes the danger for the world'
- Spiegel 45/2016: "The next president / Drehbuch einer Tragödie" 'Script of a tragedy'
- Spiegel 48/2016: "Die Trumps / Eine schrecklich mächtige Familie" 'The Trumps / A terribly powerful family'
- Obs 2674: "L'Amérique de Trump" 'Trump's America' [with caricature of a furious Trump]
- Obs 2703: "Les prédictions de / Salman Rushdie / sur Trump, Daech, la crise européenne..." 'Salman Rushdie's predictions on Trump, ISIS, the European crisis...'
- Obs 2715: "Pourquoi l'Amérique est devenue folle" 'Why America went mad' [with the picture of a furious Trump]
- Economist 19/2016: "Trump's triumph / America's tragedy"

There are also two examples of unclear illocutionary force:

- Economist 46/2016: "The Trump era" [with a black silhouette of Trump holding a speech]
- Polityka 47/2016: "Kim będzie Donald Trump? Co zrobi Ameryce, światu, Polsce?" 'Who will Donald Trump be? What will America, the world, Poland do?' [with a caricature of Trump with his hair shaped like the hat of general of early modern times)

4.5. Summary

In retrospect, it can be said that all five magazines have at least one cover characterized by violence, that means 8% for *Polityka* and 10% for *Der Spiegel*, and about the double number of covers of *L'Obs* (19%), *The Economist* (19%), and *El Tiempo* (22%).

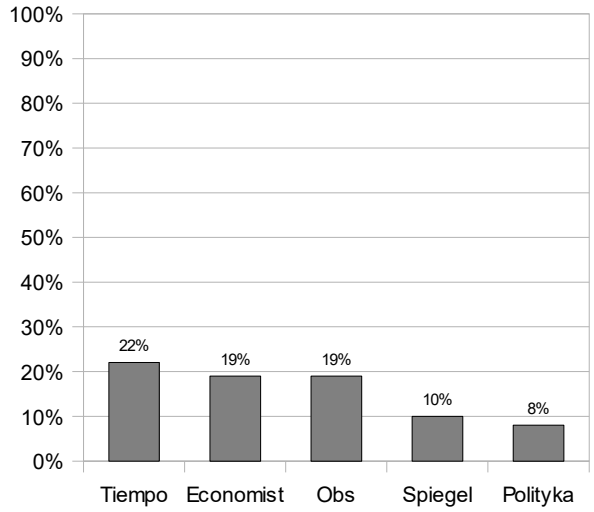


Fig. 1

Of course, it is hard to find to what degree such wording style triggers negative feelings in the national readers and/or negative reactions or tension in the target of the addressee (Putin, Trump). One way to find out would be an experimental design that would make wordings and countries comparable. Another approach is presented in the next section.

5. Violence Vocabulary and Violence Behavior

I recently published a book entitled *Wohlstand durch Wortschatz?* (Grzega 2017). It is the result of several dozens of mini-studies in which I analysed the relation between lexis and socioeconomic performance in Europe (which can be seen as relatively uniform area of culture and legislation). For these analyses it had to be granted that a certain lexical phenomenon is valid for the entire country. This is the case if the country is linguistically homogeneous. "Linguistically homogenous" shall mean that at least 90 percent share the same native language according to the CIA World Factbook[1] EU countries in which less than 90% have a common mother tongue are:

- Bulgaria
- Belgium
- Estonia
- Lettland
- Luxemburg
- Rumania
- Slovak Republic
- Slovenia
- Spain

These countries can only be respected when the two or more languages that make up 90 percent of the population show the same lexical features. In addition, Malta is a problematic case in methodological respects. Maltese children usually first acquire Maltese as their mother-tongue; but nearly all of them get into contact with English at such an early period of their life (and also have to acquire English as official language and the language of secondary schools) that Malta can be considered at least bilingual. Italian is also spoken by many citizens, but is given more and more the role of a foreign language. In Ireland, Irish is official language apart from English, but most Irish citizens know Irish neither as mother-tongue nor as secondary language. For this analysis, Ireland can therefore be considered linguistically homogeneous. This means that the following countries are included in the analyses:

- Belgium if Dutch and French show the same structure
- Estonia if Estonian and Russian show the same structure
- Latvia if Latvian and Russian show the same structure
- Luxemburg if Luxemburgish, French and German show the same structure
- Malta if Maltese and English show the same structure
- Rumania if Rumanian and Hungarian show the same structure
- Slovakia if Slovak and Hungarian Slowakei show the same structure
- Slovenia if Slovene and Croatian show the same structure
- Spain if Castilian/Spanish and Catalan show the same structure

Bulgaria, in contrast, is linguistically too heterogeneous.

What is taken into account are the standard versions of the respective languages since this is the variety that reaches most speakers of the country. If the standard variety has more than one variant for a certain variable or if a variant is not clearly classifiable, then the corresponding country is not included in the respective variable analysis.

[1] Vgl. Webseite 01.

5.1. State of the Art: Analyses with the Social Progress Index

Some of the results in my first analysis can also be linked to the question of violence and peace. These are the following:

5.1.1. In all European languages except for Experanto, the words for 'father' and 'mother' are built through suppletion. With 'brother/sister', 'son/daughter', 'grand-father/grand-mother', 'grand-son/grand-daughter', the European languages proceed differently so that it is possible to set up a lexical discrimination or inequality index. For the lexical formation with each pair the following points are given: 0 points for suppletion, 0.5 points for an irregular motion pattern, 1.0 points for a regular motion pattern, 1.5 points for an irregular suffixation pattern and 2.0 points for a regular suffixation pattern. The maximal number of 8 points would then mean that a language is highly discriminating making the female element always dependent on the male element. German can not be taken into account here because there are two variants for "grand-son/grand-daughter" (*Enkel/Enkelin* with suffixation) and *Enkelsohn/Enkeltochter* (with suppletion). We can then discover the following: The higher the lexical kinship gender discrimination,

- the lower the chances for a self-determined life
- the higher the degree of modern slavery including human trafficking and child marriages
- the lower the respectful treatment of women
- the lower the tolerance for immigrants
- the lower the tolerance for homosexuals

The effect size of the lexical structure is medium-strong. It is strongest with "respect for women" (see Fig. 1[2]).

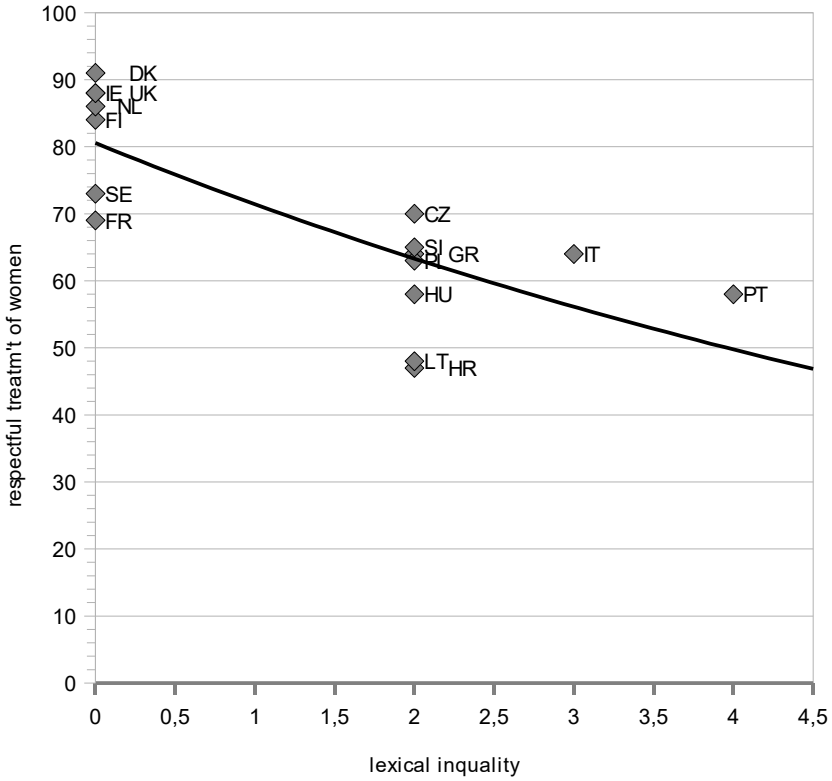


Fig. 2

[2] The graph shows the exponential regression curve: $f(x) = 80.55 \cdot 0.89^x$.

5.1.2. In countries in which the word for ‘power’ is derived from ‘able’, the respectful treatment of is lower (median: 59.5 points in contrast to 78 points on a 100-point scale according to the Social Progress Index). The etymological effect size is approximtely 30 percent.

5.1.3. Next we shed light on the lexical pattern “work-giver vs. work-taker” for ‘employer vs. employee’. As a socioeconomic source with refer to the Social Progress Index. The analysis yields the following statistically significant features for the lexical group “work-giver vs. work-taker” , even if the effect size may only be consider striking in the first case (about 40 percent for the first entry vs. 20 percent with the other two):

- There is less political terror. (median: 1 of 5 points in the “work-taker/work-giver” group in contrast to 2 of 5 points in the other group)
- There are fewer violent crimes. (median: 1 of 5 points in contrast to 1.5 of 5 points)
- People have more chances of determining their lives (values of satisfaction: 90% of the interviewees against 71%).

One might argue that the lexical pattern “work-giver/work-taker” lacks in southern Europe so geographical conditions may explain these differences. However, if only the non-Southern countries are analyzed, some differences are still statically significant. In countries with the word-pair “work-giver”/“work-taker” there are

- fewer violent crimes
- fewer acts of political terror

The effect size of the linguistic parameter is about one third, i.e. about one third of the differences can be explained due to the difference in vocabulary structure. An explanation for this unexpected result may be that the irony or inappropriateness of the vocabulary is so obvious that the ruling groups pay attention that it becomes not part of justified criticism. However, further studies show that is frequently done at the expense of other nations.

5.2. New Results: Analyses with SIPRI figures

Thanks to SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) we have access to figures related to military activities. One of the objective figures are the military expenditures in US dollars as percentage of the gross domestic product. This can be seen as an expression of the value that a state attaches to the military context.

5.2.1. If we have a look at the word for ‘peace’, we note that there are two languages in which the word for ‘peace’ is also the regular word for ‘calmness’, namely Polish (*pokój*) and Croatian (*mir*). This would match a cognitive metaphor PEACE IS CALMNESS, WAR IS LOUDNESS. Of course, two languages are not enough to get relevant results, but the number of languages in which the adjective notion ‘peaceful’ is also a regular word for ‘calm’ is larger. In the countries shaped by this polysemy, military expenditure as percentage of the gross domestic product is statistically significant lower in most years from 2006 to 2015.

Country	peaceful =calm	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	av06-15
CY	n	0.021	0.019	0.017	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.017	0.016	0.015	0.018	0.018
CZ	n	0.016	0.014	0.012	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.012
ES	n	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
ET	n	0.019	0.021	0.021	0.023	0.018	0.017	0.019	0.019	0.020	0.020	0.020
FR	n	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.025	0.023	0.023	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.021	0.023
GR	n	0.028	0.027	0.030	0.032	0.027	0.025	0.024	0.023	0.023	0.026	0.027
HR	n	0.017	0.016	0.018	0.018	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.017
IT	n	0.017	0.016	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.015	0.013	0.016
PT	n	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.020	0.020	0.020	0.019	0.021	0.018	0.019	0.019
RO	n	0.018	0.015	0.015	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014
SI	n	0.015	0.014	0.015	0.016	0.016	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.013
AT	y	0.008	0.009	0.009	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.007	0.008
DE	y	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
DK	y	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.013
FI	y	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013
HU	y	0.012	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.009	0.008	0.011
IE	y	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.004	0.005
NL	y	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
PL	y	0.019	0.020	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.022	0.019
SE	y	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.012
SK	y	0.016	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.013	0.011	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.011	0.013
UK	y	0.022	0.022	0.024	0.025	0.024	0.023	0.022	0.021	0.020	0.020	0.022
median	n	0.018	0.016	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.015	0.016	0.017
median	y	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
mean	n	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.017
mean	y	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
N	n	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
N	y	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
p		0.0120	0.0164		0.0426	0.0218		0.0488	0.0488	0.0488		
df		19	19		19	19		19	19	19		
t		2.78	2.63		2.17	2.5		2.11	2.11	2.11		
ω^2		0.23	0.21		0.14	0.19		0.13	0.14	0.13		

Fig. 3

5.2.2. Another cognitive metaphor that we can formulate in connection with volume is POWER IS LOUDNESS or STRENGTH IS LOUDNESS. In countries in whose dominant official language the words for ‘loud’ and ‘strong, powerful’ are the same, military expenditure as percentage of the gross domestic product is statistically significant higher in all years from 2006 to 2015.

Country	loud= strong	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Ø06-15
AT	n	0.008	0.009	0.009	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.007	0.008
CZ	n	0.016	0.014	0.012	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.012
DE	n	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
DK	n	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.013
ET	n	0.019	0.021	0.021	0.023	0.018	0.017	0.019	0.019	0.020	0.020	0.020
FI	n	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013
HR	n	0.017	0.016	0.018	0.018	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.017
HU	n	0.012	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.009	0.008	0.011
IE	n	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.004	0.005
LT	n	0.012	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.009	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.009	0.011	0.010
LV	n	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.014	0.011	0.010	0.009	0.009	0.009	0.010	0.012
NL	n	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
PL	n	0.019	0.020	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.022	0.019
SE	n	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.012
SI	n	0.015	0.014	0.015	0.016	0.016	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.013
SK	n	0.016	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.013	0.011	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.011	0.013
UK	n	0.022	0.022	0.024	0.025	0.024	0.023	0.022	0.021	0.020	0.020	0.022
CY	y	0.021	0.019	0.017	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.017	0.016	0.015	0.018	0.018
ES	y	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
FR	y	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.025	0.023	0.023	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.021	0.023
GR	y	0.028	0.027	0.030	0.032	0.027	0.025	0.024	0.023	0.023	0.026	0.027
IT	y	0.017	0.016	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.015	0.013	0.016
PT	y	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.020	0.020	0.020	0.019	0.021	0.018	0.019	0.019
median	n	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.013
median	y	0.020	0.019	0.018	0.019	0.019	0.019	0.018	0.019	0.017	0.019	0.019
mean	n	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.015	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
mean	y	0.020	0.019	0.020	0.021	0.020	0.019	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.019
N	n	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
N	y	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
p		0.0294	0.0294			0.0260	0.0260	0.0102	0.0170	0.0170	0.0370	0.0350
df		7	7			8	8	10	8	8	8	7
t		-2.73	-2.73			2.73	2.86	3.16	-3.00	-3.00	-2.50	-2.61
ω^2		0.22	0.22			0.22	0.24	0.28	0.26	0.26	0.19	0.20

Fig. 4

5.2.3. A highly symbolic text for each nation is the national anthem. Surprisingly, a number of countries express great value to warfare in their national anthems, some of them even at the beginning like the Italian anthem: “Fratelli d’Italia, Italia s’è desta, dell’elmo di Scipio s’è cinta la testa” ‘Brothers of Italy, Italy has awaken, with Scipio’s helmet the head is decorated’. Other anthems glorify war later in the song, for example, the French anthem, whose chorus runs “Aux armes, citoyens!” ‘To the weapons, citizens!’. Some only describe the peaceful, beautiful nature of their country. The Slovene anthem is very special, however, as it is the only national anthem that pleads for peace with other nations. The end of it can be translated as follows: ‘Free may be everyone, not foe, just neighbor, from now on.’ Spain must be excluded from the analysis, because

its anthem is only instrumental. The UK, too, is excluded, since apart from "God save the Queen" both "Rule, Britannia" and "Land of Hope and Glory" can be seen as unofficial national anthems.

Based on this we can set up a violence degree of national anthems, with 0 points for glorification of peace for all nations, 1 point for glorification of peace and/or beauty in own nation or at least no glorification of war/fight, 2 points for glorification of war/fight not in first line, 3 points for glorification of war/fight already in the first two lines or the first melodic theme. Compared to military expenditure as percentage of gross domestic product, we can state for the majority of years from 2006 to 2015 (and also the average of these 10 years): The higher the violence degree, the higher the military expenditures. The impact of the vocabulary is from 32 to 40 percent.

Country	nat'l anth. viol.	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Ø06-15
Austria	1	0.008	0.009	0.009	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.007	0.008
Belgium	1	0.010	0.011	0.012	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.009	0.011
Bulgaria	1	0.023	0.025	0.020	0.020	0.019	0.015	0.016	0.017	0.015	0.014	0.018
Croatia	1	0.017	0.016	0.018	0.018	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.017
Cyprus	3	0.021	0.019	0.017	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.017	0.016	0.015	0.018	0.018
Czech Rep.	1	0.016	0.014	0.012	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.012
Denmark	1	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.013
Estonia	1	0.019	0.021	0.021	0.023	0.018	0.017	0.019	0.019	0.020	0.020	0.020
Finland	1	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013
France	2	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.025	0.023	0.023	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.021	0.023
Germany	1	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
Greece	3	0.028	0.027	0.030	0.032	0.027	0.025	0.024	0.023	0.023	0.026	0.027
Hungary	2	0.012	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.009	0.008	0.011
Ireland	3	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.004	0.005
Italy	3	0.017	0.016	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.015	0.013	0.016
Latvia	1	0.017	0.016	0.016	0.014	0.011	0.010	0.009	0.009	0.009	0.010	0.012
Lithuania	1	0.012	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.009	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.009	0.011	0.010
Luxembourg	1	0.006	0.006	0.004	0.004	0.005	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.005	0.005
Malta	1	0.007	0.007	0.006	0.007	0.007	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.006
Netherlands	1	0.014	0.014	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.013
Poland	2	0.019	0.020	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.022	0.019
Portugal	3	0.019	0.018	0.018	0.020	0.020	0.020	0.019	0.021	0.018	0.019	0.019
Romania	2	0.018	0.015	0.015	0.014	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.014
Slovak Rep.	1	0.016	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.013	0.011	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.011	0.013
Slovenia	0	0.015	0.014	0.015	0.016	0.016	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.010	0.013
Sweden	1	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.012
tau		0.3203					0.4022	0.3477	0.3643	0.3701	0.3671	0.3372
p		0.0488					0.0141	0.0320	0.0247	0.0230	0.0233	0.0398

Fig. 5

The correlation between the national anthems' violence degrees and the average annual military expenditures is illustrated in the following figure[3]:

[3] The graph shows the exponential regression curve: $f(x) = 0.01 \cdot 1.14^x$.

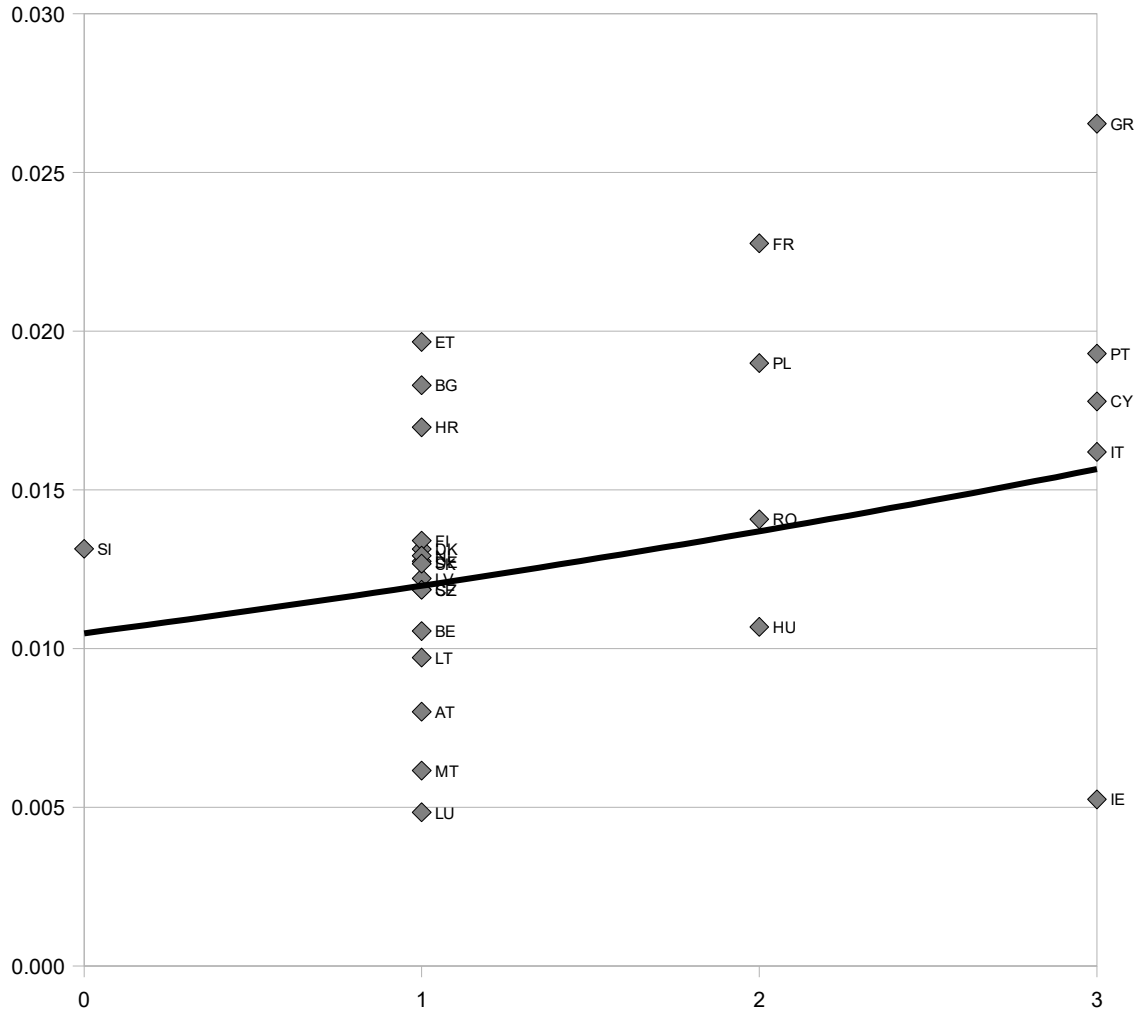


Fig. 6

6. Conclusion

As we could see there are several instances in which violence language and violent action are correlated. And there are instances where peaceful language and violent action are correlated. Based on this, I would finally like to point out three ideas. Francisco Gomes de Matos (1984) was not only prominent in promoting a Declaration of Linguistic Rights, but he was maybe the first in underlining that the conscious use of language can be peace-promoting—Patricia Friedrich, one of his followers, has called this *non-killing language*. David Crystal (1999) called this approach peace linguistics. Gomes de Matos offers some didactic poems as rules for one's general behavior, but it would be nice to see some more concrete ideas and empirical results for communicative behavior from Gomes de Matos and his group. A well worked out system for communicative behavior that is based on a variety of different social contexts is Marshall B. Rosenberg's non-violent communication (e.g. 2005). The most important elements of this system are these: First, there is a clear distinction of strategies vs. needs, in other words: individual ways of behavior vs. goals of each human beings. Second, the description of an interlocutor's strategy has to be neutral, without blame directed toward the other person. If we take into account Charles Osgood's cross-cultural studies on connotation (e.g. Osgood/Suci/Tannenbaum 1957, Osgood 1964) and George Lakoff's studies on conceptual metaphors (e.g. 2002, 2004), then we could also say that my observations

suggest that we should create and promote metaphors, even larger conceptual metaphors, that make peace sound good, active and strong.

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The Linguistic Landscape and Its Potential for English Language Teaching

Abstract

This paper provides a short exploration of the possibilities offered by the Linguistic Landscape to enhance students' language awareness and to act as a tool for language teachers. After briefly introducing the main features that characterize the Linguistic Landscape in urban spaces, namely its multilingual aspect, the informational and symbolic functions and the differences between *top-down* and *bottom-up* messages, the article describes the roles of English both as a *lingua franca* and as a symbol of prestige. A review of studies on the use of the Linguistic Landscape for teaching English is then presented. What is argued is that the Linguistic Landscape can be fruitfully employed to teach English – or another foreign language – at the university level. The proposed teaching approach will help students both to become more aware and also to be more active language learners.

Sommaire

Cet article présente une brève exploration des chances de la notion du paysage linguistique (*Linguistic Landscape*) afin d'améliorer la conscience linguistique des étudiants et de servir d'instrument pour les enseignants de langues. Après une introduction des traits caractéristiques du paysage linguistique urbain, à savoir son aspect polyglot, les fonctions informationnelles et symboliques ainsi que les différences parmi les messages *top-down* et *bottom-up*, l'article décrit les rôles de l'anglais comme *lingua franca* aussi bien que comme symbole de prestige. Suit un compte-rendu des études sur le paysage linguistique pour l'enseignement de l'anglais. La contribution suggère que l'on emploie, au niveau universitaire, le paysage linguistique pour enseigner l'anglais – ou bien une autre langue. La technique proposée aidera les étudiants à devenir des apprenants plus conscieux et plus actifs.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag bietet eine kurze Erörterung der Möglichkeiten des Konzepts der Sprachlandschaft (*Linguistic Landscape*) bietet, um das Bewusstsein von Sprachlerner zu steigern und als Instrument in den Sprachunterricht integriert zu werden. Nach einer Einführun in die Merkmale der Sprachlandschaft, nämlich der Aspekt der Mehrsprachigkeit, die Informations- und Symbolfunktionen sowie die Unterschiede zwischen *Top-Down*- und *Bottom-Up*-Nachrichten, beschreibt der Artikel die Rolle des Englischen als Lingua Franca und als Prestige-Symbol. Hierauf folgt ein Blick auf die Studien zum Nutzen der Sprachlandschaft im Englischunterricht. Es wird argumentiert, dass man im universitären Bereich die Sprachlandschaft fruchtbringend in das Englisch-Lehren – oder das Lehren jeder anderen Fremdsprache – einbauen kann. Der vorgeschlagene Lehransatz wird Lernern helfen, sowohl bewusstere als auch aktivere Sprachlerner zu werden.

1. Introducing the Concept of the Linguistic Landscape

One of the most visible phenomena in today's increasingly globalized world is the coexistence of different languages in urban areas. The growing flows of global immigration towards the West in particular have, in fact, greatly contributed to the introduction of new languages into urban linguistic landscapes. From standard state languages, such as English, French, Italian, Spanish and so on, to foreign minority languages, especially in neighborhoods where immigrants reside, the urban Linguistic Landscape tends to develop into a microcosm in which these diverse idioms are variously represented, at different levels and in spoken and/or in written form in its streets and spaces. Indeed, the bigger and more cosmopolitan the city, the greater the presence of different languages and the possibilities that inhabitants will be exposed to different idioms and cultures.

Landry and Bourhis published their definition of the Linguistic Landscape in their essay of 1997, entitled *Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study*. They formulated the concept of the Linguistic Landscape while carrying out research in the field of language planning in Belgium and Canada, two bilingual territories. In such bilingual countries, the use of languages in the public space is regulated in such a way as to mark the boundaries between two distinct communities, which in the case of Belgium, and in Brussels in particular, are the French-speaking and the Flemish-speaking communities (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 24). According to the authors, the Linguistic Landscape is anything we can read in the streets of our cities, and in particular "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on governmental buildings" (Landry/Bourhis 1997: 25). There are a number of other crucial aspects that characterize the written signs: on the one hand, they can be *top-down* signs, typically put up by the local authorities, as in the case of traffic signs, street names, names of sites, buildings, schools, parks and so on. *Bottom-up* signs, on the other hand, are private signs which one can find on shops signs and private businesses; also advertisements, political billboards, graffiti and even menus placed outside restaurant entrances are to be viewed as examples of *bottom-up* signage. Generally, they tend to be more creative, informal and display a wider lexical choice, which could be bilingual and even multilingual. Apart from written samples of language, instances of spoken language—e.g. conversations carried out in stores or in the street—also contribute to form the Linguistic Landscape. So far, most of the research has focused on the written samples of the urban Linguistic Landscape; however, there are noteworthy research projects that have also analyzed the interactions and conversations occurring in different languages and involving immigrant speakers (Bagna/Barni 2006).

The specific language, or languages, which appear on the signs in the Linguistic Landscape of a given geographical territory provide information about the sociolinguistic composition of the inhabitants of that area. Moreover, the languages used on shop signs and on all types of signage in a given neighborhood could be bilingual or multilingual, and thus provide information on the various languages of the different ethnic groups living in a given area. As in the case of Brussels, there may be a number of culturally and linguistically differentiated groups living in a city. Although in some situations the coexistence of different groups may be roughly equal, at other times one group may have more prestige and a more positive identity when compared to other ethnic groups living in the same territory. Over the years, European cities have become more and more multilingual because of influxes of immigrations. Gorter wrote that:

> "Multilingualism is thus a common phenomenon in Europe even though the linguistic diversity of Europe is not as rich as in other continents. Only 3.5% of the world's total number of languages is indigenous to Europe. Still, Europeans often feel that their continent has an exceptional number of languages, especially when compared to North America or Australia which they mistakenly think to be monolingual English-speaking countries." (Gorter 2010: 18).

2. The Role of English in the Linguistic Landscape

It goes without saying that English is the most widespread and used language of communication in the world. "It is the main language of science and technology and its spread is advancing in many countries and regions where English has not been traditionally used. English is also the main language of popular culture and globalization as can be seen in advertising" (Cenoz/Gorter 2008: 269). In all the research results on multilingualism in the Linguistic Landscape worldwide English is a constant presence, albeit with different functions and to different degrees. A noteworthy aspect is that essentially English has two basic roles in the Linguistic Landscape of urban areas. Being a *lingua franca*, English is almost always used in governmental and official signs. The public and official signs in the official language of the country are very often translated into English to provide

information to tourists and immigrants who do not speak the state language. In this case English acts as a functional language. A second function of English in the Linguistic Landscape is more symbolic in nature, notably when it appears in *bottom-up* messages, such as shop signs or advertisements. As Cenoz and Gorter observed:

> "the use of English in commercial signs could be interpreted as informational mainly aimed at foreign visitors but it is obvious that its increasing presence has a strong symbolic function for a non-English speaking local population. As Piller (2003) remarks, English is often used in commercial signs for its connotational values such as international orientation, future orientation, success, sophistication or fun orientation" (Cenoz/Gorter 2008: 269)

The connotational and symbolic value of English is evident even in the Linguistic Landscape of countries where English is understood only by a minority of the population. Also in this case, a few, uncommon English words appearing on a commercial sign are enough to contribute to a sense of prestige and international flavor which is conveyed to the readers.

A significant number of studies based on the urban Linguistic Landscape followed the definition of the concept by Landry and Bourhis. These studies dealt with various aspects of the Linguistic Landscape both in European cities and in urban settings in the rest of the world. Copious research has dealt with multilingualism in the Linguistic Landscape of urban areas (for example: McArthur 2000; Stewart/Fawcett 2004; Bagna/Barni 2006; Backhaus 2006; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Cenoz/Gorter 2008; Huebner 2006; MacGregor 2003; Collins/Slembrouck 2007; Seargeant 2009; Gorter 2010; Hélot et al. 2012; Blackwood/Tufi 2015, Blackwood/Lanza/Woldemariam 2016), while other studies have mainly focused on the presence of English in the Linguistic Landscape (Ross 1997; Schlick 2003; Griffin 2004; Dimova 2007; Mac Giolla Chìost 2007; Shohamy/Gorter 2009; Hasanova 2010). This does not come as a surprise. In fact, in most of the research on multilingualism in the Linguistic Landscape that has been carried out in the past and in recent years, there is a common thread that is impossible to ignore. Every study, whether based in Japan or in Mexico, in Africa or in Europe, includes a number of instances of, and various uses of, English. As already mentioned, English fulfills its function both as a *lingua franca* and as a symbol of prestige. Indeed, the omnipresence of English constitutes the "defining characteristic of cosmopolitanism in the Linguistic Landscape", and as such English acts "as a semiotic resource and stylistic device and practice" (Blackwood & Tufi 2015: 202).

3. The Linguistic Landscape as a Didactic Resource for Language Teachers

Many authors have recently underlined that the presence of English in the Linguistic Landscape can be exploited in the English classroom, both in primary and secondary schools (Cenoz/Gorter 2008; Sayer 2010; Shu-Chao 2011; Chern/Dooley 2014). The Linguistic Landscape can contribute to raising the students' awareness of their surroundings and can thus assume an important role in the acquisition of a second/foreign language. It can be explored by considering various aspects, such as "authentic language input, pragmatic competence, literacy skills, symbolic and affective factors" (Cenoz/Gorter 2008: 272). The Linguistic Landscape becomes a place where students are encouraged to become aware of their multimodal and multilingual surroundings. For example, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) write about a vending machine in the city of San Sebastian, in Spain. On the machine there are instructions in Spanish and in Basque: in this way learners of Basque and Spanish are learning an indirect strategy, a soft request, in a second/foreign language via an authentic communicative context in which value is placed on the minority language (Cenoz and Gorter 2008: 276).

Shohamy and Waksman (2009) are convinced of the pragmatic value offered by the Linguistic Landscape, and observe that "each building, each site, a billboard, an outdoor moving screen, a mall, a homeless person sitting in the corner of the street is actually a part of the Linguistic Landscape text that has to be critically read". Thus, by adopting the Linguistic Landscape in the context of education students become more aware of the public sphere and of the use of language outside the classroom.

Sayer (2010) carried out qualitative research on the special use of English signs in the Linguistic Landscape of the city Oaxaca in Mexico. He was able to identify six social meanings, or themes each of which was linked to a particular kind of business or sign, and to the language that is used to describe them. For instance, when English is used to describe and advertise technological products, the products and the people who buy them are sophisticated and advanced. Equally, English represents fashion, as it is often used for fashion store shop signs. English can be considered "cool", because the word *cool* is often used in stores for teenagers. *English is sexy*, *is used to express love* and can be employed to *express subversive identities*—typically through tattoos and with T-shirt designs (Sayer 2010: 147-151). Moreover, Sayer recommends using examples from the Linguistic Landscape to design teaching materials, such as "vocabulary, idiomatic expressions, grammatical features and loan words" in order to create a link between the students in the classroom and "world outside the classroom". (Sayer 2010: 153). Thus, "students are encouraged to think creatively and analytically about how language is used in society and become more aware of their own sociolinguistic context" (Sayer 2010: 153).

Liu (2011: 98) addresses crucial issues in order to explain the advantages of using the Linguistic Landscape in courses of English in schools. She claims that teachers "have limited teaching hours and classrooms are too overcrowded to allow efficient teaching methods. The Linguistic Landscape can provide teaching materials for the teacher: new vocabulary, phrases, sentences, proverbs, puns and slogans that can then be used in class". Liu (2011), who has been an English teacher in Taiwan, developed a methodology to enhance language learning and stimulate students' awareness of English. Liu encouraged students to record signs in the Linguistic Landscape, classify them and then comment on them in class. The project should be carried out over one month and is divided into four different phases. In the first phase the teacher provides an overview of the signs that it is possible to find in the linguistic landscape and shows some pictures of them. In the second phase students go out and, with the aid of digital cameras, record the signs in a given neighborhood; subsequently they bring the material to class and share their findings with classmates. The teacher at this point shows those instances that display grammar mistakes to help students recognize them. The third phase entails the organization of the material and the preparation, with the help of the teacher, of a power point presentation. In the fourth and last phase students give their presentation and display what they have learnt from the linguistic landscape. Then they write a report. By following these four steps, students are encouraged to use all four skills: reading, listening, speaking and writing.

Chern and Dooley (2014: 114-115) propose a language teaching method for students of all levels of knowledge of English. The method is based on what they call the "English literacy walk" for EFL learning and teaching in Taipei, a multilingual area. The languages present in Taipei are Chinese, Japanese, English, Korean and also French, Spanish and Italian. The authors conceived a four-step model in order to help students recognize all the various alphabets of the various languages.

These and other methodologies and activities (see also Hewitt-Bradshaw 2014; Aladjem/Jou 2016) are indeed valuable contributions to the use of the Linguistic Landscape when teaching English in school. Our suggestion is that the Linguistic Landscape can become a valuable learning tool at the

university level as well. Sayer's "pedagogical walk" in the Linguistic Landscape should be adopted in order to have students gather the data. The didactic activities are essentially based on the following steps:

a. After devoting a few classes to explaining the theoretical and practical aspects of the Linguistic Landscape, going over the the research literature, students are divided into small groups and select one or two neighborhoods that they wanto to explore by recording the written signs with digital cameras or cellular phones.
b. Students should carry out a both quantitative and qualitative research; with this aim they can choose to focus on recording *bottom-up* signs, such as shop signs, menus outside restaurants, advertisements on billboards.
c. Alternatively, students can decide to gather *top-down* signs, such as tourist information – both in the national standard language and in English - in the central railway station or outside historical buildings, or even near historical parks. Students should research the quality of the English translations.
d. Students can even decide to record both *bottom-up* and *top-down* signs and compare them by calculating the percentages of the presence of English terms and by analyzing how they are used. They can compare and contrast the signs of the Linguistic Landscape they have recorded with the language of advertising that they find in newspapers and magazines.
e. A further activity that helps students to learn and memorize new words is to establish the word formation processes of the English terms found in the Linguistic Landscape. To this end students can categorize the English words they have recorded according to whether they are compound words, clipped forms, blends, affixed words, loan words, acronyms or proper names. Students can discuss the uses of these words and decide which are the most interesting and creative ones.
f. The final phase of this activity entails that students prepare a power point for a class presentation on the data they have gathered and encourage class discussions, leading to reflections on the uses of English in the Linguistic Landscape.

4. Conclusion

Through the teaching activities we have presented, relevant aspects and the potential for English language learning (and the learning of other languages) have emerged. Apart from the aspect of pragmatic language competence, these activities involving the urban Linguistic Landscape could deal more directly with aspects of English (or, depending on the city or region, other languages) such as: vocabulary, and recognizing and classifying word-formation processes; the comparison of foreign language signs and their translations into the natinoal state language (typical of *top-down* signs); the recording and comparison of *top-down* messages and *bottom-up* signs, and analyses of multilingual and plurilingual messages. Such activities will stimulate students' awareness and curiosity both for their environment and for English language learning. Students are ultimately encouraged to become active learners of English.

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New Ideas for Testing and Training Communicative Competence

Abstract

The article presents new ideas for testing and training communicative competence: (1) Alliteration Actions: learners need to create full sentences of a given pattern, with the core words all starting with a given letter. For example, the teacher gives the structure "*Could you please* + {adverb} + {verb} + {object}?" If the given letter is A, a good solution would be *Could you please always ask your aunt?* Mistakes should be discussed. (2) Bridging Blanks: This is a test where gaps having to do with inflection are avoided at the A1 level and scarce at the A2 level; for A1 and A2 spelling variants are allowed. The required words stand for notions that are highly likely to occur in everyone's life. With compounds the beginning of both parts is given. (3) Conversation Coaching: Role-plays are a traditional type of exercise, but the tasks are often given in the language with the words that learners should actually search for in their minds. To avoid this, Conversation Coaching combines model texts scripts with pictures for different variants.

Sommaire

L'article présente de nouvelles idées sur l'examination et l'exercise de compétence communicative: (1) "actions d'allitération": les apprenants doivent créer des phrases complètes selon un modèle fixé dont les mots centraux tous commencent avec la même lettre fixée. Par exemple, le professeur d'anglais donne la structure "*Could you please* + {adverbe} + {verbe} + {objet}?" Si la lettre est A, un bon exemple serait *Could you please always ask your aunt?* Des erreurs doivent être discutées. (2) "Bridging Blanks" 'ponter des blancs': C'est un test dans lequel les lacunes d'inflection sont évitées au niveau A1 et rare au niveau A2; pour A1 et A2, les variants graphiques sont permis. Les mots cherchés représentent des notions qui sont probables dans la vie de tout le monde. Avec des mots composés, les débuts des deux parties sont données. (3) "Coaching conversationnel": Les jeux de rôle sont un exercise traditionnel, mais les tâches sont souvent déjà formulés dans la langue cible avec des mots que les apprenant devrait chercher dans sa mémoire. Pour éviter cela, coaching conversationnel combine des modèles de textes avec des images pour des variants.

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel präsentiert neue Ideen für das Testen und Trainieren von kommunikativer Kompetenz: (1) Alliteration-Aktionen: Lerner bilden Sätze nach einem gegebenen Muster, bei denen die Kernwörter mit demselben gegebenen Buchstaben beginnen. Der Englischlehrer gibt etwa die Struktur "*Could you please* + {Adverb} + {Verb} + {Objekt}?" Wenn der gegebene Buchstabe A ist, wäre eine gute Lösung *Could you please always ask your aunt?* Fehler müssen diskutiert werden. (2) "Bridging Blanks" 'Lücken überbrücken': Dies ist ein Test, wo Lücken, die mit Flexion zu tun haben, auf dem A1-Niveau absent und auf dem A2-Niveau selten sind. Bei A1 und A2 sind Schreibvarianten erlaubt. Gesuchte Wörter stehen für Begriffe, die in jedermanns Leben vorkommen können. Bei Komposita wird der Anfang beider Elemente geben. (3): "Conversation Coaching": Rollenspiel ist ein traditioneller Übungstyp, aber die Aufgabe wird oft in der Zielsprache gegeben, mit den Wörtern, die der Lerner eigentlich im Gedächtnis suchen sollte. Um dies zu vermeiden, arbeitet das Konversationscoaching mit Musterbasistexten und Bildern für verschiedene Varianten.

1. Introduction

Examiner: "Welcome to today's test. My test question is: What did you do yesterday evening?" Examinee 1: "I eated at a real good Italian restaurant in center of town." Examinee 2: "I ... also ... ate ... a really good ... Italian restaurant ... in the center ... of ... the town." Which of these two candidates shows higher communicative competence? With this little joke, we would like to introduce some new ideas for testing and training communicative competence—ideas that can be used with all European languages in the Latin script. We will divide our paper into three parts: Alliterative Actions, Bridging Blanks, and Conversation Coaching.

2. Alliteration Actions

There is a game that in Germany is called *Stadt-Land-Fluss*, in Spain *Juego Stop*, in Italy *Nomi-cose-città*, in Poland *Państwo-Miasta*, and in Hungary *Ország-város*. This game requires that participants find words for things from a selection of categories, with the words all starting with the same given letter. There seems to be no English name for that game. We would like to suggest an alternative version of that game. Let's call it *Alliteration Actions*. In this variation of the game learners need to create full sentences of a given pattern, with the core words all starting with a given letter. For example, the teacher gives the structure "*Could you please* + {adverb} + {verb} + {object}?" If the given letter is A, participants should produce sentences like *Could you please always ask your aunt*? and *Could you please appropriately ask for an answering machine?* In contrast to the original version of the game the game is not over when the first participant has filled all slots. Then only one sentence would be dealt with. Rather, there is a given amount of time (e.g. three minutes) in which students try to create as many sentences as possible. In foreign language teaching this enables to verify if both constructions as well as the semantics of words have been fully mastered or had been explained clearly enough. For example, a student may have created the sentence, *Could you please always ask **to** your aunt*?. The construction with ask may then be revised (*ask, ask about, ask for*). Or a student may have created the sentence *Could you please also abolish your aunt?*. Maybe this is because *abolish* was introduced as *get rid of*. The teacher can then refine that not in all instances of *get rid of* is *abolish* a possible synonym, for instance not with people. There are many possible structures than the teacher can choose, also in combination with semantic criteria. Some other examples:

- *Why don't you* + {verb} + {object-adjective} + {object-noun} (*Why don't you ask your angry aunt?*)
- *I promise to* {verb} + {animate object} + {adverbial of manner} (*I promise to ask my aunt without awe.*)
- {subject} + *should be* + {verb} + {adverbial of time} (*Your aunt should be assisted in the afternoon.*)

3. Bridging Blanks

One of the tasks at adult training institutions like the German Volkshochschulen is to assess potential participants' linguistic competences in order to be able to advise them the right course level. All over Europe, the main reference for the linguistic level is the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, brief: CEFR. It consists of 6 levels: from A1 (the beginner's level), to A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2.

To test these levels, cloze tests and C-tests have become widespread formats. The cloze test was first described by Taylor in 1953 and has been used in foreign language skill testing since the 1970s. Here, words are deleted from a text either mechanically (every n-th word) or selectively, depending on exactly what aspect it is intended to test for. The completion may be objective (i.e. examinees have to chose a word from a given list) or subjective (i.e. examinees have to fill in a gap with words that would make a given sentence grammatically correct). A classical C-test, in turn, consists of at least 4 texts in which the second half, or a little more of twenty to twenty-five words was corrupted. The C-test was developed by Klein-Braley and Raatz (1982). For both types of tests there is an extensive literature, particularly to prove the empirical validity of C-tests (cf., e.g. McGray/Brunfaut 2016, Grotjahn 2017). Nevertheless, we decided to try out a new format, as we thought that these tests do not always test what the CEFR levels were made for. Here is how the CEFR levels are defined:

Level	Description
A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce themselves and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people they know and things they have. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.
A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of their background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise while travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics that are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in their field of specialization. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer clauses, and recognize implicit meaning. Can express ideas fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organizational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarize information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express themselves spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in the most complex situations.

Note that the levels are defined through the mastering of communicative tasks only, not through aspects of the language system. Standard grammar and standard pronunciation are not referred to before Level C1, where the speaker should be able to use language […] effectively for […] academic and professional purposes. Here, one could argue that academic and professional success demands on the command of standard language. But even this is only a vague reference, especially since similar things do not reoccur on Level C2.

In order to take the communicative command more serious, we designed a new type of gap-filling test—a test that focusses less on grammar. The technique, or test design, can be used in all lanugages in Latin script. In this test, we chose only representations of spoken dialogs. In this test, we avoided all gaps having to do with inflection in the A1 test. In the A2 test, we included one regular past tense form. For A1 and A2 we also allow spelling variants as long as they match with the target language system. As for B1 and B2 we only had gaps related to inflectional items relevant on this level and when their disrepect could lead to misunderstanding, namely *will* future (expecially without further time adverbial), present perfect progressive connected to a time adverbial with *for*, several occurrences of a passive and the construction have + object + past participle and the forms of *be*. For each level, there are two or three little texts, with 30 gaps per level. The words that are required stand for notions that are highly likely to occur in everyone's life.

In cases where initial letters do not suffice to exclude similar possible solutions, letters from the end are also given. With compounds the beginning of both parts is given. A level is seen as mastered if the test participant reaches at least 20 points (66%) of that level or at least 15 points (50%) of that level and at least 10 points (33%) of the next level.

Here is the version of the English assessment test, with some comments.

==========

A1.1.
Jo: Hello, I am Jo. Who are you?
Maria: My n_____$_1$ is Maria Bali. I am fr___$_2$ London.
Jo: Oh! I al___$_3$ li___$_4$ in London. I am a tea_____$_5$ at a high-school there. What do you do?
Maria: I wo___$_6$ for the company XL-Com. We se___$_7$ computers.
A1.2.
Jo: E_____$_8$ me, is there a phar_____$_9$ around here?
Sara: Yes, it's not f___$_{10}$ from here, on__$_{11}$ 100 meters. You can w____k$_{12}$ there.
Just go s_____$_{13}$ on to the sec___$_{14}$ cross_____$_{15}$ and then turn l___$_{16}$.
It is the house next to the chu____$_{17}$.
Jo: Sorry, I haven't und_____oo__$_{18}$. That was too fa___$_{19}$ for me.
Co____$_{20}$ you rep____$_{21}$ that sl__ly$_{22}$, please.
A1.3.
Man: How can I he___$_{23}$ you, sir?
Jo: I have a big h___dac___$_{24}$. Do you have Aspirin?
Man: Of course, but perh____$_{25}$ you ne___$_{26}$ something str___er$_{27}$.
These pills here are only 1 EUR more expe_____$_{28}$ than Aspirin.
You ta___$_{29}$ one pill after lunch and one at night, just before you go to sl____$_{30}$.

==========

- At the A1 level, perfect orthography should not be expected. Therefore phonetic spelling alternatives according to the target language's graphic system would be allowed, i.e. 1=*fram/frem/frum* (due to "weak form" pronunciation), 3=*alsoe*, 5=*teatcher/teecher/teetcher /tiecher/tietcher*, 6=*worke*, 8=*Excuise*, 9=*pharmasy/pharmecy/pharmesy*, 12=*wolk*, 13=*strait/ strate/streight/streit*, 15=*rodes*, 17=*churche/churtch/churtche*, 20=*Cood*, 21=*repeet/repete*, 22=*sloely*, 24=*hed-/hedd-/-ake*, 26=*nead/nede*, 28=*expencive*, 30=*sleep/sleap/slepe*.
- As already said, in these A1 scenes, notions were chosen that everyone knows: *London* as a city, *teacher* as a profession, *computers* and *Aspirin* as products, *pharmacy* and *church* as places and *headache* as an illness.
- 18, 22 and 27 are examples of uncovered inflectional elements (in contrast to the C-test methodology), even if these elements are in the middle of the word.
- 20 is seen as a fixed politeness element, although it is historically the past of *can*.
- 1, 8 and 13 are such fixed slots that only the first letter is given.
- 12 is *w__k* because *wa__* could be *walk* or *wait* (although the next sentence would exclude *wait*, of course).
- 24 is a compound where the beginning of both parts is given; in addition, the final d of *head* is given to exclude the -solution *heartache*.

==========

A2.1.

Jo: Since when have you been at your company?

Maria: I star___1 there just after I go_2 my unive_____3 dipl___4 in Econ_____5.
At the company I am respo_____6a _____r6b all finan_____7 things.
For exa_____8: I ch____9 if a cust____10 pays all his invo_____s11.
But when a coll_____12 is ill, I also have to do some of his ta____s13.
Somet_____14 this can be qui___15 stressful. But I oft___16 make music in order to relax.
What is your hobby?

Jo: I like pl____ing17 tennis. I do that every Sat_____18, toge_____19 with my family:
my wi____20, my daug_____21 and her hus_____22.
Or I go jogging among between trees. Jogging in the for____23 is nice especially in sp___g24 and su_____r25.

A2.2.

Sara: Waiter, I wo___26 like a cup of coffee.

Waiter: All right, mam. Look at the lar___27 list on the wall. We have diff_____28 types of coffee.
Whi___29 one do you prefer?

Sara: The regular Fairtrade coffee, please. All right. And some_____30 to eat?

Waiter: A cheese sandwich, please.

- If we want to allow phonetic spelling still at this level, then the following forms must be accepted aside from the standard forms: 6=*responsable*, 7=*finansial/finantial*, 10=*custemer/custumer*, 12=*colleg(ue)/colleeg(ue)*, 17=*pleying*, 18=*Saterday*, 21=*daugter*, 22=*husbend/husbond*, 23=*forast/forist*, 26=*wood*, 28=*differ(a)nt*/*diff(e)rent*,29=*Whitch*
- In 6, adjective and the required preposition are treated as one item.
- 26 is seen as a fixed politeness element, although it is historically the past of *can*.
- 24 and 25 use the final letters to avoid the synonyms *springtime* and *summertime*.
- 1 requires to know the regular past pattern, while in 2 the vowel change of the irregular verb is given.
- 17 is a case of uncovered inflectional elements.
- 14 and 30 are historically compounds, but their meanings are so specific that they are not given as *so__tim__* and *so__thi___*.

B1.1.

Jo: Look at the dark cl____s1 in the sky: I th___2 it is going to r____3.

Maria: Oh no! And I fo__ot4 to take an umbr____5 with me.

Jo: Maybe we can buy one in the shop there.

Maria: Oh no, not there?

Jo: W__6 not?

Maria: I have been there before. Customers ___7a not trea____7b very politely there.

B1.2.

Sara: Two tickets, please.
Man: For children or ad____$_{8}$?
Sara: One for me and one for my 8-year old son.
Man: That wo___$_{9}$ be 12 EUR, but our museum clo___s$_{10}$ in fourty-five minutes.
Sara: That's no problem. I vis_____$_{11}$ your museum wh__$_{12}$ I was young.
I just wa___$_{12}$ to sh___$_{13}$ my son the most intere_____$_{14}$ spots.
We'll be gone b__$_{15}$ six o'clock.
Man: We___$_{16}$, the museum has cha_____$_{17}$ a lot over the last five years.
So maybe you need more time. I adv____$_{18}$ you to come back tomorrow.
Sara: Tomorrow is not poss_____$_{19}$ bec_____$_{20}$ we alr_____$_{21}$ have other pl___s$_{22}$.
But I hope that you are also open next week.
Man: Yes. Next week we ev____$_{23}$ offer several special e_____ts$_{24}$ for children.
Sara: That's good. Then we wi___$_{25}$ come again then.

B1.3.

Jo: A__$_{26}$ a child, I dreamed of b____ming$_{27}$ a big star, just like Michael Jackson.
So I went to a singing and dancing class.
But then I ga__e$_{28}$ it up. I did not have en_____$_{29}$ talent.
For 10 years, I _____$_{30a}$ _____$_{30b}$ wo_____$_{30c}$ as a cultural manager and I love it.

- 4, 8 and 10 are cases of uncovered inflectional elements. even if these are in the middle of the word.
- 11 requires to know the regular past tense, but also the very frequent irregular form *was*.
- 17 requires the regular present perfect.
- 30 requires the regular present perfect progressive.
- 24 gives the *t* of *events* to avoid *exhibitions*, *expositions* or other possible words here.

==========

B2.1.

Sara: Hello. Yesterday, I bought this navigation system from you, but I have to comp_____$_{1}$.
You said that two batteries would be incl_____$_{2}$.
Actu_____$_{3}$, there was only one battery, and this battery r___$_{4a}$ o___$_{4b}$ of energy after just 1 hour.
Man: I am sorry for the inconv_____$_{5}$.
I can repl_____$_{6}$ the battery and give you a second one as well.
Are you sati_____$_{7}$ with the program its____$_{8}$?
Sara: Yes, the program is user-friendly.

B2.2.

Jo: In my vi___9, people sh____10 pay more attention to the envir_____11.
Maria: I ag____12 with you.
Alth___13 it h___14a b____14b common knowledge for years that natural ressources are lim_____15,
too many people don‘t change their b_____our16.
They d_____oy17 nature.
Jo: It’s due to the progr____18 in technology.
New devices are inve_____19 all the time, and these req_____20 energy.
Maria: But we should support alternative energies more.
Jo: That’s right.
Maria: More_____21, we thr__22a aw__22b too many things that are st____23 good inst____24 of ha_____25 them repai_____26.
Jo: Basic_____27, I am on your side.
How_____28, this does not only have adva_____29.
It could be that a new product is more energy-sa_____30.

==========

- 19 requires knowledge of passive voice, which is much more frequent in English than in German.
- 4 and 22 deal with the multiple-element verbs *run out* and *throw away* as one word.
- In 10 *should* is not treated as a past of *shall*, because the actual meaning is different here.
- In 3 and 27, *actually* and *basically* are not seen as simple adverb forms of the adjectives actual and basic, but as discourse connectors with their own meanings. This is why *-ly* is not given at the end.
- 14a and 14b require a frequent present perfect form
- In 16 the end letters are given to exclude the US version *behavior.*
- In 17 the end letters are given to exclude the synonym *destruct*.

Of course, with this test as with the cloze test and the C-tests, speaking and listening skills are not directly tested either. Listening skills could be added easily though, but the cost-benefit ratio could be doubted then.

As already said, the test is meant to give language teaching organizations an aid to advise customers the right courses. As such we have tried out these English language tests at Volkshochschule Wuppertal with 12 people. The results of the tests showed (with three exceptions) that competence levels achieved were quite clear-cut. People had either almost all answers of a level right or almost all wrong. The result of two candidates showed that they had stuck in the middle of one level (12 of 30 on A1 by one candidate, 29 on A1 plus 17 points on A2 by another candidate). But since most Volkshochschule courses do not cover a level in one semester only, these cases could also be easily categorized. The people were advised to start in the middle of a level. A third candidate’s performance was very akward: the candidate received only 14 points on A1, and 11 points on A2. All in all, however, the kind of test proved promising. The candidates were all satisfied with the courses that were suggested to them on the basis of the test.

We have also developed a variant of this test for the German language and tested it at Volkshochschule Donauwörth with a mixed group of 12 people with Arabic (8), Russian (2), Italian (1) and Romanian (1) as mother-tongues and varying second-language skills. All testees had already passed a B1 TELC exam called *Deutsch-Test für Zuwanderer* (*DTZ*) three to twelve months before

this test and had continued to live in Germany since then. While the group at Volkshochschule Wuppertal were foreign-language learners, the group at Volkshochschule Donauwörth was in a second-language learning context then. Here, only three women with Russian, Italian and Romanian as their native languages, reached the B1 level in our test. All others reached A2 or only A1 (always defining the command of a level by a minimal achievement 20 points of a level or 15 points of one level and 10 points of the next level). In general, I would say this reflects the testees' command when I talk to them face-to-face. On the other hand, there are two or three candidates of Arab native language whose command of German in face-to-face conversations would make me expect a higher result. Typical mistakes of the Arab candidates were L1 interferences such as mixing up the sounds /eː/ and /iː/ reflected in the use of the letters <e> and <i> (e.g. *Apothike* instead of *Apotheke* 'pharmacy'); occasionally forms used seem to reflect the local dialect or colloquial speech (e.g. twice *Ich glabe* instead of *Ich glaube* 'I think' may reflect dialectal [ɪ glaːb]). On the other hand, many words were missing, too. What do we deduce from this observation? It is probably too early to draw conclusions. Viewing that it is not the first time that there are learners who have just passed the DTZ test (B1), but can hardly understand and be understood in face-to-face conversations with me at the start of a B2 course, we could argue that the DTZ needs discussion. On the other hand, viewing that some of the failed learners can perfectly understand and be understood in conversations with me, we could argue that our test or the CEFR needs discussion. Some learners have argued that the test format was unfamiliar to them. But this was, of course, also the case with the German participants in Wuppertal.

4. Conversation Coaching

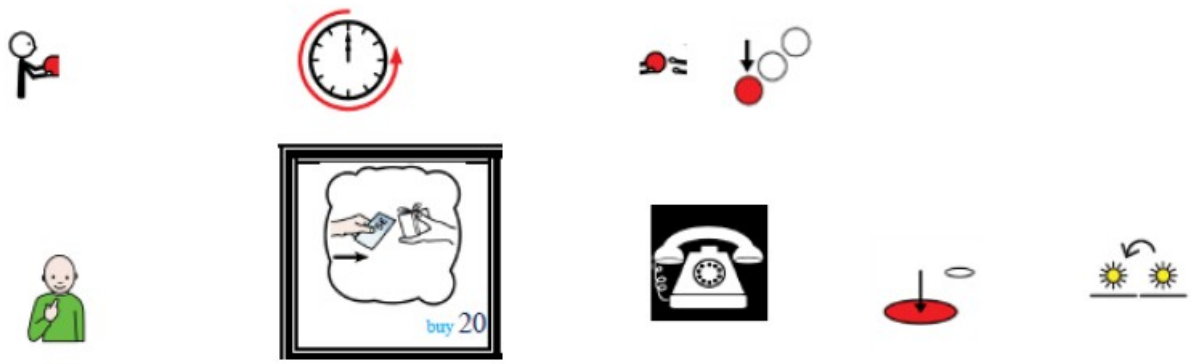
Maybe the most difficult part is to provide learners with so much communicative competence that they can easily lead a dialog with well trained constructions in the sense of Construction Grammar (e.g. Ellis 2013). Role-plays are a traditional type of exercise, but the tasks are often given in text-form in the language to be learned so that solutions are already there instead of having learners first search for the right words in their minds. To avoid this, we have designed the following technique:

(1) Select a dialog situation that you can easily illustrate with pictures (e.g. dialog between a shop assistant and a customer because a newly bought product is already broken).
(2) Imagine variants of the situation that you can easily illustrate with pictures (e.g. different objects such as TV set, CD player, phone, fan, heater; different problems such as bad sound, bad picture, malfunction of a button, malfunction of remote control; different solutions such as repairing, price reduction, new item, voucher).
(3) Imagine a model text scripts with words and phrases for these variants. This could look like this (e.g. for a course preparing for B1):

1. Hello, yesterday I bought this {TV set / phone / ...} from you, but it's already broken.
2. I'm sorry to hear that. What exactly is the problem?
3. The {button / remote control / ...} doesn't work properly. / The {sound, picture} is of low quality.
4. Did you {respect / keep to / stick to} the instructions in the manual?
5. I { respected / kept to / stuck to} the instructions in the manual.
6. OK. We can offer you the following:
{We can} {write you a voucher / give you the money back / bring you a new X / have the X repaired}.
7. {I'd be happy if you} {write you a voucher / give you the money back / bring you a new X / have the X repaired}. (training of *if*-clauses)

(4) Hand out a sheet with the sentences that you want to practice with variants in brackets or as lists. In heterogeneous groups on the beginner's level, you can simply practice with picture-to-speech translations as done in the *Sprach-Not-Arzt* method (cf. http://www.sprach-not-arzt.de;

Grzega 2016). For example, the sentence *Yesterday I bought this phone here* would look like this in the *Sprach-Not-Arzt* method.



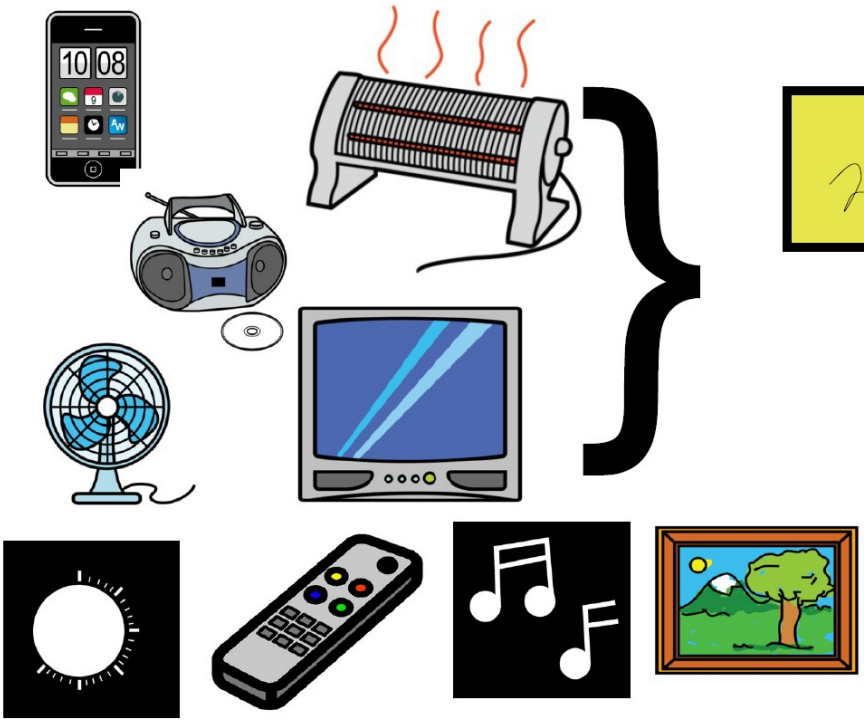
In the main line we have the pictures for the lexemes for "I", "buy", "phone", "here" and "yesterday". In the top line we have the grammatical information for "subject/agent", "past", "object" and "definiteness". We then exchange items of a spot.

(5) With each sentence, present a first variant, with the appropriate intonation. Have the class or single learners repeat the sentence. Point at a picture or word on the board (or combine two items on the board) and have a learner formulate the next variant (or at the beginner's level change one part of the sentence). If the variant is correct, repeat, and have the class or single members repeat the sentence. Continue this way with other variants.

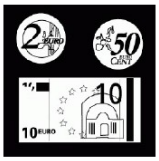
(6) Give a variant of the full situation and have two learners play the scene without interrupting. At the end give feedback. Then pick another variant.

(7) At another day practice the situation again, now going directly the role-plays of the full scene.

We experience this as further progress in the creation of pattern drills (cf. Butzkamm/Caldwell 2009). Here is the slide for introducting the situation given as an example above (*mobile phone, fan, button, CD player, heater, TV set, remote control*, the curly bracket for the category word *device, sound, picture, voucher, money*) (except for the curly bracket and the voucher all pictures are taken from https://www.pictoselector.eu):

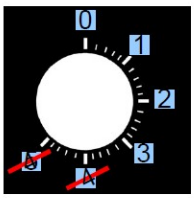






These are two examples for the full role-play then:

Problem of client:





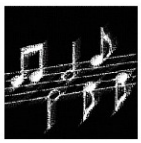
Offer of shop:



or

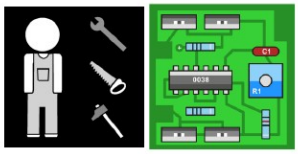


Problem of client:





Offer of shop:



ready:
Tuesday

or **NEW**



5. Final Remarks

As already noted, these are first results from qualitative research. The next step would be to look for conclusions from quantitative-like experiments. We would also welcome colleagues who would like to test out our ideas—either in the languages included in this report or in other European languages.

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Memorandum on Establishing Eurolinguistics as a University Field

Language is a central cultural phenomenon which does not only serve to convey information, but which serves to create worldviews and which is also an expression of identity with respect to values, beliefs, customs and social networks. It is therefore surprising that while for some academic disciplines the European perspective is the norm, this is not the case for language studies. Rather on the contrary, chairs for linguistics have been diminished at many universities. Chances for carrying out Eurolinguistic research are often restricted to third-party funding. Already in 1999, the group ELAMA (Eurolinguistischer Arbeitskreis Mannheim) formulated a manifest of Eurolinguistic needs. Some of the goals there are adopted and adapted for this memorandum:

- Insights into the common linguistic and cultural basis of European languages will foster a sense of European togetherness. Such awareness of belonging together, from ancient to modern times, will help to strengthen a European identity, which is still lacking even among the younger generations. Eurolinguistics shall thus become a discipline counteracting nationalistic tendencies in the academic and non-academic world, supporting the European educational policy of the member states of the European Union and the Council of Europe. A sense of European identity will help to reduce extremist national movements and ethnic discrimination. At the same time, Eurolinguistics will have to make sure that it does not promote a new barrier between Europeans and non-Europeans, but rather sets the basis for global empathy. Viewing the important power of language, it is urgent to study the dynamics of linguistic and cultural divergence or convergence of European languages and their relation to historical, political, psychological, social and economic parameters.
- Eurolinguistics shall promote an understanding of the language-driven causes of conflicts between groups in Europe, thereby serving peace research – within Europe and beyond Europe.
- Eurolinguistics shall also incorporate urgent multilingual programs with respect to self-determined and (half-)forced migration.
- Eurolinguistics should be seen as an integral part of an interdisciplinary approach in humanities (also integrating basic and applied research), promoting a European-minded program in life-long education. The results shall be made known to the general public (including handicapped people).

Viewing the enormous working-time that is required for such central European research, we call and ask everyone active in educational issues to engage in the realization of the following two goals.

1. Universities should enlarge the philological spectrum and install chairs of Eurolinguistics so that Eurolinguistics, in the sense of the study of the commonalities between European languages and linguacultures, becomes an integral academic discipline with free researchers, who do not have to wait and work for third-party funds only. Alternatively, research centers for Eurolinguistics closely linked to universities (and thus academic teaching) shall be founded. In reverse, Eurolinguists shall make their knowledge accessible not only to the academic world, but also to a broader public, showing the applicability of results. Thus, didactic aspects become very important.

2. School curricula should integrate Eurolinguistic knowledge as a compulsory part of foreign-language teaching, mother-tongue teaching as well as teaching non-language subjects. The role of language in non-language subjects is as of yet highly underestimated. Eurolinguistic knowledge shall enhance a feeling of identity as well as tolerance and empathy for differences (in other words: intercultural competence, particularly intercultural communicative competence). This Eurolinguistic knowledge relates to: fonts/scripts, grammatical structures and their functions, Europe-wide words, the lexical structure of conceptual fields, the connotation of names and words (including technical terms), the use of names and words in specific genres, the use names and of words for social purposes.

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