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**MIGRATION IN TRANSLATION: THE ROLE OF TERMINOLOGY AND
TRANS-EDITING IN SHAPING THE CRISIS IN EU INSTITUTIONS**

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Migration in Translation: the role of terminology and trans-editing in shaping the crisis in

EU Institutions – Jessica Mariani

PhD thesis

Verona, 29 May 2018

UNIVERSITY OF VERONA

Title: Migration in Translation: the role of terminology and trans-editing in shaping the crisis in EU Institutions

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Degree: Doctor of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures

Thesis Summary

The present thesis focuses on the role and impact that terminology and translation had on shaping the *Migration Crisis* for the media and citizens in the EU, and reconstructs the European Parliament information flow through translation, by exploring its translation policies, strategies, and organisational structures within this field. The study is structured in two phases and has, respectively, two aims: to provide an overview of *Migration* terminology in EU Institutions and explore its translation into institutional texts; and to investigate the role of the “unknown agents” (Schäffner 2014) involved in the communication process and the translation strategies implemented.

The first phase deals with terminology and institutional translation and uses Corpus Linguistics as a methodology. As the analysis develops on two levels, monolingual and multilingual, the software *Sketch Engine* was chosen to comply with both. Term occurrences and patterns of use were investigated in the EUR-LEX Corpus 2/16 EN and in a compiled corpus of press releases published between 2010 and 2016, while the parallel corpora function was used to observe term equivalents in English and Italian. The second phase investigates translators and press officers in their institutional settings and employs ethnographic methods such as observation practices, interviews and round tables, to find possible correlations between the translation processes and the products.

The research results show how terminology and translation had an impact on the portrayals of “migrants” in institutional texts and how they simultaneously evolved with the legislative progress made by EU institutions in the field of Immigration and Asylum. The practices of linguistic ethnography conducted with terminologists and press officers at the European Parliament enabled us to find the

correlations between the texts and their producers and to contextualise the corpus results obtained.

The research shows that there are large differences in how translation is employed by translators and press officers in EU institutions, and that strategies affecting terminology and trans-editing practices are largely interdependent with the communication purposes, the targets and the political voices representing the institution.

This thesis concludes by discussing the complex and conflictual relationship between specialised terminology and general language in the narration of migrants and refugees in institutional texts, and the instability and “fuzziness” of migration terms that labelled thirty years of Immigration and Asylum policies in EU Institutions.

Keywords: migration, terminology, institutional translation, ethnography, terminology management, news translation.

Acknowledgements

“Migration in Translation” started back in 2014 when I was an inexperienced researcher and had just stepped out from the “institutional bubble”. Long before that experience, I was dreaming of living the “institutional dream” – as many young graduates do at present – and as soon as my dream came true, I realised that the time I was given was not sufficient. There was not enough time to understand what lies behind the institutional machine and one could only realise how many aspects remain unexplored and unknown to EU citizens, whom the institutions serve. Most importantly, as I personally followed all the parliamentary work done by the EU Institutions to tackle the migration crisis since 2014, I deemed it necessary to contribute to this urgent cause by dealing with this topic in the research and by reconstructing all the progress made by EU Institutions through the lens of terminology and translation.

This project was born during a cold afternoon a few months after my traineeship at the European Parliament was over and my PhD had just started. Like many PhD students at the beginning of their journey, you barely know who you are and you might come up with blurred ideas as you don't know what research actually is. So the first person I would like to thank is my supervisor Professor Roberta Facchinetti as she insisted that I should do something related to my experience at the European Parliament and trusted my research from the very start: she knows me well enough to know that I would put all of myself into this project as I was personally involved in it. As part of me was missing Brussels very much, I probably would have opted for another topic to avoid nostalgia, but inevitably I was brought back here.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 “Migration in Translation”: aims, rationale and relevance of the study

In recent years, record inflows of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers have pushed migration to the forefront of media attention and have filled the legislative agendas of the member countries that are responsible for this tangible human crisis and that have thus far been unable to reach a common policy on the distribution of refugees. According to May 2015 Eurobarometer¹, European citizens see immigration as the hardest challenge currently faced by the European Union (EU), ahead of the economic situation, unemployment and member states public finances.

Beyond current events, migration is a key topic in the European Union, particularly since the end of 2010, when the European Border and Coast Guard Agency FRONTEX launched the Joint Operation EPN Hermes Extension 2011 to help Italy deal with vessels carrying migrants and refugees, ahead of the outbreak of the “Arab Spring”. These events led to significant population movements, mainly from the Southern Mediterranean countries towards their immediate neighbours, as well as towards the EU in general, calling into question its precarious stability and unity.

The term “migration” has a broad meaning and history, along with other related terms like “migrant” or “refugee”, and these have been widely researched by linguists (Loupaki & Maslias 2017, Allen 2016), sociologists (Richmond 1988,

¹ Extract from a press release by the European Commission: “Asking citizens about their main concerns, immigration is now at the top of the most frequently cited topics at EU level. With 38% (+14 points) it is now way ahead of the economic situation (27%, -6 points), unemployment (24%, -5 points) and the Member States public finances (23%, -2 points). It is the number one most frequently cited concern in 20 Member States reaching peaks in Malta (65%) and Germany (55%). Concern for terrorism at EU level has also increased significantly since November 2014 (17%, +6 points)”. europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-5451_en.htm (Accessed on 28th July 2017).

Castels 2003) and anthropologists (Brettel 2003, Vertovec 2005, Agier & Madeira 2017). As pointed out by the anthropologist Agier & Madeira (2017: 1):

“Réfugié”, “migrant”, “demandeur d’asile”, mais aussi “réfugié de guerre”, “migrant économique”, “clandestin”, sont autant de termes apparemment descriptifs qui, pourtant, engagent toute une politique des classifications institutionnelles, médiatiques, populaires ou savantes”².

What exactly do we mean by “migration”? Is this term identified by a universal concept or does it possess different connotations from a sociological and historical viewpoint? As explained by Calzolaio and Pievani (2016: 41), human populations have been migrating by necessity or by choice for millions of years, and the act of migrating has progressively led to human evolution. The process of migration finds its roots in history, society and geography, and as the authors claim, *Homo sapiens* has actually gained the freedom to migrate and the right to stay in his country of origin. Following this principle, Calzolaio and Pievani assume that referring to “forced migration” offers a restrictive view, and although people have been migrating since the earliest stages of human evolution, we still lack a well-grounded theory of migration phenomena. Hence, what Calzolaio and Pievani suggest is that migration is a complex and longstanding phenomenon, requiring policy responses from the EU, based on facts, figures and scientific evidence. Confusion surrounding a common definition of migration phenomena, an issue faced by anthropologists, therefore plays a crucial role with regard to the language used to refer to them, challenging different profiles of language professionals and linguists.

The present thesis focuses on the role and impact that translation and terminology have on shaping the migration crisis for the media and citizens in the EU, and reconstructs the European Parliament information flow through translation, by exploring its translation policies, strategies, and organizational structures within this field. “Migration in Translation” aims to question the

² “Refugee”, “migrant”, asylum seeker”, as well as “war refugee”, “economic migrant”, “clandestine”, are all seemingly descriptive terms; however, they involve a policy of classification on an institutional, media and popular level”. This is a retranslation by the author of the thesis.

definition of translation itself within the European Parliament, where translators and communicators work as two sides of the same coin, and looks at how this affects the representation of migration itself.

As the thesis will illustrate, the awareness of the hybridity of these two professions has received scant attention both in the EU context and in academia. The thesis therefore aims to outline to what extent these “trans-communicators” influence the public perception of migration phenomena through terminology and lexicon and investigates how their roles are interrelated in this regard.

1.1.1 Research questions

Overall, this thesis aims to deepen our understanding of the ways in which terminology and translation have contributed to shaping the migration crisis within the EU Institutions. To measure the impact of terminology and translation in this regard, we conducted an ethnographic study of institutional translation by involving two units at the European Parliament: the Terminology Coordination Unit (TermCoord) at the Directorate General for Translation (DG TRAD) in Luxembourg and the Press Unit at the Directorate General for Communication (DG COMM) in Brussels. The thesis is divided into two parts, which count one research question each, and related objectives which will be presented in detail in the next section. The first part is purely linguistic and aims to show how migration terminology has evolved from 1985 to 2016 in EU Institutions and how selected terms and their equivalents in Italian were used in institutional texts (legislative texts and press releases) by drawing on the analysis of the following corpora:

- European Migration Network official³ glossaries of migration in English and Italian

³ Council Decision 2008/381/EC of 14 May 2008 established a legal base for the European Migration Network. The purpose of the EMN is to meet the information needs of Union institutions and of Member States’ authorities and institutions by providing up-to-date, objective, reliable and comparable information on asylum and migration, with a view to supporting policymaking in the European Union in these areas.

www.eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014R0516 (Accessed 28th October 2017).

- parallel corpora of EUR-lex documents in English and Italian
- selected corpora of press releases in English and Italian from 2010 until 2016, divided per year.

The second part of the thesis takes a sociological view of translation and draws on the results obtained in the corpus analysis and combines them with an ethnographic study of institutional translation at the European Parliament. By employing ethnographic methods like observation practices, notes taken during fieldwork, interviews, roundtables and questionnaires, the thesis aims to unveil the *unknown agents* (Schäffner 2014: 131) and their practices related to terminology and translation in both case study units, to show the impact of their translation policies on the final terminology/translation product.

The thesis aims to answer two research questions:

1. What impact have terminology and translation had on shaping the migration crisis in EU Institutions?
2. How does the European Parliament structure its communication process through terminology and translation?

The first research question aims to provide an exhaustive overview of how migration is represented through terminology and translation in two typologies of texts at the European Parliament: legislative texts and press releases translated from English into Italian.

The second research question aims to investigate how the European Parliament employs terminology and translation in its information flow and draws on Schäffner's call on unveiling the *unknown agents* of translated political discourse (2014: 131) to investigate institutional and political texts. By conducting an ethnographic study, the thesis responds to Koskinen's suggestion of providing more "local explanations" (2011: 59) in the context of institutional translation and attempts to unveil "hidden" or "clashing" translation processes which affect the final translation product.

1.1.2 Aims and objectives

Our research questions are interrelated with sub-sequent objectives we think will render the picture clearer. We have identified two objectives for every research question, along with a brief outline of the methods that will be used to investigate them. With reference to the first research question, we aim to achieve the following objectives:

- a) to provide an overview of how migration terminology has evolved from 1985 until 2016;
- b) to demonstrate how terminology and translation are used to shape the migration crisis in press releases.

The first objectives will be addressed in the first part of the thesis, where Corpus Linguistics is employed as a methodology. Objective a) makes use of the *Sketch Engine* software to compare official EU glossaries regarding migration, resulting in a longitudinal overview of terms, coined between 1985 and 2016, which illustrate how migration has been represented and how the classification of migrants has progressed in EU Institutions. Selected candidate terms, whose criteria of selection will be discussed in detail in a dedicated chapter about EU terminology, are later investigated in the parallel corpus EUR-lex 2 /16 EN-IT, to show frequency of use and which Italian equivalents have been chosen by translators over time. Objective b) will be achieved through a corpus analysis of selected parallel corpora of press releases in English and Italian for the period 2010-2016. This analysis is also conducted by using the software *Sketch Engine* and will show how terminology and translation are employed in institutional texts to narrate the migration crisis. Concerning the second research question, we aim to achieve the following objectives:

- a) to document the workflow of terminologists at TermCoord (the Terminology Coordination Unit) and of translators at the Italian Language Unit (Directorate-General (DG) for Translation),
 - to show how terms are coined and coordinated.
 - to outline activities and constraints of translators and terminologists'in

their daily working routine

b) to describe the workflow of Italian press officers at the Press Unit (DG Communication):

- to investigate the role of the trans-editor in EU Institutions
- to reveal how translation is used as part of the Press Unit's communication process.

These objectives will be addressed in the second part of the thesis, where Ethnography is employed as a methodology. Objective a) examines how terminology is coordinated and managed at the Terminology Coordination Unit, and investigates members' roles and their workflow. Translators of the Italian language unit at DG Translation are involved in the analysis through ethnographic interviews, to explore the translation and terminology constraints they encounter in their daily work. Objective b) studies the role and workflow of Italian press officers and trans-editors at the Press Unit and investigates how they employ translation in their communication process.

1.1.3 Rationale

The present thesis has its origins in a working experience we made as press interns and trans-editors at the Press Unit of the European Parliament. Following Koskinen's approach (2008) for investigating the Finnish Translation Unit at the European Commission, we involved the Press Unit in an ethnographic study regarding institutional translation at the European Parliament, to shed light on the pros and cons of multilingual communication, with reference to the migration crisis in the European Union. The climax of inspiration came from our daily working routine at the European Parliament, where the need to deal with linguistic diversity, terminology and translation in news production confirms translation an important part of the overall communication process (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 57).

In its early stages, "Migration in Translation" was presented at the 2015 *Translating Europe Forum* held at the European Commission in Brussels, where

we had the opportunity to test the interest of the academic and translation industry audience on the research questions posed, and collect the first ethnographic interviews. Ms. Montoro, a web content editor and terminologist working at the European Parliament in Luxembourg, explained what stands behind the choice of terminology in EU Institutions, also with regards to migration and her personal experience with the terms *human trafficking* and *trafficking in human beings*⁴. This, therefore called into question our choice to start by investigating terminology and translation in press releases, and posed the challenge to investigate the early stages of terminology coordination and translation management at the European Parliament. We reconstructed the information flow from the Directorate General for Translation instead, where terminologists and translators are responsible for standardizing and coordinating the terms, find their equivalents in 24 languages, and lay the foundation for the whole communication process.

We decided to involve the European Parliament Terminology Coordination Unit (Directorate General for Translation) as part of our ethnographic study, to explore where EU terminology originates and observe how it is coordinated and negotiated.

1.1.4 Relevance

As pointed out by Kellner (2003), mediatized politics make the struggle over meaning and terminology a public spectacle. Political debates imply struggles about how to label, justify and legitimize the various measures needed to welcome refugees to Europe, involving the strategic use of language in the form of vagueness, neologisms and the reformulation of existing terminology (Rheindorf & Wodak 2017; Wodak 2011).

European news media have played a significant role in representing diversity through the lens of the migration crisis, often leading to a linguistic categorization

⁴ The European Commission has settled a page dedicated to information and news regarding the topic “trafficking in human beings”. This term distinguishes itself from “human trafficking”, which is often used as synonym or misused in other types of communicative texts.

https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/node/1_en (Accessed on 25th August 2017)

of the “actors” involved. This has resulted in an overflow of new terms designating brand-new concepts, translated in several languages across Europe. *Economic migrants, refugees, expats, hotspots, undocumented immigrants* and many other terms have challenged the translators, terminologists and communicators, slowly entering European citizens' general lexicon⁵. This process, known as de-terminologization, occurs when “a lexical item that was once confined to a fixed meaning within a specialized domain is taken up in general language” (Meyer and Mackintosh, 2000: 112). During this process, terms can be distorted by general users and this may lead to terminological misuse. According to Ambrosi, President of IOM (International Organization for Migration), “Europe has dragged its heels on the subject of migration policy for the last 25 years” - and - “there seems to be a lack of consistency in terminology, not only among media outlets but also within the EU member states”⁶. Dialogue on migration, mobility and security is therefore not only essential for EU Institutions to lead the negotiations of mobility partnerships or to strengthen ties with its Southern neighbours, but it poses an enormous challenge to the community of communicators: to make migration policies, issues and debates comprehensible to

⁵ Here follows some news-reports questioning the language of migration: The Guardian: “We deride them as migrants: Why not call them people?”

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/28/migrants-people-refugees-humanity>
(Accessed on 25th August 2017)

The Guardian: “No human being is illegal: linguists argue against mislabelling of immigrants.”

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/28/migrants-people-refugees-humanity>
(Accessed on 25th August 2017)

The Guardian: “Mind your language: the semantics of asylum”

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2001/may/22/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices10>
(Accessed on 25th August 2017)

BBC News: “The battle over the words used to describe migrants”

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-34061097> (Accessed on 28th July 2017).

⁶ The integral interview of the IOM President on the *Chicago Policy Review* is available on this link: <http://chicagopolicyreview.org/2015/10/06/crisis-at-europes-doorstep-a-conversation-with-eugenio-ambrosi-about-refugees-migration-and-the-european-response/> (Accessed on 1st August 2017).

EU citizens and EU media, in all 24 official languages of the European Union⁷.

The next section will present an overview of the Migration and Asylum Law in the EU and is intended to provide background knowledge for a non-specialized readership.

1.2 EU Immigration and Asylum law: historical background

The following historical background is based on a course about *Migration and Visa Facilitation* we attended at the College of Europe in Bruges, to acquire knowledge about this specialized field and investigate terminology in this regard. Due to the complexity of this topic, which also affects the language used to refer to it, we found it crucial to comprehend the key points of EU Immigration and Asylum Law and provide an overview to the readership.

Migration is nowadays the main component of the demographical evolution of the European Union and is expected to become more crucial with the decline in the ageing of Member States' population in the future. The EU Immigration and Asylum policy has progressively emerged over a quarter of a century: it might be identified as a long period of time for those individuals analysing the development of the policy, and a short period if considered from an historical point of view, during which a fundamental evolution took place. EU Member States are regarding migration and asylum in different situations for geographical, linguistic and historical reasons and show different positions in regards to these phenomena and the issues at stake in building a common policy (see Condinanzi at al. 2006). Some Northern States, like France and Germany, are, for instance, old immigration countries, while Southern Member States, like Spain and Italy, are very recent immigration countries.

Building a common EU policy is not only a top-down process, with legislation adopted at EU level and to be applied by Member States, but also a bottom-up process of some Member States pushing their view on crucial points by

⁷ As guaranteed by Article 3 of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU), the EU “shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity”. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU prohibits discrimination on grounds of language in Article 21 and places an obligation on the Union to respect linguistic diversity, as specified by Article 22.

uploading them into EU legislation. When a new directive or regulation is published in the Official Journal of the European Union⁸, a cumbersome process of implementation, enforcement and adjudication at national and supranational level starts. The current EU policy is a result of a double evolution; on the one hand, the decision-making process in the institutional framework, and on the other hand, the context of reference of the phenomenon of migration towards EU countries (cf. Lavenex 2006). The following figure illustrates the main stages of Immigration and Asylum policies in the EU, since the implementation of the Single European Act in 1983, which revised the Treaties of Rome and marked the beginning of European integration and completion of the internal market⁹.

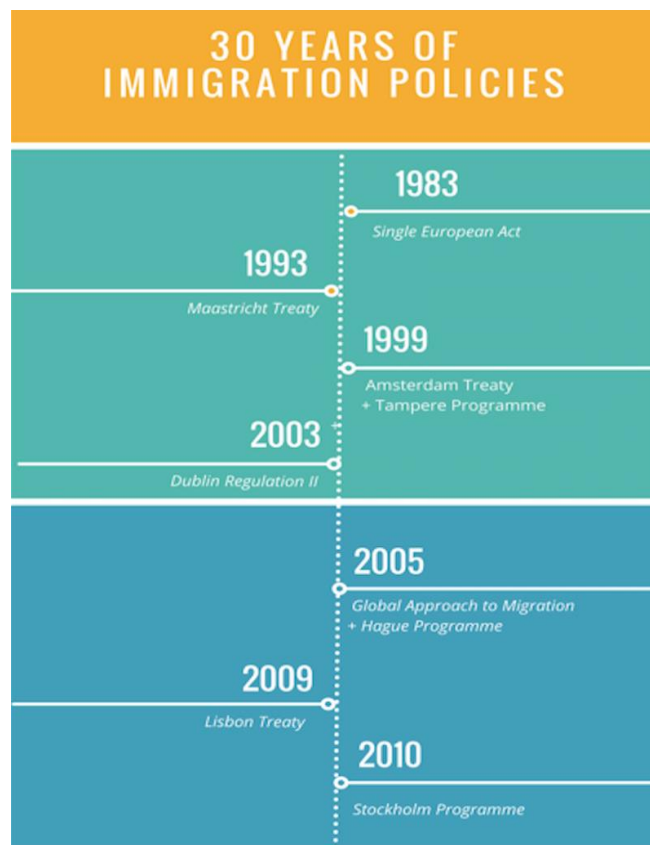


Figure 1. Progress of Immigration and Asylum Law in the EU

Five main steps can be considered to explain this evolution, during a period

⁸ The Official Journal of the European Union (OJ) is the main source of EUR-Lex content. It is published daily (from Monday to Saturday regularly, on Sundays only in urgent cases) in the official EU languages. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/oj/direct-access.html> (Accessed 25th September 2017).

⁹ The following link provides official information about the birth, structure and objectives of the Single European Act. <http://bit.ly/2giaUjz> (Accessed 1st October 2017).

surrounding the turnover from the 20th to the 21st century. After a decade of unilateral and competitive closure of labour markets, the process started with the first of the new European treaties adopted: “**the Single European Act**” in 1983, aimed at finalizing the common market into a single internal market. The decision was taken to abolish all internal border controls for all persons. This opened the way for an extension of the free movement from citizens of community countries to third-country nationals. The Member States expressed their disagreement about the implementation of the Single Act: some of them opted to follow the Community method, others preferred the intergovernmental method. Such controversy would be also visible in the development of the Schengen cooperation. The Schengen cooperation¹⁰ started in 1985 with a basic agreement, followed in 1990 by a detailed convention. Its core entered into force in 1995 and was a purely intergovernmental cooperation taking place outside the institutional framework of the European Community (Lavenex & Uçarer 2002: 67). Its goal was similar to the Single Act regarding free movement of persons: organizing the compensatory measures to the abolition of internal border controls regarding the movement of third-country nationals. It started with five Member States, France, Germany and the Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) that were later joined by all the others, except the two British Isles (UK and Ireland) and Cyprus, with Denmark being part of it with a special status. Moreover, also some non-EU countries joined the Schengen area: Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Lichtenstein.

The institutional gap created by the Single Act was filled in 1993 by the entry into force of the Treaty of Maastricht¹¹ that created the *Justice and Home Affairs* pillar of EU Institutions. The third pillar was created under the umbrella of the EU, besides the first pillar (European Communities) and the second pillar (Common Foreign Security Policy), as an area of cooperation among Member States, including migration and asylum. This represented a victory of those Member States in favour of the intergovernmental method rather than of the

¹⁰ The full text of the Schengen Agreement is available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2y1tap5> (Accessed 1st October 2017).

¹¹ The full text of the Maastricht Treaty is available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2yNhcP9> (Accessed 1st October 2017).

Community method. However, the poor results of the third pillar, as opposed to the growing importance of migration and refugees issues after the fall of the Berlin wall, made it quickly necessary to revise the third pillar.

With the **Amsterdam Treaty**¹², Justice and Home Affairs became a new major EU policy with the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice including migration and asylum issues as a new objective of the EU. Migration and Asylum were therefore transferred from the third to the first pillar. The Treaty of **Lisbon**¹³ achieved in 2009, after the cycle open by the Single Act about twenty years before, finalized the institutional framework on migration and asylum by extending the supra-national decision making procedures of co-decision to all migration and asylum issues, including legal migration, which is the most sensitive field (Peers, Guild et al. 2012: 13). Immigration and asylum policies have become the object of intense political disputes in many Member States, whose legal dimension has been increasingly influenced by EU directives and regulations on the following aspects: border controls, visas, immigration and asylum.

The EU migration and asylum policy is made of four strands:

1. the **control of external borders** with the check of the persons crossing it;
2. the **Visa policy about short stays** for traveling for all purposes;
3. the **immigration policy about long term stays** for different purposes working, studying, family reunifications;
4. **asylum for refugees and other persons** in need of international protection.

As explained by Peers, Guild et al (2012: 172), the EU law differentiates between short stays concerning the borders and visa policy and long stays concerning the immigration policy. The external border policy aims at implementing effective checks at crossing points and surveillance along the border in order to avoid illegal access to the territory.

¹² More information concerning the Amsterdam Treaty are provided at the following link: <http://bit.ly/2y5rj4q> (Accessed 27th October 2017).

¹³ The full text of the Lisbon Treaty is available at the following link: <http://bit.ly/2yNhR31> (Accessed on 2nd October 2017).

1.2.1 The EU *acquis*¹⁴ in the field of legal migration

Legal migration is mainly made of family migration and labour migration, plus migration for other purposes like, for instance, studying abroad. The directive 86/2003¹⁵ recognized a right to family reunification going further than the human right to family life, but leaves the Member States so much freedom whether or not to put conditions that they can make this right more restrictive or more generous. The only instruments adopted so far on labour migration have been the so called **Blue Card directive**¹⁶ in 2009 and the **Seasonal Workers directive**¹⁷ in 2004. The former seeks to attract highly skilled workers, while the latter opens a legal channel for workers from third countries to work temporarily in the EU, typically in agriculture or tourism.

Apart from rules for certain categories like students and researchers, this area is elaborated by EU Institutions in a flexible way on the basis of labour market needs and with due respect for the principle of European preference. The long-term resident status guarantees immigrants a permanent right of residence, a more secure status and limited freedom of movement (Peers, Guild et al. 2012: 295). Third-country nationals do not benefit from freedom of movement of EU citizens as shown by article 45 of the EU Charter of Fundamental rights¹⁸.

¹⁴ The EU's 'acquis' is the body of common rights and obligations that are binding on all EU countries, as EU Members. More information of its content, principles and objectives are available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2ggLevV> (Accessed 28th September 2017).

¹⁵ The full text of the directive is available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2wDCspT> (Accessed 1st October 2017).

¹⁶ The full text of the Blue Card Directive is available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2z4hfH5> (Accessed on 1st October 2017)

¹⁷ More information about the Seasonal Workers Directive are available on the European Commission website: <http://bit.ly/2fZ6otw> (Accessed 27th October 2017)

¹⁸ According to art. 45 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights: Every citizen of the Union has the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States. Freedom of movement and residence may be granted, in accordance with the Treaty establishing the European Community, to nationals of third countries legally resident in the territory of a Member State. More information available at the following link: <http://bit.ly/2xZb9tO> (Accessed 1st October 2017).

1.2.2 The EU *acquis* in the field of asylum

The goal of the Lisbon Treaty is to build a Common European Asylum System relying on more harmonized rules than the minimum directives adopted on the basis of the Amsterdam Treaty at the beginning of the years 2000. The first generation of minimum standards are made of four building blocks:

1. **The reception condition directive**, which defines the rights and duties of asylum seekers;
2. **The qualification directive**, which distinguishes between two groups: refugees and persons under subsidiary protection, mainly those fleeing indiscriminate violence in armed conflicts;
3. **The asylum procedure directive**, which approximates very weakly the Member States' rules on guarantees for applicants and types of procedures;
4. **The Dublin 2 regulation (or the Dublin Regulation)**¹⁹, succeeds a Convention signed in 1990 in Dublin, which determines among the Member States, the one that will be responsible for the examination of an asylum application introduced in the EU.

As in the field of external borders, Member States felt the need to cooperate in the implementation of their asylum policies and created a new European Agency, EASO (European Asylum Support Office), charged with the coordination of the national asylum policy, which is not tasked with providing protection to asylum seekers and it is symbolically located in Malta.

The EU immigration and asylum policies also have an external dimension. Partnership with third countries was the first principle enumerated by the conclusions adopted by the **1999 European Council in Tampere**²⁰ to launch the migration and asylum policy when the Amsterdam Treaty entered into force. Despite this intention, EU Institutions tried to impose unilaterally the fight against illegal immigration as a priority, but failed in not taking enough into consideration the interests of the countries of origin and transit of migrants (Monar 2010: 70).

¹⁹ The full text of the Dublin II Regulation is available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2xYT67f> (Accessed on 28th September 2017).

²⁰ The objectives reached with the Council of Tampere in 1999 are fully stated in the document available at the following link: <http://bit.ly/2wD2f1s> (Accessed 1st October 2017).

The failure of the first EU migration policies was underlined by the events in the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla on the coast of Morocco in 2005²¹, when a large crowd of people tried to trespass the border, prompting the armed reaction of the Spanish border guards. After such events, EU Institutions understood the need to develop an approach to migration that may better take into consideration the third countries' interests.

Within the new **Global Approach to Migration**²² (GAM), legal migration towards the EU and the migration-development nexus (through diasporas and remittances) are novelties that stress the search for partnership with third countries. There are several tools developed in the external dimension of Migration and Asylum Policies; in the field of migration the most important ones are the agreement on Readmission of illegal migrants to the origin and transit countries often coupled with agreements on Visa facilitation as well as specific soft law instruments between some EU countries and a third country: the Mobility Partnerships. In the field of asylum, the main external tools include operational capacity building through original protection programmes and solidarity towards third countries through resettlement.

With this brief overview of key historical developments with regard to Migration and Asylum policies in the EU over the past few decades, we hope that we have provided a glimpse of some of the complexities involved in this rapidly shifting landscape in which multiple partners with different agendas must cooperate and communicate. Against this background, we will now outline the structure of the thesis, which aims to provide a deeper understanding of the role and impact of terminology and translation in shaping the migration crisis at the European Parliament.

²¹ The events of Ceuta and Melilla were reported in this article of *The Guardian*: <http://bit.ly/2xnCYfS> (Accessed 29th September 2017).

²² More information on the European Commission "Migration and Home Affairs" website: <http://bit.ly/2hQ6TB6> (Accessed 1st October 2017)

1.3 Structure of the thesis

As illustrated in the figure below, the thesis is structured in two major phases and draws on two different, inerrelated methodologies: Corpus Linguistics and Ethnography.

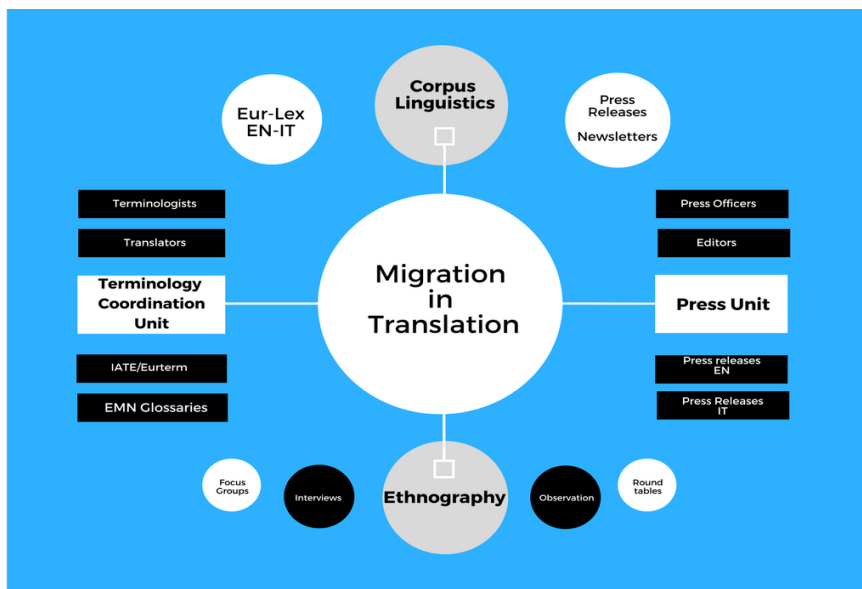


Figure 2. Phases of “Migration in Translation” multi-level research

The present thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 describes the methodology and the data collected for the present research. It sets out the grounded theoretical approach underlying the data analysis, with reference to both texts and professionals, and explains how the settings and case studies were selected and how access to the field was gained. Being data and processes interrelated, the chapter starts with Corpus Linguistics, and explains why the researcher has chosen this methodology and which approaches and tools she has employed. Then, the chapter shifts to Ethnography, and sets out the analytical approach that was used to analyse EU professionals and their social settings, with reference to terminology and translation. Additionally, the chapter provides a detailed overview of the data collected (fieldnotes, policy documents, guidelines on writing and translation, recorded interviews and e-mail correspondence), the time range and the professionals involved.

Chapter 3 aims to provide an overview of the terminology of migration in the EU. It focuses on how “migrants” and “refugees” are represented in EU Law, in terms of definitions, processes and conditions encountered. After providing a theoretical framework of Multilingualism and Terminology in the EU, the chapter presents a list of old, permanent and new terms, resulted from the following parallel corpora analysis: *European Migration Network* official EU glossaries (2009, 2012, 2014), Eur-Lex English 2/2016 and Eur-Lex Italian 2/2016. The chapter discusses the approaches and changes emerged through terminology, in shaping actors, processes and constraints of the Migration Crisis.

Chapter 4 introduces the topic of news translation at the European Parliament, as a niche of institutional translation. It analyses a list of “candidate terms” of migration resulted from terminology analysis in Chapter 3 and investigates their use in a parallel corpora of English and Italian press releases and newsletters, published by the Press Unit between 2010-2016. This chapter has two main objectives: 1) to show how EU terminology is used in communicative texts and how equivalents are translated or adapted for the target readership; 2) to highlight how “migrants” and “refugees” are represented in political texts like press releases and newsletters and shed light on similarities and differences with legislative texts.

Chapter 5 inaugurates the ethnographic part of the thesis and presents the first ethnographic case setting of the analysis: the Terminology Coordination Unit of the European Parliament. Following the results obtained in the corpus-based analysis of glossaries (Chapter 3), this chapter aims to offer an overview of how terminology is coordinated and managed at the European Parliament, by presenting and commenting ethnographic material collected during fieldwork. Ultimately, the chapter provides EU professionals' comments on the corpus results obtained and attempts to show if there are correlations between products and processes employed.

Chapter 6 delves into the European Parliament Press Unit, and presents the ethnographic fieldwork conducted with the Italian team of press officers and news translators. Based on the results obtained in the corpus-based analysis of press

releases and newsletters (Chapter 4), this chapter aims to unveil the translation policies implemented in the Unit, how terminology is employed in news texts and how translation is used as a strategy in the communication process. Furthermore, the chapter provides comments made by press officers on the corpus-based results obtained and reflects on the role of the news translator in the context of the EU. In line with Chapter 5, it aims at gaining insight into possible correlations between the corpus-based results obtained and the processes implemented.

Chapter 7 condenses and evaluates the findings of the research. It highlights the main contributions to Translation Studies and the benefits of the present research for the European Parliament. Two mind maps are presented as final results of the study: one is a lexical mind map, showing how terminology and translation have been used to shape the migration crisis over time, and how the specialized and general lexicon are intertwined at the European Parliament; the second one is the information flow itself, illustrating how terminology and translation play their role in the communication process. Additionally, the chapter also reflects on the limitations of the study and the drawbacks of some of the concepts and methods that were used. Finally, it sets out ideas for future research.

Chapter 2

Investigating How To Investigate

Combining Ethnography and Corpus Linguistics

In the previous chapter we introduced the topic of migration by presenting our research questions and objectives and provided an overview of the progress made by the EU Institutions with Immigration and Asylum law. As we explained in section 1.3, the thesis is structured into two parts: the first part investigates terms in the domain of migration, as well as their equivalents in Italian in legislative texts contained in EUR-lex from 1950 until 2016 and in a corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016; the second part takes a sociological view of institutional translation and explores agents and practices of terminology work and translation in institutional texts, where the analysis shifts from “what” (terms and their equivalents) to who (agents) and how (their practices). For the purpose of this study, we decided to combine two methodologies: ethnography and corpus linguistics. This chapter first describes the process behind this combination and what factors influenced our final decision and then proceeds by presenting our methodological approach in line with the structure of our thesis.

2.1 Grounding the research problem

The research process behind the present thesis has been cyclical since the very beginning, as we returned to and reshaped the research questions in the course of the first year, to enrich the initial understanding with new sets of data and new ways of analysis. A significant background factor in this project is related to our own personal experience as press officers between 2013 and 2014, while training at the Press Unit of the European Parliament in the framework of the “Schumann” Programme promoted by EU Institutions. During this period, our main task was to support EU officials with the preparation of press releases in English, as well as their translation into Italian. Although our background was mainly related to

communication and journalism, a large portion of our work was devoted to institutional translation, where the communicative purposes of the Parliament had to go hand in hand with consistency in terminology and the fluidity of the translation process. As every press officer is in charge with the coverage of a specific parliamentary committee (see Chapter 5), we were assigned the Committee of *Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs*, whose main priorities at that time revolved around the following topics: migration, human rights and data protection. This period of actually being an insider provided a basis for our later work, which started by identifying a specific topic to investigate and designing the research problem accordingly.

Our research project was originally focused on the role of translation in communicative texts, and more precisely, on institutional press releases. An ethical approval had therefore been signed with the Press Unit of the European Parliament to conduct an ethnographic study at the Unit (see Appendix 1). Our choice was to use an ethnographic approach to institutional translation, where ethnography would be employed as “a method for grasping the native's point of view [which] entails a basic orientation towards understanding the field one is studying from the perspective of those who inhabit it” (Koskinen, 2008: 9).

On 29th October 2015, we were invited by the European Commission to present our research project at the “Translating Europe Forum” to discuss the role of the trans-editor in EU Institutions and in journalism²³. On that occasion, we had a fruitful exchange with a terminologist working at the Terminology Coordination Unit of the European Parliament, who told us about the complex chain of institutional coordination of terminology and shed light on the legal importance of terms and how much responsibility is therefore necessary when writing any institutional text. As terms are first fixed by terminologists and translators in legislative texts, we therefore decided to expand our analysis and start investigating from the early stages of translation process.

We decided to involve the Terminology Coordination Unit of the European Parliament and a second ethical approval was therefore signed with the unit as well (see Appendix 1). A few days after the “Translating Europe Forum”, on

²³ The main highlights of the panel chaired by Prof. Diaz Cintas are collected and available at the following link: <https://storify.com/MarianiJS/getting-started> (Accessed on 18th December 2017).

November 2nd 2015, we conducted the first background interview with the coordinator of the Press Unit, with whom we used to work, and discussed about term choice in institutional texts. During the conversation, our former colleague frequently mentioned the terminology constraints they had been encountering at reporting how the Parliament was tackling the increasing migratory flows to Europe:

“The problem is that we can't refer to them as 'migrants' anymore, as the majority of these people are potential 'refugees' and the Parliament is moving towards a common European Asylum System”.

“We frequently have to discuss which terms we should use in our texts, to be institutionally correct and also be attractive for the media”.

The transition from 2014 to 2015 marked the beginning of the so-called “migration crisis” in the European Union and became a top-priority issue at the European Parliament. This conversation inspired us to narrow our focus on the role played by terminology and translation on shaping the migration crisis in EU Institutions, and combine the analysis of texts with the analysis of people and their practices.

As explained by Cabrè (1999: 45), terminology is the most important characteristic of specialist communication because it differentiates special languages from the general language and also the various special languages from one another”. While the ordering of thought and the conceptualization represent the cognitive side of terminology, the transfer of knowledge constitutes its communicative side. Therefore, besides respecting the binding legislative terminology used in legal texts, the European Parliament has the duty and goal to communicate its decisions and activities to the general public and balance specialised terminology with plain language. In this light, we started to consider terminology and communication as “two sides of the same coin” and defined our research questions accordingly (see section 1.1.1). Once our research problem was grounded and the research questions identified, we were ready to set our research methodology, which will be addressed in the next section.

2.2. Defining the methodology/-ies

Research methodology guides a researcher step by step from the beginning to the end; as explained by Saldanha & O'Brien (2013: 5) “empirical research involves gathering observations about the world of our experience. Generally, the choice of what aspect to observe will impose certain restrictions in terms of the methods we use”. In a way, we can assert that ethnography was the driving force of our research project from the very beginning. As explained by Blommaert and Dong (2010: 18), fieldwork-based research consists of three sequential stages:

1. prior to fieldwork: preparation and documentation;
2. during fieldwork: fieldwork procedures;
3. after fieldwork: post-fieldwork analysis and writing.

The first “prior to fieldwork” period lasted one year and a half (from November 2014 until May 2016) and consisted in conducting background interviews in Brussels, attending conferences related to the topic of institutional translation and exchanging e-mails with the future participants of the actual fieldwork within the units, to structure the work and enhance the scope of the study. Despite we feared to disperse our original focus, we came across an inspiring quote by Spivak (1999: 175), reported in Koskinen’s ethnographic study of institutional translation (2008: 10), which was highly supportive in this phase of research:

“If we want to start something, we must ignore that our starting point is, all efforts taken, shaky. If we want to get something done, we must ignore that, all provisions made, the end will be inconclusive. This ignoring is not active forgetfulness; it is, rather, an active marginalizing of the marshiness, the swampiness, the lack of firm grounding in the margins, at beginning and end”.

Indeed, in ethnographic studies, data collection and analysis typically go hand-in-hand, contrary to traditional empirical research, where data is collected first and then analysed in a separate phase. Initial data analysis feeds additional data collection and the ethnographic research goes back and forth between the two. In ethnography, this process is known as *progressive focusing* and it emphasises the

fact that any formulation of initial research problems might turn out to be wrong and could be changed accordingly. As explained by Hammersley (2006: 241),

The need for progressive focusing reflects the fact that ethnography is governed by an 'inductive' or 'discovery' orientation, rather than by a conception of inquiry which requires specific hypotheses to be set up for testing at the start of the processes.

In the case of our thesis, the resulting observations and the feedback we received in this “prior to fieldwork” phase paved the way to the actual definition of our methodological approach. The background interviews we conducted with terminologists and press officers revolved around the effects their translation practices actually have on the final translation product. In a way, the description of the practices implemented in the process were presented as attempts to improve the quality of texts, and in the case of press officers, as a way to increase press coverage. What was clear to us was that the European Parliament's communication strategy, where terminology and translation play a vital role in text production, is a constant work in progress, whose efficiency was still being tested. During one of the conversations with the coordinator of the Press Unit and the terminologist working at the Terminology Coordination Unit, we laughed together about the lack of time that usually “threatens” their working routine:

“The text must go out quickly, as the next day it might be 'dead'”.

“We would need thousands of extra hours to clean IATE [the interactive terminology database of the European Union] and update all existing entries”.

These statements, as well as the notes we collected during our background interviews, led us to take the final decision to adopt a multi-level approach and give a “collaborative flavour” to our research project. How could we be helpful and provide evidence of the effects of the processes on texts? We thought we could find an answer by employing Corpus Linguistics as a methodology. “Corpus Linguistics is an approach or a methodology for studying language use” (Bowker 2002: 9), which involves studying examples of what people have written, rather

than hypothesizing together about what they might or should have written. The analysis of the terminology and their equivalents in Italian used in institutional texts for a period of 60 years (from 1950 until 2016) would have enabled us to measure how terminology had evolved overtime, as well as its consistency and the effects of the practices in institutional texts. Thus, we would be able to conceptualize our results and discuss them during ethnographic fieldwork in the second phase, to merge results with the agents and the processes and discuss a possible solution with participants.

This proposal was positively welcomed by both supervisors, to whom we explained that the texts would be analysed as collections of data known as “corpora”, by using a linguistic software able to identify which terms were used in a text, when they were used and how frequently. As pointed out by Koskinen (2008: 8), “the recent boom of corpus studies in TS has undoubtedly brought new insights into the processes that take place in translation, and this increased interest in corpus analysis has enabled research designs that would be unthinkable without the help of modern technology”. The use of corpora for English terms and parallel corpora for Italian equivalents was therefore incorporated in the ethnographic “prior to fieldwork” phase.

To minimise the risk of subjectivity and to be able to represent several points of view, we adopted a mixed-method approach and combined both qualitative and quantitative data (Brannen 2005: 4). The combination of different sets of data by using different methods is related to what Hammersley (2008: 27) describes as “triangulation as seeking complementary information”. Triangulation refers to the combination of the analysis of different sets of data in which a range of different methods are systematically used to avoid the threats to validity which may be embodied in any one method. The point of view of Erzberger and Kelle (2003: 461) quoted in Hammersley (2008: 27) very well expresses the essence of our combinatorial approach to methodology:

The use of different methods to investigate a certain domain of social reality can be compared with the examination of a physical object from two different viewpoints or angles. Both viewpoints provide different pictures of this object that might not be useful to validate each other but that might

yield a fuller and more complete picture of the phenomenon concerned if brought together.

The objects in question are the terms and their equivalents used in institutional texts, which would be later discussed during fieldwork with both units. The focus is therefore not on how corpus linguistics and ethnography may benefit one from the other but on how they may contribute to provide a more comprehensive picture of the role played by terminology and translation on shaping the migration crisis in EU Institutions. The next section will briefly present Corpus Linguistics as a methodology and will later delve into how we conducted our corpus analysis.

2.3 “Prior to fieldwork”: Corpus Linguistics as a methodology

According to Sinclair (1994: 2) “a corpus is a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of the language”. The definition of a corpus has taken on several specialized meanings in corpus linguistics. As noted by Pearson (1998: 42), prior to this definition, Sinclair had defined a corpus as a “collection of naturally-occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of language (1991: 171), using the word “text” instead of “pieces of language” to describe the components of a corpus. The term *corpus* originates from Latin and was adopted into English with the meaning of “body of a person or animal”; it was later used when referring to the complete works of an author and only in the 20th century it was absorbed in the terminology of linguistic research meaning “a collection of written and/or spoken language²⁴”.

The term *corpus linguistics* is relatively new as it dates back to the 1980s; its definition has gone through a considerable evolution and expanded its horizons beyond pure linguistic analysis, as “a testbed for natural language processing systems” (Pearson 1998: 43). The emphasis on the use of automated data processing seems to prevail in the definitions of corpus linguistics. Bowker defines corpus linguistics as “an approach or a methodology for studying language use” (1998: 9), according to Hoffmann et al. (2008: 19) corpus

²⁴ These definition were reported in the Oxford English Dictionary.

linguistics is “the systematic study of linguistic phenomena using collections of authentic language use”, while Hunston & Francis (2000: 15) define it as “a way of investigating language by observing large amounts of naturally-occurring, electronically-stored discourse, using software which selects, sorts, matches, counts and calculates”. Apart from its definition, controversy revolves around whether corpus linguistics should be considered a methodology or a theory. The prevalent view considers corpus linguistics more as a methodology rather than a theory or an independent branch of linguistics. According to Cantos and Sánchez (2000: 1), corpus linguistics “differs from other linguistic disciplines, such as sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, in that it is not defined by the object of study. Indeed, the object of corpus linguistics is not the study of a corpus itself, but rather the study of language use through corpora. Gries (2006: 4) argues on whether corpus linguistics is a homogeneous methodology, and points out that corpus linguistics possesses a varying level of granularity and varying reliance on quantitative and qualitative methods (Biel 2010: 2):

1. the corpus is intended or taken to be balanced and/or representative of the modality/register/variety the study is aimed at;
2. the analysis is, or at least attempts to be, systematic and exhaustive, meaning that the corpus does not simply serve as a database of examples from which some can be chosen ad libitum and others neglected but that the whole (sample of the) corpus is taken into consideration [...].

Besides the variety of views on corpus linguistics as a methodology, theory or approach, this discipline has been widely used in several fields, ranging from lexicography to language learning, from socio-linguistic to historical linguistic studies, from computational linguistics to technical writing, terminology and translation. Although nowadays *corpus* is almost always synonymous with *electronic corpus* (Lindqvist, 2009: 3), it should be noted that corpora existed long before the computer. Prior to the introduction of automated systems, these collections of texts known as *corpora* were in paper format and posed certain restrictions on their use. As Leech et al. Report (2009: 24) the first computerized corpus was the *Brown corpus*, that was built in the early 1960s and consisted of one million words of British English. The evolution of corpus linguistics has witnessed an exponential rise in the size of corpora; indeed, with the emergence of

large and annotated electronic corpora, research could be conducted on larger bodies of authentic language.

As emphasized by Stubbs (2004: 107), employing corpus linguistics as a methodology “gives priority to observation over intuition”; he points out, however, that “the observer must not influence what is observed”. The possibility to filter and have access to a considerable quantity of results enables is an advantage for the linguist to analyse information and interpret the data. However, as noted by Biel (2010: 2), there are advantages and disadvantages at conducting corpus studies. On the one hand, researchers can benefit from:

1. reduced speculation and subjectivity;
2. authenticity of data;
3. the potential to verify research hypotheses systematically and based on more extensive linguistic material;

on the other hand, a corpus study may include problems with representativeness and balance, as “any claims and generalisations we make about language are representative of the language sample we research, not of the entire language” (*ibid.*). The next section will delve into the selection of corpora for the purpose of this analysis.

2.3.1 Corpus selection, tool and processing

Bowker & Pearson (1998: 9) distinguish four main characteristics of a corpus:

- **authentic**: “the text is naturally occurring and has not been created for the express purpose of being included in a corpus in order to demonstrate a particular point of grammar.” (1998: 9);
- **electronic**: the text can be processed by a computer and consulted more quickly than printed texts;
- **large**: a corpus is larger than printed corpora according to the purpose of the study;
- **specific criteria**: specific criteria make the texts a representative sample of a particular language or subset of language and express the purpose of the

study.

The way corpus linguistics is used is directly related to the type of corpora and the purpose of the study. From the point of view of translation studies, there are four major types of corpora:

- **monolingual corpus:** it contains non-translated texts created only in one language;
- **monolingual comparable corpora:** they contain a corpus of translations and a corpus of texts created spontaneously in the same language, where the main object of analysis is how the translated language differs from the non-translated language;
- **bilingual or multilingual comparable corpora:** it is a set of two monolingual corpora designed according to a similar criterion and used for cross-linguistic analysis. They contain translated language but spontaneously created texts in two different languages.
- **parallel corpora:** they contain texts and their translations into one or more languages. A parallel corpus can be bilingual if it contains texts and their translations into one language, or multilingual, when it contains texts and their translations into two or more languages.

Our corpus analysis was structured in three phases and aimed to provide a clear overview of how the terms related to *migrants*, *refugees* and *asylum seekers* were classified in EU legislation and translated in different typologies of institutional texts. Thus, we could get a wider picture of how migrants were represented in institutional texts overtime. We therefore conducted our corpus analysis on two levels, monolingual and bilingual, and employed three sets of corpora:

- three versions of multilingual official glossaries about migration published by the European Commission (the *European Migration Network Glossaries*);
- the EUR-lex parallel corpus of the European Union containing legislative texts in English translated into Italian, from 1950 until 2016;
- a compiled corpus of press releases in English and Italian published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016.

According to Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 17), a corpus linguistics research can be either corpus-driven or corpus-based, as in the case of this study. While the corpus-based approach starts with a pre-existing theory, the corpus-driven approach “builds up the theory step by step in the presence of the evidence, the observation of certain patterns leads to a hypothesis, which in turns leads to the generalisation in terms of rules of usage and finally finds unification in a theoretical statement” (*ibid.*). As remarked by Conrad (2002: 78), intuition often plays a role in grounding research questions and in the interpretations of corpus findings, which give rise to intuitive impressions about the impact of particular language choices (see also Saldanha & O'Brien 2013). The point of view of Conrad very well represents our approach in the corpus analysis.

While the EMN Glossaries could be investigated by comparing the three versions through manual profiling, we chose the software *Sketch Engine* to investigate the parallel corpora EUR-lex EN and IT, as well as our compiled corpus of press releases in English. *Sketch Engine* (cfr. Kilgarriff & Tugwell, 2001) is an analysis corpus tool which is used by linguists, lexicographers, translators, terminologists and language teachers to investigate several aspects of language and translation use. The software allows the creation, the manipulation and the study of corpora; through the search options, the user is taken to the concordances, which consist of lines based on fraction of texts in which the queried word or expression known as *node word* appear highlighted, as well as its co-texts which surround the node word.

Other useful resources present in *Sketch Engine* are the *word sketch* – which presents schematically the syntactic realizations of the lexical items in the corpus – and *collocations*, where the user can visualize the words that tend to occur together in the corpus. Apart from the several functions offered by the *Sketch Engine* software, another advantage for our corpus study was that the parallel corpora EUR-lex EN – IT were already aligned and available for use. In the case of our corpus study, the *Sketch Engine* function we used was the simple *concordance* function, which enabled us to investigate terms' occurrences, when terms were used and in which document the term occurred. The second function we used was the *multilevel distribution frequency* function, to observe terms'

patterns of use and visualize the most significant changes.

Phase 1

In the first phase of the corpus analysis, the sources we used as a reference corpus to select the terms to analyse were the official glossaries released by the *European Migration Network*, respectively in 2010, 2012 and 2014, whose detailed background will be provided in Chapter 3. Before analysing the glossaries, we investigated if the European Commission or the other EU Institutions had previously released other official and specialised EU glossaries in the domain of migration, but we received official notice in written form that this was not the case. Furthermore, all EU library catalogues in Brussels and Luxembourg were consulted, both online and in person, to verify if there were other official resources in the archives, but the result was analogue. A comparative analysis of these glossaries was conducted manually, to achieve the following aims:

- to investigate how many migration terms have been coined so far;
- to show which terms are currently used to refer to different categories of *migrants* in the EU Institutions;
- to reconstruct terms' classifications and show the relation between terms' categories and their sub-categories.

Once we reconstructed our terms' list, phase 1 was completed, and we could proceed with phase 2.

Phase 2

In the second phase, the terms that resulted from the analysis of glossaries were investigated in the EUR-lex Corpus 2/16 EN²⁵ and in a compiled corpus of press releases in English published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016. By using the software *Sketch Engine*, we were able to observe terms' occurrences, patterns of use and verify if the results we obtained corresponded to what emerged in the analysis of EMN glossaries.

²⁵ The corpus name “EUR-lex 2/16 EN” stands as the last updated version of EUR-lex in the *Sketch Engine* software.

The EUR-lex Corpus

The EUR-lex Corpus (cfr. Baisa, Michelfeit et al., 2016) is a multilingual corpus available in the 24 official languages of the European Union, which covers a vast area of subjects and contains 629,722,593 words of EU legislative documents in English, from 1950 until 2016. The following figure provides detailed information concerning the EUR-Lex Corpus and how it is presented in the software *Sketch Engine*.

EUR-Lex English 2/2016									
EUR-Lex multilingual corpus of all the official languages of the European Union (currently 24 languages). Tagged by TreeTagger pipeline v2.									
Counts	General info		Lexicon sizes	Tags legend	Lempos suffixes				
Tokens	845,040,420	Corpus description Document	word	2,388,140	adjective	J.*	adjective	-j	
Words	629,722,593	Language	English	tag	62	adverb	RB.?	adverb	-a
Sentences	60,091,177	Encoding	UTF-8	lempos	1,796,007	conjunction	CC	conjunction	-c
Paragraphs	49,738,320	Compiled	09/10/2017 14:25:15	lemma	1,702,266	determiner	DT	noun	-n
Documents	242,321	Tagset	Description	lc	2,105,630	noun	N.*	preposition	-p
		Word sketch grammar	Definition	lemma_lc	1,468,415	noun singular	NN	pronoun	-d
				lempos_lc	1,568,716	noun plural	NNS	verb	-v
						numeral	CD		
						particle	RP		
Structures and attributes									
doc 242,321									
Subcorpora statistics									
Subcorpus	Tokens	Words	%						
Decade_of_documents_1950s	297,960	- 222,039	0.03						
Decade_of_documents_1970s	2,614,445	- 1,948,279	0.30						
Decade_of_documents_1980s	43,044,039	- 32,076,340	5.09						
Decade_of_documents_1990s	105,430,661	- 78,566,737	12.47						
Decade_of_documents_2000s	381,505,177	- 284,296,968	45.14						
Decade_of_documents_2010s	312,132,772	- 232,600,777	36.93						

Figure 3. Eur-Lex EN/16 Corpus view in Sketch Engine

The types of legislative texts²⁶ contained in the EUR-lex EN/16 Corpus are grouped according to their typology and are classified in the following categories:

- treaties
- international agreements
- legislation
- complementary legislation
- preparatory acts and working documents

²⁶ More details regarding every single typology are available on the EUR-LEX website: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/content/tools/TableOfSectors/types_of_documents_in_eurlex.html?locale=en

- jurisprudence
- national transposition measures
- national case law
- parliamentary questions
- consolidated documents
- other official journal documents

While legislative documents were already available in the EUR-lex corpus, no specialized corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament has been compiled yet. The Digital corpus of the European Parliament contains all press releases published by this institutions, as well as other internal documents, which would have risked to spoil our analysis. On another note, we found it necessary to distinguish between press releases published by political groups at the Parliament – which very often contain elements of propaganda - and the official press releases published by the press unit, which solely reflect the objective position of the whole Parliament.

Corpus compilation

According to Bowker and Pearson (2002: 45), “texts in a corpus are selected according to explicit criteria in order to be used as a representative sample of a particular language or subset of that language”. Corpora are collected according to the criteria which are determined by the goal of the corpus, or by the intentions of the linguists compiling the corpus. In order to outline the use of migration terms in more general types of institutional texts, we compiled a corpus of press releases about migration in English published by the European Parliament Press Unit from 2010 until 2016. All these texts were produced by press officers working at the European Parliament Press Unit before and during Plenary Sessions²⁷, which are held once a month in Strasbourg and occasionally in

²⁷ Plenary sessions bring together the Members of the European Parliament, where committees and political groups present the results of their work and participate in the decision making.

Brussels, and inform EU media and citizens on votes and binding decisions taken by the Members of the European Parliament.

The time range was selected according to the texts officially retrievable from the European Parliament website – an archive containing press releases from 2009 and earlier is not currently available – and the “values of newsworthiness” (see Hoyer 2005) which characterize news coverage: timeliness, immediacy, impact, proximity and relevance. Although migratory flows to Europe mainly intensified around 2009, the word “crisis” started to be associated with the word “migration” in 2015, as explained in an article published on the BBC website²⁸. Therefore, ahead of a consultation with the coordinator of the European Parliament Press Unit, we decided to collect press releases produced between 2010 and 2016, when migration became a top-priority issue in the European Union.

YEAR	PRESS RELEASES EN
2010	3
2011	4
2012	3
2013	6
2014	7
2015	20
2016	22
TOT	65

Table 1. Size of the corpus

As table 1 shows, the first four decades analysed (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) contain a limited number of press releases, and as we expected, the quantity of texts drastically increases in 2015 and 2016. In 2015, the tragedies on the Mediterranean Sea, and particularly the shipwreck on the Libyan shore in April which had more than 800 victims, opened the way to the Agenda on Migration presented by the European Commission in May 2015, who tried to foster a more shared management of migration. Consequently, press coverage in the EU Institutions increased according to the urgency and political impact of this issue and the rising debate among MEPs and Member States (see Barlai et al., 2017: 176).

²⁸ The *BBC* article entitled “Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts” is retrievable on the following link: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911> (Accessed on 1st November 2017).

The corpus was processed with the *Sketch Engine* tool system and contains 60,654 words, as illustrated in the detailed figure below.

EP Press releases ?

Counts		General info		Lexicon sizes		Tags legend		Lempos suffixes	
Tokens	78,397	Language	English	word	8,751	adjective	J.*	adjective	-j
Words	60,654	Encoding	UTF-8	tag	61	adverb	RB.?	adverb	-a
Sentences	1,681	Compiled	10/17/2017 14:27:13	lempos	7,683	conjunction	CC	conjunction	-c
Documents	7	Tagset	Description	lemma	7,247	determiner	DT	noun	-n
		Word sketch grammar	Definition	lempos_lc ?	7,111	noun	N.*	numeral	-m
				lemma_lc ?	6,612	noun singular	NN	preposition	-i
				lc ?	7,970	noun plural	NNS	pronoun	-d
						numeral	CD	verb	-v
						particle	RP		

Structures and attributes

file 7

Figure 4. EP Press releases corpus view in Sketch Engine

This phase aimed to assemble old and new terms used in different types of institutional texts and to observe their correspondence with the terms contained in the glossary. If one term does not appear as a recently used term in the EUR-lex corpus, but is inserted only in the last version of the EMN glossary, it shows how such term has gained importance and deserved an entry. As specified in a glossary's note on page 6, the glossary “reflects – to the greatest extent possible – the most up-to-date developments in the field of asylum and migration, and the understanding of terms and concepts”.

The frequency and time range of use of old and new terms were first investigated in the EUR-lex EN 2/16 corpus, to explore the progress and evolution of migration terminology in the EU. All terms resulting from the analysis were also checked in the official terminology database of the European Union IATE, whose features and function will be described in detail in Chapter 3, to verify if they had been stored and report their identification number in the migration domain. The following figure shows, for instance, the frequency of occurrence of the term “migrant” (8,559 hits), excluding multi-word units, like “migrant worker”, and how it is visualized in *Sketch Engine*.

migrant EUR-Lex English 2/2016

Query migrant 18,396 > Negative filter (excluding KWIC) N.* 8,559 (10.13 per million)

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Staff work... challenges are emerging, especially for young migrants . Finland is performing better than the EU

Staff work... rate tends to be significantly higher among migrants (14.9 % in 2012) and boys. ([59]) Finland's

Staff work... upper-secondary education that is aimed for migrants . Finland still succeeds in combining high

Staff work... rate tends to be significantly higher among migrants (14.9 % in 2012) and boys. *Tertiary education*

Staff work... , in particular low-skilled young people and migrants from outside the EU, remain at the margins of the

Staff work... the highest performance differences between migrant and non-migrant pupils. The PISA 2012 report

Staff work... rate (15-64 years) is 15.9% for non-EU migrants , in comparison with 79.4% and 6.0% for Danes.

Staff work... in 2011 while no more than 3 % of residential migrants indicated employment-related motives as a

Staff work... due to higher spending on integration of migrants , education and elderly care. *Sweden's level of*

Staff work... gap between those born in Sweden and non-EU migrants also remains large, especially for women. *This*

Staff work... pace due to higher spending on integration of migrants , education and elderly care. *Trade*

Staff work... costs for integrating the large inflow of migrants . *Domestic debt* *Public debt* stands at a

Staff work... to address the housing needs of the big number of migrants in Sweden. Elevated house prices,

Staff work... challenge, namely the integration of migrants into the labour market. The non-EU population

Staff work... seekers within the large number of recent migrants . These persons take longer to integrate in the

Staff work... that the challenge linked to the integration of migrants into the labour market is particularly

Staff work... plan is 24 months, after which unemployed migrants have access to the mainstream employment

Staff work... employment services. However, as the influx of migrants is currently increasing and their profile is

Staff work... the next years. Presently, 26% of newly arrived migrants were either in work or education 90 days after

Staff work... targeted towards integrating newly arrived migrants into the labour market took effect in August

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Figure 5. Example of “migrant” occurrences in EUR-lex EN 2/16

Terms' patterns of use in the corpus were measured by using the *multilevel frequency distribution* function of the term in the corpus, as illustrated in the figure below:

migrant EUR-Lex English 2/2016

Multilevel frequency distribution

Frequency limit: 0

first level
 second level
 third level
 fourth level

Attribute: word Attribute: word Attribute: word Attribute: word

Ignore case Ignore case Ignore case Ignore case

6L 6L 6L 6L
5L 5L 5L 5L
4L 4L 4L 4L
3L 3L 3L 3L
2L 2L 2L 2L
1L 1L 1L 1L

Node Node Node Node

1R 1R 1R 1R

Position: 2R Position: 2R Position: 2R Position: 2R

Make frequency list

Text type frequency distribution

Frequency limit: 0

Include categories with no hits:

Document category (CELEX sector)
Document title
CELEX number
Date of the document
Year of the document
Last modification date
Date of the publication in the Official Journal
Year of the publication in the Official Journal

Make frequency list

Figure 6. The multilevel frequency distribution function in Sketch Engine

This analysis enabled us to detect when occurrences appeared in the corpus, when

a term was first used and if a term was used more frequently in certain years or with the same average frequency throughout the years. An example is provided in the table below, with reference to the patterns of use of the term “migrant”:

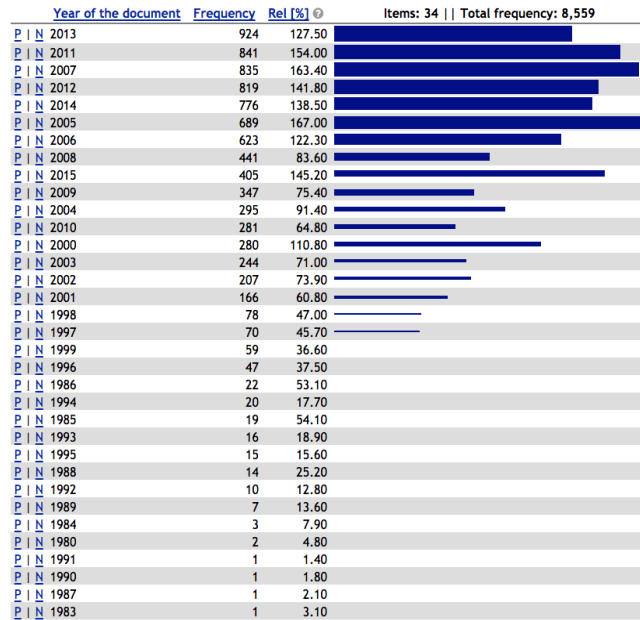


Figure 7. Patterns of use of the term “migrant” in the EUR-lex Corpus

Finally, these terms were checked in the IATE database, to verify their identification numbers in the domain of migration, and whether the storage of the most recent terms is still an ongoing process in EU Institutions. The figure below illustrates, for instance, how the term “migrant” is stored in IATE under the domain of “Migration, Court of Justice”, and which information is provided.

The screenshot shows the IATE interface for the term "migrant" in the domain "Migration, LAW". The interface includes a search bar, navigation links, and a detailed entry box. The entry box contains the following information:

Definition	Person who moves to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family. [INT]
Definition Ref.	International Migration Law Glossary, www.iom.int/ahia/web... [Modified definition] [15.04.2013]
Term	migrant
Reliability	4 (Very reliable)
Term Ref.	(1) Directive 2005/36/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 September 2005 on the recognition of professional qualifications (Text with EEA relevance), article 10(a), 32005L0036/EN // (2) Alvi, R (on the application of) v Secretary of State for the Home Department [2012] UKSC 33, www.bailii.org/uk/cas... [15.04.2013] // (3) C-529/11 <i>Alarape and Tijani</i> [2013] Advocate General Kokott's Opinion of 15 January 2013 62011CC0529/EN
Context	Whereas earlier law merely recognised, in an embryonic manner, a right to 'remain permanently' in the territory of a member State to certain categories of beneficiaries which are listed exhaustively, Directive 2004/38 establishes, in favour of Union citizens and their family members who have been legally resident in the territory of a Member State for five years, a right of permanent residence, which confers an incomparable advantage on migrants by ensuring that their presence is of indefinite duration, with immunity from expulsion except on serious grounds of public policy or public security, and abolishing the existing restrictions on the principle of equal treatment with nationals of the host Member State.
Context Ref.	CONCL.C-529/11 <i>Alarape and Tijani</i> [2013] Advocate General Kokott's Opinion of 15 January 2013, point 4 62011CC0529/EN
Term Note	Origin of the reference: Legislation UE / Case law UE ; UK
Date	15/04/2013

Source: CJUE IATE ID: 3556743

Figure 8. Example of how the term “migrant” is stored in IATE in the domain “Migration, Council)

The same term may have different identification numbers according to the EU institution in which it is used. The term “migrant”, for instance, has another identification number when it is used in the Council of the European Union, as illustrated in the figure below.

The screenshot shows the IATE interface for the term "migrant" in the domain "Migrazione". The interface includes a search bar, navigation links, and a detailed entry box. The entry box contains the following information:

Definizione	person who moves to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve prospects for themselves or their family
Rif. della definizione	Council-EN, based on 'migrant'. Glossary on Migration, 2nd Edition, International Migration Law No 25, International Organisation for Migration, 2011, www.epim.info/wp-cont... [15.9.2015]
Nota bene	At the international level, no universally accepted definition for 'migrant' exists. The term was usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate was taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor. See 'migrant'. Glossary on Migration, 2nd Edition, International Migration Law No 25, International Organisation for Migration, 2011, www.epim.info/wp-cont... [15.9.2015]
Termine	migrant
Affidabilità	4 (Molto affidabile)
Riferimento relativo ad un termine	'migrant'. Glossary on Migration, 2nd Edition, International Migration Law No 25, International Organisation for Migration, 2011, publications.iom.int/... [19.5.2014]
Contesto	Patrick Kingsley, "Trading in souls: inside the world of the people smugglers", <i>The Guardian</i> , 7 January 2015 www.theguardian.com/w... [7.1.2015] Miliband said the language used by British government, and much of the UK media, to describe the crisis, referring to migrants rather than refugees (although the majority arriving on Europe's shores are fleeing war or persecution), reflected a conscious effort to deny them their rights enshrined by international convention. "It is a misnamed crisis, and it seems not misnamed by accident. It's been too convenient to misname it as a migrant crisis, because it suggests these people are voluntarily fleeing, whereas in fact – if you've been barrel-bombed out of your home three times, life and limb demand that you flee," he said. "It's not about being politically incorrect in using the term migrant . It's simply incorrect."
Rif. del contesto	Julian Borger, "David Miliband: failure to take in refugees an abandonment of UK's humanitarian traditions", <i>The Guardian</i> , 2 September 2015 www.theguardian.com/w... [2.9.2015]
Data	03/12/2015

Fonte: Council IATE ID: 857411

Figure 9. Example of how the term “migrant” is stored in IATE (Term ID at the bottom right)

After investigating terms in EUR-lex, we verified which specialised terms in the domain of migration were used in press releases written in English. For each term, we used a simple query function in the *Sketch Engine* software, as illustrated in the following example of the term “migrant”.

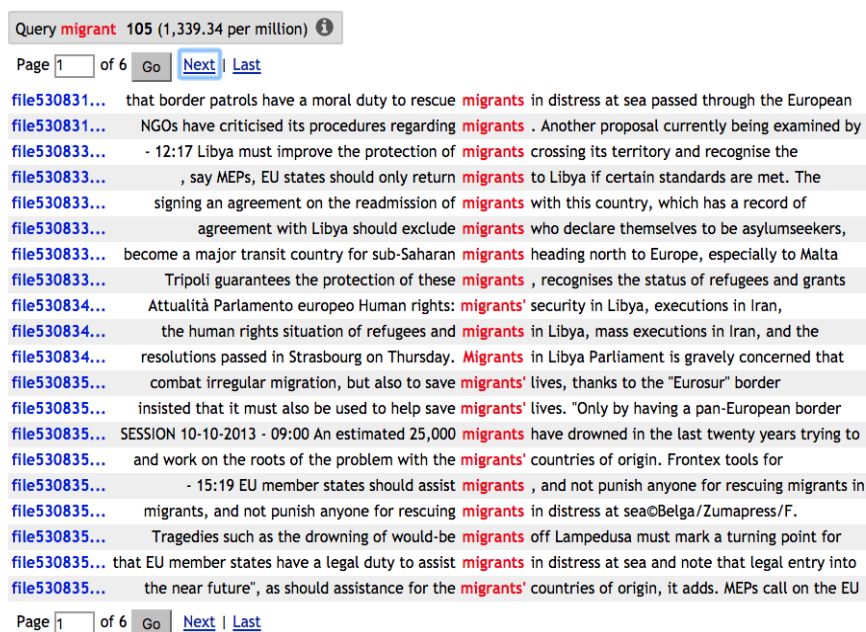


Figure 10. Frequencies of occurrence of the term “migrant” in EP press releases corpus

Like in the case of legislative documents contained in EUR-lex, we used the same functions (simple search and multi-level frequency distribution function) to verify each term's frequency and patterns of use in press releases.

Phase 3

While in phase 2 we analysed terms on a monolingual level and provided an overview of *migration* terminology in EU Institutions, in phase 3 our aim was to investigate term equivalents in Italian referring to “migrants”, that were both used in legislative texts contained in EUR-lex and in our compiled corpus of press releases. The use of parallel corpora makes it possible to analyse the translation choices which have already been made in preparing a target language text and highlight the subtleties involved in choosing one possible translation equivalent over another. As explained by Zanettin, (2002: 11):

“parallel corpora can provide information that bilingual dictionaries do not usually contain. They cannot only offer equivalence at the word level, but also non-equivalence, i.e. cases where there is no easy equivalent for words, terms or phrases across languages”.

A parallel corpus can therefore provide evidence of how translators have dealt with the lack of direct equivalence at word level. With reference to the legislative texts contained in EUR-lex, we used the aligned corpora already available in the software *Sketch Engine*. The following figure shows an example of how bilingual concordance lines are visualized in the software:



Figure 11. Concordance lines for the term “irregular migrants” in the software *Sketch Engine*

In case a high volume of results is obtained, like in the case of EUR-lex corpora concordances in English and Italian, *Sketch Engine* provides a useful function called *sample* that randomly selects a certain number of lines, and guarantees a representative sample of the whole concordance, as illustrated in the following figure.

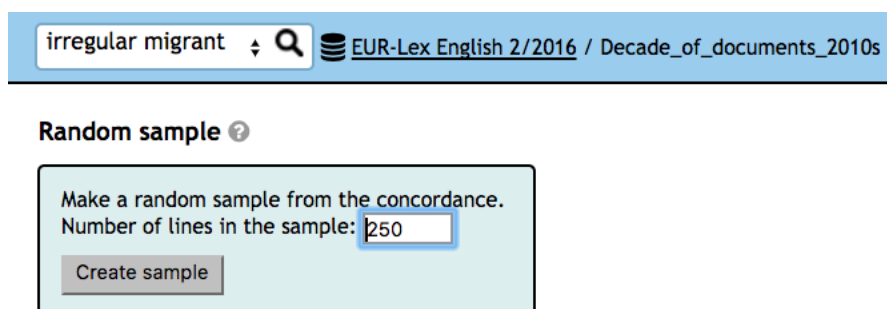


Figure 12. Random sample function in *Sketch Engine*

The software is able to differentiate the results to enable the user to analyse the concordance lines in a reasonable time. Next figure shows the concordance lines in English for the term “migrant” translated as “immigrati” (immigrants) in Italian.



Figure 13. Bilingual concordance of sample results for “migrants” translated as “immigrati”

Our corpus compilation of press releases on English and Italian was conducted manually by collecting the texts from the European Parliament website. As the following table illustrates, we obtained a corpus of 65 press releases in English and 62 in Italian.

YEAR	PRESS RELEASES	PRESS RELEASES
	EN	IT
2010	3	2
2011	4	3
2012	3	2
2013	6	6
2014	7	7
2015	20	20
2016	22	22
TOT	65	62

Table 2. Size of the compiled corpus of press releases in English and Italian

As you can see from the table above, in 2010, 2011 and 2012, the number of texts in Italian does not correspond with the quantity of texts published in English. This is due to the fact that press releases at the European Parliament are translated in other EU languages, according to the national relevance of the topic discussed in the text. Until 2013, the *Migration* crisis was still an unexplored issue in the European Union; the so-called “migration crisis” broke out in 2015 and since then, it became a top-priority issue in the EU. Indeed, in 2015 and 2016 the quantity of translated press releases drastically increased. Since the alignment of translated texts in a corpus tool can be very time-consuming and can result in severe technical issues, the analysis of translated terms in press releases was

conducted by using manual profiling, as the following example of a press release's headline illustrates:

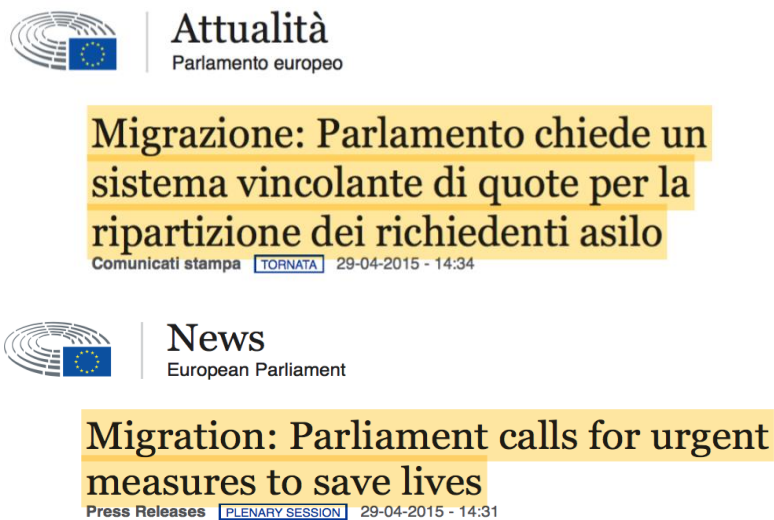


Figure 14. Example of a press releases headline in English translated into Italian

Once the results were collected and reported in explanatory tables, they were ready to be merged with the ethnographic data we would collect during fieldwork with the units. The next section will gain more insight into ethnography as a methodology.

2.4 Ethnography as a methodology

As pointed out by Koskinen (2008: 38) “corpus studies have made a significant contribution to translation studies by providing new kinds of quantitative data on the linguistic aspects of translations”. As explained by Levon (2013: 196), “ethnography is a term that is very often used, but not always clearly defined”. Although ethnography is often understood as a methodology used in social sciences, it has a strong theoretical and philosophical basis.

As explained by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 1), ethnography’s roots can be found in nineteenth-century anthropology and the methodology was originally employed to investigate communities typically situated outside the West. Its origins lie in research carried out by sociocultural anthropologists in the first half

of the twentieth century, and the “participatory observation” method advocated by Malinowski in 1922 still stands as one of the most renowned methodological pillars of ethnography. According to Malinowski, the goal of ethnography is to understand how the behaviour observed within a community is intertwined with the beliefs and practices of a certain group.

With reference to the field of Translation Studies, several researchers like Wolf (2002), Bahadir (2004), Flynn 2007, Koskinen (2008), Lindholm (2008), Hubscher-Davidson (2011) and Tesseur (2014) demonstrated the affinities between translation and anthropology. The recent increase in ethnographic approaches to translation research highlights that scholars increasingly feel the need to investigate the context in which translations are produced to gain better insight into the translation processes. As emphasised by Tesseur (2014: 40), “the problematic role played by translation in meaning-making and in representing other cultures has been part of theoretical reflections on ethnography for a long time”. However, a grounded theory of translation in ethnographic approaches has not been elaborated yet.

With reference to Interpretation, the social aspects of interpreting studies have benefited more from ethnographic methods than from translation, as interpretation is considered to be more easily observable (*ibid.*). In his investigation on interpreting services, Gile (1995: 15) refers to an increasing number of “practitioners-cum-researchers” emerging in the late eighties, so called “practisearchers” that wished to investigate interpretation by adopting a more scientific approach. In her ethnographic analysis of the Finnish translation unit of the European Commission, Koskinen (2008: 38) remarks: “empirical work that is based on ethnography and fieldwork methods could in fact perform a strategic function in translation studies, not dissimilar to the role of ethnography in anthropology”.

Linguistic ethnography is a strand of ethnography that has received increasing interest in recent years from several scholars such as Flynn, Jacobs and Van Praet (2010), Rampton *et al.* (2004). According to Creese (2008: 229), linguistic ethnography designates “a particular configuration of interests within the broader field of socio- and applied linguistics [which constitute] a theoretical and

methodological development orientating towards particular, established traditions but defining itself in the new intellectual climate of post/structuralism and late modernity”. The focus of this methodology is however not on anthropological theories of culture and cultural interpretation, but on the analysis of language in use (Koskinen 2008: 36). In linguistic ethnography, language is seen as a tool for human agents and is shaped by their social life. As Flynn *et al.*, (2010: 97) point out through their explanation on the use of language, linguistic ethnography aims to gain insight into the activities, relations and dynamics of language, as well as social and cultural production.

In translation research, linguistic ethnography offers a fruitful framework that can be used by researchers to investigate the institutional settings in which translations take place. Further, they can more easily examine how the institutional context influences the texts and the messages conveyed through translation. Rampton (2007: 585) emphasises that meaning is constructed by agents that have specific interactional histories, social relationships and experiences of institutional regimes. Linguistic ethnography is based on the methodological assumption that the context in which communication takes place should be investigated rather than hypothesised. Term choices in source texts and translated texts are at the core of an institutional context in which known and unknown “agents” interact together and decisions are made according to several factors, such as their role, status and visibility. The next section will shed light on these key sociological concepts from the point of view of Translation Studies.

2.4.1 Sociological concepts in TS: agency, status and visibility

As translation is considered to be a socially regulated activity, there are several concepts arising from sociology that can be applied to describe and explain translation. The need to understand the various processes involved in the act of translation has drawn the attention of Translation Studies scholars to “the sociology of agents” (Wolf 2006) and “the sociology of translators” (Chesterman 2006). This shift in focus symbolises the key role played by agents of translation in either shaping ideologies or introducing new perspectives through translation.

As pointed out by Koskinen and Kinnunen (2010: 5), the notion of agency

serves as a useful concept to investigate the role of translators and is defined as “the willingness and ability to act”; and whereas willingness involves notions of consciousness, reflectivity and an individualistic nature, the ability of translators is rather related to choice, constraints and power. Indeed, the translator’s agency is connected to power roles and social structure, which may limit or increase the translator’s freedom to act. Abdallah (2012) investigates translators’ agency by exploring the quality of the working process and of the translation product, salaries and fees, the accessibility of information and cooperation and how the translator perceives his role and status. However, Khalifa (2013: 13) points out that “the concept of agency appears to be a slippery one and there seems not to be an agreement of what agency is or what constitutes it in Translation Studies”.

In the context of institutional translation, the agency measures the extent to which translators are free to make their own decisions in an institutional context where behaviour is regulated and constrained by the norms and beliefs of the institution (Koskinen 2008: 18). There are several factors that may influence the translator's agency. As translator's agency “is related to the parameter of power and powerlessness” (Tesseur 2014: 30), the sociological concepts of status and visibility also deserve to be mentioned. When conducting research on the status of professional translators, Dam and Zethsen (2012) demonstrated how the status of EU translators was shown to be low; however the translators themselves perceived the contrary to be true. These scholars identified four parameters that, according to their analysis, may influence translators' status:

1. education and expertise
2. visibility and fame
3. power and influence
4. remuneration

The status of translators may therefore be intertwined with the recognition of their level of expertise and their influence. What Koskinen's study of translators at the European Commission suggests is that the perceived low status of translators is primarily associated with their lack of visibility. In the context of the EU Institutions, legal translators are more invisible than most, as translation is largely

viewed as an administrative or mechanical task in the legal arena (see Šarčević, 2000). However, the perceived low status of translators seems to be in contrast to the increasing volume of translation work ahead of globalisation. The European Union relies on translation work, especially if we consider its increasing perspective of enlargement. Besides the growing importance of translation, Katan (2011: 146) argues that translation has not gained an official status yet, and that the lack of awareness of translators' expertise has an impact on their recognition as full professionals. Translators' status and agency are also highly interconnected with the concept of visibility.

According to Venuti's seminal work *The translator's invisibility*, published in 1995, domestication strategies in translation highly determine the invisibility of translators in the texts, as well as a lack of recognition of their profession. However, according to the Skopos theory of translation (Vermeer 1978), differences in the texts are therefore inevitable as the function of a text is linked to the target language, the culture and the translator's agency; Arrojo (1998: 44) pointed out that seeking invisibility could be deemed as unethical; his point of view is in contrast to the traditional views of translation ethics, where being faithful to the author and the source text is considered as an unbreakable principle.

The sociological concepts of agency, status and visibility have been of great help to modern research; in order to understand why terminology and translation are employed in certain ways in institutional texts it is fundamental to shift the focus from translations to translators and reflect on these concepts in tandem. Translators, agency, status and visibility are at the core of the research model we used in our ethnographic analysis together with translators, terminologists and press officers, which will be presented in the next section.

2.4.2 The research model

According to Chesterman (2000: 15), a research model is an intermediate construction between a theory and data, where a theory contains a set of concepts and statements “that provide a systematic perspective on the research object (Tesseur 2014: 41) and a model illustrates a theory or part of it. Data can be explored through different research models, according to the research questions

and aims of the study. Chesterman (*ibid.*) proposes four types of models for research translation: the comparative, the process, the causal and the nexus model, which have been widely used in Translation Studies.

In her doctoral thesis on translation policies at the international NGO Amnesty International, Tesseur (*ibid.*) used the nexus model to investigate Amnesty's translation policies and claimed “the use of the nexus model helps to conceptualise the complex social world in which translation takes place, and in which multiple factors influence the eventual outcome of translation”. Her focus was not on causal issues related to the translation process but on its contextualisation. In her ethnographic study of the Finnish translation unit at the European Commission, Koskinen (2008: 44) views “the unit as a contact point of various relations from within the Commission, from other EU institutions and outside them” and focuses both on the translators as actors and on the social study of texts, to determine “how the text connects with its addressees” (Koskinen 2008: 144).

The model used by Koskinen relies on the nexus model described by Martin (2002), who considers an organisation as a nexus and investigates the internal and external factors that influence it. For the purpose of our research, which considers terminology and translation as a complex process in the production of institutional translation, we used the nexus model developed by Martin (2002) and used by Koskinen (2008), to analyse the known and unknown agents involved in the translation process of institutional texts, as well their translation management, practices and beliefs.

In her ethnographic study of translation at the European Commission, Koskinen (2008: 6) investigated both “texts and people in their institutional habitat” and structured her analysis on three levels: the study of the institutional framework, the working routine of translators in their institutional setting and the translated documents with their source texts. What emerged from her research is that translations contribute to shaping the context in which they are produced and therefore influence the translation policy of the institution. As explained by Tesseur (2014: 31), “policy commonly refers to a set of plans or actions agreed by a government, a political party, business, or other groups”. Researching

institutional translation also implies that institutional policies related to translation come to be investigated. As pointed out by Spolsky (2004: 15), translation and translation policy are placed in complex, interacting and dynamic contexts, and the sociocultural settings in which translation takes place determine the essence and function of translation management, where translation practices and beliefs also play a key role.

In our ethnographic analysis, the study of terminology and translation in institutional texts about migration was intertwined with the study of the agents involved in the translation process. The policies involving translation implemented by the Terminology Coordination Unit and the Press Unit were investigated separately, as these units belong to two different Directorates-General of the European Parliament - DG Translation and DG Communication. The degree of institutionalisation and the degree of independence that EU professionals enjoy is different, although we refer to the same overarching institution. The components of translation policy identified in our analysis follow the model proposed by Tesseur (2014) in her study about translation policies at Amnesty International and include “translation management”, “translation beliefs” and “translation practices”. A further component, translation agents, has been added to better highlight which person is in charge of certain translation practices and how different agents cooperate with each other.

All components are presented and illustrated in the figures below, one for each unit, and they are intertwined with each other, and at times, may also conflict with one another.

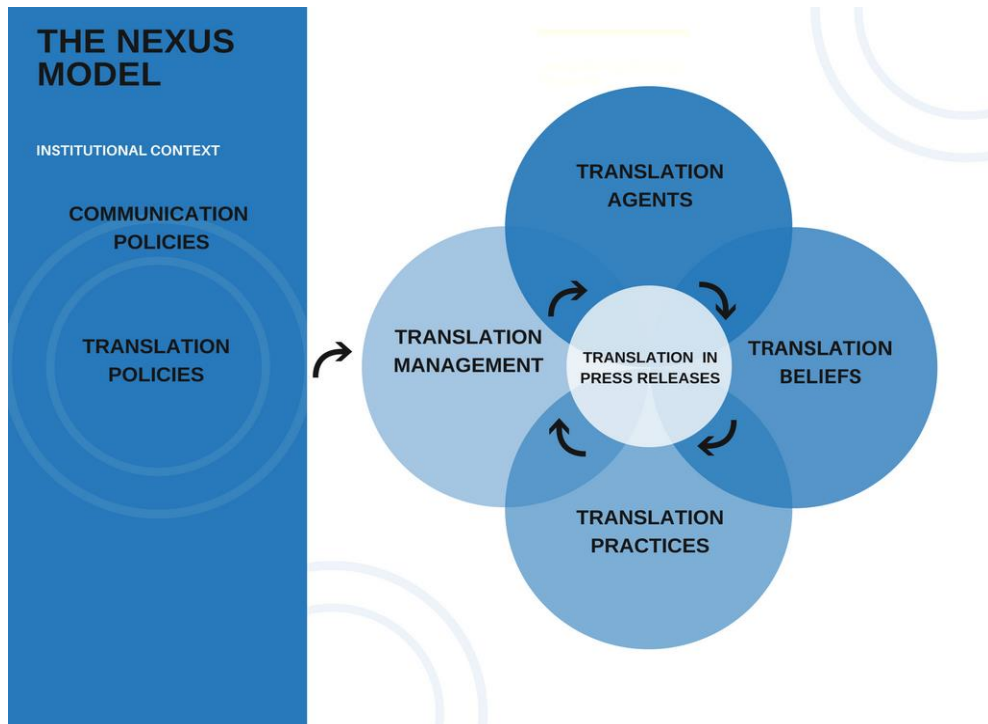


Figure 15. The Nexus Model implemented at the Press Unit

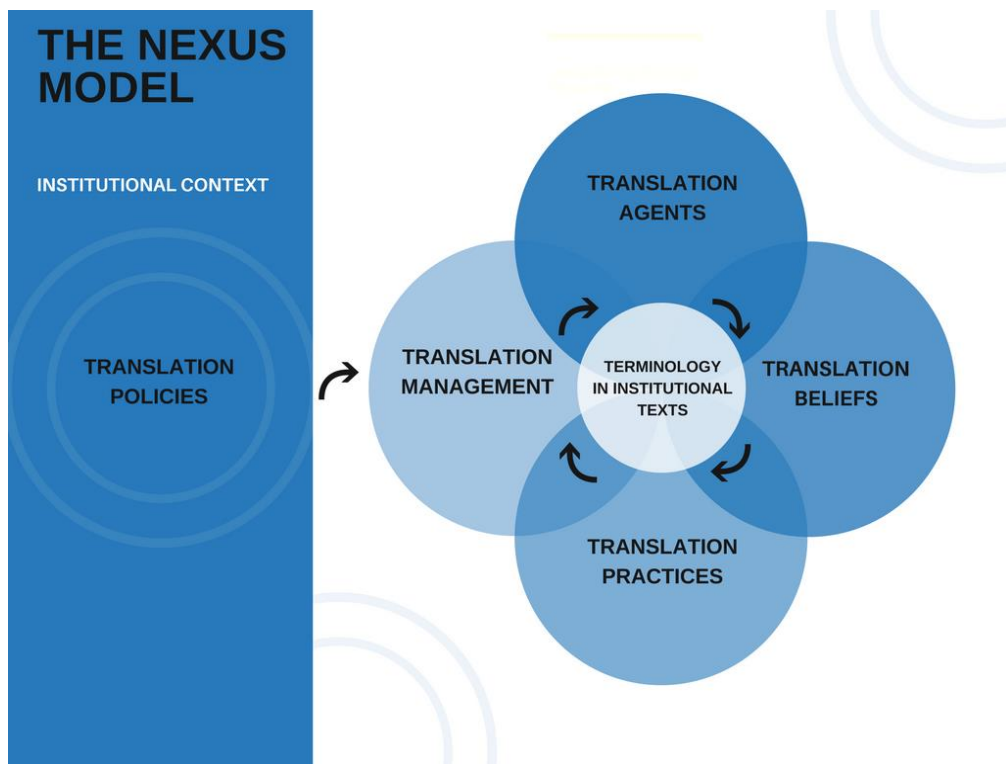


Figure 16. The Nexus Model implemented at the Terminology Coordination Unit

Translation practices and management strategies used in institutional organisations can influence the translation beliefs of the agents who participate in the translation process and may be influenced by the translation beliefs that underpin the basis of translation management. For what concerns “translation beliefs” reference is not made to translation ideology, as ideology is often associated with aspects of power and indicates perspectives, positions, attitudes or beliefs of social groups without reference to the power dynamics between such groups. As translation policy functions in a complex social system, both linguistic and non-linguistic factors have an impact on the process and have been taken into account in our analysis.

2.4.3 Access to the European Parliament

One of the crucial constraints of conducting ethnographic fieldwork is gaining access to the field we want to investigate. Participant observation often provides access to spaces that are otherwise not accessible for scientific investigation and enables the researcher to step into the shoes of his/her subjects and provide an insider’s point of view (see also Saldanha & O'Brien 2013). As Koskinen (2008: 4) explains, selecting an environment that is already familiar can certainly facilitate access. Although our previous experience as Schumann trainees at the European Parliament Press Unit certainly facilitated the procedure of gaining access to the institution in both units, we nevertheless had to face a long and bureaucratic process.

According to the procedure governing traineeships at EU Institutions, successful candidates are allowed to participate in the programme only once and in only one EU Institution. As explained in section 2.2, while grounding our research problems for the present research project, we conducted background interviews with our former supervisor at the Press Unit who could only guarantee us a daily pass to access the institution. However, in order to spend a continuous period of time within the institution and be able to mingle with the unit, we had to find an alternative way. Thanks to a terminologist and web content editor from the Terminology Coordination Unit we met at the Translating Europe Forum, we were informed that it was possible to apply for a “Study Visit Programme” as

researchers and gain access to the unit for one month. The procedure requires the applicant to contact the unit and request a Study Visit for a period of maximum one month, at least two months in advance. As remarked by Tesseur (2014: 50-51), “gaining access to the field can be so problematic that doing ethnography is entirely dependent on the willingness of the research subjects to cooperate”.

Negotiating access to the European Parliament was a gradual process and took four months, from January to April 2016. The terms of the Study Visit were discussed with our academic supervisor and both supervisors at the European Parliament welcomed our proposals to be involved in our research project. In the case of the Terminology Coordination Unit, the Study Visit took place in Luxembourg in May 2016 and in the case of the Press Unit, from November 13th to December 13th 2017 in Brussels.

Unfortunately, the Study Visit programme cannot exceed a period of one month due to bureaucratic constraints, so we were not allowed to spend further time within the Units and had to carry out part of our ethnographic research from outside the European Parliament, by exchanging information via e-mail or phone calls. In the next section we will gain insight into our role as ethnographic researchers within the units.

2.5 During fieldwork: Positioning and re-positioning ourselves

As Koskinen (2008: 9) reported by quoting Schartzman (1993: 3), “one of the defining characteristics of ethnographic research is that the investigator goes into the field, instead of bringing the field to the investigator”. As we illustrated in the research models presented in section 2.4.2, the ethnographic fieldwork within the units was structured differently according to our objectives and our prior knowledge of their agents and practices. When describing ethnographic methodologies, Gobo & Molle (2017: 124) point out that “physical access does not guarantee social inclusion”. Accessing the field is therefore the first step in the complex ladder of ethnographic fieldwork; the second step is to establish our role within the unit and develop a relationship with the participants.

The focus on qualitative data that ethnographic research entails implies a different form of relationship is needed with research participants, which can be

summarised under the concept of 'trust' (see Miles & Huberman 1994: 292). The relationship with research subjects must be carefully managed and controlled at each stage of the research process. This requires the researcher to think about how subjects are chosen and how to encourage them to join and remain in the research project. As the institutional workload in EU Institutions is often severe and EU officials feel the pressure of time, identifying the best moments to schedule our ethnographic fieldwork was highly relevant to balance our work in both units. However, there were some significant differences between the two case studies.

In the case of the Press Unit, we had already experienced the institutional setting as insiders, but the Terminology Coordination Unit, as well as the city of Luxembourg, were completely new environments. The Terminology Coordination Unit frequently collaborates with universities to engage in ad-hoc terminology projects and welcomes study visitors from different universities every month. Study Visitors can alternate their research work with tasks appointed by the members of the unit. Hence, we agreed with the head of unit to integrate our ethnographic methods, like observation practices, interviews and a final roundtable, with the assignment of several tasks normally undertaken by trainees. As explained by Atkinson and Hammersley (1994: 248), an ethnographer can decide whether he will be a complete observer, an observer as participant, a participant as observer and a complete participant. Koskinen (2008: 51) remarks that “whatever role the researcher is able and willing to choose, that choice affects the outcomes of research”. Therefore, instead of being complete observers, we turned into participants as observers, getting directly involved in terminology work.

This approach to research is also known as *Action Research*, a successful effort to start bridging the gap between academia and the professional world (Cravo 2007: 97). In a typical Action Research project, the researcher looks for the solution to one particular problem, and the whole research project is focused around this. In our case, we tried to focus our activities on the terminology work done by the IATE team within the unit. As participants and observers we undertook the following activities:

- we took part in a terminology project on “car emissions”, where we were in

charge of checking term candidates in IATE (the interactive terminology database of the European Union) and providing the definition and context of the term “European Association for Automotive Suppliers”;

- we wrote for the “IATE term of the week” section on the European Parliament public website, which aims to disseminate knowledge on the official terminology database of the European Union; it consists of choosing a debated term within the EU Institutions and explaining its etymology and cases of untranslatability in other official EU languages;
- we contributed to the public website by writing articles about research methodologies applied to translation and terminology to bridge the gap between institutional settings and academia.

In a way, being “outsiders-insiders” at the Terminology Coordination Unit was much simpler than being “insiders-outsiders-insiders” at the Press Unit. As Coffey explained (1999: 110), ethnography is an “act of collective and individual memories”. When we first stepped back into the Parliament in Brussels, the very first intuition we had was that our own memories could unexpectedly turn into our greatest enemies. Our first challenge when re-entering the Brussels “bubble” was to look at the complex institutional machine as objective observers, whose task was to explain to the outside world how translation fits into the communicative setting of a multilingual institution like the European Parliament. What Koskinen (2008: 52) remarked in her experience as ethnographer at the European Commission is that “one way of taking advantage of previous personal experience is to actively engage in retrospection and reminiscence, and to treat one's memories as an additional set of data”. Returning to the Press Unit as translation scholars required us to re-arrange three aspects of ourselves and our work:

- re-positioning our identity within the unit
- re-establishing a new relationship with its members
- changing our perspective from the point of view of translation

First, we started by wondering if the background experience we had acquired, as well as our impressions of how the machine works and how the several institutional roles are interrelated, would reflect what the institution really is or

does. When your tasks and responsibilities are squeezed into an intense five-month experience in your twenties, your perceptions may be influenced by your fears, ambition and expectations and one risks distorting his/her view or ends up lacking objectivity. Hence, our previous experience as interns within the unit made it necessary to merge what we had learnt as trans-editors and press assistants during our traineeship with the background we acquired as translation researchers in academia and as ethnographers at the Terminology Coordination Unit of the same institution.

On agreement with the coordinator and our former supervisor at the press unit, we chose to be complete observers and schedule our ethnographic activities within the unit accordingly. On the first day of our ethnographic fieldwork, we were introduced by the coordinator to the whole unit as a former trainee “who is back to do something completely different”. Although we happily recognised many familiar faces, we were surprised by the amount of new colleagues we found after only four years. With half of the members we had to re-position our professional role from former trainee to researcher while with the “newcomers” we could relate as temporary new entries. One feature of the EU Institutions' organisational structure is that its employees rotate every two or five years, either in the same unit or moving to another one, as there is an institutional tendency to renew roles as well as processes.

However, one aspect that did not change and that we immediately perceived during the meeting was the high speed of the workflow and the amount of workload stuffed into the unit's planning. We realised that our challenge would be to make press officers perceive us more as external collaborators and not as intruders stealing their time. Indeed, the relationship with research subjects must be carefully managed and controlled at each stage of the research process. This means thinking about how subjects are chosen and encouraged to join a research project. Furthermore, an awareness of the balance of power between the researcher and the subjects of the research is vital. When subjects make themselves available for a research study there is an implied loss of power in even merely allowing a researcher into one's place of work.

The focus of the relationship between researcher and subject is determined by

the researcher's criteria and not by the research topic. We presented ourselves as "anthropologists studying an institutional tribe" and emphasised that our role in the unit was not as passive observers "wandering around the unit" but rather as "lie detectors" of institutional practices and behaviours. We specified that our main focus was to investigate the role of terminology and translation in press releases so that future participants could already narrow their thoughts and focus their replies on their practices and beliefs. The mediation of the coordinator and former supervisor was certainly an asset and was perceived as an incentive for all participants. In the next section, we will delve into the ethnographic methods we employed to collect our data.

2.5.1 Collection of data

Ethnography entails the study of a group through direct contact with its institutional culture and social interactions. It requires large amounts of time and energy but it represents the highest standards in qualitative research. The core of ethnographic data collection is traditionally seen as fieldwork observations and the notes taken by the ethnographer to describe his observations. Besides field-notes, the researcher can make use of a variety of different research 'methods' that will help to answer the research questions. The data were collected differently according to the differing needs of the two units.

With reference to the methodologies we employed in our fieldwork at the Terminology Coordination Unit, we conducted observation practices and collected field-notes about the unit's practices in the following situations:

- the weekly Unit's meeting at the beginning of the week;
- the interinstitutional IATE Management Group meeting, where the representatives of terminology from all EU Institutions gather monthly to discuss terminology management practices or terminology workload constraints;

Apart from collective moments we spent with the members of the Unit, we also conducted single interviews (Appendix 2), with one representative for every category relevant for our research project:

- the Head of Unit (Interview #1)
- the IATE Linguistic Coordinator (Interview #2)

The Terminology Coordination Unit maintains close ties with the 23 language units of the European Parliament. Therefore, we had the opportunity to conduct two interviews with two translators at the Italian language unit of the European Parliament (Interview #3 and Interview #4, Appendix 2). Interviews were conducted in the participants' offices, an information sheet was provided prior to the interview, as well as a consent form to be recorded (Appendix 3).

Interviews were all recorded and transcribed using transcription conventions (Appendix 4) either in full or in part, according to the relevance of the information disclosed by participants. As explained by Hammersley & Atkinson (2007: 108), quoted in Tesseur (2014: 59), interviews can range from “spontaneous, informal conversations in the course of other activities to formally arranged meetings in bounded settings out of earshot of other people”. Therefore, although the interviews' texts were structured and displayed before the interview actually took place, the nature of this practice may vary according to the personal “flow” of participants.

Single interviews were enriched by more informal exchanges during lunch and coffee breaks with all members of the unit and by exchanges via e-mail when participants felt they wanted to further contribute with additional feedback. As we were sharing our office with three terminology trainees, our work was frequently intertwined with informal discussions whenever we felt the need to clear some doubts concerning the terminology workflow within the unit. Additionally, there were other occasions like the EAFT (European Association for Terminology) Summit and the Translating Europe Forum 2017 where we had the possibility to deepen some aspects and discuss our data with that of experts who collaborate with the unit, like Loupaki (2017).

In the case of the Press Unit, we agreed with the coordinator that we would take part in the unit's meetings, the planning meeting on Monday and the press conferences before the plenary session as we did during our traineeship. Interviews were scheduled accordingly:

- 1 joint interview with the two press officers responsible for press releases about migration (Interview #5);
- 1 joint interview with the English editors responsible for reviewing and polishing press releases (Interview #6);
- 2 interviews with the assistants of the Italian press team responsible for translating plenary press releases into Italian (Interview #7, Interview #8);

All interviews were conducted in the so-called “silent room” which we were able to book in advance, once the interviews were scheduled. The Press Unit room resembles a typical modern news-room, no longer divided into single offices. In fact, the Press Room consists of an open space structured in a spiral with a common and colourful space in the middle, where all press officers and assistants work and a silent atmosphere is often required. For internal meetings there is a meeting room available and a silent room that any member can book in order to have more privacy.

The scheduling phase of our ethnographic fieldwork was smooth and positively welcomed by all members of the Unit. With some of them, we managed to establish close and intimate conversations besides the scheduled ethnographic activities. In a way, our ethnographic fieldwork never stopped during the course of the whole study visit and was a full immersion from the very beginning until the end. Lunch and coffee breaks were very constructive moments we spent with some of the members of the unit to informally discuss several aspects and reinforce our cooperation. In some cases, interviews led to long discussions via e-mail, where participants could add extra information to their interviews or stress important points.

Interviewees were selected according to their job function and interviews mainly focused on migration terminology in press releases and translation practices (EN-IT). However, an overall picture of the unit's translation beliefs, although we were aware that perceptions or practices could differ according to the language of the press officer, we were interested in understanding whether the unit's vision of translation in communication was homogenous or more subjective. Therefore, in order to get a background picture of the whole unit and investigate

the overall translation beliefs, we designed a questionnaire in Google format with the support of the coordinator. The questionnaire (Appendix 5) contained twenty questions in total; some general questions regarding education and former work experiences, both within the European Parliament and outside, to verify how familiar the press officers had been with translation work before joining the Parliament, and some questions focused on the tools they use to translate press releases and their view of translation. As we were aware of press officers' and assistants' workload and time constraints, the majority of the questions were multiple-choice, except for the questions regarding their personal work experiences.

In both units, we organised a final “wrap-up” roundtable, where both researchers and participants could express their points of view and eventually integrate further details. In the case of the Terminology Coordination Unit, we managed to set up a roundtable involving all members of the unit and showed them the framework of migration terminology, as well as asking for further explanation to clarify the complex terminology flow between them and the translators from the 23 language units. In the case of the press unit, as we analysed press releases written in English and translated into Italian, the final roundtable took place with the members of the Italian press team, four people in total excluding us, so that we could summarise the ethnographic work done within the unit and show the corpus results obtained in our “prior to fieldwork” phase. Both roundtables were recorded and intertwined with note-taking.

2.6 After fieldwork

As Blommaert & Dong (2010: 64) explain, the learning process after fieldwork does not stop once your fieldwork has concluded and data look like “a complex of widely divergent scientific objects”. In our research, the boundary between “during” and “after” fieldwork was blurred as a lot of interpretation had already taken place during our study visits within the units. Furthermore, our ethnographic fieldwork was scheduled at two different times, so the “after fieldwork” phase following our study visit in Luxembourg started before our “before fieldwork” phase at the press unit in Brussels had begun.

A large portion of our “after fieldwork” phase was devoted to listening to the interviews and roundtable and choosing how to structure our narrative and how to merge these data with our memories and field notes. We therefore chose not to transcribe all interviews but accurately selected the most significant extracts without de-contextualising them in the thesis. In cases where interviews were conducted in Italian, to create an easy-going atmosphere with the participants, interviews were translated into English and proofread by a native speaker. In the transcription process, we followed Koskinen's approach and opted to “balance analytical needs and readability, keeping transcription convention to a minimum” (Koskinen 2008: 88) and without using any software to code our data. The reasons for our choice mainly relate to time pressure: first, accessing the field was highly demanding from a bureaucratic point of view as we set up the ethnographic project on our own initiative and not within the framework of a pre-settled project; secondly, as we already spent some time learning how to use the linguistic software *Sketch Engine* to analyse our corpora, doing the same for our interviews would have required further time. The second reason was to make the extracts of interviews more accessible to a wider readership, one that is not necessarily familiar with transcription conventions.

Chapter 3

Migration Terminology in the EU Institutions

Overview and patterns of use of terms in legal texts and press releases

The crisis in Europe, with the dramatic increase in arrivals of migrants, has highlighted the uncertainty of institutional classifications used to describe and manage migration flows (cfr. Agier & Madeira 2017). Terms like “refugee”, “migrant”, and “asylum seeker”, but also “war refugee”, “economic migrant”, and “clandestine migrant” all serve not only as descriptive legal terms, but engage an epistemology and a policy of institutional classifications.

What is a “migrant” in the EU Institutions and how is the term “refugee” or “asylum seeker” respectively classified? Bowker and Hawkins (2006: 79) explain that terms are lexical items which designate concepts that make up specialized fields of knowledge. “Migration” has recently become a single domain for specialized terminology in the European Union, linked to the crisis which has been rapidly unfolding in the Mediterranean since 2015. The recent decision by the European Commission to appoint the *European Migration Network* to compile a specialized official glossary of Migration in 2008, testifies to the fact that terminology is facing a rapid, as well as urgent, evolution in the European Union. This decision resulted in three specialized migration glossaries, released in three versions in 2010, 2012, and 2014. The EU Institutions have undertaken the interdisciplinary task to designate brand new concepts like “resettled refugee” or “stranded migrant” with consistent terminology to use in drafting legal texts, and to make the concepts available in the 24 official languages of the EU (cfr. Biel 2014, Šarčević 2016, Loupaki 2017).

This chapter delves into *Migration* from a terminological perspective, and investigates how “migrants” are mirrored through terminology in the EU Institutions by analysing three sets of corpora: the *European Migration Network* glossaries of the European Commission, the EU database of official legislative text, EUR-lex, and a compiled corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament Press Unit between 2010 and 2016. As well as providing an overview

of how terminology has evolved from the 1950s to 2016, the chapter aims to provide an overview of migration terminology in the EU Institutions, and looks into terms' patterns of use in EU legal texts and press releases over time. In order to investigate terminology in different types of institutional texts published in English, we employed the corpus tool *Sketch Engine* to outline terms' frequency of occurrence and patterns of use.

Now that we have presented the research problems and aims of this chapter, the next section will provide an overview of the basic principles regarding multilingualism in the European Union, and how this affects terminology in the multilingual drafting of EU law.

3.1 Multilingualism and Terminology in EU Law

The European Union provides 80% of the national legislation of its 28 Member States in 24 official languages. This legislation is debated and finalized mainly by the three legislative institutions: the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union. The European Commission proposes legislation, implements decisions, upholds the EU treaties, and manages the day-to-day business of the EU. The European Parliament, together with the Council of the EU, passes EU laws based on the European Commission proposals, decides on international agreements and enlargements, reviews the Commission's work programme, and asks it to propose legislation. The Council of the European Union negotiates and adopts EU law, coordinates member states' policies, develops the EU common foreign and security policy, concludes international agreements, and adopts the EU budget.

Additionally, other EU bodies, like the Court of Justice, the European Council, and the Court of Auditors, participate in the governance of this political and economical confederation of states. (cfr. Wagner et al. 2014, Maslias 2017). After only 60 years of existence, EU law is developing at a fast pace, and it has considerably expanded the number of its policy fields and intensified the degree of harmonization of national laws. Since the implementation of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, multilingualism has been appointed as the language regime in the European Union, and this requires that “every legislative document produced by

the EU institutions can become a binding legislative act for each Member State in its official languages” (Maslias, 2017: 13).

Multilingualism is treated as a constitutional principle in the EU, which has gained greater importance over time in the European institutional framework. It is not only related to the language discipline, but is intended as a pragmatic solution for an international organization, which had to identify its own language policy. The importance of multilingualism as the EU language policy was discussed in Council Regulation No 1 of 15th April 1958, concerning the Community's multilingual regime (Ioriatti, 2013: 54). The Regulation requires that all texts addressed to the Institutions by a Member State, or by a person under the jurisdiction of a Member State, are available in one of the official languages at the choice of the sender, and the reply must also be provided in the same language. The citizens of the Union are therefore given the opportunity to choose their own language of communication with the European Institutions (see Berteloot 2001: 6).

Furthermore, unlike international organisations, the EU institutions address “natural and legal persons of the Member States” (Sarcevic, 2001: 315). That is to say, not only states but also individuals are involved. However, not all official languages of the Member States are EU official languages²⁹ (cfr. Sarcevic 2016). Luxembourgish, for instance, is an official language of Luxembourg since 1984 but is not an official language in the EU, and nor is Turkish, which is an official language in Cyprus but not in the EU.

As reported by Wagner, Bech and Martinez (2012: 1), the word “multilingualism” can be used in two ways. If interpreted as personal multilingualism, it refers to the ability to speak and use several languages; if conceived as institutional multilingualism, it refers to the policy of equal rights for all official languages, which is the case of the European Union. Having chosen a multilingual regime based on language equality (cfr. Koskinen 2000, Nordland

²⁹ The official languages and their respective year of entry are the following: Dutch, French, German, Italian: 1958; Danish, English: 1973; Greek: 1981; Portuguese, Spanish: 1986; Finnish, Swedish: 1995; Czech, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Slovak, Slovene: 2004; Bulgarian, Irish, Romanian: 2007; Croatian: 2013
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/20150201PVL00013/Multilingualism>
(Accessed 1st September, 2017).

2002), the founding fathers of the European Community entrusted legal experts and lawyer linguists to create a “common” legal vocabulary, where normative texts drafted in different languages can result in convergent interpretative practices.

All decisions taken by these experts must comply with Article 3 of the Treaty on the European Union: “the Union shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe’s cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced”. However, providing “many languages for a single voice” is neither usual nor simple (Graziadei 2016: 18). In most cases, EU law is originally formulated in French or English and then translated using the existing terminology of those languages. As observed by Sarcevic (2012), “legal terms in one language cannot always be translated exactly into another” (Tiersma 2012: 25). Graziadei (ibid.) argues that “there is still a tendency in Europe to succumb to general ideas about the relationship between language and the law that obscure the complex nature of the process leading to the application of legal rules”. In Europe, the issue of legal drafting has therefore become fundamental to the elaboration of multilingual legislation in the European Union (Gotti, 2009: 279), and poses several challenges to providing uniformity and consistency in EU law.

3.1.1 Law, Language and Multilingual Drafting

As reported by Tiersma (2012: 13), “all legal systems develop certain linguistic features that differ from those of ordinary language”, even if, as Tiersma points out, some legal systems and ordinary language may differ only slightly, particularly if the former is young and primarily oral. The legal profession typically uses a language consisting of technical vocabulary and a number of distinct features. Legislative texts produced by such legal systems may result in being very complex for the public to understand, as lawyers and judges develop a language that is entirely different from ordinary speech.

Globalization has fostered the creation of international alliances or confederations, as in the case of the European Union, where its effect on EU law has resulted in a growing need to translate from one legal language into another. As pointed out by Sarcevic (2015: 184), “it is the interplay of EU law with

national law that makes the choice of EU terms such a difficult one”. In EU multilingual lawmaking, the source text is drafted in one language by legal experts and technical drafters, and then translated into the other official languages by translators working at DG Translation at the European Commission.

French served as the main drafting language in 1980s and 1990s and rapidly lost ground to English³⁰, especially after the accession of ten new Member States in May 2004³¹. English terminology plays an important role in one of the crucial stages of the multilingual regulatory process, and in meetings between national delegates and lawyer-linguists. Multilingual drafting of legislative texts relies on three different professional roles: lawyer-linguists, terminologists and translators.

Lawyer-linguists are not employed as translators in the EU. Their main goal is to provide on-demand drafting and procedural assistance in-house, in the original language of the text, and later to verify translations. Each lawyer-linguist covers a topic related to one or more Parliamentary Committees, assists in drafting legislation, mostly in English and in two or three other official languages, and checks translated and drafted texts. At the heart of the legal-linguistic experts' working group are the negotiations between lawyers and delegates of national governments. The relationship between lawyer-linguists and delegates is strongly dialectical and may result in unpredictable terminology (Ioriatti, 2013: 87).

The vocabulary of lawyers, however, is influenced not only by the legal environment, but also by the language in which they communicate. As the language of the Union consists of new terms created on the basis of English terminology, it inevitably draws on the Anglo-Saxon model, which the lawyer-linguist of the EU struggles to avoid. As pointed out by Ioriatti (2013: 69), it is undeniable that the negotiations conducted in English give the English mother tongue a natural advantage in terms of ideas and terminology. As pointed out by Sarcevic, (2015: 212), “the EU principle of equal authenticity of legal texts should

³⁰ English did not become an official language until the accession of the United Kingdom and Ireland on January 1973.

³¹ In May 2002, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. This was followed by the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 and, more recently, the accession of Croatia in 2013.

theoretically be based on multilingual primary term formation”. However, secondary term formation based on English or French, is a common practice in EU legislation. According to Temmerman, this situation has resulted in EU texts being drafted in so-called “Euro-English” by Europeans of different linguistic and cultural origins. As a consequence, Temmerman (2011: 114) points out that “if Euro-English has become the lingua franca and if Europeans continue to have the right to information in all official European languages, the issue of approximate meaning will have to be tackled all the time”.

In the context of the European Union, legal terminology is not only used by legal experts in the process of multilingual legal drafting, but plays a fundamental role in the daily working routine of other EU professionals. Members of the European Parliament, EU Commissioners, translators, interpreters and press officers use legal terms daily in their political and communication settings and can strongly influence European citizens' general lexicon. As a consequence, legal terminology, which is categorized as a language for special purposes, may be subject to a de-terminologization process.

De-terminologization occurs when “a lexical item that was once confined to a fixed meaning within a specialized domain is taken up in general language” (Meyer and Mackintosh, 2000: 112). During this process, terms can be distorted by general users, and this may lead to terminological misuse. This is the case of *refugee*, which not only belongs to the specialised domain of migration in a global and EU context, but is recognised and used also in general language, and may be then eligible for integration in both the specialised dictionary and the general one.

Refugee, as a specialised term, refers to those people who have acquired the status of a *refugee* under Art.1A of the Geneva Convention, but it is also currently used by press services and news-media as an umbrella term to refer to those people who migrate to Europe in search of international protection, for whom the broader term “migrant” is also used.

Terminological consistency in EU communicative texts and events is essential to ensure that information circulates correctly. As Kageura claims (2002: 15), “terms are located within the tension between the need for efficient communication and the requirements of representing the concepts of a domain”.

Translators in the EU do not participate in the drafting of legal texts, but provide translations in all official languages of the European Union once the text is available in one of the three “relay” languages, which are currently English, French and German.

If a language unit cannot translate a document from the original language, it works in “relay” from the translation already made into another language. This is due to the fact that language units are not yet able to cover all the 506 possible combinations of the 24 official languages. Translators are appointed to translate a wide range of texts, both legislative and general communicative texts, and sometimes work as terminologists in their language unit. The translator/terminologist is a leading actor in the translation process, and his activity is often intertwined with the task of translating. Vellutino (2015: 13) describes the EU terminologist as “a new professional of public communication”, an expert able to identify the relationship between concepts and terms, who systematizes the lexical patrimony of complex documentation of a single domain. In the next section, we will briefly describe the process of coining terminology in the European Union and discuss the role of the so-called “Euro-jargon”, or “Euro-speak”.

3.1.2 Coining terminology

From the very first stage of its existence, the European Union has created and refined what we could identify as its own translation model, whose ideal objective is that all official languages should have equivalent concepts. The language of EU law has often been described as a jargon of peculiar and artificial terms (Pym 2000: 7; Koskinen 2000: 53) and this is considered intentional, so that the terminology can be easily distinguished from terms belonging to national law. This “tension between EU institutionalization and readability” (Brownlie, 2016: 173), also remarked on by Koskinen (2008), may result, for instance, in terms like *subsidiarity*, *externalize* or *trialogue*, and reflect the “potentially questionable EU usage that is not so well established” (Brownlie, 2016: 173).

Building the European Union raises a numbers of problems concerning the language and the languages in which EU law must be expressed, as well as its

terminology and the style of legislative drafting. As Dannemann et al (2010: 78) explain, “the particularly rich and unique sets of terminology that the legal systems of Member States have developed for private law had little equivalence in the terminological *acquis communautaire* at the time when the EU embarked on a large-scale regulation of issues belonging to private law”. As a solution, EU Institutions have adopted an interinstitutional agreement on how EU legislation should be drafted to resolve some of the existing issues regarding legislative drafting.

EU terminology results from a creative process and is parallel to what is done on a national level; this is the only way all official languages manage to have concepts corresponding to equivalent terms. As pointed out by Cosmai (2007: 126), this would not be feasible if EU terminology were to be implemented by comparing the individual legal languages of the Member States, as it would be difficult to find absolute lexical and conceptual correspondence.

The formation of terms designates EU legal concepts and institutions for the purpose of EU multilingual lawmaking. Sarcevic (2015: 183) explains that EU term formation falls into the category of translation-oriented terminology management, which is text-driven, as opposed to systematic terminology management, which is subject-field driven, as pointed out by Wright and Wright (1997: 148). Although according to ISO 704: 2009, “a term shall conform with the morphological, morpho-syntactic and phonological norms of the language in question”, translators and terminologists very frequently face conflicting pressures to create conformity in EU languages.

Terminology is the result of a particular lexical creation mechanism, applied to most European texts (Ioriatti, 2013: 90). In Šarčević's opinion (2016: 189), “the criteria for choosing terms or signs to represent EU legal concepts are dictated by the need for effective communication in the multilingual and multicultural context of EU law”. As remarked in point 5.3.2 of the European Commission Joint Practical Guide³², “terms which are too closely linked to national legal systems should be avoided”. Indeed, the use of national terms to designate EU concepts

³² The European Commission Joint Practical Guide is available at this address: <http://bit.ly/2yewmQz> (Accessed on 1st November 2017).

should be avoided whenever possible, as it runs the risk of creating multiple references that receivers will interpret according to their national law.

As explained by Ioriatti (2013), terminology in the EU mainly consists of the so-called “resemantization” process, or change of meaning of lexicons, i.e. the transposition of a single term or series of words already existing in a language and the adaptation of its meaning to European Union law, with consequent semantic enrichment. Cosmai (2007: 30) divides this technique of lexical creation into two categories: the semantic neologism - which originates from the original meaning of the term - and collocation, which consists in the combination of two or more words in order to form a stable system.

Another technique used to adapt the language of the Union to different languages is to use calques, whose main purpose is to transpose a term that preserves the formal and semantic characteristics of the original model into a different language. This technique consists of creating a calque from an original term, literally translating a simple lexical element or a superior lexical unit originally created in a foreign language. For the jurist, these methods of lexical creation are linked to neologisms and semantic neologisms, and comply with the attribution of a new meaning to an old term.

Achieving terminological equivalence in different languages is therefore the challenge and the “guiding compass” of the European translator. As Rirdance & Vasiljevs state (2006: 19), “it is important to get as close as possible to the main and specific features of the concept being named. All newly coined terms have to be correct, consistent and comply with the rules of the national language”. Cornu (1990: 68) points out that the majority of terms in a legal language belong to the general language, whose meaning has been expanded or, on the contrary, limited, while technical terms, on the other hand, constitute a reduced percentage of the legal vocabulary. The EU legislator frequently uses words from the general language, many of which already have legal meanings in the national laws but belong to the common core of terms shared by most national legal systems. In order to ensure consistency in terminology and communication, the EU provides its translators and language professionals with a range of tools, as it will be described in the next section, taking migration terminology as a case study.

3.2 Migration Terminology from 1950 to 2016

Migration in the European Union has a long history; after World War II, Western European countries saw a decisive increase in immigration flows and many European countries count today sizeable immigrant populations, both of European and non-European origin. Migration is nowadays the main component of the demographical evolution of the European Union and is expected to become more crucial with the decline in the ageing of Member States' population in the future. The EU Institutions define *Migration* as:

“the action by which a person either establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country; or having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months”.

Migration, the definition of which has been extracted from the last version of the *European Migration Network Glossary* (2014) is a hyponym of the terms *immigration* and *emigration*, which are identified, accordingly, as hypernyms or narrower terms of *migration*, as exemplified by the following concept system:

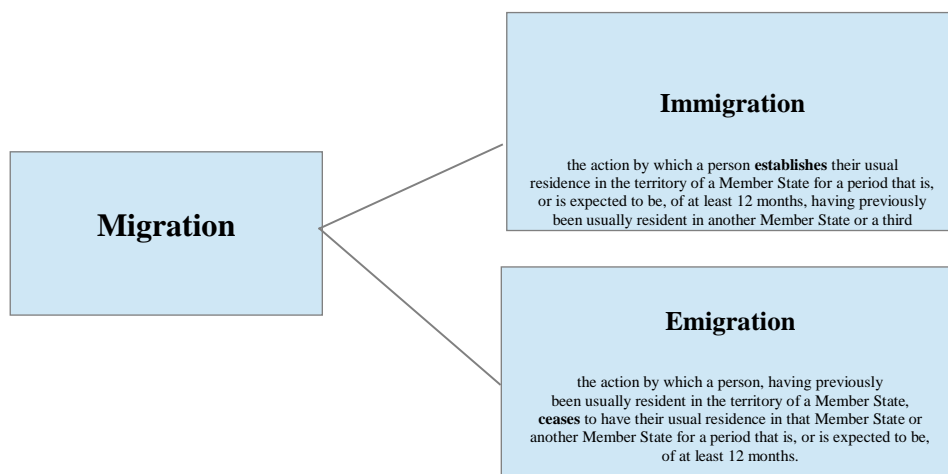


Figure 17. Hypernym-hyponym relationship between the terms “migration”, “immigration, and “emigration”

According to a study released by the European Commission³³, between 2010 and 2013, around 1.4 million non-EU nationals, excluding asylum seekers and refugees, immigrated into the EU each year using regular means, with a slight decrease since 2010. Since 2004, when the European Union granted EU citizens freedom of movement and residence within the EU, the term *immigrant* has been used in general language to refer more to non-EU citizens, while EU citizens started to be referred to as *expats*, a language shift that was also highly debated in the media³⁴.

As described in Section 1.2, the European Union has progressed with legislation concerning migration since the implementation of the Single European Act and the Schengen Cooperation in 1985. Throughout the years, several attempts were made to coin and implement consistent terminology to refer to migratory flows and phenomena. On 2nd October 1995, the Economic and Social Committee called on the European Commission to “use plain language in official documents and in legislation”, pointing out that “effective communication is essential if Europe is to match people's aspirations”. In its “Opinion on Plain language”, which was published on 2nd October 1995 in the Official Journal of the European Communities, the Economic and Social Committee tries to find an answer to the question: “Is it possible for official documents to be written in plain language?” and provides the following answer:

“It is. But it is difficult for officials and others to shed the habit of using jargon, legal language and insensitive terminology (e.g. the misuse of the word 'migrants'). A long tradition of using official language, together with a powerful urge to conform and follow precedent, has created an instinct to use long words and long sentences”.

³³ The European Commission study about Immigration in the EU is available at the following link: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/docs/infographics/immigration/migration-in-eu-infographic_en.pdf (Accessed 1st November 2017).

³⁴ The BBC article: “The difference between an expat and an immigrant? Semantics.” is available at the following link: <http://www.bbc.com/capital/story/20170119-who-should-be-called-an-expat> (Accessed on 1st November 2017).

In the text, a clear reference to the term “migrant” was made as an example of “misuse”. As a result, the Council consequently adopted a resolution in response to the Economic and Social Committee's request, stating the following:

1. the wording of the act should be clear, simple, concise and unambiguous; unnecessary abbreviations, 'Community jargon' and excessively long sentences should be avoided;
2. imprecise references to other texts should be avoided as too many cross-references make the text difficult to understand;
3. the various provisions of the acts should be consistent with each other; the same term should be used throughout to express a given concept;

When only one term refers to a given concept, we usually refer to prescriptive terminology (see Wright & Budin, 2001). As stated by Bowker and Hawkins (2006: 79), “the prescriptive school of thought in terminology holds that terms should be fixed items and should not be prone to variation”. According to the principle of *univocity* (Temmermann, 2000: 10), synonymy and polysemy should be eliminated. *Univocity* is a summary term standing for monosemy and mononymy. Felber (1984: 183) provides the following definitions: “monosemy is a term-concept assignment, in which one concept only is assigned to a term, while mononymy is a term-concept assignment, in which one term is assigned to a concept”. In Sager's words (1997: 25), term formation is a conscious and well-thought-out activity, given that the main purpose of terminology is to foster knowledge transfer and facilitate specialized communication. However, as revealed by descriptive studies in terminology, terms do indeed have variants (see Temmerman 2000, Carl et al. 2004). Korremans (2016: 162) defines prescriptive terminology as an “idealistic view” and points out that “in reality, specialized concepts can be expressed by means of different terms and terms can have multiple meanings”. In the context of EU terminology, adhering to the principle of terminological precision is difficult to maintain. Whether the approach is prescriptive or descriptive, EU translators are required to produce translations ensuring terminological consistency.

In the domain of migration, terminology issues shook the European Union long before the outbreak of the so called “Migration Crisis” in 2015. Indeed, in an

official document addressed by the President of the Economic and Social Committee Carlos Ferrer on 24th April 1996, it is stated that:

“The Member States of the European Union have different social, political, economic and legal perspectives in terms of their definitions of such terms as minorities, immigrants and migrants. Although the terms used vary, they are often mistakenly used on an interchangeable basis, whilst the terminology does point to important distinctions, both for immediate responses and their implications for the future”.

As Dannemann et al. (2010) explain, it has been noted that the real challenge for translators in the European Union is to be fully aware that the relationship between concepts and words is not the same in all legal languages, and finding coherent translation solutions is therefore essential to make legal texts comprehensible to EU officials and citizens. In the next section, we will describe some of the tools made available by the European Union Institutions to ensure terminological consistency and standardization in EU communication.

3.2.1 Terminology tools: the *European Migration Network* official glossaries

The implementation of an EU Asylum and Migration Policy in 2005, common to all Member States of the European Union, responded to the need to exchange information on all aspects of migration across a wide range of asylum and migration policy developments. The EU *acquis communautaire* is also interconnected with international agreements, such the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, adopted in 1951, which represents the centrepiece of international refugee protection today.

In 2014 the United Nations launched a campaign on the correct usage of the terms “migrants” and “refugees”, whose slogan was “word choice matters”. According to the United Nations, “migrants” “choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or, in some cases, for education, family reunion, or other reasons”, while a “refugee” is a “person fleeing armed conflict or persecution”. The two terms have distinct and different meanings, and, according to the United Nations, “confusing

them leads to problems for both populations”³⁵. However, as pointed out by Italian terminologist Corbolante,³⁶ who conducted a comparative study between UN and EU terminology of Migration, the official terminology used to refer to “migrants” and “refugees” in the EU differs from the United Nations' terminology guidelines. Although the status of “refugee” under the UN Geneva Convention is binding for the European Union, the two terminology frameworks do not coincide and a “migrant” in the European Union is a broader term regarding voluntary and forced migration.

With Council Decision 2008/381/EC of 14 May 2008, the European Union established a legal base for the European Migration Network³⁷, to improve the consistency and comparability of information regarding migration in the EU. The purpose of the EMN is to meet the information needs of the EU institutions and of Member States' authorities and institutions by providing up-to-date, objective, reliable and comparable information on asylum and migration, with a view to supporting policymaking in the European Union in these areas.

The development of a comprehensive glossary that identifies and describes different concepts central to asylum and migration policy in the EU is one of the main activities undertaken by the EMN to achieve this objective. There are three versions of the glossary, published respectively in 2010 (300 terms), 2012 (325 terms) and 2014 (408 terms), available online and in EU libraries.

The glossaries include entries from European Institutions, organisations and processes which play a key role in the European migration policy, including bodies contributing to the implementation of the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility³⁸. Glossary compilation is coordinated by the European

³⁵ The official campaign is available at this link: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html> (Accessed 2nd September 2017).

³⁶ The study conducted by Corbolante is available in Italian at the following link: <http://blog.terminologiaetc.it/2015/09/03/significato-migrante-rifugiato-ue-vs-unhcr/> (Accessed 30th October 2017).

³⁷ Official website of the European Migration Network: <http://bit.ly/2oiCZvu> (Accessed on 1st September 2017).

³⁸ Within the new Global Approach to Migration, legal migration towards the EU and the migration-development nexus (through diasporas and remittances) are novelties that stress the search for partnership with third countries

Commission, in cooperation with the National Contact Points from each EU Member State.

Each term entry in the glossary has a preferred term, a definition of the concept that this term represents, the source of the definition, and notes or relationships to other terms and concepts contained in the glossary. For every entry, synonyms and hierarchical relations with terms identified by broader or narrower terms are reported, as well as associative relations between related terms.

Synonyms indicate an equivalence relationship between two terms that represent the same concept, which can be interchangeable in a text; a broader term refers to a relationship between a more generic and a more specific term, while a narrower term indicates the relationship between a more specific term and a more generic one. The following figure shows, for instance, how the term entry “migrant worker” is presented and classified in the 2014 version of the *European Migration Network Glossary*.

migrant worker		
BG	работник мигрант	
CS	migrant - zaměstnanec	
DE	Arbeitsmigrant, Wanderarbeiter, Wanderarbeitnehmer	
EL	εργαζόμενος μεταστάτης	
ES	trabajador migrante	
ET	võõrtöötaja	
FI	siirtotyöläinen / vierastyöläinen	
FR	travailleur migrant	
GA	oibrí imirceach	
HU	migráns munkavállaló	
IT	lavoratore migrante	
LT	migrantas darbuotojas	
LV	darba ņēmējs migrants	
MT	Migrant(a) ħaddiem(a)	
NL	arbeidsmigrant (syn.: buitenlandse werknemer)	
PL	pracownik migrujący	
PT	trabalhador migrante	
RO	lucrător / muncitor migrant	
SK	migrujúci pracovník / pracovný migrant	
SL	delavec migrant	
SV	migrantarbetare	
NO	arbeidsmigrant	
		Definition
		A person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which they are not nationals.
		Source
		UN Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families
		Synonyms
		* foreign worker
		* labour migrant
		Broader term
		* economic migrant
		Narrower terms
		* contract migrant worker
		* highly qualified migrant
		Related terms
		* guest worker
		* labour migration

Figure 18. Example of the term entry “migrant worker” in the EMN Glossary (2014: 189)

3.2.2 IATE: the Interactive Terminology Database for Europe

Section 3.2.1 has provided an overview of the main features of multilingual drafting and terminology in the EU. How is terminology made accessible for translators and EU professionals at the European Parliament? If we consider that the first European Migration Network glossary was published in 2010, it is reasonable to wonder which terminological resources were available for translators and language professionals before the publication of the *EMN* official glossaries.

As explained by Maslias (2017: 14), the Head of Unit of TermCoord, the Terminology Coordination Unit of the European Parliament, “terminology needs to be stored and constantly updated, so that it can be shared by the translators of all institutions, bodies and agencies, participating in the drafting of European legislation”. In order to achieve this goal, the EU has created, in 2004, an interactive terminology database called IATE, which contains nearly eleven millions terms in more than a hundred domains and in the 24 official languages of the EU. The EU terminology database IATE was developed in the early 2000 and the internal version of the application was made available to the EU internal users in 2004. A public version for read-only use was developed and released to the general public in 2007.

IATE replaced the previous EU databases Eurodicautom, Euterpe, and Tis, and distinguished itself from its predecessors for its interactivity – any translator in an EU institution can add and update information in the database – and its interinstitutionality – several institutions contribute to the development and maintenance of IATE. These are the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, the European Commission, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions the European Investment Bank, the European Central Bank and the Translation Centre.

As described by Maslias (*ibidem*, 14), apart from creating new entries for new concepts and adding new terms, existing entries are updated by terminologists to ensure terms' reliability. Terms undergo a process of validation before being inserted, can be commented on but not modified by external users,

and the quality of entries inserted is ensured by the rules contained in the international ISO (International Organization for Standardization) standards on terminology³⁹.

All the EU Institutions cooperate to validate the terms through a process called “consolidation” (*ibidem*, 14), wherein the quality level of an entry is marked on a points scale from 1 to 4, depending on the reliability of the source and on how recent the update is. The last stage of inserting a term into the database is called “validation”, and is carried out by EU translators who also work as terminologists in their language units. All decisions concerning the IATE database are taken during private meetings of the IATE Management Group Team, composed of heads of unit and members of all Institutions and bodies of the EU.

Both glossaries and terms contained in IATE are a source for EU translators and external users, who seek consistency in their use of EU terminology. Term definitions provided in the *European Migration Network glossaries* have been formulated according to the IATE standard and are all planned to be stored in the database, which is recognized as the largest multilingual database covering all fields of legislation. The figure below illustrates what the IATE home page looks like, and which search criteria can be selected to browse terms and their equivalent. It also shows that it offers the optional criteria of indicating the preferred domain, so that searches can be limited to the domain of, for example, ‘migration’.

³⁹ ISO 704:2009 establishes the basic principles and methods for preparing and compiling terminologies both inside and outside the framework of standardization, and describes the links between objects, concepts, and their terminological representations on an international level. Official website: <https://www.iso.org> (Accessed on 28th October 2017).

iate InterActive Terminology for Europe

English (en)

[My search preferences](#) [Remove my search preferences](#) [Help](#)

Search criteria

Search term:

Source language:

Target languages: bg cs da de el en es et fi fr ga hr hu it la lt lv mt nl pl pt ro sk sl sv Any

* This symbol indicates a mandatory field

Optional criteria

Choose the domain associated with your query:

Type of search: Term Abbreviation All

Your last 10 queries:

Figure 19. IATE home page <http://iate.europa.eu/>

iate InterActive Terminology for Europe

italiano (it)

[Le mie preferenze di ricerca](#) [Rimuovere le preferenze di ricerca](#) [Aiuto](#)

Criteri di ricerca

Termine che si sta cercando:

Lingua di partenza:

Lingue di destinazione: bg cs da de el en es et fi fr ga hr hu it la lt lv mt nl pl pt ro sk sl sv Qualsiasi

* Questo simbolo indica un campo obbligatorio

Criteri opzionali

Scegliere il dominio associato alla propria richiesta:

Tipo di ricerca: Termine Abbreviazione Tutti

Ultime 10 richieste:

iate diffusion version 1.17 © Copyright Disclaimer [Download IATE](#) [About IATE](#) [FAQ](#) [IATE 2](#) [Contact us](#)

Figure 20. Searching the term "migration" in IATE

The screenshot shows the IATE search interface. At the top left is the IATE logo with the text 'InterActive Terminology for Europe'. A language dropdown menu is set to 'italiano (it)'. Below the search bar, the search term 'migration' is entered, and the search button 'Ricerca' is visible. The search results are displayed as follows:

Risultato 1- 10 Di 227 Per migration	
Migrazione [Council]	
EN migration	★★★★ * @ [Voce completa]
IT migrazione	★★★★ * @ [Voce completa]
Chimica, AGROALIMENTARE [Council]	
EN migration	★★★★ * @ [Voce completa]
IT migrazione	★★★★ * @ [Voce completa]
Idrocarburo, Geoscienze [COM]	
EN migration	★★★★ [Voce completa]
IT migrazione	★★★★ * @ [Voce completa]

Figure 21. First results for the term entry “migration” in IATE

3.2.3 Terms in specialised contexts

According to L'Homme (2004: 22), a term is a lexical unit whose meaning is determined within a specialised domain. A term can contain a single word and therefore be a simple term, or many words, and be defined as a complex term; it can also be a symbol (©, ®) or a formula (H₂O). Terms can be similar to words if we refer to general language, but are not conceived as synonyms; what makes terms different to words in general language is the specific and detailed meaning which they have in their context or specialised field. According to Daille, (2017: 11), terms have respectively three dimensions: a linguistic form, a denotative function to a specific class of mental or real-world objects (see also Cabrè and Sager 1999) and a domain (Otman 1996). As stated by Bowker (1998: 493), “it is a well-known fact that a term has a life-cycle”. Most terms, as pointed out by Sager (1990: 49) are provisional until the equation *term-definition-concept* becomes widely accepted and incorporated into the lexicon of a particular specialized field.

The prescriptive approach to terminology considers a term as a label for one specific concept in a specialized field. For a long time, terminologists have strived to establish a one-to-one match between terms and concepts, but as pointed out by Temmerman (2002: 2), the concern with standardization has started to be questioned, leaving space for a more descriptive approach, which sees terms as units prone to variation. As explained by Bowker and Hawkins (2006: 83), the most frequent principles terms should conform to are the following:

- monosemy and mononymy, according to which a concept should be designated by one term (Sager 1990: 90; Dubuc 1997: 145);
- linguistic accuracy, which establishes conformity between a term and the morphological, syntactic, orthographical and phonotactic conventions of the language involved (Sager 1990: 89; Dubuc 1997: 144);
- transparency, which requires that a term reflects the characteristics of the concept it designates (Sager 1990: 89; Dubuc 1997: 145);
- conciseness, according to which a term should be concise and in line with the principle of linguistic economy (Sager 1990: 89; Dubuc 1997: 144).

As terms are subject to a variation process, the linguistic form of the term may be affected by the domain, the target users and the purpose of the texts in which they are used. Additionally, it can happen that the same text may have been altered externally by editors, who are not field experts and may have chosen other terms without realizing the author was trying to express a “nuance of difference” (Bowker, 1998: 494). According to the “Communicative theory of terminology” (Cabrè 1999, 2000), the term should also satisfy the requirement of the user's needs.

The following corpus analysis is not meant to identify terms' variants in the domain of migration, but concentrates on terms life cycle, their use and evolution in two types of institutional texts, legislative texts and press releases, and the degree of acceptance, according to the occurrences obtained, in the context of the European Union. As Jacquemin remarks (2001: 3), “terms fluidity is another important aspect of the evolution of terms. Denotations, spellings, syntactic properties, and usages of terms are continually evolving”.

In Terminology, the analysis of the usage of concurrent terms designating a given concept is known as “terminometrics” and Jean Quirion (2003) was the first scholar to propose a scientific protocol to conduct terminometric studies, to identify how the dynamics of terms deal with the evolution of terminology and how term implantation can be measured by using a comparative or a diachronic approach. In the present research, we adopted a diachronic approach, as the analysis will show in the next section.

3.2.4 The corpus analysis

The present corpus analysis is structured in two phases and aims to provide a clear overview of how the terms “migrant”, “refugee” and “asylum seeker” are represented and classified in EU legislation. In the first phase of the analysis, the sources we used as a reference corpus to select the terms were the official glossaries released by the *European Migration Network*, respectively in 2010, 2012 and 2014, whose background has been presented in section 3.1. Before analysing the glossaries, we investigated if the European Commission or all the other EU Institutions had previously released other official and specialized EU glossaries in the domain of migration, but we received official notice in written form that this was not the case. Furthermore, all EU library catalogues in Brussels and Luxembourg were consulted, both online and in person, to verify if there were other official resources in the archives, but the result was analogue.

A comparative analysis of these glossaries was conducted manually, to achieve the following aims:

- to investigate how many migration terms have been coined so far;
- to show which terms are currently used to refer to different categories of “migrants” in the EU Institutions;
- to reconstruct terms' classifications and show the relation between terms' categories and their sub-categories.

In the second phase of the analysis, the terms that resulted from the first phase were investigated in the EUR-lex Corpus 2/16 EN⁴⁰ and in a compiled corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016, by using the software Sketch Engine, to observe occurrences, patterns of use and verify if the results obtained corresponded to what emerged in the analysis of EMN glossaries.

3.2.5 Results in EU Glossaries

By comparing all EMN Glossaries, version 2010, 2012 and 2014, the analysis shows that between 2010 and 2014, “migrants” have been classified through 54 different term entries, according to their motives, condition of entry, legal status and residence duration in an EU Member State. In the following table, old and existing terms are listed in grey cells, new terms are listed in red cells and deprecated terms, (entries no longer inserted in the last version of the glossary,) in green cells.

⁴⁰ The corpus name “Eur-lex 2/16 EN” stands as the last updated version of Eur-lex in the *Sketch Engine* software.

TERM ENTRIES EMN I 2010 -2012	TERM ENTRIES EMN I 2010 - 2012 - 2014	TERM ENTRIES EMN I 2014
asylum applicant	alien	applicant for international protection
economic refugee	civil war refugee	applicant in need of special procedural guarantees
	contract migrant worker	applicant with special reception needs
	cross-border worker	asylum seeker
	de facto refugee	au pair
	displaced person	beneficiary of international protection
	economic migrant	cross-border worker
	emigrant	environmentally-driven migrant
	internally displaced person	frontier worker
	forced migrant	person with a migratory background
	guest worker	posted worker
	immigrant	presumed victim of trafficking in human beings
	irregular migrant	rejected applicant for international protection
	long-term migrant	resettled refugee
	long-term resident	seasonal worker
	mandate refugee	second-generation migrant
	migrant	self-employed person
	migrant worker	short-term migrant
	non-EU national	stateless person
	overstay	statutory refugee
	person eligible for subsidiary protection	stranded migrant
	prima facie refugee	
	refugee	
	refugee in orbit	
	refugee in transit	
	refugee sur place	
	researcher	
	school pupil	
	student	
	third-country national	
	third-country national found to be illegally present	
	vulnerable person	

Table 3. Term entries referring to “migrants” in EMN Glossaries

As you can see, in the last updated glossary version published in 2014, 20 further entries were added to the glossary, while two terms, “asylum applicant” and “economic refugee” were excluded and classified as synonyms of “asylum seeker” and “economic migrant”. The broader term “migrant” and its hyponyms

“immigrant” and “emigrant” have a longer and more specific definition in the last version of the glossary, as illustrated in the following table:

TERM EN	DEF. EMN 2010	DEF. EMN 2012	DEF. EMN 2014
migrant	A broader-term of an immigrant and emigrant, referring to a person who leaves one country or region to settle in another, often in search of a better life.	A broader-term of an immigrant and emigrant, referring to a person who leaves one country or region to settle in another.	In the EU context, a person who either: - establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country; or - having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months
immigrant	In EU context, means a person undertaking an immigration.	In EU context, means a person undertaking an immigration.	In the EU context, a person who establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country.
emigrant	Means a person undertaking an Emigration	Means a person undertaking an Emigration	In the EU context, a person who, having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months.

Table 4. Definitions of “migrant”, “immigrant”, “emigrant” in EMN glossaries

The definitions reported in the last version of the glossary provide a clearer picture of what a “migrant” is in the EU context; the verbs “establish” in the definition of “immigrant” and “cease” in the definition of “emigrant” clarify their hyponym relationship with the broader term “migrant”.

For instance, in the phrase “80 migrants died on a boat disaster in the Mediterranean”, an example selected from an article published by *The Guardian*,⁴¹ replacing the term “migrant” with “immigrant” would be improper, since “immigrant” refers to a person who has already reached the European continent. “Emigrant” should be used when the country from which the migrant is moving from is specified in the sentence, like, for instance, “overall, emigrants from Syria, Eritrea, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Mali, Albania, Gambia, Nigeria, Somalia, and unspecified sub-Saharan countries are seeking asylum or residency in the European Union”, an example we selected from the National Geographic website.⁴²

⁴¹ The article by *The Guardian* to which we referred is available at the following link: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/20/italy-pm-matteo-renzi-migrant-shipwreck-crisis-srebrenica-massacre> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

⁴² The article by National Geographic is available at the following link: <https://blog.education.nationalgeographic.com/2015/05/06/another-migrant-boat-sinks-in-mediterranean/> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

In the case of the term “refugee”, we also found a more in-depth definition provided in the last version of the glossary, where it is specified that proof of a “well-founded fear of persecution” is necessary to gain the status of “refugee”.

TERM EN	DEF. EMN 2010	DEF. EMN 2012	DEF. EMN 2014
Refugee	Within an EU context, this refers specifically to a third-country national or stateless person within the meaning of Article 1A (above) of the Geneva Convention and authorised to reside as such on the territory of a Member State and to whom Article 12 (Exclusion) of directive 2004/83/EC does not apply.	In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person within the meaning of Article 1A (above) of the Geneva Convention and authorised to reside as such on the territory of a Member State and to whom Article 12 (Exclusion) of directive 2004/83/EC does not apply	In the EU context, either a third-country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country, or a stateless person, who, being outside of the country of former habitual residence for the same reasons as mentioned above, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it, and to whom Art. 12 (Exclusion) of Directive 2011/95/EU does not apply.

Table 5. Definitions of “refugee” in EMN glossaries

As the following table illustrates, the term “asylum seeker” did not have an entry in the first EMN glossary, and was only indicated as a synonym of the term “asylum applicant”. In the second and the third glossary versions, definitions are broader, with a change in the word “third-country national” being replaced by the word “person” in the last glossary version.

TERM EN	DEF. EMN 2010	DEF. EMN 2012	DEF. EMN 2014
Asylum seeker	Indicated as synonym of “asylum applicant”.	A third-country national or a stateless person who has made an application for asylum in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.	A person who has made an application for protection under the Geneva Convention in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.

Table 6. Definitions of “asylum seeker” in EMN glossaries

Variation of other term definitions regarding those terms reported in the list at the beginning of Section 3.3.1 are available in Appendix 6 and provide a full picture of how definitions of terms were changed in the three versions of the glossaries. Next section will discuss “Migration” terms and their classification according to the results we obtained by comparing the EMN glossaries.

3.2.6 Discussion of data

The first evidence resulting from the comparative analysis of the EMN glossaries is that the term “migrant” is used as an “umbrella term” in the context of the European Union and is identified by the following official definition:

“a person who either establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country; or having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months”. (EMN Glossary, 2014: 187)

As exemplified by the definition above, the term “migrant” in the EU covers all cases where the decision to migrate is taken by the individual concerned, who can have several reasons to move. It therefore applies to all types of people, whether individuals or families, who are “moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family” (ibidem, 187). In the global context, according to the United Nations, a “migrant” “should be understood as covering all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of ‘personal convenience’ and without intervention of an external compelling factor”.

The adverb “freely” distinguishes the UN perspective from the EU perspective and automatically excludes “refugees”, “displaced persons” or “forced migrants” from the broader term “migrant”. Migrants are people who make choices about when to leave and where to go and do not flee their country because of persecutions or constrained conditions. The United Nations does not have a broader term referring to both migrants and refugees, but calls for distinguishing them clearly and refers to both of them in sentences, as indicated on the UNHCR website.⁴³ In the case of the European Union, the definition of “migrant” appears to be much broader. The following figure illustrates a first classification of the

⁴³ The following link provides the clarification made by the UNHCR on the difference between “migrant” and “refugee”. <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

terms referring to “migrant” in the EU Institutions, and how the terms “refugee” and “asylum seeker” relate to it.

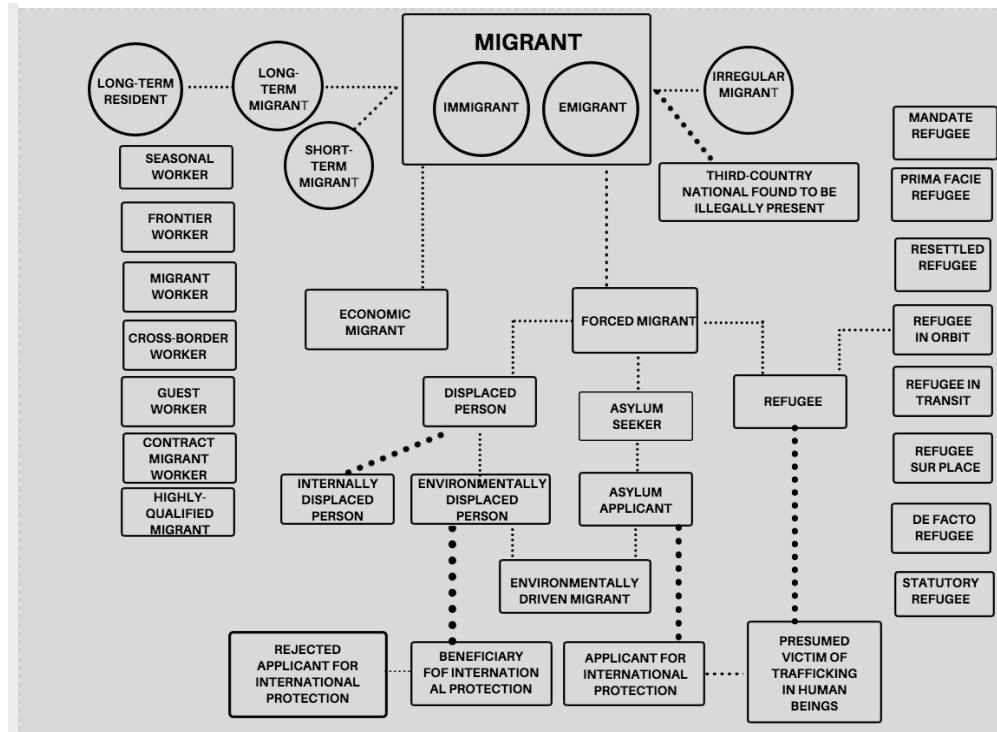


Figure 22. “Migrants”, “Refugees”, “Asylum Seekers” in EU Law

As the above figure illustrates, a “**migrant**” is classified in EU law according to their condition and reasons of entry. A “migrant” can be an “**economic migrant**”, “a person who leaves his country of origin for economic reasons that are not in a way related to the refugee definition” (EMN 2014: 93), a “**highly-qualified migrant**”, “a third-country national who seeks employment in a Member State and has the required adequate and specific competence” (ibidem, 148), and a “**forced migrant**”, “a person subject to a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists” (ibidem, 131).

When a “migrant” is forced to leave his country, he can move to another country to seek protection and apply for asylum. In this case, he is defined as an “**asylum seeker**” or “**asylum applicant**”, a person who can “make an application for protection under the Geneva Convention” (ibidem, 33). A “forced migrant” or an “asylum seeker” who has been evacuated from their country of origin is also defined as a “**displaced person**”, who “had to leave their country or region of

origin, or has been evacuated and is unable to return in safe and durable conditions because of the situation prevailing in that country” (ibidem, 86). A “displaced person” can be further classified as an “**internally displaced person**”, if he had to leave his home “as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, but have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.” (ibidem, 167), or as an “**environmentally displaced person**”, if he fled his home country because of environmental disasters.

When “asylum seekers” manage to have their asylum applications legally recognised in an EU Member State, they can be defined as “**refugees**”, as their fear of persecution is “well-founded”, and they can prove they are “unable to avail themselves of the protection of that country and to return to it” (ibidem, 230). However, “given their heterogeneity and complexity, refugee status determination processes are by nature difficult to reconcile with prescriptions of administrative clarity and convenience”, as stated in an official document published by the European Council of Refugees and Exile⁴⁴. That is why this transitory procedure needed a further terminological classification as follows.

A refugee is further classified in EU law as a “**refugee in orbit**” when, ‘although not returned directly to a country where they may be persecuted, [the refugee] is denied asylum and is shuttled from one country to another in a constant search for asylum’ (ibidem, 231). However, a refugee who is ‘admitted in the territory of a State under the condition that they are resettled elsewhere’ is defined as a “**refugee in transit**”. When this condition is met and responds to “a resettlement request from the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) based on refugees' need for international protection”, a refugee is defined as a “**resettled refugee**”, a definition which was added only in the last version of the EMN glossary.

A “refugee” is also classified as a “**prima facie refugee**” in all glossary versions by the EMN, and refers to “a person recognised as a refugee, by a State or UNHCR, on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their

⁴⁴ The full version of this document is available at the following link: <https://www.ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/AIDA-Brief-DurationProcedures.pdf> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

country of origin, which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition”. However, due to the vagueness of this term, which appears neither in EUR-lex nor in IATE, the EMN 2014 glossary clarifies in a note that “this term refers to a more theoretical concept and is often not applied” (ibidem, 217).

As table 3.6 illustrates, twenty further entries were added by the EMN in the 2014 glossary version. Among these entries, there are several terms which provide new sub-categories to the terms “asylum seeker” and “refugee”; this is true of **“applicant for international protection”**, **“applicant in need of special procedural guarantees”**, **“applicant with special reception needs”** and **“beneficiary of international protection”**. Another term that was added to the glossary was **“de facto refugee”**, which refers to “a person not recognised as a refugee and who is unable or, for reasons recognised as valid, unwilling to return to their country of origin” (ibidem, 77). However, although in a glossary note it is stated that “this term is not defined in legal terms in the Member States”, it appears in the Eur-lex corpus, albeit only six times.

This first terminological overview has illustrated how the term “migrant” is used in a broader sense in the context of EU law and how fragmented its classification has become due to the increasing number of people arriving on European shores, in different conditions and for a wide range of reasons. A “refugee”, as well as an “asylum seeker”, an “economic migrant”, or a “displaced person” is technically and legally a “migrant” in the European Union, although this is in contrast with the definitions and classifications provided by the United Nations.

Now that we have reconstructed the terminological framework regarding Migration in the EU Institutions, based on the official glossaries provided by the European Migration Network, we will delve into the second part of the analysis which focuses on the use of these terms in EU documents, their frequency of occurrence and patterns of use in the EUR-lex EN 2/16 corpus from the 1950s to 2016.

3.2.7 Results in EUR-lex 2/16 EN

The second phase of the analysis investigates the frequency of occurrence and the patterns of use of the terms resulting from the comparative analysis of the EMN glossaries in the EUR-lex 2/16 EN Corpus by using the *Sketch Engine* software.

The following figure shows, for instance, the frequency of occurrence of the term “migrant” (8,559 hits) excluding multi-word units, like “migrant worker”.

Query **migrant** 18,396 > Negative filter (excluding KWIC) N.* 8,559 (10.13 per million) ⓘ

First | Previous Page 425 of 428 Go Next | Last

Staff work... challenges are emerging, especially for young **migrants** . Finland is performing better than the EU

Staff work... rate tends to be significantly higher among **migrants** (14.9 % in 2012) and boys. ([59]) Finland's

Staff work... upper-secondary education that is aimed for **migrants** . Finland still succeeds in combining high

Staff work... rate tends to be significantly higher among **migrants** (14.9 % in 2012) and boys. </p><p> Tertiary education

Staff work... , in particular low-skilled young people and **migrants** from outside the EU, remain at the margins of the

Staff work... the highest performance differences between **migrant** and non-migrant pupils. The PISA 2012 report

Staff work... rate (15-64 years) is 15.9% for non-EU **migrants** , in comparison with 79.4% and 6.0% for Danes.

Staff work... in 2011 while no more than 3 % of residential **migrants** indicated employment-related motives as a

Staff work... due to higher spending on integration of **migrants** , education and elderly care. </p><p> Sweden's level of

Staff work... gap between those born in Sweden and non-EU **migrants** also remains large, especially for women. </p><p> This

Staff work... pace due to higher spending on integration of **migrants** , education and elderly care. </p><p> Trade

Staff work... costs for integrating the large inflow of **migrants** . </p><p> Domestic debt </p><p> Public debt stands at a

Staff work... to address the housing needs of the big number of **migrants** in Sweden. Elevated house prices,

Staff work... challenge, namely the integration of **migrants** into the labour market. The non-EU population

Staff work... seekers within the large number of recent **migrants** . These persons take longer to integrate in the

Staff work... that the challenge linked to the integration of **migrants** into the labour market is particularly

Staff work... plan is 24 months, after which unemployed **migrants** have access to the mainstream employment

Staff work... employment services. However, as the influx of **migrants** is currently increasing and their profile is

Staff work... the next years. Presently, 26% of newly arrived **migrants** were either in work or education 90 days after

Staff work... targeted towards integrating newly arrived **migrants** into the labour market took effect in August

First | Previous Page 425 of 428 Go Next | Last

Figure 23. Example of “migrant” occurrences in EUR-lex EN 2/16

The following table illustrates the results obtained in the second phase of the analysis and is divided into four columns. The first column lists the terms in English in three distinct categories, divided by colour: grey cells indicate those terms that remained unchanged in all versions of the EMN glossaries, red cells indicate new terms added in the last version, and green cells indicate deprecated terms which were excluded from the glossary. The second column shows the official definition provided in the EMN 2014 Glossary, while the third column contains the frequency and when terms were first used in the EUR-lex corpus. The fourth column shows the term identification number(s) indicated in IATE.

TERM EN	ENGLISH DEFINITION (EMN 2014)	EUR-LEX EN 2/2016 Occurrences + time range	IATE Identification number
alien	In the global context, a person who is not a national (native or citizen) of a given State. In the EU context, a person who is not a national of a Member State of the European Union.	4457 hits 1st use: 1980 last use: 2015	ID: 880036 ID: 3556867
applicant for international protection	A third-country national or a stateless person who has made an application for international protection in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.	334 hits 1st use: 2000 last use: 2015	ID: 3556787
applicant in need of special procedural guarantees	An applicant whose ability to benefit from the rights and obligations provided for in Directive 2013/32/EU (Recast Asylum Procedures Directive) is limited due to individual circumstances.	27 hits 1st use: 2011 last use: 2013	NOT PRESENT
applicant with special reception needs	A vulnerable person, in accordance with Art. 21 of Directive 2013/33/EU, who is in need of special guarantees in order to benefit from the rights and obligations provided for in Council Directive 2013/33/EU.	12 hits 1st use: 2011 last use: 2013	NOT PRESENT
asylum applicant	synonym of preferred term "asylum seeker" but NO ENTRY	630 hits 1st use: 1996 last use: 2015	ID: 3556816 ID: 780544
asylum seeker	In the global context, a person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than their own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In the EU context, a person who has made an application for protection under the Geneva Convention in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.	5086 hits 1st use: 1990 last use: 2015	ID: 3556816 ID: 780544
beneficiary of international protection	A person who has been granted refugee status or subsidiary protection status.	829 hits 1st use: 2001 last use: 2015	ID: 3502997
civil war refugee	A person who leaves their country to escape from the effects of armed conflicts (direct effects of fighting, assaults of combat troops, displacements etc.).	NOT PRESENT	NOT PRESENT
contract migrant worker	Person working in a country other than their own under contractual arrangements that set limits on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant.	NOT PRESENT	NOT PRESENT
cross-border worker	A person who works as an employee or self-employed person in one Member State but is recognised as residing in another (neighbouring) Member State.	441 hits 1st use: 1991 last use: 2015	ID: 3556645

de facto refugee	Person not recognised as a refugee (within the meaning of Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention of 1951 and Protocol of 1967) and who is unable or, for reasons recognised as valid, unwilling to return to their country of origin or country of nationality or, if they have no nationality, to the country of their habitual residence.	6 hits 1st use: 1994 last use: 2003	NOT PRESENT
displaced person	In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person who has had to leave their country or region of origin, or has been evacuated, particularly in response to an appeal by international organisations, and is unable to return in safe and durable conditions because of the situation prevailing in that country, who may fall within the scope of Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention of 1951 or other international or national instruments giving international protection, in particular: (i) a person who has fled areas of armed conflict or endemic violence; (ii) a person at serious risk of, or who has been the victim of, systematic or generalised violations of their human rights	2283 hits 1st use: 1957 last use: 2015	ID: 3556709 ID: 131427 ID: 750305
displaced person (environmentally)	A person subject to forced migration as a result of sudden, drastic environmental changes.	2 hits 1st use: 1994 last use: 1997	NOT PRESENT
displaced person (internally)	A person or groups of persons who has been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.	532 hits 1st use: 1998 last use: 2015	ID: 900368
economic migrant	A person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons that are not in any way related to the refugee definition, in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood.	208 hits 1st use: 1994 last use: 2015	ID: 3549138
economic refugee	This is considered to be an Economic Migrant and is not a Refugee in the strict legal definition given in the Geneva Convention.	21 hits 1st use: 1997 last use: 2013	ID: 3549138
emigrant	.In the EU context, a person who, having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months.	209 hits 1st use: 1982 last use: 2015	ID: 2250446
forced migrant	A person subject to a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects).	20 hits 1st use: 2000 last use: 2015	ID: 919078
frontier worker	In the EU context, a worker who is employed in the frontier zone of a Member State but who returns each day or at least once a week to the frontier zone of a neighbouring country in which they reside and of which they are nationals.	2551 hits 1st use: 1951 last use: 2015	ID: 3556645

frontier worker	In the EU context, a worker who is employed in the frontier zone of a Member State but who returns each day or at least once a week to the frontier zone of a neighbouring country in which they reside and of which they are nationals.	2551 hits 1st use: 1951 last use: 2015	ID: 3556645
guest worker	An economic migrant recruited for a restricted time of settlement and employment.	1 hit 2007	NOT PRESENT
immigrant	In the EU context, a person who establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country	662 hits 1st use: 1986 last use: 2015	ID: 3556782 ID: 842016
irregular migrant	Global context: Derived by EMN from IOM Glossary on Migration, 2nd. Ed. 2011 EU context: Derived by EMN from the definition of 'illegal stay' in Art. 3 of Directive 2008/115/EC (Return Directive)	689 hits 1st use: 2000 last use: 2015	ID: 2250367
long-term migrant	A person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes their new country of usual residence.	3 hits 1st use: 2002 last use: 2015	NOT PRESENT
long-term resident	A third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Arts. 4 to 7 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC or as provided for under national legislation.	1908 hits 1st use: 1996 last use: 2015	ID: 3556702 ID: 893799
mandate refugee	A person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the UN provided by the High Commissioner for Refugees, regardless of whether or not they are in a country that is a party to the Geneva Convention of 1951, or whether or not they have been recognised by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments.	NOT PRESENT	ID: 893799
migrant	In the EU context, a person who either: (i) establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country; or (ii) having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months.	8.559 hits 1st use: 1983 last use: 2015	ID: 3556743 ID: 857411
migrant (environmentally-driven)	A person subject to forced migration as a result of sudden, drastic environmental changes.	NOT PRESENT	NOT PRESENT
migrant worker	An economic migrant recruited for a restricted time of settlement and employment.	5983 hits 1st use: 1951 last use: 2015	ID: 798153

non-EU national	Any person not having the nationality of an EU Member State.	383 hits 1st use: 1994 last use: 2015	ID: 880036
overstayer	In the EU context, a person who has legally entered but then stayed in an EU Member State beyond the allowed duration of their permitted stay without the appropriate visa (typically 90 days or six months), or of their visa and / or residence permit.	201 hits 1st use: 2001 last use: 2015	NOT PRESENT
person eligible for subsidiary protection	A third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to their country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to their country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Art. 15 of Directive 2011/95/EC, and to whom Art. 17(1) and (2) of said Directive do not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country.	174 hits 1st use: 2001 last use: 2015	NOT PRESENT
person with a migratory background	A person who has: (a) migrated into their present country of residence; and / or (b) previously had a different nationality from their present country of residence; and / or (c) at least one of their parents previously entered their present country of residence as a migrant.	NOT PRESENT	NOT PRESENT
posted worker	A worker who, for a limited period, carries out his work in the territory of a Member State other than the State in which they normally work.	1570 hits 1st use: 1980 last use: 2015	ID: 3556647 ID: 883052
presumed victim of trafficking in human beings	A person who has met the criteria of EU regulations and international Conventions but has not been formally identified by the relevant authorities (e.g. police) as a trafficking victim or has declined to be formally or legally identified as trafficked-	NOT PRESENT	NOT PRESENT
prima facie refugee	Person recognised as a refugee, by a State or UNHCR, on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their country of origin, which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition.	NOT PRESENT	ID: 914776
refugee	In the EU context, either a third-country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country, or a stateless person, who, being outside of the country of former habitual residence for the same reasons as mentioned above, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it, and to whom Art. 12 (Exclusion) of Directive 2011/95/EU does not apply.	10, 270 hits 1st use: 1979 last use: 2015	ID: 790788 ID: 3556810 ID: 48614 ID: 1085451

refugee in orbit	A refugee who, although not returned directly to a country where they may be persecuted, is denied asylum or unable to find a State willing to examine their request, and are shuttled from one country to another in a constant search for asylum.	8 hits 1st use: 1994 last use: 2012	ID: 767784
refugee in transit	A refugee who is temporarily admitted in the territory of a State under the condition that they are resettled elsewhere.	2 hits 2006	NOT PRESENT
refugee sur place	In the global context, a person who is not a refugee when they leave their country of origin, but who becomes a refugee, that is, acquires a well-founded fear of persecution, at a later date. In the EU context, a person granted refugee status based on international protection needs which arose sur place, i.e. on account of events which took place after they left their country of origin.	4 hits 1st use: 1996 last use: 2015	ID: 146883
rejected applicant for international protection	A person covered by a first instance decision rejecting an application for international protection, including decisions considering applications as inadmissible or as unfounded and decisions under priority and accelerated procedures, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period.	NOT PRESENT	ID: 1129237
resettled refugee	In the global context, a refugee who is identified by the UNHCR and who is transferred from the country in which they have sought protection to a third state which has agreed to admit them as refugees with permanent residence status. In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person who, on a resettlement request from UNHCR based on their need for international protection, are transferred from a third country to a Member State where they are permitted to reside with one of the following statuses: (i) refugee status within the meaning of Art. 2(d) of Directive 2011/95/EU; or (ii) a status which offers the same rights and benefits under national and Union law as refugee status.	43 hits 1st use: 2003 last use: 2015	NOT PRESENT
seasonal worker	A third-country national who retains their principal place of residence in a third country and stays legally and temporarily in the territory of a Member State to carry out an activity dependent on the passing of the seasons, under one or more fixed-term work contracts concluded directly between that third-country national and the employer established in that Member State.	1080 hits 1st use: 1981 last use: 2015	ID: 1550228
second-generation migrant	A person who was born in and is residing in a country that at least one of their parents previously entered as a migrant.	6 hits 1st use: 2001 last use: 2005	ID: 1111490

short-term migrant	A person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (12 months) except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage.	1 hits 1998	ID: 3539453
statelss person	Person who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law.	3616 hits 1st use:1957 last use: 2015	ID: 3556850
statutory refugee	Person considered to be a refugee (according to the criteria of Art. 1A(I) of the Geneva Convention of 1951) under the provision of the international instruments preceding the Geneva Convention of 1951 or a person who has been recognized as a refugee by the former International Refugee Organization during the period of its activities.	3 hits 1st use: 2002 last use: 2002	ID: 888641
stranded migrant	A migrant who for reasons beyond their control has been unintentionally forced to stay in a country.	10 hits 1st use: 2011 last use:2015	NOT PRESENT
third-country national	Any person who is not a citizen of the European Union within the meaning of Art. 20(1) of TFEU and who is not a person enjoying the European Union right to free movement, as defined in Art. 2(5) of the Schengen Borders Code.	5224 hits 1st use: 1993 last use: 2015	ID: 880036 ID: 3556705
third-country national found to be illegally present	A third-country national who is officially found to be on the territory of a Member State and who does not fulfill, or no longer fulfils, the conditions for stay or residence in that Member State.	5 hits 1st use: 2012 last use:2015	NOT PRESENT
vulnerable person	Minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children, victims of trafficking in human beings, persons with serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, such as victims of female genital mutilation.	613 hits 1st use:1997 last use:2015	ID: 928965

Table 7. Terms' data

As the table above illustrates, not all terms are stored in the IATE database and some of them report more than one identification number, meaning that the same term is used in more than one domain of Migration. The next section will discuss the results obtained in the first phase of the analysis by integrating them with the multilevel frequency distribution of terms over the years, to find correlations between the patterns of use and the historical and political events characterizing migration in the European Union.

3.2.8 Discussion of data

The first evidence resulting from the analysis shows how terminology in the domain of migration went through an extreme speed process, with more than twenty new terms inserted in the last *EMN* glossary in 2014 and two “pillar terms”, “**asylum applicant**” and “**economic refugee**”, classified as deprecated and excluded both from the last version of the glossary and IATE.

The analysis focused on terms referring to the “people” involved in the migration process and excluded terms regarding their conditions, facilitations and treaties, essentially for quantity constraints. As soon as new concepts were added on a legal basis, and migration flows went through drastic changes in the European Union, new terms were coined and “struggled” their way to be usable in the migration debate. The increasing complexity of migration phenomena, as showed by the quantity of treaties entered into force (Section 1.2), called for the creation of new terms and further terminology “intervention” to describe them, analyse them and debate them.

The analysis enabled us to detect which terms were first used in the EU institutions and, consequently, how migration was conceived before the crisis unfolded in the 21st century.

The very first terms entering the EU lexicon in the domain of migration were “**frontier worker**” and “**migrant worker**”, in 1951, with 2,551 hits for “frontier worker” and 5,983 hits for “migrant worker”, with a considerable peak of use in 2013, as illustrated in Appendix 7.

As explained by Van Mol & de Valk (2016: 49), “the period going from 1950s until 1974 was characterized by labour migration and a favourable stance towards migration, covering the years beginning of the bilateral guest worker agreements until the oil crisis”. Migration in the European Union was viewed positively because of its economic benefits, and a significant postcolonial migration flow characterized this period.

We report an extract from the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community - Title III - Economic and social provisions - Chapter 8 - Wages and movement of workers - Article 69, the first document where these terms first appeared:

“They shall prohibit any discrimination in remuneration and working conditions between nationals and migrant workers, without prejudice to special measures concerning frontier workers;”

This example shows that the first type of “migrant” which EU texts refer to are those people migrating to the EU for working reasons. The terms “**displaced person**” and **stateless person**” were the only terms used to refer to other types of migrants in the 1950s, those “unable to return in safe and durable conditions because of the situation prevailing in that country” and those “whose nationality has not yet been established”.

Displaced persons are therefore “would-be-refugees”, who are granted temporary protection until they are able to return to their countries. This term is stored in IATE under three different domains: “Law, Migration, Court of Justice”, “Law, European Union, Administrative law, Rights and freedoms European Parliament”, “Migration, International balance, Council”. This classification in different domains shows how the same term may have different equivalents according to the EU institution in which it is used. In the domain of “Migration, Court of Justice”, the Italian equivalent for “displaced person” is “profugo” or “sfollato esterno”, while in the domain “Migration, Council”, it is “sfollato”.

The screenshot shows the IATE search interface with the following details:

- Search Input:** "displaced person" with a "Ricerca" button.
- Language:** Italiano (it)
- Search Results:** "Risultato 1 - 10 Di 17 Per displaced person"
- Domain 1: DIRITTO, Migrazione [CJUE]**
 - EN [displaced person](#) (5 stars, @, E)
 - IT [profugo](#) (5 stars)
 - IT [sfollato esterno](#) (5 stars, @, E)
 - IT [sfollato \(Deprecated\)](#) (5 stars, @, E)
- Domain 2: Diritti e libertà, Unione Europea, Diritto amministrativo, DIRITTO [EP]**
 - EN [displaced person](#) (5 stars, @, E)
 - IT [sfollato](#) (5 stars, @, E)
- Domain 3: Equilibrio internazionale, Migrazione [Council]**
 - EN [displaced person](#) (5 stars, @, E)
 - EN [DP](#) (5 stars, @, E)
 - IT [sfollato](#) (5 stars, @, E)

Figure 24. Different domains of the term “displaced person” in IATE

Taking the first use for each term we found in the corpus, we grouped migration terms in decades, to show when they were first introduced in the EU Institutions.

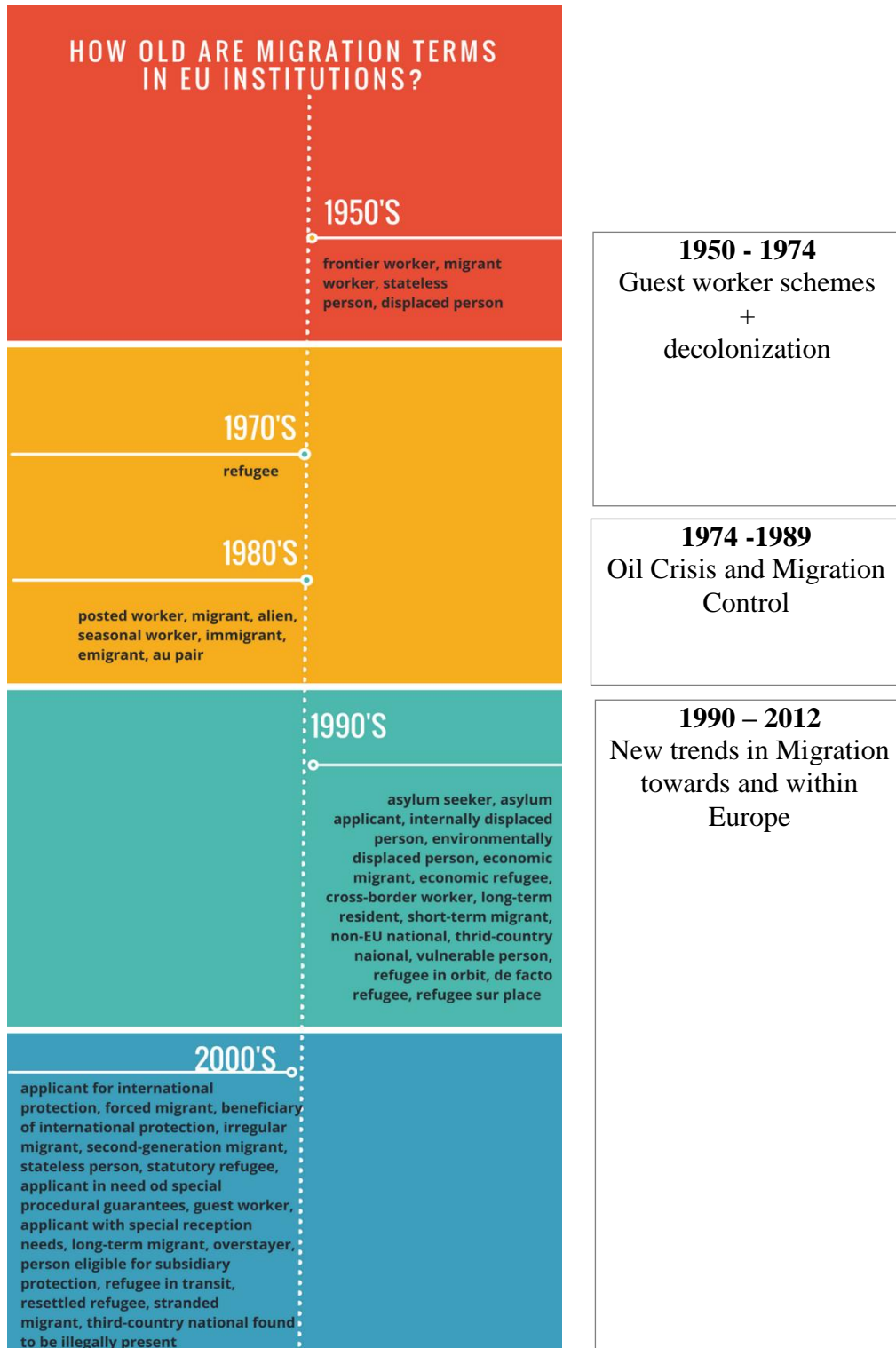


Figure 25. How old are Migration terms in the EU Institutions?

“**Refugee**” is the most frequent term used in the domain of migration, with 10,270 hits and appeared for the first time in 1979. This term refers to “a third-country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country”. Gaining the status of a “refugee” is a complex and long procedure under Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention. As illustrated in the Appendix 7, the frequency of occurrence of “refugee” is low until 1995, two years after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (see Section 1.2), with a peak in 2009, which coincides with the sign of the Lisbon Treaty and the establishment of an institutional framework on migration and asylum. “Refugee” is stored in IATE under three different domains:

- International balance, International law, Migration
- Law, Migration
- Environment

which indicate that the status of “refugee” can be debated in three different domains.

After twenty years, we observed that in the 1980s seven new terms appeared in the corpus; these were “**posted worker**” and “**alien**” in 1980, “**seasonal worker**” in 1981, “**migrant**” in 1983, “**emigrant**” in 1983, “**au pair**” in 1985 and “**immigrant**” in 1986. “Posted worker”, “seasonal worker”, and “au pair” are all terms referred to different migrant workers, while “migrant”, “immigrant”, and “emigrant” carry a more general connotation. The period going from the oil crisis in the early 1970s to the fall of the Iron Curtain in the late 1980s was characterized by a cessation of guest worker migration and stringent entry restrictions for new migrants. Whereas previously labour migration had been the main migration channel, family reunification (and family formation) took over the primary role, with asylum applications also on the rise.

European countries increasingly controlled the entry of foreigners, and migration became an important topic in national political and public debates (Bonifazi 2008). “Immigrant” and “emigrant” are classified in the last version of the *EMN* glossary as narrower terms, or hyponyms of the term “migrant”. A

hyponym is a word or phrase whose semantic field is included within that of another word, which in turn is a hyperonym or hypernym (Brinton, 2000).

“Immigrant” was more frequently used than “emigrant”, with 662 hits compared to 209 of “emigrant”, with a considerable peak between 2001 and 2005 and a decrease in 2013 and 2014, when its hypernym “migrant” saw its highest increase, while “emigrant” reaches its highest frequency of occurrence in 2007. The frequency of occurrence of the term “migrant” drastically increased in the 21st century, when patterns of migration from, towards, and within Europe underwent significant changes and further diversification starting in 1990.

“Alien” is a general term which refers to “a person who is not a national of a Member State of the European Union”, whose synonyms are “foreigner”, “non-citizen” and “non-national”. It is still currently used in EU texts, counting 4,457 hits and its highest frequency of occurrence in 2013. “Alien” is stored in IATE under two domains, “Law, Migration Council” and “Law, Migration, Court of Justice”. However, in the first case, “alien” is stored with minimum reliability, meaning that another term is considered to be more appropriate in this context, which is the case of “third-country national”. Indeed, IATE specifies in a note that “alien” “is historical, but carries unfortunate connotations and is somewhat obsolete: it is not used in either the Immigration Act 1971 or in the Immigration Rules”. In the second domain, which is “Migration, Court of Justice”, “alien” is admitted instead, showing how the use of the same term might differ in the EU Institutions.

With the entry into force of the Schengen Cooperation in 1990 and the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, we observed a “wave” of new terms entering the lexicon of migration. “**Asylum seeker**” first appeared in the corpus in 1990 and defines “a person who has made an application for protection under the Geneva Convention in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken”. If we consider its definition, “asylum seeker” may be identified as a transition between a “displaced person” and a “refugee”; assigning a specific term to those people who are in the process of being accepted as “refugees” may be interpreted as a sign of progress in managing migration phenomena in the EU. “**Asylum applicant**” is a synonym for “asylum seeker” introduced in 1994, although less

frequently used in the corpus (5086 vs. 630 hits), both stored in IATE. Both terms have their highest increase between 2004 and 2013, with a decrease in 2014 and 2015.

In the 1990s several sub-categories of “migrants”, refugees” and “displaced persons” entered EU texts with a range of new terms. A “displaced person” was further distinguished with “**internally displaced person**” in 1998, “a person or groups of persons who has been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border” and an “**environmentally displaced person**” in 1994, “a person subject to forced migration as a result of sudden, drastic environmental changes”. A “migrant” was further distinguished with “**economic migrant**” in 1994, “a person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons that are not in any way related to the refugee definition, in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood”, and an “**economic refugee**” in 1997.

“Economic refugee” may, however, be identified as a misleading term, since a refugee is unlikely to be economic. Indeed, this term counts only 21 hits in the corpus and according to the EMN glossary, is “considered to be an economic migrant and is not a refugee in the strict legal definition given in the Geneva Convention”. IATE defines this term as deprecated and wrongly used as a synonym of “economic migrant”.

Another typology of “migrant worker” appeared in 1991 with “**cross-border worker**”, which defines “a person who works as an employee or self-employed person in one Member State but is recognised as residing in another (neighbouring) Member State”. Furthermore, the durability of migration was improved with the introduction of new terms, such as “**long-term resident**” in 1996, “a third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Arts. 4 to 7 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC or as provided for under national legislation”, “**short-term migrant**”, although not frequently used (only one hit), referring to “a person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (12 months)”. We assume that this term was not frequently used since it may fall into the category of “migrant worker”.

“**Non-EU national**” and “**third-country national**” entered EU lexicon in 1994. The latter appears more frequently in the corpus, with 5,224 hits compared to 383 hits of the former and has a more specific definition: “any person who is not a citizen of the European Union within the meaning of Art. 20(1) of TFEU and who is not a person enjoying the European Union right to free movement, as defined in Art. 2(5) of the Schengen Borders Code”. A “non-EU national is defined as “any person not having the nationality of an EU Member State”. “Non-EU nationals” are not third-country nationals primarily because they have the right to free movement”.

In 1997 the term “**vulnerable person**” started to be used in EU legal texts to specifically refer to “minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children, victims of trafficking in human beings, persons with serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, such as victims of female genital mutilation”. Although the term does not appear frequently (613 hits), it may be interpreted as a sign to “humanize” migrants and provide a terminological alternative to focus on the dangers encountered by those people and not only on the formal procedure they must go through as asylum seekers and would-be refugees. The highest frequency of occurrence is in 2013, ahead of the Lampedusa migrant shipwreck which involved more than 360 deaths, leading the Italian government to establish Operation Mare Nostrum⁴⁵.

The term “refugee”, as well as the term “migrant”, is a hypernym of other terms which designate specific concepts, like “**refugee in orbit**”, which appeared in 1994, and which “**refugee sur place**” appeared in 1996. A “refugee in orbit” is “a refugee who, although not returned directly to a country where they may be persecuted, is denied asylum or unable to find a State willing to examine their request, and are shuttled from one country to another in a constant search for asylum. Indeed, this condition led to the creation of the concept of “shopping” for asylum in different Member States, in order to have better chances to gain the

⁴⁵ We report an article by The Guardian about the Lampedusa shipwreck on 3rd October 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/03/lampedusa-migrants-killed-boat-sinks-italy> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

refugee status. The term “asylum shopping”, which first appeared in 2000, has no legal definition, but is conceived more as a phenomenon in the Dublin Regulation, carrying a negative connotation since it does not conform to the classical asylum procedure.

“Refugee sur place” refers to “a person granted refugee status based on international protection needs which arose sur place, i.e. on account of events which took place after they left their country of origin”. All these sub-categories for the term “refugee” may reflect the progress made by the EU to legally distinguish several types of refugees according to their conditions, rather than including all of them under one single and too generic term, as is the case with “refugee”.

It is striking to notice the high number of new terms which entered EU legislative texts between 2000 and 2012; some of them have not even been stored in IATE yet. Starting with stored terms, we found “**applicant for international protection**” (334 hits) arising in EU texts in 2000 together with “**forced migrant**” (20 hits), “**beneficiary of international protection**” (829 hits) and “**irregular migrant**” (689 hits) which first appeared in 2001. “Forced migrant” represents a further classification of “migrant”, as this term is a hyponym of the term “migrant” and a hypernym of the terms “displaced person” and “refugee”.

An “irregular migrant” is “a third-country national present on the territory of a Schengen State who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the conditions of entry as set out in the Schengen Borders Code, or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that Member State”. “Irregular migrant” was more frequently used between 2011 and 2015, and was coined to replace the debated and controversial term “illegal migrant/immigrant”, criticized within the EU Institutions and by the media. The term “illegal migrant” does not have an entry in EMN glossaries and this is why it is not included in our list of terms. However, we looked at the patterns of use of the terms “illegal immigrant” in the corpus to observe if it was replaced by “irregular migrant” and we found the following:

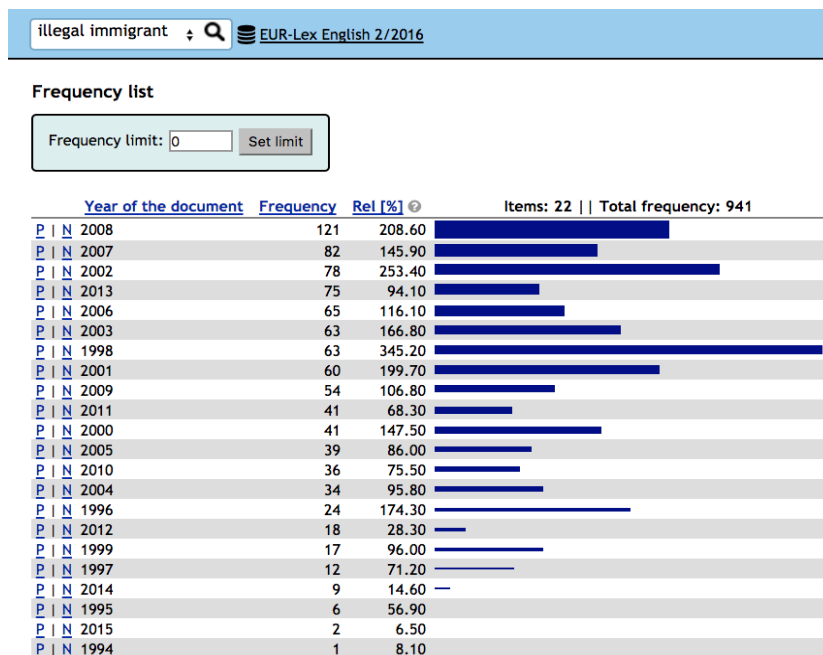


Figure 26. Multilevel distribution of frequencies of the term “illegal immigrant”

As you can see from both figures, there is a visible decrease of frequencies for “illegal immigrant” and “illegal migrant” after 2007 and 2008; “illegal migrant” ceased to be used in 2015, while “illegal immigrant” has just two occurrences. As a note in the EMN glossary states (2014: 172), “the term ‘irregular’ is preferable to ‘illegal’ migrant because the latter carries a criminal connotation, entering a country in an irregular manner, or staying with an irregular status, is not a criminal offence but an infraction of administrative regulations”.

‘However, this term is still being used in EU texts in places other than recommendations about the usage of the adjective ‘irregular’ instead of ‘illegal’. In the “Proposal for a REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL on a Union Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders”, of 20.01.2015, it is stated that: “... so as to detect illegal immigrants in particular, random searches shall be made on the means of transport used by the passengers, and where applicable on the loads and other goods stowed in the means of transport”.

A hypernym of “irregular migrant” is “third-country national found to be illegally present”, which first appeared in the corpus in 2012 and has not been stored in IATE yet. The following table shows the collocations with the adjectives

“illegal”, “legal” and the adverbs “illegally” and “legally” found in the Eur-lex corpus:

Collocation with adj. “illegal”	Collocation with adj. “legal”	Collocation with adv. “illegally”	Collocation with adv. “legally”
employment	entry	employment of illegally resident third-country national	employment of legally resident third-country national
entry	migration	employment of illegally staying third-country national	employment of illegally staying third-country national
		third-country national found to be illegally present	

Table 8. Collocates of “illegal”, “legal”, “illegally”, and “legally” in Eur-Lex EN 2/16 corpus

As reported in the table above, it is considered appropriate to refer to “illegal employment”, “illegal entry”, and “legal migration”, but not to “illegal migrants” or “illegal immigrants”, as it was debated in an article appeared on the British media *The Guardian* on 6th December 2017⁴⁶.

Carrying on with those terms stored in the IATE database, we found “**second-generation migrant**” (2000), referred to “a person who was born in and is residing in a country that at least one of their parents previously entered as a migrant”, rarely used in the corpus with only 5 hits, and “**statutory refugee**”, a term only used in 2002 with 3 hits and referred to “a person considered to be a refugee (according to the criteria of Art. 1A(I) of the Geneva Convention or who has been recognized as a refugee by the former International Refugee Organization during the period of its activities”. As IATE is a large database which needs to be periodically updated by terminologists in the EU Institutions, there are a few new terms which have not been stored in IATE yet, but are in the process of being stored.

Terms which appear in the corpus but have not been stored in IATE yet include “**applicant in need of special procedural guarantees**” (27 hits), “**applicant with special reception needs**” referred to “a vulnerable person who is

⁴⁶ “No human being is illegal” is an article that appeared in *The Guardian* on 6th December 2015 which debated the use of the adjective “illegal” with the word “migrant”. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/06/illegal-immigrant-label-offensive-wrong-activists-say> (Accessed 15th November 2017).

in need of special guarantees in order to benefit from the rights and obligations provided for in Council Directive 2013/33/EU”, with only 12 hits, “**de facto refugee**” (6 hits), “a person not recognised as a refugee (within the meaning of Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention of 1951 and Protocol of 1967) and who is unable or, for reasons recognised as valid, unwilling to return to their country of origin or country of nationality or, if they have no nationality, to the country of their habitual residence”, “**long-term migrant**” (3 hits), “a person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least a year 12 months”, an “**overstayer**”, which counts 201 hits and defines a “person who has legally entered but then stayed in an EU Member State beyond the allowed duration of their permitted stay without the appropriate visa”, “**person eligible for subsidiary protection**” (175 hits) referred to a “a third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to their country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to their country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm, “**refugee in transit**” (2 hits), a “refugee who is temporarily admitted in the territory of a State under the condition that they are resettled elsewhere”, “**resettled refugee**” (43 hits), “a third-country national or stateless person who, on a resettlement request from UNHCR based on their need for international protection, are transferred from a third country to a Member State where they are permitted to reside”, “**stranded migrant**” (10 hits), “a migrant who for reasons beyond their control has been unintentionally forced to stay in a country” and “**third-country national found to be illegally present**” (5 hits), which is a hyponym of “irregular migrant”.

As shown by the data reported above, these terms have started to be used since migratory flows drastically increased in the 21st century, with a visible peak between 2009 and 2015. As Van Mol & de Valk (2016: 49) explain, “it is crucial to realize that categorization of migrants into certain migration motives is rather difficult as very often multiple different reasons overlap”. This increase of new terminology reflects, on the one hand, the arising quantity of new concepts and regulations added in EU law and the need to clarify them, and, on the other hand,

an attempt of the EU Institutions to “humanize” migrants, besides political orientation, by providing further sub-categories of terms in less than twenty years.

The next section will delve into the use of *Migration* terms in a corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016, a text typology which is considered institutional but is produced within an EU Institution to be addressed to EU media and citizens.

3.2.9 Results in EP press releases

The following table, showing results from official glossaries, lists the terms in the domain of Migration that were used in press releases, as well as the frequency of their occurrence in the corpus. As with the case of terms investigated in Eur-lex, red cells refer to new terms inserted in the last version of the *EMN* glossaries, green cells to terms which no longer have an entry, and grey cells to terms which had an entry in all *EMN* official glossaries.

TERM	FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE IN PRESS RELEASES
applicant for international protection	2
asylum applicant	2
asylum seeker	81
beneficiary of international protection	5
displaced person	1
immigrant	5
long-term resident	5
migrant	105
non-EU national	2
refugee	173
third-country national	5
vulnerable person	4

Table 9. Migration terms in EP press releases

As you can observe in the table above, there is a wide range of terms - listed in the glossaries and used in Eur-lex - which did not appear in the corpus and are not used by the European Parliament Press Unit to report about Migration in press releases. The following terms – which were investigated in Eur-lex instead - were therefore excluded from the analysis:

- alien
- applicant in need of special procedural guarantees,
- applicant with special reception needs,
- civil war refugee,
- contract migrant worker,
- cross-border worker,
- de facto refugee,
- environmentally-driven migrant,
- internally displaced person,
- economic migrant,
- economic refugee,
- emigrant,
- forced migrant,
- frontier worker,
- guest worker,
- irregular migrant,
- mandate refugee,
- migrant worker,
- overstayer,
- person eligible for a subsidiary protection,
- person with a migratory background,
- presumed victim of trafficking in human beings,
- prima facie refugee,
- rejected applicant for international protection,
- refugee in orbit,
- refugee in transit,

- refugee sur place,
- researcher
- resettled refugee,
- second-generation migrant,
- self-employed person,
- short-term migrant,
- stateless person,
- statutory refugee,
- stranded migrant,
- third-country national found to be illegally present.

In the next section, we will discuss the terms resulting from the corpus analysis and their patterns of use, to identify shifts in the portrayal of migrants and observe how specialised terminology and general lexicon are handled in press releases.

3.2.10 Discussion of data

The primary aim of our analysis was to look at those migration terms that successfully took root in institutional press releases and those who were more used in legislative texts. While this section will focus more on the terms and how they are used in institutional texts, in Chapter 6 we will discuss the processes behind term choices and the factors influencing term acceptance with the “producers” of the texts.

As the list presented above shows, there are several terms which are frequently used in legislative texts that are not employed in press releases produced by the European Parliament Press Unit. In particular, we noticed this to be the case with “alien”, “forced migrant” and “stateless person”. In the case of “alien”, one of the reasons for its exclusion may be the negative connotations this term carries, both in English and when it has to be translated into other EU languages. Indeed, IATE (the interactive terminology database of the European Union) recalls that “there is no one term which is adequate in all contexts”, and specifies in a note that:

Alien is historical, but carries unfortunate connotations and is somewhat obsolete: it is not used in either the Immigration Act 1971 or in the Immigration Rules. Foreign national excludes stateless persons, and may refer either to non UK nationals or non-EEA nationals.

While “alien” is used during parliamentary debates and is considered highly reliable in IATE when used in the context of migration at the Court of Justice, in institutional press releases “foreigner” (1 hit), “third-country national” (5 hits) and “non-EU national” (2 hits) appear as preferred terms. As specified in IATE,

“foreigner is commonly used, but has no legal definition. In most contexts, foreign national may be the preferable term”.

The terms “third-country national” and “non-EU national” occur in the corpus five times and twice between 2015 and 2016. In the case of the term “forced migrant”, we found no occurrences in the corpus. As “forced migrant” is a hypernym of “refugee” and less specific in its definition, “refugee” is preferred in press releases.

The most recurring terms we found in the corpus were “refugee” (173 hits), “migrant” (105 hits), and “asylum seeker” (81 hits). This result is not surprising, considering that these terms all designate the most relevant concepts regarding the debate around migration. What is more interesting, however, is to observe how their patterns of use changed over the years, how their meaning changed in general lexicon, and if and when one got replaced by another term.

Starting with the broader term “migrant”, we observed that its hyponyms “immigrant” and “emigrant” are not frequently used in press releases. ‘Immigrant’ as associated with the adjective ‘illegal’ appears five times in the corpus, two of those being in 2010 and three in 2011. Of the 2011 appearances, one is in conjunction with “illegal”, one is as a synonym for “emigrant” (inflow of immigrants from Northern Africa) and one is as a synonym for “migrant” (significant numbers of immigrants are arriving in the EU), as illustrated in the figure below.

Query **immigrant** 5 (63.78 per million) ⓘ

file530831... Parlamento europeo Return of illegal **immigrants** : Parliament backs EU accord with Pakistan

file530831... An agreement making it easier to return illegal **immigrants** to Pakistan was given the green light by the

file530833... to ensure basic freedoms. Return of illegal **immigrants** The Council and Commission must obtain

file530833... affected by an extraordinary inflow of **immigrants** from Northern Africa, said MEPs in a debate with

file530833... in north Africa, significant numbers of **immigrants** are arriving in the EU. "The EU Member States

Figure 27. Occurrences of the term “immigrant” in EP Press releases corpus

In the first three concordance lines, you can see that the process of returning migrants to their countries of origin is described by associating the adjective “illegal” with the term “immigrant”. However, after 2011, this concept started to be expressed by replacing the adjective “illegal” with “irregular”, following the criticism manifested both in the media and within the EU Institutions. Indeed, as illustrated in the figure below, since 2013, the preferred term used in press releases to refer to this concept is “irregular migration”.

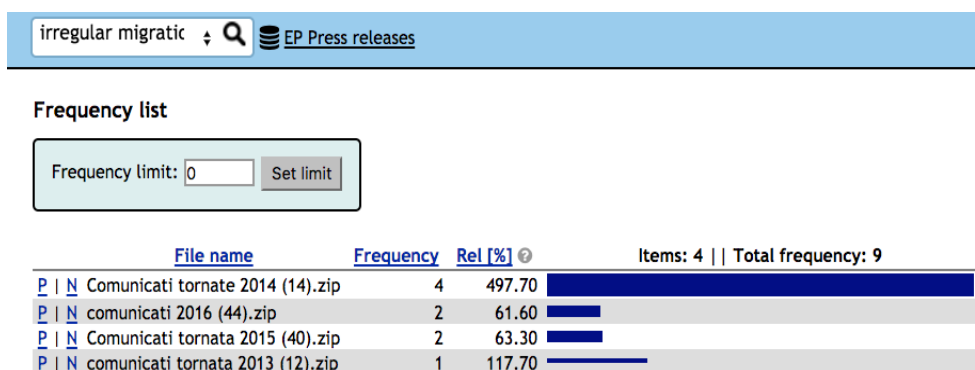


Figure 28. Patterns of use of “irregular migration” in EP Press Releases corpus

In the fourth concordance line, “immigrant” is used instead of “emigrant”. As North Africa is specified as the area of origin of the migrants, “emigrant” would be more appropriate to describe the “from-to” migratory movement, according to the official definition found in the EMN glossaries. “Migrant” is frequently used in 2014 and 2015 and decreases in 2016, as shown in the figure below, as it is replaced by the term “refugee”.

File name	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 7 Total frequency: 105
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	38	103.00	
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	22	234.60	
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	19	50.10	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	15	151.40	
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	6	175.30	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	3	68.70	
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	2	63.70	

Figure 29. Patterns of use of the term “migrant” in the EP Press releases corpus

As illustrated in the figure below, the term “refugee” was increasingly used in 2015 and 2016 in press releases, and took over as a broader term replacing “migrants” when the so-called “migration crisis” unfolded in the European Union.

File name	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 7 Total frequency: 173
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	64	102.50	
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	54	88.80	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	19	116.40	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	19	264.10	
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	7	124.10	
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	6	38.80	
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	4	77.30	

Figure 30: Patterns of use of the term “refugee” in the EP Press Releases Corpus

Indeed, by looking at the first three modifiers of the word “crisis” in press releases, we obtained the following results:

MODIFIERS OF “CRISIS”	OCCURRENCES
refugee	25
migration	9
current	3

Table 10. Modifiers of the word “crisis” in EP Press Releases Corpus

As you can see, “migrant crisis” is never used in press releases, as “migrant” became an increasingly charged word in the political debate. The most frequent modifier of “crisis” in press releases appears to be “refugee”. However, this seems to be in contrast with the general use made by the media in the news published

online. We looked at the different patterns of use of “migrant crisis” and “refugee crisis” on a global scale, between 2015 and 2016, by using the tool *Google Trends*, and we obtained the following graph:

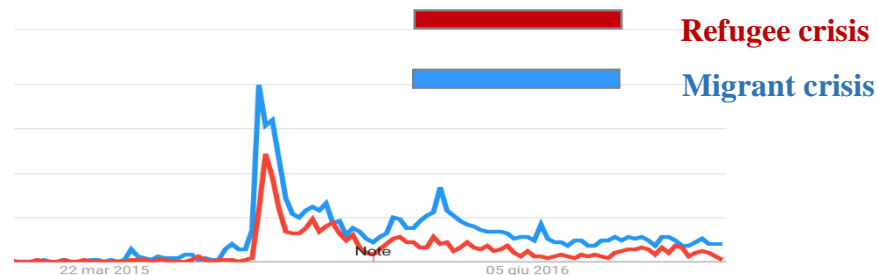


Figure 31. Frequency distribution in web news between 2015 and 2016, as shown by Google Trends

Although the word “crisis” is mainly associated with those people seeking international protection, “refugee crisis” appears to be less frequently used in the media than “migrant crisis”. This shows the prevailing use of “migrant” as a broader term containing all types of migrants, ranging from economic migrants to asylum seekers and refugees. However, this trend of using “migrant” as a broader term in press releases drastically changed in 2015. Indeed, we observed how the use of “migrants and refugees” increased too, in the attempt to emphasize the distinction between these two categories, as illustrated in the figure below:

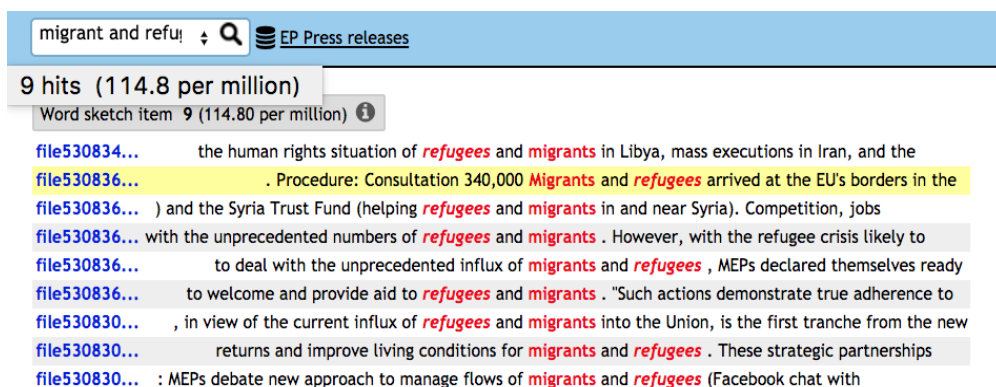


Figure 32. Frequencies of occurrence of the phrase “migrants and refugees” in the EP Press Releases Corpus

With a total of nine occurrences, the first concordance line reported in the figure above refers to a press releases published in 2012, while the rest of the concordances all refer to press releases published between 2015 and 2016.

The term “asylum seekers” also showed interesting findings. An asylum seeker is a person waiting for his asylum request to be accepted and to acquire the status of “refugee”. Although asylum applications in the European Union drastically increased since 2015⁴⁷, the term “asylum seeker” sees a decrease in use in 2016, as illustrated in the table below.

File name	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 6 Total frequency: 81
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	48	168.70	
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	15	51.30	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	12	157.00	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	2	59.40	
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	2	27.70	
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	2	75.80	

Figure 33. Frequency distribution of the term “asylum seeker” in EP Press releases corpus

As with “migrant”, “asylum seeker” gets absorbed by the term “refugee” in 2016, as demonstrated by the following extracts from our corpus:

- “They propose establishing a central system for collecting and allocating asylum applications. The scheme, which could include a quota for each EU member state, would work on the basis of "hotspots" from which refugees would be distributed”. (2016)
- “Citizens showing true adherence to European values Parliament praises the efforts of civil society groups and individuals all over Europe who are mobilising in large numbers to welcome and provide aid to refugees and migrants”. (2015)
- “... provide food and shelter for refugees as winter moves in pro-actively”. (2015)

⁴⁷ A News Releases by EuroStat shows the record number of asylum applications in 2015 in the European Union: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/> (Accessed 20th Novemebr 2017).

In all these cases, the term “asylum seeker” is included in the broader term “refugee”. The following table is a summary of how the broader term “migrant” lost ground towards 2015 and 2016, how it was replaced by “refugee” as a broader term, and how the differentiation between “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers” increased in the last two years analysed.

TERM	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Migrants	3	7	1	11	20	13	8
Migrants and Refugees	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Asylum Seekers	-	2	2	12	2	43	8
Refugees and Migrants	-	-	1	-	-	2	2
Refugees and Asylum Seekers	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
Migrants and Asylum Seekers	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Migrants, Refugees, Asylum Seekers	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Refugees	4	6	16	15	4	24	39

Table 11. Frequencies distribution of different categories of migrants

“Asylum seeker” is also preferred to its synonym “asylum applicant”, which is used only twice in the corpus in 2013. “Beneficiary for international protection” and “applicant for international protection” count few occurrences in the corpus as well: the former occurs five times and the latter twice. We observed that some terms were replaced by words referring to the same concepts, as with:

- people under international protection (1 hit)
- persons needing international protection (1 hit)
- refugees needing international protection (1 hit)

This example shows how “terms” are replaced by “words” and illustrates the interchange between specialized terminology and the general lexicon in institutional press releases. Between 2010 and 2016, we noticed that the use of “people” or “persons” instead of “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seeker” also sees an increase, as illustrated in the figure below:



Figure 34. Occurrences of the term “people” in the EP Press Releases Corpus

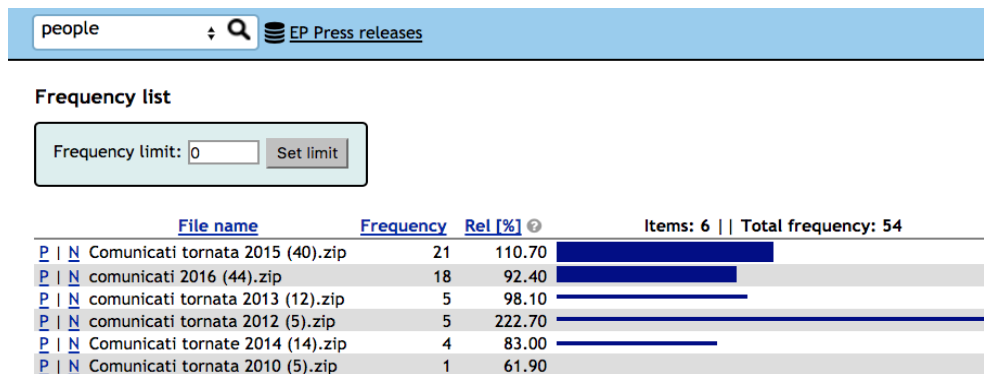


Figure 35. Patterns of use of “people” in EP Press Releases Corpus

The choice of using “people” rather than different categories of “migrants” in the texts shows an attempt to humanize the narration of migratory movements towards Europe, and reflects the call to “ditch” the word “migrant” and opt for the word “people”, or, at least, to stop distinguishing between the different

typologies of migrants. This was called for in an article by the *Washington Post* published in 2015⁴⁸, an article by *Al Jazeera*⁴⁹, who made a clear statement that “migrant” would not be used as an “umbrella term” and would be distinguished from “refugee”, and an article by the *BBC*, who discusses “the battle over words used to describe migrants” and declares that they would use “migrants” as a broader term.⁵⁰

Besides the use of “people”, we also found four occurrences for a term which further specifies the difficult conditions encountered by migrants. This is the term “vulnerable person”, which has four hits in the corpus, with an increase in use in 2014 (see Appendix 7). Furthermore, another expression we encountered was “would-be migrant”, used in press releases to refer to those migrants who did not survive their perilous journey across the Mediterranean sea, as the figure below illustrates:

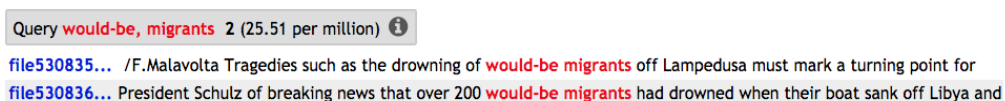


Figure 36. Concordance lines for the term “would-be migrant” in EP Press Releases Corpus

Another term “highly-skilled worker from third countries”, which referred to people migrating for working reasons.

This analysis has shown how specialised terms in the migration domain are used and “transformed” in general language, as institutional press releases are characterized by a participant framework in which press officers provide information to the media in the hope that it will be passed on to the general public

⁴⁸ The article “Is it time to ditch the word migrant” by Adam Taylor is available on the *Washington Post* website at the following link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/08/24/is-it-time-to-ditch-the-word-migrant/?utm_term=.07171c6f24c4 (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

⁴⁹ The article “Why Al Jazeera will not say Mediterranean Migrants” by Barry Malone is available on the Al Jazeera website at the following link: <http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/editors-blog/2015/08/al-jazeera-mediterranean-migrants-150820082226309.html> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

⁵⁰ The article “The battle over the words used to describe migrants” by Camila Ruz is available at the following link: <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34061097> (Accessed on 15th November 2017).

(see Fairclough 2005). This shift in the use of terms is due to the fact that “the press release does not simply explain, define, or reformulate the initiative of the institution but promotes it as a central facet of European identity” (Russo, 2017: 395). We have summarized the shifts between specialised in terms we have encountered.

3.3 Conclusion

The migration crisis, and the wide range of laws relating to it that were passed by the EU between 1985 and 2016, have generated a consistent flow of new legal terms referred to “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers”. As stated by Humbley (2009: 8), terms may be defined as “theoretical constructs” which emerge in response to the needs of unfolding discourse as grammatical metaphors, and are absorbed by the discourse communities. This statement thoroughly expresses what has been taking place within the terminology of migration. If we consider the EU a “discourse community”, we need to consider that language for special purposes, as with the case of terminology related to immigration and asylum policies, is used by EU actors at different levels, whose degree of expertise and communicative purposes may vary accordingly.

Although within a political institution, one would expect terminological homogeneity and consistency, we should also take into account that Institutions strive to promote dialogue not only in the EU Institution itself, but above all with the citizens and the media. Cabrè (1999: 11) points out that terminology can function on two dimensions: a communicative dimension, where terminology is a tool, and a linguistic dimension, where terminology is the target of one's work. As we have demonstrated, terminology plays a crucial role in defining the “actors” of the migration phenomenon both on a legal and communication level. The call and the commitment of the European Commission to fund and build up official glossaries to provide consistent information about “migration” responds to the numerous exhortations found in official texts to use appropriate terminology at every stage of the communicative process.

By investigating the origins and patterns of use of terms over the years, we have provided a terminological framework that reflects how migrants have been

portrayed in EU legislative texts and press releases. This will help us to shed light on the thought processes involved behind term choice, and the constraints placed on these processes within the institutional community where terms are developed. The next chapter will look into terminological equivalence in Italian, and will investigate how migration terms are translated in two types of institutional texts: legislative texts and the European Parliament press releases.

Chapter 4

Translating *Migration* in the EU Institutions

Portrayals of “migrants” in legal texts and press releases

As we observed in Chapter 3, ahead of the progress made by European Union Institutions in relation to Immigration and Asylum legislation, numerous concepts and terms rapidly entered EU texts from the 1950s onwards. The classification of “migrants” in EU legislation has become more and more granular over the years and translation tools – such as official EU glossaries and IATE – have been playing a crucial role in creating consistency in the communication process, both internally within the EU Institutions and externally from the EU towards EU citizens and the media. For instance, we demonstrated how storing new terms of *Migration* in the IATE database is still an ongoing process and we shed light on how fast terminology is evolving in the specialised domain of *Migration*.

The evolution of Migration terms is, however, interdependent on their consistency in the other official languages of the European Union; if we consider that languages articulate or organise the world differently and “do not simply name existing categories and articulate their own” (Culler, 1976: 21), it may happen that one concept in one language would not correspond to the same concept in another language and that, accordingly, the same term may be used to refer to different concepts.

An example that is worth mentioning is the case of “immigrant” in English and “immigrato” in Italian. While according to IATE, “immigrato” corresponds to an official equivalent for “immigrant” in Italian, these terms slightly differ in the connotations they carry in their respective languages. “Immigrant” refers to “a person undertaking an immigration” and to a “person who settles as a permanent resident in a different country”. Its Italian equivalent “immigrato” only carries the second meaning; the suffix “-ato” indicates a past participle in Italian and refers to something that has already taken place. Using “immigrato” to refer to somebody who is undertaking an immigration would therefore sound improper.

Where there is no exact correspondence between words in two different languages we refer to the phenomenon of “anisomorphism”, in Zgusta's words (1971: 294), “the differences in the organisation of designate in the individual languages and by other differences between languages”. In this light, diverging connotations in different languages, false friends, calques (see Section 3.1.2) and cases of anisomorphism are all examples of possible constraints translators and communicators may encounter while translating an institutional text.

As Schäffner (2004: 120) explains, “it is through translation that information is made available to addresses beyond national borders”. In the case of the European Union, translation also follows a “European-to-national” approach, as it is used within EU Institutions and by EU Institutions to communicate with Member States and EU citizens. Communicating with Member States in 24 languages through translation is at the core of the existence of the EU, as symbolized by the recurring EU motto “unity in diversity”.

As stated by Bowker and Hawkins (2006: 80), “translators strive to produce translations that are well written texts, and one of the qualities of such a text in a specialised field tends to be terminological consistency”. Choosing the most consistent term equivalent in another language is therefore a crucial stage in the translation process, especially when terms also carry legal responsibility and shape institutions' identity, as in the case of EU Institutions.

The present chapter draws on the terminological framework obtained in Chapter 3 and aims to achieve the following objectives:

- to observe which term equivalents referring to “migrants” were chosen in Italian legal texts and press releases;
- to compare the occurrences and patterns of use of specialised terms in both
- institutional texts;
- to outline the relationship between specialised lexicon and general language in press releases.

Our main focus is to show which equivalents of *Migration* terms are used in two types of institutional texts in Italian – legal texts contained in EUR-lex and press

releases published by the European Parliament – and observe which portrayals of migrants emerge from the translators’ and trans-editors’ choices.

To conduct our analysis, we used two different methodological approaches: institutional texts contained in EUR-lex were investigated with the corpus-based translation tool *Sketch Engine* using aligned parallel corpora made available in the software. In the case of press releases, we analyzed our compiled corpus manually, due to the technical and time constraints caused by aligning translated texts from scratch. Before delving into our corpus-based analysis of institutional texts, we will provide a theoretical framework regarding Institutional Translation and the concept of “Institution”.

4.1. Institutional Translation and the concept of “Institution”

Over time, Translation Studies has become a significant discipline in a wide range of fields, from literary studies to post-colonial studies (Bassnett & Lefevere 1998, Tymoczko 2016), from socio-linguistics (Nida 1964, Ramos Pinto 2014) to discourse theory (House 1977, 1997, 2009, Schäffner, 2004), from business studies (Choi 2001) to international relations and globalisation studies (Meylaerts 2001, Pym 2006, Tesseur 2014). On her behalf, Bassnett (2014: 25) has recently made the following statement:

“I believe we inside translation studies need to look outwards, to promote some of the excellent research in translation studies more effectively to our colleagues, to engage more in interdisciplinary, collaborative projects”.

EU Translation is a research niche within Translation Studies, whose emergence as a distinctive field of research has had considerable impact across a number of disciplines since 1970 (Bassnett, 2013). EU translation has been widely addressed in the field of Translation Studies by scholars like Tosi (2003), Koskinen (2008), Nordland (2010), Pym (2013), Schäffner (2014), Biel (2016), and Brownlie (2016), who have used different methodologies like Ethnography, Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate institutional translation and have demonstrated the interdisciplinary potential this field possesses. Institutional Translation has been researched by other scholars using different

angles, like Šarcevic (1997, 2001, 2016) with a focus on legal translation and the multilingual policy in the EU, Biel (2014) with regards to corpora in institutional legal translation, Strandvik (2005) investigating translation quality assessment at the Directorate General for Translation at the European Commission, Jinjing & Saying (2014) who examined translated political speeches from Chinese into English.

In institutional contexts translation work is carried out under specific conditions, which reflect changes in the working environments of translators, whose “products” have consequences for the political development of the European Union (Schäffner, 2001: 249). This means that “texts and people” (Koskinen, 2008) are closely intertwined and may influence one another on several levels.

Before delving into institutional translation, we find it more appropriate to reflect on how the concept of “institution” has been addressed in Translation Studies, as well as in other related and non-related academic disciplines. Koskinen (2008: 15) points out that “the term institution is a slippery concept”, as fruitful as it is versatile. She starts by explaining how the term “institution” is conceived in social sciences or in everyday conversations and how it may refer to physical institutions, to prisons or mental hospitals, to social institutions such as family or also as an expression of admiration for something or someone.

While in Translation Studies institutions are a relatively new research subject, other disciplines such as political science, economics and sociology have dealt with this topic of research from the nineteenth century onwards, as Scott explains (1995: 1), and this led to frequent misunderstandings. Considering the numerous approaches coming from a diversified range of disciplines, the concept of the institution has been dealt with from different angles. In sociology, a discipline that emerged in the 19th century, institutions have been conceived as a symbolic system of knowledge, belief and moral authority that guide our behaviour in human interaction (Koskinen, 2008: 16). Wright Mills (1959: 30) describes an institution

“as a set of roles graded in authority that have been embodied in consistent patterns of actions that have been legitimated and sanctioned by society or

segments of that society; whose purpose is to carry out certain activities or prescribed needs of that society or segments of that society”.

Institutions assign people certain roles, giving the institution consistency and stability, which is the outcome of normative constraints on actions. Institutions are enclosed in the society that “endows them with legitimacy and authority. In Scott's definition (1995: 33), “institutions consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour”. Scott proposes a three-pillar system for institutions: the *regulative* pillar, according to which “all institutions constrain and regulate behaviour” (Koskinen, 2008: 18); the *normative* pillar, which enhances normative systems and the values behind them; the *cognitive-cultural* pillar, which remarks “the central role played by the socially mediated construction of a common framework of meaning” (Scott, 2001: 58). All pillars act interdependently and reinforce and empower the institution's social framework (Scott, 2005: 464). As analysed by Tesseur (2014: 26), “defining an institution as a symbolic system of knowledge, belief and moral authority is at first sight confusing”. Following this statement, we may assume that translation itself could be a social institution, where “all translations and all discourse about them constitute a system, or institution, of translation” (Koskinen 2008: 19).

In Venuti's view (1998) translation is always “performed” in an institutional framework; Mossop (1990: 342) also reflects on the institutionality of translation and calls for “an 'institutional' understanding of the translation process”, which is applicable for several institutions such as governments, newspapers and companies. Koskinen provides a clear definition of what “institutional translation” stands for in her view:

“We are dealing with institutional translation when an official body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of 'speaking' to a particular audience” (Koskinen, 2008: 22).

In Koskinen's view, it is the institution itself that gets translated, although by drawing on Mossop (1990: 352), she points out that “not all translating

institutions produce institutional translations” (Koskinen, 2008: 22). Koskinen has worked as a professional translator in several institutional settings, but “none of these institutional settings have placed constraints on translation anywhere near as stringent as those at the European Commission” (ibid, 23), where she worked for fifteen years.

Institutions produce and translate their own source and target documents, where the voice to be heard is that of the institution. Previous research has shown that the syntax, style and vocabulary of documents are controlled and revised by the institution, by providing guidelines and computer-assisted translation tools (Leblanc 2013; Tcaciuc 2013; Trosborg 1997). CAT-tools like “MT@European Commission” (Machine Translation at the European Commission) contribute to improving consistency and increasing speed, but they also restrict the freedom and creativity of translators.

The peculiar multilingual setting of EU Institutions would generate the conviction that rules and regulations of the institution neutralize translators' freedom and choices. In institutional translation, it is the goals of the institution that determine the translation approach (Mossop 1988: 65). Therefore, the translator does not act as an individual, but translates as an “agent” who represents the institution (Mossop 1990: 351) and the role of the translator should conform to institutional aims. Therefore, institutional translation is considered as typically anonymous, collective and standardised (Koskinen 2011: 57), but several testimonies like Wagner et al., (2001), Koskinen (2008) and Sarcevic (2017) have argued with this point. To explain this aspect, Koskinen quotes Chersterman's view that “language is individual, but translation is a personal act” (1997: 194) and claims that “in all these institutional settings [her] words have therefore always been [hers]” (Koskinen, 2008: 23).

The following section delves into the typology of texts that are produced and translated in the European Union, and is intended as a background framework prior to the corpus-based analysis of how migration terms have been translated in institutional texts, contained in the parallel EUR-lexcorpora EN and IT 2/16 and in a specialised corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament. Although institutional translation is often characterised by specific constraints and

rules, we have investigated if migration terminology has been used with consistency and according to the guidelines provided by EU Institutions, and “to what extent translation strategies influence the public perception of the EU” (Pym, 2000: 16), in the context of migration.

4.2. Types of Institutional Texts in EU Institutions

In Section 4.1, we have mentioned numerous scholars who have dealt with institutional translation as a research niche in Translation Studies, from different angles and disciplines. When it comes to investigating institutional translation by using a textual approach, “linguistic case studies often concentrate on end products, the final documents, and contain little or no information on how the texts came to be as they are” (Koskinen, 2008: 118). Schäffner (2014), Koskinen (2008), as well as Le (2010), have remarked, for instance, on how an ethnographic approach to translation would contribute to identifying correlations between the translation products and the processes. Apart from taking an ethnographic approach to translation, scant attention has been paid so far to the provision of more background context surrounding translation “products”, nor to the “processes” implemented while drafting and translating a text.

The word *institutional text* itself, for instance, is a vague term, that goes hand in hand with the word “political”. In the context of the European Union, *institutional text* is an umbrella term covering a variety of text types, or genres, produced within institutions by different EU professionals, which may take various forms. As Schäffner (1997: 119) points out, “political texts are a part and/or the result of politics, they are historically and culturally determined”. Political texts therefore fulfil different functions due to different political activities and may be addressed to a wider public; “each individual text has its own contextual, text-typological, pragmatic conventions and calls for different translation strategies” (ibid, 120).

In Chapter 3, we have provided some background to clarify the different functions played by the main EU Institutions: the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union; “institutional text” is therefore a much broader term, if we consider that a text may be produced in

different institutions and also be used interinstitutionally. Koskinen (2001: 295) has proposed a model that divides EU translation into two groups (see also Koskinen 2000); *intracultural* translation, which refers to communication within a specific national culture of EU institutions, which is further divided into *intra-* and *interinstitutional* translation, that is, translation intended for internal use within the same institution where the translation is produced and translations are addressed to other EU institutions; *intercultural* translation refers to communication between EU culture and the national cultures of individual EU Member States. Intercultural translation can be divided into two further groups of texts: *interadministrative* translations between the institution and the national authorities as well as different non-governmental organisations and other interest groups and translations used to communicate the general public.

Translation traits of EU texts have been labelled as “unfamiliar hybrid texts” (Koskinen, 2001: 295), which result from a translation process and often seem to be out of place, strange or unusual to the receiving culture (see Trosborg 1997). In a publication prepared by the Directorate General for Translation of the European Commission, we found a detailed list of institutional texts that get translated by EU professionals, both *intracultural* and *intercultural*:

- speeches and speaking notes
- briefings and press releases
- international agreements
- policy statements
- answers to written and oral parliamentary questions
- technical studies
- financial reports
- minutes
- internal administrative matters
- staff information
- scripts and captions for films and other promotional material
- correspondence between ministries, firms, interest groups and individuals
- all kinds of web pages and publications for opinion-formers and the general

public.

In the present Chapter we will deal with *intercultural* translations: *interadministrative* translations of institutional texts contained in the Eur-Lex Corpus 2/16 EN and IT (see section 3.3), from which European Parliament proceedings are excluded, and *public* translations of a specialised compiled corpus of press releases in English and Italian, produced and published by the European Parliament. All documents contained in the EUR-lex corpus are considered official, as they are published in the Official Journal of the European Union. As remarked by Wagner *et al.*, (2014: 50), they are “not presented as a translation, but as an original, an authentic piece of Community legislation, with a legal force identical to that of all the other language versions”.

4.2.1 Intercultural translations: an overview of legal texts

As explained by Wagner, Bech and Marínez (2014: 13), “people often use the expression 'the EU' inaccurately, to mean 'the EU institutions'. This reflects the common misconception that the EU is a single organisation generally assumed to be large, amorphous and located in Brussels”, producing a wide range of “texts”. The EU is comprised of different institutions and bodies, which have different functions, relations and sometimes an interdependent workflow. Besides having different roles, it is also commonly assumed that there is a single EU translation service for all the institutions. However, it is frequently ignored that there are nine translation services attached to the various institutions and body of the EU.

A further misconception is that all translation services working for EU institutions should conform to the same terminology framework. This is true to a certain extent; as already shown in Chapter 3, with reference to the terminology of migration, one term may have different definitions and equivalents according to its domains and its separate uses in various EU Institutions. This, of course, affects the work of EU translators too, who may have to consider which institutions are directly involved in a text and choose the right terminology accordingly.

By distinguishing the different typologies of legal texts and their different purposes, we may contribute to outlining the reasons behind terms' choices and translation shifts by EU translators. This section is therefore intended as a background to the typology of legal texts translated by EU translators and contained in the EUR-lex corpus; these translations have been classified as *intercultural* translations, in line with Koskinen's model presented in the previous section.

Treaties

Treaties are considered to be the basic political texts that define the EU Institutions' character, aims and ambitions (Wagner *et al.*, 2014: 47). They are drawn up at Conferences of the Member States with input from the Commission, national governments and civil society. Treaties must be ratified by the national parliaments and published in all official languages; they also include other sub-categories, such as “Accession Treaties” which are the documents signed by the Member States that join the European Union, and “Acts of Accessions”, which refer to the new language becoming “official” in the European Union.

The translation service in charge of “treaties” is the one of the Council of the European Union. As explained by Wagner *et al.*, (2014: 47) “it is on the basis of these texts that words such as “directive” or “regulation” enter the legal vocabulary of the Member States with a special meaning that they never had in the dictionaries”.

Treaties' texts play a fundamental role since it is here that institutions, types of legal instruments, the principles of the Union and its decision-making procedures acquire their names.

Legislative texts and legislation-related texts

One of the features of EU texts is that they have their own terminology; “laws” are not simply “laws” but can be distinguished into “directives” or “regulations”. Wagner *et al.* (2014: 48) define these terminological attitudes as a “the most flagrant instances of Eurospeak hindering communication”, which seems to make institutional texts less comprehensible to the “EU audience”. The European Commission is the only EU body that can propose legislation and has therefore

the so-called “right of initiative”; however, the European Commission usually tables draft laws according to the suggestions and instructions provided by other EU institutions such as the European Parliament, the Council of the EU, the European Council and the Member States. “Draft legislation” refers to the stages encountered before a “regulation” or a “directive” becomes official and is therefore called “proposal”; therefore “much of the legislative work of the EU institutions is a permanent process of updating the legislation in force” (Wagner *et al.*, 2014: 50).

Although Member States have agreed to pool their sovereignty in certain areas that require legislation, there is a body of law that takes precedence over national law in each Member State. The Court of Justice is the body of EU institutions that monitors legislation to ensure that is correctly applied at national level.

Preparatory Documents

Prior to the drafting of laws by the European Commission, a substantial body of work is prepared. Structured in a series of comments known as “Green Papers”, these texts involve consultations with national ministries and economic and social circles. It may also happen that the European Commission does not wish to produce legislation on a certain matter and therefore produces a “communication” to the European Parliament or the Council of the European Union informing them of these decisions.

Legislation issued by a single institution

EU institutions can also produce their own “autonomous documents” according to their needs and their communication purpose; all these documents may be categorized as “resolutions”, “opinions”, “regulations”, “directives”, and “decisions”. As explained by Wagner *et al.*, (2014: 53), the European Commission does not only act as an “initiator” of legislation but also as an “executor” of common policies, programmes and “competitions”, monitoring the behaviour of Member States and taking action where such behaviour is deemed to be incorrect. These types of documents are considered as “high priority” and require specialised translation work.

Reports and Questions

It is the duty of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union to monitor how the European Commission manages the policies, the programmes and the budget under its control. The so-called “parliamentary scrutiny” is expressed through a document called “parliamentary question” which is addressed to the Members of the Commission. These documents can be issued in oral form and written form. In the former case, the interpreters manage the terminology whereas in the latter case documents are prepared in advance by the Secretariat of the European Parliament and translated into the language of the Commissioner. When the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union adopt a piece of legislation, they frequently include in it an obligation for the Commission to submit regular “reports” on the implementation of the provisions in question.

The Court of Justice legal documentation

Through its judgements and rulings, the European Court of Justice protects the rights of EU citizens, confirms the primacy of EU law over national law and ensures that EU law is uniformly interpreted and applied by courts in the Member States. The internal working language of the Court of Justice is French; all documents are translated in the official languages of the European Union and are categorised according to their typology: judgements, orders, opinions, reports and requests for preliminary rulings.

4.2.2 Press releases as *institutional* and *political* texts

Press releases are a genre text that many institutions produce to inform the media and citizens about actions and decisions taken within the institution. As well as having an informative function, press releases are used as a means of persuasion to create a positive corporate image, and attract and convince target readers of the importance and value of the actions taken within the institution (see Lassen 2006, Lindholm 2008).

As stated by Schäffner, Taciuc and Tesseur (2014: 1), “any translation that occurs in an institutional setting can be called institutional translation, and

consequently the institution which manages translation is a translating institution”. Press releases produced in an EU institution are *political* texts, as well as news articles published by news agencies and news media, which share the common aim of communicating and “translating the European House” (BaumGarten & Gagnon, 2016). However, as stated by Schäffner (1997: 120), “a political text itself is a vague term. It is an umbrella term covering a variety of text types” – therefore – “it can take various forms”. Schäffner (1997, 1998, 2004, 2008, 2012) has widely researched political discourse and institutional translation, and investigated different types of “political texts” (see also Chilton & Schäffner 2002, Schäffner & Bassnett 2010), like political statements translated within newspaper articles (2004: 122), political interviews reported in the media (2008), political speeches (2012), press conferences (Brems, Maylaert, Van Doorslaer 2014) and press releases (2014).

A press release, also called news release, gives a voice to an institution or an organisation and aims at “preformulating” the news (Jacobs 1999); the process of “being retold” characterising press releases (Jacobs, 1999: 36) is a long discursive chain where certain extracts of the texts are expected to be quoted or reported in another text. By investigating the “addressitivity” (see Bathkin 1986) of press releases, Jacobs stresses the “peculiarity interactive nature” (1999: 24) of this type of text. Genre analysts who have studied press releases (Frandsen *et al.*, 1997; Jacobs, 1999) have categorised this typology of text as a unique genre if its textual form is considered, but other scholars like Lassen (2006) and Catenaccio (2008) have argued that press releases do not qualify for the genre label if analysed in terms of content and rhetorical objective.

Schäffner, Taciuc and Tesseur (2014) explored translation settings and practices of three types of political institutions: the German Foreign Office, the translation department of the European Central Bank, and Amnesty International. Their investigation on institutional translation regarded translation of speeches, press releases, subject-specific documents, treaties, diplomatic messages, negotiation protocols, and visit programmes. The authors observed how “translation is not a personal act but a collective process” (Koskinen, 2008: 24) and how studies on translation processes “render new insights about different

forms of translation practice and provide more systematic explanations” (Kang 2008: 144).

Concerning the investigation of the translation strategies used in press releases, Tesseur’s (2014) doctoral thesis on the role of translation at Amnesty International shed light on the translation management, practices and policies implemented at one of the most prominent NGOs operating in the field of human rights. Delving into the world of institutional translation, Tesseur used ethnographic and corpus methodologies to enrich her analysis of Amnesty International press releases, inspiring a fruitful combination.

Considering that institutional press releases often contain extracts of legislative texts or statements made by politicians, technical terminology is often merged with general language to make the text more comprehensible to a wider readership and then translated into several languages. Therefore, it was very important for the purpose of our research study to draw more attention on the relationship between terminology and translation, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.2.3 Terminology and Translation

Terminology and translation have been recently recognized as independent and related academic disciplines and are both interdisciplinary in their nature, having a cognitive, language and communication basis. As we pointed out in Section 3.1.2, it is relevant to distinguish between terms and words, as well as between terminology and translation. While the former collects specialised terms and produces terminological resources available to translators, the latter is concerned with expressing in a target language a semantic structure produced in a source language. As pointed out by Cabré (2010: 357), “specialised translation inevitably needs terminology to produce an adequate text”. Therefore, a translation problem is terminological only when it affects terms as lexical units in a specialised domain and may revolve around term understanding or to the search for the most appropriate equivalent.

When translating, translators may encounter a wide range of problems posed either by the text to be translated or the different contexts of production and

reception of the original and the translated text. As pointed out by Cabrè (2010: 359), “translators need to recognize when a problem is related to terminology in order to solve it with a terminological method”. As Cabrè points out (ibid: 359), when terminology work is carried out by translators, and the focus is on terminology in translation, we refer to *ad hoc terminology*. However, in the case of terminology databases like IATE or specialised glossaries like the EMN Glossaries, we refer instead to terminology tools for translators. There are three main types of resources that translators may use to support their term choice: monolingual specialised texts on the subject, in digital format, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, terminology and knowledge databases, parallel or multilingual comparable corpora.

What are the terminological problems that translators may face in their work? Cabrè (ibid: 359) provides an overview of four typical terminological constraints a translator may face in his translation activity:

- ignoring totally or partially the meaning, the grammatical use or pragmatic value of a term in the source language;
- not being aware of the existence of an equivalent term in the target language;
- in case of descriptive terminology, finding difficulties in choosing the most appropriate equivalent among the alternatives available;
- having doubts about the phraseology used in a particular domain.

When confronted with different alternative equivalents, translators strive to solve equivalence problems, finding an equivalent or selecting the most appropriate equivalent. It implies considering all the possibilities and means of resolution for each type of problem and acting accordingly. In the context of the EU Institutions, legal terms used in legal documents also carry a legal meaning or, depending on the document, a term may possess a stronger political connotation. An example is the use of “irregular migrant” or “illegal migrant” in institutional texts; as we explained in Chapter 3, “illegal migrant” has been classified as a deprecated term both in IATE and in official glossaries since 2011, and “irregular migrant” has taken over as the most appropriate term to express an irregular stay in the European Union.

However, Members of the European Parliament may use a term to emphasise their political view or communication purpose, and especially in a political context like that within the EU Institutions, “any passage of speech or writing is enabled to function as a text” (Halliday and Hasan, 1990: 13). MEPs’ statements are very often incorporated into different types of institutional texts, whether a legal text like a report by a parliamentary committee or a political text like a press release published by the European Parliament Press Service.

Therefore, we believe that in the EU Institutions there is a third dimension intermediating between specialised terminology and general language, which is a political dimension of terms. If a politician refers to people illegally staying in a European Member State as “illegal migrants”, a translator or press officer working in an EU Institution would be obliged to provide the “voice of the House”, without considering the guidelines regarding terminology. So “illegal migrant” would remain “migrante illegale” in case a quote is added in a text. Despite the guidelines and recommendations often made in EU documents as well, incorrect usage of terms may start to quickly circulate on an institutional level and be inevitably implanted into institutional texts as well.

In the next section we will present the results of our corpus analysis of Italian equivalents in EUR-lex and press releases, to show which term equivalents were mostly used in Italian and how the process of finding equivalents affected the representation of “migrants” in institutional texts, whether it is the result of a political strategy or simply a lack of terminological consistency.

4.3 Equivalence and non-equivalence of terms in parallel corpora

In Section 4.2 we presented an overview of the types of institutional texts contained in the EUR-lex corpus. Whenever a text becomes official, it gets published in the Official Journal of the European Union and undergoes a process of translation to make it available in all the official languages of the European Union. Terminological consistency in the context of the European Union is highly intertwined with the concept of “divine” equivalence addressed by Pym (2000). Whenever we analyse translations, there is a source text as input and a target text as output. As claimed by Pym (2000: 6), in the case of the European

Union,

“the equal value of all translations is a “legal fiction” necessary for multilingual EU legislation to work. This is simply because all language versions are equally binding on EU citizens, so they are all functionally equivalent to each other. This is also because, strictly speaking, in the field of legislation there are no translations as such, since there are no real originals.”

As explained by Hervei *et al.*, (2000: 18), “the many different definitions of equivalence in translation fall broadly into one of two categories: they are either descriptive or prescriptive”. Descriptive equivalence denotes the relationship between the source text and the target text features; prescriptive equivalence denotes the relationship between a source language expression and its standard corresponding term.

In our analysis, we compared institutional texts in English with their corresponding translations in Italian. In the case of EUR-lex, which is a large database of EU documents, we cannot know, for instance, if the English version of a text was the source text in the translation process; translators might have used the French version as a source text to translate it into Italian, as French is the second most used working language in EU Institutions. Therefore, as Pym (*ibidem*) recalls, “the direction in which any one translation act moves becomes multiplied so many times as to be an unsound guide to value”. Conversely, in the case of our compiled corpus of press releases, we can confirm that the English version of every press release was used as the source text; preparing press releases first in English and translating them into all official languages of the European Union, with the exception of Gaelic, is how the workflow of the European Parliament Press Unit works. Texts are prepared in English and then translated by press officers into their mother-tongue.

To conduct our analysis, we used two sets of parallel corpora: the EUR-lex 2/16 corpora in English and Italian, containing EU documents from 1950 until 2016, aligned in the software *Sketch Engine*; our compiled corpus of press releases in English and Italian published by the European Parliament Press Unit from 2010 until 2016, that were analysed manually.

Results

The term equivalents we investigated in our corpora of Italian texts refer to the terms obtained in Chapter 3 and are listed in the table below. Those terms that were not used in both texts were excluded from our analysis. Colors follow the same criteria we used in previous term tables: red refers to new terms inserted in the last official EU glossary, green refers to terms which no longer have an entry in the last glossary version, grey cells are for those terms that appear in all versions of the *EMN* glossaries.

TERM EN	OCCURRENCES IN EUR-LEX (629,722,593 words)	OCCURRENCES IN PRESS RELEASES (60,654 words)
Applicant for international protection	334 hits	2 hits
Asylum applicant	630 hits	2 hits
Asylum seeker	5086 hits	81 hits
Beneficiary of international protection	829 hits	5 hits
Displaced person	2283 hits	1 hits
Immigrant	662 hits	5 hits
Long-term resident	1908 hits	5 hits
Migrant	8559 hits	105 hits
Non-EU national	383 hits	2 hits
Refugee	10270 hits	173 hits
Third-Country National	5224 hits	5 hits
Vulnerable Person	613 hits	4 hits

Table 12. List of migration terms investigated in parallel corpora

For every term listed above, we analysed its equivalent(s), frequency and patterns of use per decade in the case of EUR-lex, and per year in the case of press releases. For each term, we also provided one example per equivalent extracted from both corpora, to show how equivalents were used by translators.

4.3.1 Results: Italian term equivalents in EUR-lex

As explained by Cabrè (1998: 112), specialised languages are vectors of specialised knowledge and differ from common language with regards to their usage and the information they convey. Cabrè believes that there are two types of specialised vocabulary: the first one consists of terms with a wider usage in common language, while the second is composed by strictly specialised terms used within a specific field. Our results revealed what Lerat (1995: 20) defined as follows: “specialised language is a natural language considered as a vector of the specialised knowledge”. In some cases, specialised terms were adapted to general language; EU translators acted as agents able to “exert power in an intentional way” (Buzelin 2011: 7). Despite the guidelines and tools provided by the EU Institutions, our results show that translatorial agents had the ability to make choices and seek translation options beyond “the strict EU rules on translating from the original source language” (Čavoški, 2017: 67), where some term choices reflected translation trends, misuses and translation discrepancies.

The first term we analysed in the parallel corpora EUR-lex EN – IT is “**applicant for international protection**”, whose equivalent term in Italian indicated both in IATE and in the last EMN glossary is “**richiedente protezione internazionale**”. As the following table illustrates, we found 194 occurrences for this term within a sample of maximum 250 occurrences in the corpus.

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	USES PER DECADE
APPLICANT FOR INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION	194	
(EMN EQUIVALENT) RICHIEDENTE PROTEZIONE INTERNAZIONALE		
coloro che sollecitano una qualche forma di protezione internazionale	1	DECADE 2000 (1)
richiedente protezione internazionale	113	DECADE 2000 (32) DECADE 2010 (81)
richiedente asilo	80	DECADE 2000 (64) DECADE 2010 (16)

Table 13. Italian equivalents for the term “applicant for international protection”

In the majority of cases (113 hits on 194 occurrences), EU translators chose the

official Italian equivalent “**richiedente protezione internazionale**”, with higher frequencies between 2010 and 2016. However, “**richiedente asilo**” was more frequently used as an equivalent in the decade 2000-2009, although its official equivalent term in English is “asylum seeker” or “asylum applicant”. Its use, however, decreases between 2010 and 2016. “Richiedente protezione internazionale” and “richiedente asilo” have a hypernym-hyponym relationship; every “asylum seeker” is indeed an “applicant for international protection”. Both in the EU context and in the global context, international protection does not regard only asylum but also other forms of “subsidiary protection” in the European Union, defined in the EMN glossary as follows:

“the protection given to a third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to their country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person to their country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Art. 15 of 2011/95/EU, and to whom Art. 17(1) and (2) of Directive 2011/95/EU do not apply, and is unable or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country” (*EMN Glossary*, 2014: 178).

We found only one hit where “applicant for international protection” was paraphrased as “coloro che sollecitano una qualche forma di protezione internazionale” (those who request some form of international protection), in the decade from 2000 to 2009.

The definition reported above shows that specialised terminology distinguishes between international protection regarding asylum and subsidiary protection. In the following table, we reported one example per each term equivalent contained in the corpus.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
All applicants for international protection (and not just asylum-seekers under the Geneva Convention) would follow an identical procedure and receive the same treatment in reception terms.	Infatti, tutti coloro che sollecitano una qualche forma di protezione internazionale (e non soltanto i richiedenti asilo ai sensi della convenzione di Ginevra) sarebbero soggetti ad una procedura identica e dovrebbero pertanto ricevere lo stesso tipo di trattamento sotto l'aspetto dell'accoglienza
The exception to this rule is when an applicant for international protection lodges an application on grounds that specifically exclude the Geneva Convention.	L'eccezione alla suddetta regola si presenta nel caso in cui un richiedente protezione internazionale presenti una domanda basata su motivi che esplicitamente escludono l'applicazione della Convenzione di Ginevra
The referring court harbours doubts as to whether an applicant for international protection may, under Directive 2008/115, be lawfully kept in detention.	Esso ritiene in particolare che dall'interpretazione sistematica e teleologica delle disposizioni di cui trattasi risulti che, in caso di proposizione di una domanda d'asilo, il trattenimento possa prolungarsi solo a condizione che sia adottata una nuova decisione fondata non già sulla direttiva 2008/115, bensì su una disposizione che consenta specificamente di disporre il trattenimento di un richiedente asilo .

Table 14. Examples for each Italian equivalent

The use of “richiedente asilo” (asylum seeker) in the third example, although it would not seem correct at first glance, is properly used, as the context of the document refers to the specific case of asylum as a form of international protection.

The term “**asylum applicant**”, a synonym for “asylum seeker”, has only one equivalent in Italian, as IATE and the EMN Glossary reports: “**richiedente asilo**”. As our results show in the table, EU translators' choice remained faithful to the official tools provided by the European Union, from 1990 until 2016, with higher frequencies between 2000 and 2009.

TERM	OCCURENCES	USES PER DECADE
ASYLUM APPLICANT (EMN EQUIVALENT) RICHIEDENTE ASILO	250 hits	
richiedente asilo	250	DECADE 1990 (90) DECADE 2000 (113) DECADE 2010 (97)

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
Information showing that the asylum applicant has used the services of a courier or a travel agency,	dati attestanti che il richiedente asilo ha fatto ricorso ai servizi di un passatore o di un'agenzia di viaggi;

Table 15. *Equivalents and examples for the term “asylum applicant”*

“Richiedente asilo” as an equivalent of “asylum applicant” is an example of successful implantation in institutional texts. However, for its synonym “**asylum seeker**” we found that more than one equivalent was used in Italian. Its official equivalent in IATE and in the EMN Glossary is “**richiedente asilo**”, but as reported in the table below, EU translators also used “**rifugiato**” (refugee), “**coloro che chiedono asilo**” (those who request asylum), “**coloro che cercano asilo**” (those who seek asylum) and “**persona in cerca di asilo**” (person seeking asylum) in institutional texts.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER DECADE
ASYLUM SEEKER (EMN EQUIVALENT) RICHIEDENTE ASILO	250 hits	
richiedente asilo	183	DECADE 1990 (46) DECADE 2000 (62) DECADE 2010 (75)
rifugiato	11	DECADE 1990 (11)
coloro che chiedono asilo	32	DECADE 1990 (8) DECADE 2000 (5) DECADE 2010 (19)
coloro che cercano asilo	15	DECADE 2000 (15)
persona in cerca di asilo	9	DECADE 1990 (7) DECADE 2000 (2)

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
This obligation shall not bind a Contracting Party to authorising all asylum seekers to enter or remain within its territory.	Tale obbligo non implica che una Parte contraente debba autorizzare in tutti i casi il richiedente asilo ad entrare o a soggiornare nel proprio territorio.
The setting up of reception centres for asylum seekers and displaced people in Greece may, under certain conditions, be eligible for Community cofinancing	La creazione di centri di accoglienza per rifugiati e profughi in Grecia può, a determinate condizioni, essere idonea per il cofinanziamento comunitario.
Furthermore, the budget line, amounting to a total of ECU 720 000, was intended to finance pilot projects that administer assistance in the hosting of asylum seekers and refugees	la linea di bilancio B3-4113 era destinata a finanziare degli studi relativi alle possibilità di accoglienza e di rimpatrio di persone fuggite da territori in guerra. Inoltre, la linea di bilancio, che ammonta ad un totale di 720 000 Ecu, era intesa a finanziare dei progetti pilota sulle misure di accoglienza dei rifugiati e di coloro che chiedono asilo
therefore calls on the EU Council of Ministers to reject the proposal to fine transporters carrying persons with false documents or without documents, as requested by the European Parliament at the last session, since the practice of imposing fines prevents asylum seekers from reaching the Union and results in unfair discrimination against transport companies;	pertanto chiede al Consiglio dei ministri dell'UE di respingere la proposta di multare i vettori che trasportano persone con documenti falsi o senza documenti, come richiesto dal Parlamento europeo nell'ultima sessione, dato che la pratica di imporre delle multe impedisce a coloro che cercano asilo di raggiungere l'UE ed implica una discriminazione sleale nei confronti delle compagnie di trasporto;
having regard to Council Directive 2003/9/EC of 27 January 2003 laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers	vista la direttiva 2003/9/CE del Consiglio del 27 gennaio 2003 che stabilisce criteri minimi per il ricevimento delle persone che cercano asilo

Table 16. *Equivalent and examples for the term “asylum seeker”*

With reference to the last three examples, EU translators chose to paraphrase the term “asylum seeker”, emphasising the action of requesting (*chiedere*), and seeking (*cercano, in cerca*) asylum, making the text more narrative. In our sample of 250 occurrences, the number of frequencies of these terms is much lower than “richiedente asilo” and shows different trends through the decades. The second example reported in the table above shows that “asylum seeker” was translated as “rifugiato”. The choice of “rifugiato” as an equivalent of “asylum seeker” is however, a mistranslation, as these terms refer to different legal statuses; we found 11 occurrences for this term in the decade 1990-1999. Indeed, “rifugiato” is the Italian equivalent of “refugee”, which is legally different from an “asylum seeker”, which refers to a person that has requested asylum and whose application is in the process of being accepted, whereas a refugee has already gained legal status.

The third term we analysed in the corpus was “**beneficiary of international protection**”. Its Italian equivalent indicated in IATE and in the EMN Glossaries is “**beneficiario di protezione internazionale**”. In a sample of 250 hits in the corpus, the official equivalent was used 212 times, with a higher frequency between 2010 and 2016, as the term was implanted around the 2000s, as shown in Chapter 3. Another equivalent used by EU translators was “**persona bisognosa di protezione internazionale**”, where the bureaucratic term “beneficiary” (*beneficiario*) was replaced with the general word “persona bisognosa” (person in need of), with 38 hits and a higher frequency between 2010 and 2016. Ahead of the increasing number of people drowning in the Mediterranean sea to reach European shores, EU translators attempted to humanise the discourse around the victims by replacing specialised terms with words used in common language like, for instance, “people”.

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	USES PER DECADE
BENEFICIARY OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION (EMN EQUIVALENT) BENEFICIARIO DI PROTEZIONE INTERNAZIONALE	250 hits	
beneficiario di protezione internazionale	212	DECADE 2000 (19) DECADE 2010 (193)
persona bisognosa di protezione internazionale	38	DECADE 2000 (13) DECADE 2010 (25)

Table 17. Equivalents for the term “beneficiary of international protection”

The second example reported in the table below shows how the translator emphasised the “improvement and speeding up” of the procedures for asylum by humanising the “object” under discussion.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
This Article sets out the two separate but complementary types of beneficiary of international protection , namely "refugee" and "beneficiary of subsidiary protection".	Questo articolo definisce le due categorie, distinte ma complementari, di beneficiari di protezione internazionale , ovvero il "rifugiato" e il "beneficiario della protezione sussidiaria".
The communication referred to the EESC recommends improving and speeding up the procedures for granting status as a refugee or as a beneficiary of international protection	La comunicazione all'esame del Comitato raccomanda di migliorare e di accelerare le procedure di riconoscimento della qualifica di rifugiato e di persona bisognosa di protezione internazionale .

Table 18. Examples for the equivalent “beneficiary for international protection”

By analysing the term “**displaced person**” we obtained interesting results. This term has more than one equivalent in Italian according to the official EU sources we consulted. In the last version of the EMN glossary, the corresponding equivalent indicated is “**sfollato**”. However, as the figure below illustrates, IATE shows different Italian equivalents in IATE according to its domain.

The screenshot shows the IATE search interface with the following details:

- Search Term:** displaced person
- Language:** italiano (it)
- Search Results:** Risultato 1- 10 Di 17 Per displaced person
- Domain 1: Migrazione, DIRITTO [CJUE]**
 - EN **displaced person** (5 stars, +@, icon)
 - profugo (5 stars, icon)
 - IT **sfollato esterno** (5 stars, +@, icon)
 - sfollato (Deprecated) (5 stars, icon)
- Domain 2: Diritti e libertà, Unione Europea, Diritto amministrativo, DIRITTO [EP]**
 - EN **displaced person** (5 stars, +@, icon)
 - IT **sfollato** (5 stars, +@, icon)
- Domain 3: Equilibrio internazionale, Migrazione [Council]**
 - EN **displaced person** (5 stars, +@, icon)
 - DP (5 stars, +@, icon)
 - IT **sfollato** (5 stars, +@, icon)

Figure 37. Equivalents for “displaced person” stored in IATE

In the domain “Migration, Court of Justice”, the equivalent “sfollato” is indicated as “deprecated”, while “**sfollato esterno**” and “**profugo**” are indicated as highly reliable terms. In the domain “Migration, Council”, “sfollato” is entered as a reliable term and is the only equivalent indicated.

Our analysis shows that “sfollato” was the most used term equivalent by EU

translators, with 124 occurrences in a sample of 250 frequencies, with a higher increase between 2010 and 2016. In order of frequency, “persona sfollata” is the second most used equivalent and is a more literal equivalent in Italian, since “persona” is the equivalent of “person”. This “humanising” term equivalent is more commonly used between 2000 and 2009, when *Migration* was not a top priority issue in the European Union and official glossaries containing standardised terminology had not yet been made available. .

As the table below illustrates, “profugo” is also used as an equivalent of “displaced person”, with higher frequencies between 2010 and 2016, but as we will later show in the analysis, “profugo” is also used as a “misleading” equivalent for “refugee”.

TERM	OCCURENCIES	USES PER DECADE
DISPLACED PERSON (EMN EQUIVALENT) SFOLLATO	250 hits	
sfollato	124	DECADE 1990 (10) DECADE 2000 (31) DECADE 2010 (83)
persona trasferita	14	DECADE 1990 (12) DECADE 2000 (2)
persona sfollata	77	DECADE 1990 (28) DECADE 2000 (41) DECADE 2010 (8)
profugo	25	DECADE 1990 (5) DECADE 2000 (3) DECADE 2010 (17)
popolazione sfollata	10	DECADE 1990 (2) DECADE 2000 (6) DECADE 2010 (2)

Table 19. *Equivalents of the term “displaced person”*

The difference between a refugee and a displaced person in the specialised domain of *Migration* is that the latter refers to a person who has not yet gained the status of refugee, so the equivalent “profugo” must be used carefully and not as a synonym for refugee. Other equivalents that were used in EUR-lex with lower frequencies were “persona trasferita” (transferred person) between 1990 and 1999 and “popolazione sfollata” (displaced population) in the case of the plural form “displaced persons”. Examples for each term equivalent are reported in the table

below.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
a common system of temporary protection for displaced persons in the event of a massive inflow;	un sistema comune volto alla protezione temporanea degli sfollati in caso di afflusso massiccio;
establishment and/or strengthening, as appropriate, of early warning systems, including local and national facilities and joint systems at the subregional and regional levels, and mechanisms for assisting environmentally displaced persons .	la creazione di sistemi d'allarme precoce, comprese le installazioni locali e nazionali e i sistemi comuni ai livelli subregionale e regionale, nonché i meccanismi per aiutare le persone trasferite per ragioni ecologiche, e/o il loro rafforzamento, secondo quanto conviene;
Continue its participation in the efforts to alleviate the suffering of refugees and displaced persons and expedite their social and economic reintegration.	Continuare a partecipare agli sforzi volti ad alleviare le sofferenze dei rifugiati e delle persone sfollate all'interno del paese, nonché ad accelerare la loro reintegrazione sociale ed economica.
Calls on the central Russian Government to take seriously the problem of displaced persons from Chechnya.	invita il governo centrale russo ad affrontare seriamente il problema dei profughi dalla Cecenia
The term " displaced persons " refers to persons who, like refugees, flee their place of origin, but, unlike refugees, remain inside their country. A "returnee" is any person returning to his or her country of origin	I termini sfollati, persone sfollate, popolazione sfollata si riferiscono generalmente a persone o a gruppi, che come i rifugiati, sono fuggiti dai loro luoghi d'origine, ma che, a differenza di questi ultimi, sono rimasti nel loro paese.

Table 20. Examples for the equivalent "displaced person"

The term "**immigrant**" has only one official equivalent both in IATE and in the EMN glossary, which is "**immigrato**". Although "**immigrato**" is the most frequent equivalent used by EU translators, with 127 hits and over 250 total occurrences, "**immigrante**" also shows high frequencies in the decade 2000-2009 and between 2010-2016. While "**immigrato**" is the past participle of the verb "**immigrare**" (to immigrate), "**immigrante**" is the present participle, and they can be both used as substantives. Although they are often used as synonyms in general language, their suffixes make their meaning vary slightly. -Ato indicates an action that has concluded, while -ante refers to an ongoing action. Therefore, if we consider both connotations of "**immigrant**", as we explained in the introductory part of the present chapter, and we want to express the meaning of "**undertaking an immigration**", the use of "**immigrato**" would not be appropriate, while "**immigrante**", on the contrary, would. In IATE, the term "**immigrante**" is stored as a unit of the term "**popolazione immigrante**", which stands for "**incoming population**". "**Immigrante**" was very frequently used between 2000 and 2009 and its use decreased from 2010 until 2016. As the table below shows, there are other equivalents that were used for "**immigrant**".

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER DECADE
IMMIGRANT	250 hits	
EMN DEFINITION IMMIGRATO		
immigrato	127	DECADE 1980 (3) DECADE 1990 (18) DECADE 2000 (74) DECADE 2010 (32)
emigrante	11	DECADE 1980 (1) DECADE 1990 (2) DECADE 2000 (7) DECADE 2010 (1)
immigrante	85	DECADE 1980 (2) DECADE 1990 (18) DECADE 2000 (40) DECADE 2010 (25)
migrante	27	DECADE 1990 (3) DECADE 2000 (15) DECADE 2010 (9)

Table 21. Equivalentents for the term “Immigrant”

“**Emigrante**” is the least frequent equivalent we found in the analysis, with 11 frequencies out of 250 total occurrences and corresponds to the term “emigrant” in English. “Emigrante” and “Immigrato” are both hyponyms of “migrante” (migrant) but are not synonyms among themselves. “Emigrante” places emphasis on the country of origin from where the person is emigrating. EU translators also used the hypernym “migrante” as an equivalent for “immigrato”. The analysis shows that hypernyms and hyponyms of the term “immigrant” are frequently used in institutional texts. Examples for each equivalent have been extracted from the corpus and are reported below.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
They explicitly state that combating discrimination and integrating immigrants is essential.	Negli orientamenti è affermato esplicitamente che la lotta contro le discriminazioni e l'integrazione degli immigrati rivestono un'importanza fondamentale.
Recalls that well-managed legal migration can also bring benefits to third countries through the funds which immigrants remit to their countries of origin,	ricorda che una migrazione legale caratterizzata da una buona gestione può produrre benefici anche per i paesi terzi in termini di fondi trasferiti dagli emigranti nel loro paese di origine;
Settlement of debts in their countries of origin by immigrants	Regolamento di debiti nel paese d'origine da parte di immigranti
Whereas the European Parliament, adopted, from the standpoint of 1993, a resolution on cultural diversity and the problems of school education for children of immigrants in the European Community (14)	considerando che il Parlamento europeo ha adottato, nella prospettiva del 1993, una risoluzione sulla molteplicità culturale e sui problemi della formazione scolastica dei figli di migranti nella Comunità europea

Table 22. Examples for the equivalent “immigrant”

The term “**long-term resident**” shows interesting results. IATE and the EMN glossary indicate different term equivalents for this term in Italian; the former indicates the equivalent “**soggiornante di lungo periodo**”, while the latter “**residente di lungo termine**”. Surprisingly, there were no occurrences for the term equivalent indicated in the EMN glossary, while for the equivalent indicated in IATE we found 37 occurrences, with a higher frequency between 2010 and 2016. The most used equivalent was a synonym of “residente di lungo termine”, which is “**residente di lungo periodo**”, where “periodo” stands for “period” in English and “termine” stands for “time limit”. As the table below shows, in the decade 1990-1999, EU translators used other equivalents like “**persona che soggiorna in maniera prolungata**”, “**persona stabilitasi a titolo duraturo**” and “**cittadino insediatosi in via permanente**”. In all these cases, EU translators replaced the term “resident” with more humanising terms like “person” (persona) or “citizen” (cittadino) and paraphrased the term by replacing “long-term” with other synonyms like “maniera prolungata”, or “titolo duraturo” or “in via permanente”.

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	USES PER DECADE
LONG-TERM RESIDENT	250 hits	
EMN DEFINITION (RESIDENTE DI LUNGO TERMINE)		
persona che soggiorna in maniera prolungata	5	DECADE 1990 (4) DECADE 2000 (1)
persona stabilitasi a titolo duraturo	11	DECADE 1990 (4) DECADE 2000 (2) DECADE 2010 (5)
cittadino insediatosi in via permanente	1	DECADE 1990 (1)
residente di lungo periodo	111	DECADE 1990 (1) DECADE 2000 (69) DECADE 2010 (41)
residente a lungo termine	56	DECADE 2000 (55) DECADE 2010 (1)
cittadino che soggiorna da lunga data	9	DECADE 2000 (9)
soggiornante di lungo periodo	37	DECADE 2000 (7) DECADE 2010 (10)
cittadino residente da lungo tempo	10	DECADE 2000 (10)
cittadino stabilitosi a titolo duraturo	10	DECADE 1990 (10)

Table 23. Equivalents of the term “long-term residents”

“**Residente a lungo termine**” was the second most used equivalent in the corpus, with higher frequencies between 2000 and 2009, with 56 occurrences. The difference between this equivalent and the one indicated in the EMN glossaries is the preposition used, “a” instead of “di”. All other equivalents used, like “**cittadino che soggiorna da lunga data**”, “**cittadino residente da lungo tempo**”, “**cittadino stabilitosi a titolo duraturo**” show that the translator wanted to emphasise the inclusion of the “resident” by referring to him using the term “citizen” (cittadino). An example for every term equivalent is reported in the table below.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
A long-term resident and the members of his family legally resident with him should enjoy no less favourable treatment than is enjoyed, in accordance with the legislation of the Member State concerned	La persona che soggiorna in maniera prolungata e i membri della sua famiglia che vivono con lei legalmente non dovrebbero avere, secondo la legislazione dello Stato membro in questione
..third-country nationals recognized as long-term residents in accordance with Articles 32 and 33 may leave the Member State where they have been recognized as long-term residents for a period not exceeding 26 consecutive weeks.	il cittadino di un paese terzo riconosciuto come persona stabilitasi a titolo duraturo a norma degli articoli 32 e 33 può assentarsi dallo Stato membro in cui tale status gli è stato riconosciuto per un periodo non superiore a ventisei settimane consecutive.
Refugees are not included under this heading because, as long-term residents , they are eligible under normal Equal Development Partnerships	I rifugiati non sono inclusi in questo capitolo perché sono residenti di lungo periodo e pertanto ammissibili nelle normali partnership di sviluppo Equal
third-country nationals who are long-term residents shall be entitled to a residence authorization for the maximum period allowed in the Member State where they reside, and in any event for not less than 10 years.	il cittadino del paese terzo, insediatosi in via permanente , ha diritto a un titolo di soggiorno corrispondente alla durata massima in vigore nello Stato membro in cui risiede e comunque non inferiore ai dieci anni
..in particular long-term residents , in view of strengthening their integration into the host country.	e in particolare dei residenti a lungo termine , al fine di rafforzare la loro integrazione nel paese ospitante.
In line with the Tampere mandate, further proposals concerning the status of third country nationals who are long-term residents will be made.	Conformemente al mandato di Tampere saranno formulate nuove proposte relative allo status dei cittadini dei paesi terzi che soggiornano da lunga data .
Council Directive 2003/109/EC of 25 November 2003 concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents .	Direttiva 2003/109/CE del Consiglio, del 25 novembre 2003, relativa allo status dei cittadini di paesi terzi che siano soggiornanti di lungo periodo .
by facilitating the mobility of long-term resident third country nationals and the admission of third country nationals for employment and self-employment.	agevolando la mobilità dei cittadini di paesi terzi residenti da lungo tempo e l'ammissione di cittadini di paesi terzi per motivi di lavoro subordinato ed autonomo.
CONSIDERING that these common rules on admission, with the exception of the rules concerning family reunification together with those applying to persons recognized as long-term residents .	CONSIDERANDO che queste norme comuni in materia di ammissione - eccettuate quelle relative al ricongiungimento familiare e alle persone stabilitesi a titolo duraturo .

Table 24. *Examples for the equivalent “long-term resident”*

The term “**migrant**”, like the term “immigrant”, has more than one equivalent used by EU translators over time. The official equivalent for “migrant”, both in IATE and in the EMN glossary is “**migrante**”. However, as we explained in Chapter 3, a lot of obscurity and fuzziness revolved around this term. In an Opinion on “the Communication from the Commission on racism, xenophobia and anti-semitism” published in the Official Journal in 2005, the Economic and Social Committee stated the following:

“The Member States of the European Union have different social, political, economic and legal perspectives in terms of their definitions of such terms as minorities, immigrants and migrants. Although the terms used vary, they are often mistakenly used on an interchangeable basis, whilst the terminology does point to important distinctions, both for immediate responses and their

implications for the future.”

This call by the Economic and Social Committee as a body of the European Union, together with other examples we reported in the thesis, shows evidence of the urgent need manifested within EU institutions to use the correct terminology in the debate revolving around “migrants”. By analysing the equivalents of English terms in Italian, we therefore intended to observe what was the role of translation in this regard. The following table lists all the equivalents used by translators to translate “migrant”.

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	USES PER DECADE
MIGRANT	250 hits	
EMN DEFINITION MIGRANTE		
immigrato	103	DECADE 1990 (17) DECADE 2000 (62) DECADE 2010 (24)
migrante	90	DECADE 1980 (11) DECADE 1990 (10) DECADE 2000 (26) DECADE 2010 (43)
emigrante	29	DECADE 1980 (2) DECADE 1990 (7) DECADE 2000 (9) DECADE 2010 (11)
persona trasferita	5	DECADE 1990 (1) DECADE 2000 (4)
immigrante	18	DECADE 1990 (2) DECADE 2000 (10) DECADE 2010 (6)
cittadino straniero	2	DECADE 1990 (2)
straniero	3	DECADE 1990 (2) DECADE 2000 (1)

Table 25. Equivalents of the term “migrant”

Our results show that the equivalent that was most often used by EU translators was the hyponym “immigrato” (immigrant), in the decade 2000-2009 and between 2010 and 2016. The second most used equivalent was “migrante” (migrant), whose use increased between 2010 and 2016. “Emigrante” and “immigrante” are also hyponyms of “migrante” and were mostly used in the decade 2000-2009 and between 2010 and 2016. Like in the case of immigrant, we found a few attempts made by EU translators to use humanising and inclusive terms like “persona” (person) or “cittadino” (citizen); it is the case of “**persona trasferita**” and “**cittadino straniero**”, which count few occurrences in the corpus,

respectively, 5 and 2 hits. “**Straniero**”, whose equivalent in English is “foreigner”, is rarely used in the corpus, twice in the decade 1990-1999 and once between 2000 and 2009 and on the contrary, is a more dehumanising term. The examples reported in the following table show different and in some cases inaccurate translations of “migrant”, which confirm the lack of clarity around the fixed concept this term designates and the tendency of translators to use more term variants rather than the umbrella term “migranti”.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
Special attention is given to the needs of socially vulnerable groups, i.e. youth, elderly and migrants .	Viene prestata una particolare attenzione alle esigenze delle categorie socialmente vulnerabili, per esempio i giovani, gli anziani e gli immigrati .
whereas that system is confined to laying down appropriate arrangements to ensure that migrants comply with the professional rules of the host Member State.	che tale sistema si limita a prevedere misure appropriate volte ad assicurare che il migrante si conformi alle norme professionali dello Stato membro ospitante"
noting with concern the recent landings on the Italian coast by around one thousand migrants travelling on old ships,	osservando con preoccupazione i recenti sbarchi sulla costa italiana da parte di un migliaio di persone emigranti che viaggiavano su navi decrepite
and the discounted rental costs which DB will have to pay for the accommodation of some 250 migrants and refugees until the current leasing agreement expires	e al valore attuale degli affitti che DB dovrà pagare per alloggiare le circa 250 persone trasferite e profughi insediati nello stabile fino alla scadenza dell'attuale contratto di affitto
the level of the qualification required in the host country is much higher than the qualification held by the migrant .	Le condizioni per il riconoscimento variano secondo il livello della qualificazione richiesta nello stato membro ospitante e secondo il livello delle qualifiche possedute dall' immigrante .
The conditions imposed by Articles 11 and 12 therefore discriminate indirectly against migrants from other Member States.	i requisiti di residenza imposti dagli art. 11 e 12 (nonché, in pratica, dall' art. 16) della legge 20 giugno 1977 non si traducano in una disparità di trattamento a danno dei cittadini stranieri .
Subject: Camps for illegal foreign migrants in Turkey	Oggetto: Campi per stranieri illegali in Turchia

Table 26. Examples of the equivalents of “migrant”

As we explained in Chapter 3, the term “non-EU national” differs from the term “third-country national”. However, we found that what is reported in IATE is in contrast to what is reported in the EMN glossary. While the former proposes “third-country national” as an alternative (see figure below), the latter specifies that the terms refer to different concepts.

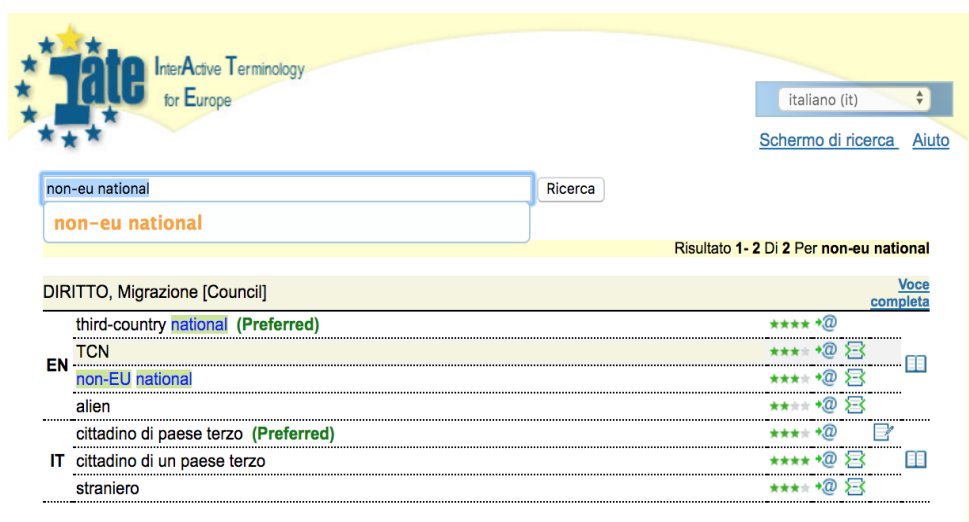


Figure 38. “Non-EU national” in IATE

“Non-EU national” refers to those people who do not have a nationality of an EU member state but have, however, the right of free movement, like in the case of Switzerland. This is, however, not valid for a “third-country national”. There are also some discrepancies concerning equivalents in Italian. While IATE indicates “**cittadino di paese terzo**” or “**cittadino di un paese terzo**”, the EMN glossary indicates “**cittadino non comunitario**”. As explained by Cortelazzo (2015), the adjective “comunitario” (belonging to the EU), typically associated with “cittadino” (citizen), ceased to be used after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on 1st December 2009, which abolished the so-called “European Community” and paved the way for the “European Union”. Indeed, as the following figure illustrates, “cittadino comunitario” is indicated as “obsolete” in IATE; the equivalents for “Union citizen” are “cittadino dell’UE”, “cittadino dell’Unione”, “cittadino dell’Unione europea”.

Figure 39. The term “cittadino comunitario” in IATE

As our results below show, “cittadino non comunitario” was used as an equivalent for “non-EU national” until 2009 and is the second most used equivalent; we found no occurrences between 2010-2016, so the equivalent indicated in the last version of the EMN glossary has not been updated. “**Cittadino non UE**” was also used between 1990 and 2000 but although it is in line with what was stated in the Treaty of Lisbon, this phrase ceased to be in use after 2010.

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	USES PER DECADES
NON-EU NATIONAL	250 hits	
EMN DEFINITION CITTADINO NON COMUNITARIO		
cittadino non comunitario	45	DECADE 1990 (1) DECADE 2000 (44)
cittadino di paese terzo	173	DECADE 1990 (32) DECADE 2000 (47) DECADE 2010 (54)
cittadino extracomunitario	19	DECADE 1990 (2) DECADE 2000 (17)
cittadino non UE	9	DECADE 1990 (3) DECADE 2000 (6)
non cittadino di uno stato membro	1	DECADE 1990 (1)
originario di paese terzo	1	DECADE 2000 (1)
cittadino originario di paese terzo	1	DECADE 2000 (1)
stranieri provenienti da un paese terzo	1	DECADE 2010 (1)

Table 27. Equivalent of the term “non-EU national”

The most used equivalent in the corpus is “**cittadino di paese terzo**”, with 173 hits on 250 occurrences. “**Cittadino extracomunitario**” was also used in the corpus, although with 19 occurrences, and is a case of de-terminologisation. Born as a specialised term referring to those people who do not belong to an EU Member state, “cittadino extracomunitario” is the equivalent of both “third-country national” and “non-EU national”. IATE classifies this term as “admitted”, but also indicates “cittadino di paese terzo” as an alternative.

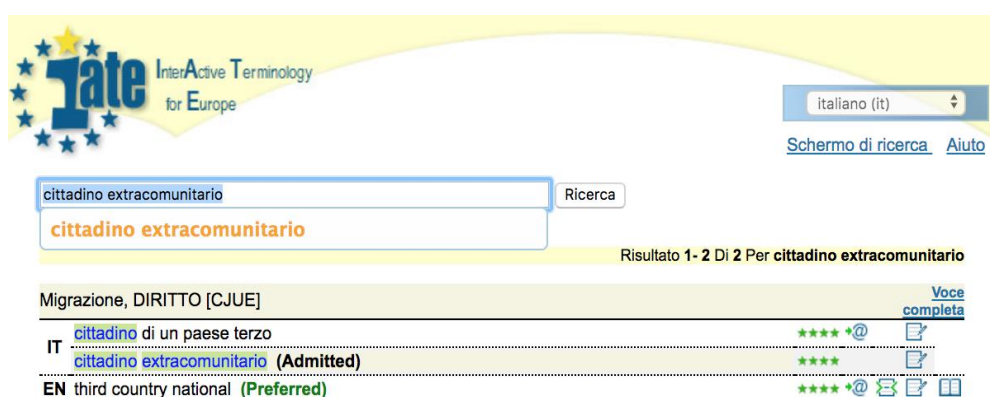


Figure 40. The term “cittadino extracomunitario” in IATE

As indicated in the Italian dictionary “Treccani”, “extracomunitario” is also used as a substantive referring to people who come from poor countries.⁵¹ Therefore, “extracomunitario” is not used in general language to refer to a person coming from any country outside the European Union, like in the case of Switzerland or the United States, but only to people coming from countries with economical constraints or political controversies. Although “cittadino extracomunitario” is admitted as a specialised term in the legal domain of *Migration*, it carries a negative connotation in general language in Italian; indeed, the evidence we found in the corpus is that there are no occurrences for this term since 2009 in EUR-lex.

⁵¹ According to the Italian dictionary “Treccani”, “extracomunitario” is defined as follows: Extracomunitario /ekstrakomuni'tarjo/ [comp. Di *extra-* e *comunitario*]. - ■ agg. [di persona proveniente da paesi non appartenenti all'Unione Europea e spec. dai paesi del terzo mondo] ≈ ↑ forestiero, immigrante, immigrato, straniero. ↔ comunitario, europeo. ■ s. m. (f.-a) [persona proveniente da tali paesi, a volte in tono spreg.] ≈ (*spreg.*) vu cumprà. ↑ forestiero, immigrante, immigrato, straniero. ↔ comunitario, europeo. © Il termine è usato in modo improprio, spec. per definire persone provenienti da paesi del terzo mondo. [☐ ESTRANEO] [http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/extracomunitario_\(Sinonimi-e-Contrari\)](http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/extracomunitario_(Sinonimi-e-Contrari)) (Accessed on 1st December 2017).

This means that the general connotation this term started to carry in general language influenced the way it was used in specialised language.

The results show that in the decade from 1990 to 1999 other equivalents were used in EUR-lex by EU translators, although seldom used and with only one occurrence. It is the case of “**cittadino non UE**”, “**non cittadino di uno stato membro**”, “**originario di paese terzo**”, “**cittadino originario di paese terzo**” in decade 2000-2009, “**stranieri provenienti da un paese terzo**” between 2010 and 2016. Examples for every equivalent are reported in the table below.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
Distortions between EU and non-EU nationals	Le distorsioni tra i cittadini della Comunità europea ed i cittadini non comunitari
the improvement of the legal status and living conditions of non-EU nationals living legally in the European Union	il miglioramento della situazione giuridica e delle condizioni di vita dei cittadini di paesi terzi che soggiornano legalmente nell'Unione europea
Is the Commission aware that non-EU nationals living in Britain, who are paying their full taxes and national insurance, are not entitled to the E111 form giving them cost-free emergency health treatment when they travel abroad?	Sa la Commissione che i cittadini extracomunitari residenti nel Regno Unito, che pagano regolarmente le tasse e i contributi per la cassa malattia nazionale, non hanno diritto al modulo E111, che offre loro gratuitamente cure mediche d'urgenza quando si recano all'estero?
to ensure fair treatment of non-EU nationals , and to promote an integration policy that grants rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens.	garantisce un equo trattamento dei cittadini non UE e promuove una politica di integrazione che accorda loro diritti e obblighi analoghi a quelli dei cittadini dell'Unione.
The Commission agrees with the Honourable Member's conclusion that the requirement of a work permit for a non-EU national .	La Commissione condivide la conclusione dell'Onorevole parlamentare che l'obbligo di essere in possesso di un permesso di lavoro, imposto ad un lavoratore non cittadino di uno Stato membro .
Nautical Colleges in the Community provide a high standard of education/training for non-EU nationals so aiding the safety of navigation.	Gli istituti nautici europei offrono un elevato livello di istruzione e formazione per i cittadini originari di paesi terzi .
high standard of education/training for non-EU nationals so aiding the safety of navigation	un elevato livello di istruzione e formazione per i cittadini originari di paesi terzi contribuendo in tal modo alla sicurezza della navigazione
There could be situations where non-EU nationals working in a given State would not have access to social security	Potrebbe accadere che in un determinato Stato gli stranieri provenienti da un paese terzo abbiano accesso alla sicurezza sociale

Table 28. *Examples of the equivalents of “non-EU nationals”*

Like “extracomunitario” in Italian, the term “refugee” is also a case of de-terminologisation. While the official equivalent indicated in the EMN glossary is “rifugiato”, IATE reports two equivalents: “rifugiato” and “profugo”, as illustrated in the figure below.

The screenshot shows the IATE search results for the term 'refugee'. The search was performed in English (en). The results are organized into two domain sections:

- International balance, International law, Migration [Council]:**
 - EN **refugee** (4 stars, @ icon, Full entry link)
 - IT profugo (3 stars, @ icon, Full entry link)
 - IT rifugiato (3 stars, @ icon, Full entry link)
- Migration, LAW [CJUE]:**
 - EN **refugee (Preferred)** (4 stars, @ icon, Full entry link)
 - IT rifugiato (3 stars, @ icon, Full entry link)

Figure 41. The term “refugee” in IATE

In the domain of “Migration, Council”, the equivalents for “refugees” are “rifugiato” and “profugo”; in the domain of “Migration, Court of Justice”, the only equivalent indicated is “rifugiato”. The confusion around this term relates to its use in English and Italian. As we observed in a note reported in IATE, at first, “refugee” in English used to carry the specialised legal connotation that resulted from Art. 1A of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees, according to whom a “refugee” refers to the recognised status obtained by an asylum seeker whose application has been successful. However, this term also carries a more general connotation referring to the condition of refugees as “forced migrants”, although they have not gained the official status yet.

In Italian, “rifugiato” and “profugo” are not synonyms in terms of the definitions they carry, but are mistakenly used as synonyms both in LSP and LGP. As specified in a note we found in IATE, while “rifugiato” refers to the specific legal status of refugees, “profugo” refers to the condition and reasons of “would-be refugees”, who flee from their country of origin. The confusion is generated from the fact that in English there is only one term for both connotations, while in Italian we have two terms for each connotation. Therefore, the context of use is fundamental to make the most appropriate term choice.

As our table of results shows, the most used equivalent in the corpus is “rifugiato”, with 187 hits on 250 occurrences. “Profugo” was mostly used in the decade 2000-2009 and its use decreases from 2010 until 2016.

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	USES PER DECADE
REFUGEE	250	
EMN DEFINITION RIFUGIATO		
rifugiato	187	DECADE 1980 (11) DECADE 1990 (31) DECADE 2000 (85) DECADE 2010 (60)
profugo	63	DECADE 1980 (4) DECADE 1990 (7) DECADE 2000 (32) DECADE 2010 (20)

Table 29. *Equivalents of the term “refugee”*

In the second example reported below, “refugee” does not specifically refer to the legal status of “refugee” so the equivalent “profugo” has been used properly. However, in the third example, “status of refugees” has been translated as “status dei profughi”, and “profugo” is improperly used as a synonym of “rifugiato”.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
application for asylum: shall mean any application submitted in writing, orally or otherwise by an alien at an external border or within the territory of a Contracting Party with a view to obtaining recognition as a refugee in accordance with the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951.	Domanda di asilo: ogni domanda presentata per iscritto, oralmente o in altra forma da uno straniero alla frontiera esterna o nel territorio di una Parte contraente allo scopo di ottenere il riconoscimento della sua qualità di rifugiato conformemente alla Convenzione di Ginevra del 28 luglio 1951 relativa allo status dei rifugiati
funds not committed from the appropriations relating to emergency aid and aid for refugees and returnees shall be transferred to the financing of projects and programmes to be implemented in the three OCT groups for which the Kingdom of the Netherlands, France and the United Kingdom have responsibility.	gli stanziamenti non impegnati sulle dotazioni relative agli aiuti d'urgenza e agli aiuti per l'accoglienza dei profughi e dei rimpatriati vengono trasferite e destinate al finanziamento di progetti e programmi d'azione da attuare.
it was pleased to note that the preamble of the protocol clearly stated that it respected the finality and objectives of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees .	essa ha rilevato con soddisfazione l'esplicito riferimento, nel preambolo del protocollo, alla volontà di rispettare la finalità e gli obiettivi della convenzione di Ginevra del 1951 relativa allo status dei profughi .

Table 30. *Examples for the equivalents of “refugee”*

As the following figure illustrates, we found 28 occurrences in the corpus of legislative texts, where “status of refugees” was translated as “status di profugo”.



Figure 42. Occurrences for “status of refugees” translated as “status dei profughi” in Sketch Engine

The controversial use of “profugo” as a synonym for “rifugiato” has been widely discussed also with reference to language for general purposes. The clarification provided by the dictionary “Treccani” is the same reported in a note on IATE:

Da un punto di vista linguistico i due vocaboli, pur essendo spesso usati come sinonimi, indicano due fenomeni legati, ma non coincidenti. Il rifugiato, infatti, è colui che ha lasciato il proprio Paese, per il ragionevole timore di essere perseguitato per motivi di razza, religione, nazionalità e appartenenza politica e ha chiesto asilo e trovato rifugio in uno Stato straniero, mentre il profugo è colui che per diverse ragioni (guerra, povertà, fame, calamità naturali, ecc.) ha lasciato il proprio Paese ma non è nelle condizioni di chiedere la protezione internazionale. Nella prassi, di fatto, i due termini vengono impropriamente sovrapposti, ma è lo *status di* rifugiato l’unico sancito e definito nel diritto internazionale fin dalla Convenzione di Ginevra del 1951.

Back Translation: From a linguistic point of view, the two words, although often used as synonyms, indicate two phenomena that are linked but not coincident. The refugee, in fact, has left his country because of the reasonable fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality and political affiliation and has applied for asylum and found refuge in a foreign state, while the “profugo” is a person who, for various reasons, (war, poverty, hunger, natural disasters, etc.) has left his country but is not in a position to ask for international protection. In practice, the two terms are improperly interchanged, but the status of refugee has been defined in international law since the 1951 Geneva Convention.

An effort to clarify the distinction between these terms has also been made by several Italian news-media like *Internazionale*⁵² a weekly magazine which mainly

⁵² The article published by *Internazionale*, “La differenza tra profughi e rifugiati” is available at

translates international articles from English into Italian. However, the author of the article does not distinguish between differences in *Migration* terminology used by the European Union and the United Nations, and instead utilises a mixture of the two. As the terminological frameworks are different in use, the explanation results are vague and approximate. The clearest evidence resulting from our analysis is that the differences between these terms have not been defined yet in specialised language nor in general language, although our results showed increasing standardisation towards the final time period analysed: 2010-2016.

The term “**third-country national**” has more than one equivalent indicated both in IATE and the EMN glossary. IATE distinguishes the equivalents according to its domain, as illustrated in the figure below:

The screenshot shows the IATE search interface with the following results for the search term "third-country national":

Domain	Term	Rating	Language	Full entry
LAW, Migration [Council]	third-country national (Preferred)	★★★★+@	EN	Full entry
	TCN	★★★★+@	EN	
	non-EU national	★★★★+@	EN	
	alien	★★★★+@	EN	
	cittadino di paese terzo (Preferred)	★★★★+@	IT	
Migration, LAW [CJUE]	third country national (Preferred)	★★★★+@	EN	Full entry
	cittadino di un paese terzo	★★★★+@	IT	
	cittadino extracomunitario (Admitted)	★★★★	IT	

Figure 43. The term “third-country national” in IATE

“**Cittadino di paese terzo**” is indicated as the preferred equivalent, but also “**cittadino di un paese terzo**”, where the indefinite article “un” (an) is added. In the EMN glossary the equivalent reported is “cittadino di un paese terzo. As the table below illustrates, the most used equivalent in the corpus was “cittadino di paese terzo”, with 112 occurrences out of 250, while the version without the indefinite article is used 65 times, with an increase between 2010 and 2016.

this link: <https://www.internazionale.it/notizie/2013/06/20/differenza-profughi-rifugiati> (Accessed

TERM	OCCURRENCIES	DECADES - SUBCORPUS
THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONAL	250 hits	
EMN DEFINITION CITTADINO DI UN PAESE TERZO		
cittadino di paese terzo	112	DECADE 2000 (37) DECADE 2010 (75)
cittadino di un paese terzo	64	DECADE 2000 (19) DECADE 2010 (45)
straniero	5	DECADE 1990 (1) DECADE 2000 (3) DECADE 2010 (1)
cittadino extracomunitario	49	DECADE 1990 (16) DECADE 2000 (28) DECADE 2010 (5)
cittadino originario di paesi terzi	3	DECADE 2000 (3)
extracomunitario	2	DECADE 2000 (2)

Table 31. *Equivalents for the term “third-country national”*

Like in the case of “non-EU national”, “**cittadino di paese terzo**” is the preferred term equivalent chosen by EU translators. This means that in Italian there is the same equivalent for two English terms that refer to two different concepts. “**Cittadino di un paese terzo**”, which includes the indefinite article “un” (an), is the second most recurrent equivalent in the corpus, with an increase in usage between 2010 and 2016. These terms, together with “**cittadino originario di paesi terzi**” and “**extracomunitario**” have all been used since 2000.

In the decade from 1990 to 1999, EU translators used different equivalents in Italian: “**straniero**” (foreigner) and “**cittadino extracomunitario**”, that for the same reasons explained with reference to “non-EU national”, lost ground with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. This terminological variation reflects how the vision of “third-country nationals” migrating to Europe changed after the implementation of the Dublin Regulation in 2003 and the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. A “third-country national” was no longer a “foreigner” (straniero) or an “extracomunitario”, whose negative connotation is untranslatable in English, but turned into a “citizen” (cittadino) emigrating from a non-EU country. Examples of every term equivalent are reported below.

on 1st December 2017).

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
A particular area that requires further attention and study from the Commission is the need for third country nationals legally resident in Member States.	Un'area specifica che richiede ulteriore attenzione e studio da parte della Commissione è la necessità che i cittadini di paesi terzi , legalmente residenti nell'Unione europea,
Once the third country national has ended his/her studies, the spouse and children to whom authorization to stay was granted are also required to leave the territory of the Member State if they have no other authorization to remain.	Al termine degli studi del cittadino di un paese terzo , il coniuge o i figli ai quali è stata rilasciata un'autorizzazione di soggiorno devono parimenti lasciare lo Stato membro in mancanza di altre autorizzazioni.
The national authorities responsible for matters concerning asylum and third country nationals will be able to use the reports together with the other items of information at their disposal.	Le autorità nazionali competenti per questioni concernenti l'asilo e gli stranieri potranno utilizzare, tra gli elementi di informazione di cui dispongono, anche le suddette relazioni.
It should be noted that not all third country nationals admitted to the labour market enter through the selective procedures described above.	Tuttavia, occorre notare che non tutti i cittadini extracomunitari ammessi nel mercato del lavoro vi fanno ingresso attraverso le procedure di selezione descritte sopra.
It should be made clear that the Employment Directive applies to third country nationals present in the territory of the European Union.	Bisognerebbe precisare che la direttiva in materia di occupazione si applica anche ai cittadini originari di paesi terzi presenti sul territorio dell'Unione europea.
Subject: Commission proposals for third countries' nationals .	Oggetto: Proposta della Commissione concernente l'ingresso di extracomunitari nell'UE.

Table 32. Examples of equivalents of “third-country national”

The last example reported in the table above refers to a document published in the Official Journal of the European Union in 1998. The use of “extracomunitario” would be no longer possible at present, as it would portray a “third-country national” in a negative way.

We conclude our analysis of term equivalents in EUR-lex with the term “**vulnerable person**”, which was not prone to variation in English or Italian. Like in the case of “asylum applicant”, this term had the same equivalent indicated in the EMN glossary and in IATE, “**persona vulnerabile**”, to whom EU translators remained faithful. As illustrated in the table below, “persona vulnerabile” was increasingly used throughout the decades, in particular between 2010 and 2016.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER DECADE
VULNERABLE PERSON	249 hits	
EMN DEFINITION PERSONA VULNERABILE		
persona vulnerabile	249 hits	DECADE 1990 (2) DECADE 2000 (64) DECADE 2010 (183)

Table 33. *Equivalents for the term “vulnerable person”*

The implantation of the term “vulnerable person” testifies the rising tone of humanisation in terminology that characterized several terms we presented in the analysis. In the example reported below, the use of “vulnerable persons” is accompanied by a specification of the sub-category belonging to this term, which in this case, refers to “minors”.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
Vulnerable persons , in particular children, have a set of adequate procedural safeguards taking into account their special needs at all stages of the criminal proceedings (e.g. police interrogations, hearings, detention).	garantire che le persone vulnerabili , in particolare i minori, dispongano di una serie di garanzie procedurali adeguate che tengano conto delle loro specifiche esigenze in tutte le fasi del procedimento penale (ad esempio, interrogatori di polizia, udienze, detenzione)

Table 34. *Example for the term “vulnerable person”*

Now that we have presented the variety of Italian equivalents used by EU translators in legislative documents contained in EUR-lex, we will delve into the use of terms in another type of institutional text, a hybrid text typology containing some features of legal texts and other aspects typical of a communicative and political text: press releases published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016.

4.3.2 Results: Italian term equivalents in press releases

As explained by Cabrè (1999: 47), “specialised communication differs from general communication in two ways: in the type of oral or written texts it produces, and in the use of specific terminology”. How is the specialised terminology of *Migration* intertwined with general language in institutional texts? The following corpus analysis aims firstly to analyse how press officers employed specialised terms in their texts and secondly to investigate the consistency of

translation equivalence across the two languages in a parallel corpus of institutional texts.

What are the effects of a term choice on the perception of the type of “migrant” it portrays? In section 4.2.2, we provided an overview of press releases as a hybrid text typology, where political statements and extracts taken from legal texts are intertwined with general explanations aimed at rendering the texts clear and comprehensible to the media and citizens. As reported by Lindholm (2010), “*political press releases may serve other purposes than those issued by business organisations, and they are also a fairly unexplored field in press release research*”. The focus of our analysis is, however, not on press releases as a text genre, but on the terminology used in this type of institutional text.

Translation in the EU Institutions penetrates institutional communication on numerous levels, where “agents” and “products” may vary in their role and purpose and terminology consistency stands more as a challenge than a rule. Term equivalents will be presented singularly with their occurrences per year and will be followed by examples for every equivalent extracted from our corpus of press releases. The first and unexpected finding of our analysis is that in the majority of cases, press officers used official equivalents indicated in the official guidelines provided by the EU Institutions, and the use of more general terms was sometimes used as a strategy to further humanise the discourse revolving around “migrants”.

The first term we analysed in the corpus is “**applicant for international protection**”. Its equivalent indicated in IATE and in the EMN glossary is “**richiedente protezione internazionale**”. This term was used only once in the corpus in 2015 and the equivalent chosen by the Italian press officer and the language assistants corresponds to the one provided in IATE and in the official glossary.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
APPLICANT FOR INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION EMN DEFINITION RESIDENTE PROTEZIONE INTERNAZIONALE	1	
richiedente protezione internazionale	1	2015

Table 35. Equivalent for the term “applicant for international protection”

Audiovisual material for professionals Directive 2013/33/EU laying down standards for the reception of applicants for international protection	Materiale audiovisivo Direttiva 2013/33/EU del PE recante norme relative all'accoglienza dei richiedenti protezione internazionale.
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Table 36. Examples of the equivalent of “applicant for international protection”

The term “**asylum applicant**”, whose official equivalent indicated in IATE and in the EMN corpus is “**richiedente asilo**”, also sees this equivalence respected in the text and appears only once in the corpus.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USE PER YEAR
ASYLUM APPLICANT	1	2013
richiedente asilo	1	2013

Some 330,000 asylum applicants were registered in EU countries in 2012.	Nel 2012 sono stati registrati, nei paesi dell'UE, 330.000 richiedenti asilo.
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Table 37. Equivalent and example of the term “asylum applicant”

In the case of “**asylum seeker**”, which is a synonym of “asylum applicant” we found 81 occurrences in the corpus. All occurrences were translated with the equivalent “**richiedente asilo**” like in the case of “asylum applicant”. In contrast to the documents contained within EUR-lex, we found that the press officers used neither paraphrasing nor variation as a strategy. The increasing use of “asylum seekers” and its equivalent in Italian “richiedente asilo” saw its peak in 2015 and 2016, when migratory flows in the European Union started to be defined as a “crisis” and distinguishing different types of “migrants” became a priority in the communication process.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
ASYLUM SEEKER	81 HITS	
richiedente asilo	81 hits	2011 (1) 2012 (2) 2013 (12) 2014 (2) 2015 (42) 2016 (22)

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
say MEPs, who also call on the Commission to study the feasibility of introducing a system for also relocating asylum seekers .	dicono i deputati, che invitano la Commissione a studiare la possibilità di introdurre un sistema di ricollocazione anche per i richiedenti asilo .

Table 38. Equivalent and example of the term “asylum seeker”

While in the previous terms analysed we found no variation implemented by press officers, in the case of “**beneficiary of international protection**”, whose official equivalent is “**richiedente protezione internazionale**”, we encountered the first attempt at variation. On 5 occasions in the corpus, press officers opted for the official equivalent four times, and for the equivalent “**persone che hanno diritto alla protezione internazionale**” once, in 2010. This equivalent sees the term “beneficiario” (beneficiary) being replaced by the general word “persona” (person), which is in need of international protection (bisognosa di protezione internazionale). In the example reported below, the text refers to the recommendations made by the EESC to improve the procedures for refugees and beneficiaries for international protection. This term choice reflects the attempt to humanise the discourse revolving around “migrants”, by emphasising that international protection is a “need” and that “beneficiaries” are “people”, and to make the text more comprehensible, explanatory and less technical than a legislative text.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
BENEFICIARY OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION	5 hits	
beneficiario protezione internazionale	4	2010 (3) 2012 (1)
person bisognosa protezione internazionale	1	2010 (1)

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
This Article sets out the two separate but complementary types of beneficiary of international protection , namely "refugee" and "beneficiary of subsidiary protection".	Questo articolo definisce le due categorie, distinte ma complementari, di beneficiari di protezione internazionale , ovvero il "rifugiato" e il "beneficiario della protezione sussidiaria".
The communication referred to the EESC recommends improving and speeding up the procedures for granting status as a refugee or as a beneficiary of international protection	La comunicazione all'esame del Comitato raccomanda di migliorare e di accelerare le procedure di riconoscimento della qualifica di rifugiato e di persona bisognosa di protezione internazionale .

Table 39. Equivalent and example for the term “beneficiary of international protection”

As reported in the following tables below, we found that Italian equivalents for the terms “**displaced person**” (sfollato) and “**immigrant**” (immigrato) remained unchanged in press releases; especially for the latter as although 5 occurrences do not constitute a high volume of data, the lack of term variation was a surprising result compared to our findings in EUR-lex.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USE PER YEAR
DISPLACED PERSON	1	2015 (1)
EMN DEFINITON SFOLLATO		
sfollato	1	2015 (1)

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
both foresee a solidarity mechanism in the event of mass and sudden inflows of displaced persons .	i quali prevedono entrambi un meccanismo di solidarietà in caso di afflusso massiccio e improvviso di sfollati .

Table 40. Equivalent and example for the term “displaced person”

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
IMMIGRANT	5	
EMN DEFINITON IMMIGRATO		
immigrato	5	2011 (5)

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
Return of illegal immigrants	Riammissione d'immigrati illegali

Table 41. Equivalent and example for the term “immigrant”

The Italian equivalent for the term “**long-term resident**”, as indicated in IATE and the EMN glossary, is “residente di lungo termine” which did not appear as a successful implantation in EUR-lex. As reported in the table below, on three occasions, all in 2010, we found that press officers used the official equivalent once, and then opted for other equivalents like “**soggiornante di lungo periodo**”, indicated as an alternative in IATE, and “**cittadino non comunitario in possesso di un permesso di residenza di lungo termine**”. In this last case, an explanatory term, “cittadino non comunitario” (non-EU citizen) has been added to specify that

a “resident” is a “citizen”, although he comes from a non-EU country.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
LONG-TERM RESIDENT	3 hits	2010 (3)
EMN DEFINITION		
RESIDENTE DI LUNGO TERMINE		
(cittadini non comunitari) in possesso di un permesso di residenza di lungo termine		1 2010 (1)
soggiornante di lungo periodo		1 2010 (1)
residente di lungo termine		1 2010 (1)

Table 42. *Equivalents for the term “long-term resident”*

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
Le nuove regole garantiranno ai rifugiati gli stessi diritti dei cittadini non comunitari in possesso di un permesso di residenza di lungo termine.	These rules will give refugees the same rights as other third-country nationals with long-term resident status
"affinché lo status di soggiornante di lungo periodo sia un autentico strumento d'integrazione sociale di queste persone"	"benefits those who should have never been excluded from the Long Term Residence Directive"
This legislation, which amends an EU directive of 2003 , will bring "direct benefit to all the beneficiaries of international protection who have been residing legally on the territory of the EU for more than 5 years, but currently have no entitlement to long-term resident status.	il Parlamento emenda la direttiva UE del 2003 che regola lo status giuridico dei residenti legali di lungo termine che escludeva esplicitamente i rifugiati e i beneficiari di protezione internazionale, colmando così la lacuna.

Table 43. *Examples of equivalents for the term “long-term resident”*

In the majority of cases (102/105), the term “migrant” was translated with its official “umbrella” equivalent “migrante”, indicated both in IATE and in the EMN glossary. We found only three occurrences in press releases in 2014 where the equivalent “immigrante”, which is a hyponym of “migrante” and a pseudo-synonym of “immigrato” (immigrant), was used. “Immigrante” in Italian is a present participle, while “immigrato” is a past participle of the verb “immigrare” (to immigrate). As we explained in Chapter 3, “immigrant” in English has two meanings: “undertaking an immigration” and “settling in another country”. In Italian, this double meaning is expressed with different terms: “migrante” or “immigrante” for the first meaning and “immigrato” for the second. As reported in the table below, the choice of “immigrante” in the second example conveys the meaning expressed in the sentence, which refers to the “integration” of

immigrants who have undertaken an immigration.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USE PER YEAR
MIGRANT	105	2010 (2) 2011 (6) 2012 (3) 2013 (15) 2014 (22) 2015 (38) 2016 (19)
migranti	102	2010 (2) 2011 (3) 2013 (17) 2014 (20) 2015 (35) 2016 (25)
immigranti	3	2014 (3)

Table 44. *Equivalents of the term “migrant”*

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
EU guidelines saying that border patrols have a moral duty to rescue migrants in distress at sea.	Il testo include anche orientamenti per il soccorso in alto mare di migranti in pericolo.
At least 20% of the €2.4 billion that member states will get (3.1 billion minus 746 million for EU programmes and other actions) must be spent on measures to support legal migration and promote the integration of migrants .	Almeno il 20% di 2.4 miliardi di euro che gli Stati membri avranno a disposizione (3.1 miliardi di euro meno 746 milioni per i programmi comunitari e altre azioni) dovrà essere speso per misure che sostengano la migrazione legale e promuovano l'effettiva integrazione degli immigranti .

Table 45. *Examples of equivalents of the term “migrant”*

As we already explained in Chapter 3, the equivalent for “**non-EU national**” indicated in the EMN glossary “**cittadino non comunitario**” is indicated as “obsolete” in IATE, since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, when the “European Community” ceased to exist and the term “union” started to be used. On two occurrences we found in the corpus, this equivalent was never used. Press officers used “**cittadino di paese terzo**”, an equivalent reported in IATE and “**cittadino non UE**”, which recalls the English term unit “non-EU”, both in 2016.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
NON-EU NATIONAL	2	2016 (2)
EMN DEFINITION CITTADINO NON COMUNITARIO		
cittadino non UE	1	2016
cittadino di paese terzo	1	2016

An EU Commission proposal for a standard European travel document to speed up the return of non-EU nationals staying irregularly in EU member states without valid passports or identity cards was approved by Parliament on Thursday.	La proposta della Commissione europea per un documento europeo di viaggio standard che accelera le procedure di rimpatrio di cittadini non UE che soggiornano irregolarmente negli Stati membri
New European travel document to ease return of non-EU nationals	Nuovo documento di viaggio UE per facilitare il rimpatrio dei cittadini di Paesi terzi

Table 46. Equivalent and example for the term “non-EU national”

Like in the case of the term “immigrant”, “refugee” also carries two meanings in English: it refers to the legal status of “refugee” proclaimed according to Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention, but also describes those people who have not yet requested the legal status of refugees and are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted. In Italian, there are two different terms describing each concept: “rifugiato” can refer to both the former and the latter, while “profugo” can also be used in the second case, as specified in a note by IATE. As illustrated in the table below, “rifugiato” is used more as an equivalent in press releases, rendering it interchangeable for both meanings. “Profugo”, instead, was used only thirteen times out of 138.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
REFUGEE	138 HITS	
rifugiato	125	2010 (6) 2011 (2) 2012 (12) 2013 (12) 2014 (3) 2015 (43) 2016 (47)
profughi	13	2011 (1) 2013 (4) 2014 (2) 2015 (2) 2016 (4)

Table 47. Equivalent for the term “refugee”

The two examples extracted from the corpus reported below show how “rifugiato” and “profugo” were used interchangeably as synonyms, without distinguishing between the two meanings carried by the term in English.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
They also questioned whether Turkey can be considered a “safe country” for refugees .	Inoltre, sono stati espressi dubbi sul fatto che la Turchia possa essere considerata un “Paese sicuro” per i rifugiati .
the President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz pointed out that Lebanon , with its four million inhabitants, is hosting one million Syrian refugees .	il Presidente del Parlamento europeo Martin Schulz, durante l'apertura della sessione plenaria di febbraio, ha sottolineato che il Libano, con i suoi 4 milioni di abitanti, ospita 1 milione di profughi siriani.

Table 48. Examples of equivalents for the term “refugee”

The term “**third-country national**”, whose official equivalent in IATE and in the EMN Glossary is “**cittadino di un paese terzo**” was mainly translated using the plural form “**cittadino di paesi terzi**” (citizen from third countries instead of third-country) with 6 occurrences out of a total of 7. In only one case, press officers chose “**cittadino non comunitario**” in 2010, when this term was becoming deprecated after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONAL	7 hits	2010 (3) 2015 (2) 2016 (2)
EMN DEFINITION CITTADINO DI UN PAESE TERZO		
cittadino non comunitario	1	2010 (1)
cittadino di paesi terzi	6	2015 (3) 2016 (3)

These rules will give refugees the same rights as other third-country nationals with long-term resident status	Le nuove regole garantiranno ai rifugiati gli stessi diritti dei cittadini non comunitari in possesso di un permesso di residenza di lungo termine
EP background note on the Common European Asylum System Commission's factsheet on A Common European Asylum System Directive 2008/115/EC on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals	Scheda informativa della Commissione su Un sistema europeo comune di asilo Direttiva 2008 / 115/EC del PE sulle norme e procedure comuni applicabili negli Stati membri al rimpatrio di cittadini di paesi terzi il cui soggiorno è irregolare.

Table 49. Equivalent and example for the term “third-country national”

We conclude our analysis with the term “**vulnerable person**”, whose equivalent as reported in both the IATE and EMN glossary is “**persona vulnerabile**”. As we showed in Chapter 3, this term equivalent was well implanted in legislative documents contained in EUR-lex. In our corpus of press releases, this equivalent was used twice in 2013 and 2014, giving a total of four occurrences. However, in two cases, press officers replaced the term “persona” (person) with “**rifugiati**” in 2012 and “**migranti**” in 2014.

TERM	OCCURRENCES	USES PER YEAR
VULNERABLE PERSON	4 HITS	2012 (1)
EMN DEFINITION		2013 (1)
PERSONA VULNERABILE		2014 (2)
rifugiati vulnerabili	1	2012 (1)
persone vulnerabili	2	2013 (1)
		2014 (1)
migranti vulnerabili	1	2014 (1)

Table 50. Equivalents for the term “vulnerable person”

As the first and second example reported below illustrate, the replacement of “persona” with “rifugiati” and “migranti” was chosen according to the context, to better contextualise the news reported in the text.

ENGLISH	ITALIAN
The programme's main aim is to encourage EU Member States to take up refugees by enlarging the list of those whose resettlement will be financed by the European Refugee Fund, such as vulnerable persons (children and women at risk, unaccompanied minors, persons with serious medical needs and refugees in need of urgent resettlement for legal or physical reasons).	I paesi UE otterranno maggiori finanziamenti comunitari per il reinsediamento di rifugiati sul proprio territorio, secondo il nuovo programma comunitario approvato dal Parlamento giovedì. Dal 2013, il nuovo programma darebbe priorità al reinsediamento dei rifugiati più vulnerabili , quali donne a rischio e minori non accompagnati, in cooperazione con l'Alto commissariato dell'ONU.
new provisions for the special needs of unaccompanied minors and other vulnerable persons .	nuove disposizioni per le esigenze particolari dei minori non accompagnati e di altre persone vulnerabili .
The "operational plan" governing Frontex-coordinated border surveillance operations must henceforth include procedures to ensure that persons needing international protection, victims of trafficking in human beings, unaccompanied minors and other vulnerable persons are identified and given appropriate help.	Contrastare i trafficanti di esseri umani I deputati chiedono agli Stati membri di imporre severe sanzioni penali contro la tratta di esseri umani, e contro le persone o i gruppi che sfruttano i migranti vulnerabili nell'UE.

Table 51. Examples of equivalents for the term “vulnerable person”

In the first example, the text describes the new resettlement programme financed by the European Refugee Fund, while in the second example it reports on the

operational plan governed by Frontex; the press officer chose to emphasise to which category of person these measures were addressed.

4.4 Conclusion

Migration is a large-scale and complex phenomenon and there is a complex array of factors related to the terminology that contribute to shape the impression of it in the eyes of citizens and the media. According to our analysis, term choice in EUR-lex documents and press releases was characterised by the interplay between specialised terms and general words in both types of institutional texts. Our results show that *Migration* terminology started to standardise after 2000 and that variation of equivalents was more common before the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 and the Dublin Regulation in 2003. The EU Institutions played an important role in this regard, by frequently reminding EU professionals of the importance of using consistent terminology. More recently in 2011, the European Parliament made further recommendations with reference to the correct use of terminology in legislative texts, as shown by the following preparatory Act published on 13.09.2011, where the European Parliament:

“stresses that the EU institutions should endeavour to use appropriate and neutral terminology in legislative texts when addressing the issue of third country nationals whose presence on the territory of the Member States has not been authorised by the Member States authorities or is not longer authorised. In such cases, EU institutions should not refer to "illegal immigration" or "illegal migrants" but rather to "irregular immigration" or "irregular migrants.”

This extract shows that the obscurity revolving around the terminology of *Migration* is still a recent phenomenon. As we demonstrated through our analysis, the choice of equivalents by EU translators and press officers reflects their power in shaping the discourse revolving around *Migration* and how citizens and media may consequently understand it. In the majority of cases, either official equivalents were respected in the text, or hyponym, synonym and paraphrasing strategies were used by translators and press officers to better convey the message

of the texts. In fewer cases, but still in a significant portion of the total of data we analysed, term choices resulted in mistranslations, by using the wrong synonyms or by ignoring the hypernym-hyponym relationship between two terms. Terminology equivalents and patterns of use remarked that the representation of “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers” has evolved and is still evolving in EU institutions and that different perceptions are manifested within the texts, despite the strict rules governing EU translation (see Koskinen, 2001).

Furthermore, our analysis confirmed that a specialised language is not limited to the use of jargon, symbols and acronyms but rather can be accessible to a large number of people. As specified by Cabré (1995: 124), “every specialised language can be updated at different levels of specialisation. The peak of the pyramid corresponds to the communication (popularisation) for the general public. (...) the subject defines the specialised language and a text does not cease to be a specialised text, as long as it aims at vulgarisation, its degree of specialisation being simply smaller”.

One of the most significant findings was the unveiling of how translation served as a means to change the perception of “migrants” in institutional texts, so that they would not be perceived only as objects of policies. The term “beneficiary” was replaced by “person” or “applicant” and was then translated as “persona bisognosa” (person in need). “Migrants” were represented as “citizens” or “people”, so that they would be considered as active partners of their own inclusion in receiving societies. The exclusion of “extracomunitario” or “straniero” and the rising tendency to distinguish between terms like “refugees”, “migrants” and “asylum seekers”, mirror the “inclusion trend” in the discourse revolving around “migrants” that is on the rise in EU Institutions.

Chapter 5

The European Parliament through ethnographic lenses

Unknown Agents and Terminology Practices

So far, our analysis has delved into the translated texts of the EU Institutions and reconstructed the terminological framework regarding *Migration*, with a major focus on the various terms used in institutional texts to refer to “migrants”. This chapter takes a sociological view of institutional terminology and considers translation as a complex process where known and unknown “agents” (Schäffner 2014: 131) actively participate in the process and are regulated by the institutional context in which they work (Koskinen 2008: 35).

5.1 From *translated* texts to *translating* people

Terminology is a powerful element in the translation process as it defines concepts as “mental constructs that are used to classify the individual objects in the external or internal world by means of a more or less arbitrary process of abstraction” (Cabrè, 1999: 96). In previous chapters we observed how term choice guided the representation of “migrants”, by drawing a parallel with the historical and socio-political overview of Immigration and Asylum policies in the European Union since the 1950's. In the course of our corpus investigation, we shed light on terminological trends, attempts at “humanisation”, term uses and “abuses” and we also reported several extracts from EUR-lex documents where the EU Institutions urgently called for further attention to be paid to the terminology used in the texts and during parliamentary debates.

Although much progress has already been made to standardise the terminology of *Migration* in the EU Institutions through the development of EMN specialised glossaries and constant updates of the interactive terminology database IATE, our analysis showed that “migrants” are still vaguely represented in institutional texts (are they “migrants”, “refugees”, “asylum seekers?”), different concepts still overlap (“rifugiato” vs. “profugo”) and a wide range of

terms are used interchangeably both, in legislative texts and press releases (“rifugiato” and “richiedente asilo”, umbrella term “migranti” and umbrella term “rifugiati”). This inevitably contributes to increasing terminological confusion on what “migrants” are and how we should refer to them. It also risks spoiling information about migratory flows and provides an inconsistent picture of the institutional position in relation to migration. As remarked on by Pace & Severance (2016: 69), “failure to employ correct terminology has consequences beyond semantics, (...) and has real implications for migrants”.

By solely reporting our corpus results, it would be difficult to outline the causal factors of terminological “fuzziness” in EU Institutions. Our ethnographic analysis is meant to show not only which migration terms are used in institutional texts and how, as this would be purely a decontextualised analysis; our aim is to use our corpus results further to investigate what stands behind term choices and try to answer the following questions:

- What are the constraints encountered by EU professionals when using Migration terminology?
- How is terminology managed on an institutional level?
- Who is in charge of translating press releases and who is responsible for the terminology used in institutional texts?

In order to answer these questions, we deemed necessary to explore what happens “behind the curtains” of the EU Institutions and investigate to what extent terminology and translation at the institutional level have influenced perception of migration. In his article on EU translation, Pym (2000: 16) poses a number of questions that aim to unveil how translation is performed in EU Institutions. With reference to translated texts he asks: “To what extent do translation strategies influence the public perception of the EU?” and “Do EU translators have the power to add or to take away from the texts they work on?”. With reference to translators' institutional role in the European Union he wonders: “Is the professional vision of translators inward toward the intercultural institutions, or outward toward receivers who are not in intercultural positions?”. In light of this, we believe that by adopting an ethnographic approach to institutional translation,

we will be able to answer these questions and contextualise in relation to the corpus results we have obtained and the topic of migration in the EU Institutions.

As the Brussels-based reporter Melchior (2017: 231) remarked, “the EU Institutions and member countries share some of the blame for frequent errors in articles about the EU”. Consistency and accuracy of information are therefore essential to ensure that EU citizens and the media have the correct perception of the EU.

Before commenting on any linguistic result obtained or the translation shifts encountered with institutional texts, “the first step towards understanding why institutional translations are the way they are is to define not only what they are like but also how they came into being that way” (Koskinen 2008: 5). By taking an ethnographic approach to institutional translation we were able to shift our analysis from “what to how”, from terms to term choices, from translated texts to translation staff common practices and beliefs concerning translation.

Several scholars like Baker & McEnery (2005) and Parker (2017) have already debated the discourse and the terminological shifts in texts about “migrants”, where the adjective “illegal”, for instance, was replaced with the more politically correct term “irregular”; other researchers like Allen (2016) investigated the most frequent collocates for “migrant”, “immigrant” or “asylum seeker” in the British press, discovering that “migrants” and “immigrants” were mostly referred to as “illegal”, while the most frequent collocate for “asylum seeker” was the adjective “failed”.

Furthermore, while research has already been conducted on how the media can powerfully influence the political debate (see Fairclough 1995, Willis & Willis, 2007), scant attention has been paid to the potential influence of the EU Institutions on how the news-media shape the debate around a topic, like for instance, *Migration* and what role terminology and translation play in this regard (see Lloyd & Marconi 2014, Maresi & D'Ambrosi, 2013). The reasons behind term choice and translation policies in EU Institutions still remain an under-explored issue in Translation Studies and require more in-depth investigation. It is worth remarking the function and activities of EU Institutions are complex and still in progress; as explained by Hussain (2017: 34), the EU Institutions are

“synchronized bodies, created and grown gradually”, and this may have contributed to the lack of investigation of this topic to date.

Wagner et al. (2014: 12) emphasised for instance that there is “the common misconception that the EU is a single organisation” and clarified that “when used correctly, the 'EU' stands for the 'European Union' and refers to all the countries that belong to it. Together these countries make up the political entity called the 'EU'. If you mean the 'EU institutions', it is better to say that – even if it is less snappy.” Furthermore, what might also be unknown and deserves to be mentioned is that “it is commonly assumed that there is a single EU translation service for all the institutions” (Wagner et al. 2014: 14). In fact, the EU Institutions manage translation independently from one another, although there are several cases of interinstitutional cooperation. Indeed, there are nine separate translation services attached to the EU institutions and bodies plus freelance translators, all dealing with a considerable amount of work.

The complexity of translational activities in EU institutions has not yet received sufficient attention within Translation Studies and, above all, there are currently no comparative studies regarding their management and policies, which might differ on several levels. With the rise of sociological approaches in Translation Studies, ethnography has been increasingly employed as a methodological framework in translation research. As we explained in Chapter 2, ethnography serves as a fruitful framework for our study as it “can help researchers to find out if there are correlations between the textual profiles and the institutional policies and practices” (Schäffner, 2014: 151).

Several ethnographic studies on translation have explored institutional settings, such as the European Commission (Koskinen 2008; Lindholm, 2008), publishing houses (Buzelin 2007), translation agencies (Abdallah 2012; Risku 2004) and news agencies (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2012). These studies mainly focused on the actors involved and the organisational structures through which the translations are produced. As linguistic case studies often focus on final results, we agreed with the point of view of Schäffner (2002: 105) and decided to contextualise our findings and investigate “the actual text production-cum-

translation process in order to find out how linguistic, cultural, legal or ideological factors have an impact on the final versions of the texts”.

In our research study, we focused on the European Parliament and its translation policies and actors, which sometimes were intertwined with other EU Institutions. The analysis was therefore conducted as an interplay between the corpus-based results obtained and a broader investigation “behind the scenes” of the European Parliament, to find possible correlations between linguistic results and the beliefs, practices and unknown agents that work in tandem to produce the final translation product.

As the terminology is embedded in translation work, we structured our ethnographic analysis by conducting fieldwork in two units at the European Parliament: the **Terminology Coordination Unit** in Luxembourg, which is in charge of IATE (the interactive terminology database for Europe) and manages terminology with the 23 language units at the European Parliament, and the **Press Unit** in Brussels, which informs the media and citizens about Parliament's activities and decisions, by publishing daily press releases. As the nature of our ethnographic study was different within each unit, our ethnographic studies will be presented separately and in chronological order: in this chapter we will present the ethnographic study we conducted on the Terminology Coordination Unit, while the ethnographic fieldwork at the Press Unit will follow in Chapter 6.

In the next section, we will provide an overview of how EU Institutions have been investigated so far in several academic fields, and an information background about the role of the European Parliament as an EU Institution will follow in section 5.4.

5.2 Speaking “of” and “within” EU Institutions

In the introductory part of this chapter we pointed out how the complexity of the EU Institutions may prevent researchers from delving into the complicated EU institutional chain. As remarked by Massoli (2013: 34), “the existence of several European institutions, whose different missions and tasks are not easily perceived by the majority of public opinion, contributed in creating the “Brussels bubble” and reinforcing the sense of detachment and isolation from EU organisations”.

This complexity is not only perceived in academic research, but it results to be widespread among EU citizens and in the news-media too. “European people spend all their time explaining how the EU works, without saying anything about what the EU does for you” reports Massoli (ibid.) when referring to what had been discussed in the European Public Communication Conference in 2012.

With reference to the field of academic research, Scully (2007: 175) reflected on how “academics have traditionally devoted less time to the European Parliament, judging it less important than the other EU institutions”. Indeed, in the context of institutional translation, the only ethnographic research studies that have been produced refer to the European Commission rather than the Parliament (Koskinen 2008, Lindholm 2008). So far, three notable ethnographic studies about the European Parliament have been conducted in the field of anthropology, communication and political discourse.

In “La vie quotidienne au Parlement Européen”, the social anthropologist Abélès (1992: 13) refers to the European Parliament as an “objet politique non identifié”, quoting French politician and Europeanist Jacques Delors. His entire work is based on the European Parliament as an “institution en devenir” and employs anthropology as a weaving method to delve into the institutional setting and narrate its actors, political activities and processes. Abélès’s work represents one of the first ethnographic footprints related to the EU setting, named “Intelligence de l’Europe”, a project promoted by the French Ministry of Research and Technology, right before European elections in 1989. Abélès (1992: 9) points out that observing the European Parliament microcosm from within made it possible to observe Europe concretely, through a daily confrontation of hopes and misunderstandings.

By penetrating the “machinerie communautaire” and making the European Parliament its observatory, he illustrates its electoral system, by interviewing with MEPs and their assistants (1992: 59), he digs into the parliamentary routines in the hemicycle in Strasbourg (1992: 101), and dedicates a whole chapter to the phenomenon of the *babelisation rampante* of the European Parliament plurilingual environment. With reference to translation practices and policies, Abélès is one of the first scholars who has used anthropological methods to

highlight MEPs attitudes towards translation and interpreting. He focuses on their scheduled political meetings (1992: 103) and offers useful insights to investigate translation environments through anthropological lenses.

In 2002, three experienced translators of the European Commission, Wagner, Bech and Martínez, delved into the world of translation in the EU and intended their book “Translation in the European Union Institutions” as an aid to translation students, freelance translators and general readers to understand the European Union institutions and their work, including the effects on the language policy of the European Union by the inclusion of new member states. Wagner, Bech and Martínez (2002: 113) offer a collection of seven interviews made with both EU translators and editors, and represent the first evidence I personally found of how communication and translation are interrelated in the EU. They explain how the work of translators in the EU is not only confined to translation of legislative texts. Indeed, translators are also responsible for producing translated texts for the general public and sharing knowledge about their translation constraints; what is interesting to observe is that interviewed editor Monkcom (2002: 121) worked as a translator and language teacher, before turning his career as editor at the European Commission.

Loos (2004) conducted a case study at the European Parliament to investigate how actors from different countries and political groups and with different mother tongues produce texts together. Wodak (2009: 14) researched the European Parliament's performances and backstage communities of practice and discussed our lack of access to the politics *du couloir* and argued that academia needs to turn to the political backstage and explore how politics is done as an activity. In his work, Abélès (1993: 1-2) reports he had “the impression of dealing with a closed world with its own codes and ways of doing things”, and that “movement is so constant that one sometimes loses sight of the purpose behind all these perpetual comings and goings”. With reference to the working routine of Members of Parliament, Wodak provides her feedback as follows:

in some ways, the multiplicity of orientations of MEPs appears to be functional for the way in which the EP operates...in short, there is no simple description for the job of being an MEP... depending on how individual

MEPs organise their priorities, we find very different kinds of role/job definitions, various motives and agendas, differing visions, and multiple identities relevant for MEPs, both collectively and individually. However, we also encounter routinised patterns into which they have been socialised. (Wodak 2009: 111)

With regards to the interrelation between translation and communication in the EU, Pym (2013: 13) also raises an interesting point and calls for more interactivity in the translated communication process: “since the important thing for bureaucracies is that information be equally available in the official languages, official texts are translated for the information, not for the possible interaction”. He states that, according to a statement made by the European Commission in the 2005 Action Plan of the Directorate General for Communication: “communication is more than information: it establishes a relationship and initiates a dialogue with European citizens, it listens carefully and it connects to people. It is not a neutral exercise devoid of value, it is an essential part of the political process” (Pym, 2013: 13).

Ultimately, Pym (2013: 13) concludes that: “official translations are not the solution here - they are more likely to be part of the problem. Interactivity and involvement require speed; they pertain to the performative aspect of communication, to its nature as event”; therefore, a turn in translated communication in the EU is needed to make a step forward. Podkalicka (2007: 249) also points out that policies should be implemented “at the level of populations rather than political and economic elites” and that the EU should require a “greater diversity of sources, including voices of ‘real’ people rather than ‘experts’” (2007: 253).

The role of translator as communicator in the political dimension of multilingual translation has been widely addressed by Tosi (2003), ahead of a conference about multilingualism held in 1999, where academics and EU translators, freelancers and journalists gathered to posit solutions and improvements to the EU multilingual framework. Tosi’s study presents some ethnographic traits, like several interviews and an overview of a final round table, although he does not describe his methodology. In Chapter 9, BBC journalist

Christopher Cooks discusses a possible interrelation between translators and journalists in the EU; he remarks that “translators and journalists have more in common that they are prepared to recognize” - and concludes that - “by the same token each has much to teach the other” (2003: 103).

While Tosi’s work methodology relies more on qualitative research, Koskinen (2000, 2001, 2008) adopts a wider ethnographic angle in her analysis of EU Translation. In her book “Translating Institutions” (2008) she offers a beneficial research framework to investigate institutional translation and offers useful ethnographic tools, like questionnaires samples, interviews and profitable guidelines to organize round tables and enhance further research. Her work is a deep dive into the working routine of Finnish translators at the European Commission, carried by the added value that she worked there herself as a translator. Koskinen’s research is therefore an invaluable contribution to those researchers who are willing to conduct an ethnographic study of the EU.

While much of the scholarly interest in EU Translation has concentrated on legal texts (Šarčević 1997, 2012, Biel 2013, 2016), Koskinen (2001: 50) reflects on “the political aspects of EU Translation, the problems of intra- and intercultural communication, and the role of translators in the collective drafting process”. Following Mossop’s (1988) statement, describing institutions as a “missing factor in translation theory” (see Koskinen, 2000: 49), she extensively explains that the notion of “equality” and “equivalence” in EU Translation appear to be “illusionary” and more related to the level of social expectations. Koskinen questions that the role of translators in the EU should be rethought by the European Union and triggers further research in this field.

The concept of equality and power in EU language work has also been addressed by Nordland (2010), who reflects on the problems and perspectives of EU language policy and provides suggestions on how to study the EU language policy. Nordland also stresses that “the literature about the language work of the EU is” - still - “surprisingly limited, considering that thousands of academics have been translating for the EU for decades” (2010: 35).

Political and organizational ethnographers like Bellier and Wilson (2000) have conducted ethnographies of the EU as an international organization while

looking at them as microcosms of social, political and organizational realities, as the key objects of critical exploration. In “An Anthropology of the European Union” Bellier and Wilson investigate the difficulties of political and cultural unity in the EU and provide useful hints on which aspects should be emphasized when researching the organizational structure of an international institution. In the same text, Weiss and Wodak (2000: 75) explore the globalization rhetoric of the EU with specific reference to unemployment policies, delving into the linguistic nature of the decision-making process in the Competitiveness Advisory Group.

These discourse-ethnographic analyses across EU institutions showed how to relate collection and analysis of textual data with observations of EU organizational and interactional behavior in multilingual contexts. Those studies have also provided patterns of dealing with political meanings including interviews with politicians or in policy texts often resting on various patterns of recontextualization of wider political ideologies.

Other studies have pursued alternative ways to analyse the EU, allowing for the context of ethnographic research and dealing, for instance, with the complexity and reform of EU institutions (Egberg 2004, 2005; Kassim 2004, 2008), the EU’s democracy and democratic deficit (Follesdal and His 2006; Pollack 2007; Malone 2005), EU’s relationships with its member states in the context of Europeisation (Featherstone and Radaelli 2004) or communication and democracy in the EU (Michailidou 2008; Krzyzanowski 2012, 2013). This overview of previous studies on EU Institutions shows that ethnography has been employed as a methodology to explore different aspects and products of EU Institutions, of which many of them still challenge researchers for further investigation in this field. The first task we undertook in our ethnographic research was to ask ourselves which background information we should include or exclude when setting up the basis for this chapter and what was necessary for our readers to know about the European Parliament before delving into institutional translation policies. The linguist Steven Pinker refers to this concept as “the curse of knowledge”, “the difficulty in imagining what it is like for someone else not to know something that you know”. Therefore, we consulted with our former colleagues working at the European Parliament Press Unit to select the most

appropriate set of information regarding the European Parliament and provide a brief and satisfactory overview suitable for a specialised and non-specialised readership.

5.3 The European Parliament in a nutshell

In this section we aim to provide our readers with the necessary background information concerning the European Parliament, before delving into the first Unit's workflow where we conducted our ethnographic analysis. Following the Treaty of Lisbon, which marked a considerable shift in the mentality of the EU Institutions towards *Migration* (see section 1.2.), the European Parliament started to enjoy new additional powers and further developed its international reach, while continuing to increase its status among the institutions of the Union.

In spite of this, the European Parliament continues to struggle to be recognised as the “heart” of the European Union Institutions. Busby (2013: 95) reports a statement by Member of Parliament Andrew Duff, who belonged to the Group of Liberals and Democrats until 2004, who pointed out that “for all its new authority parliament is still unloved because the constitutional set-up of the EU is largely unknown by its citizens. Its government is complex and confusing and the EU is known more for its law and bureaucracy than for its justice and democracy”.

The European Parliament is the largest multinational parliament in the world, made up of 751 Members directly elected by voters in Member States. The Members' role is to represent the people's interests for a period of five years, especially with regards to EU law-making, and to ensure that the other EU Institutions are working democratically. On its official website, the European Parliament defines itself as “a co-legislator, sharing with the Council the power to adopt and amend legislative proposals and to decide on the EU budget”. The Parliament also supervises the work of the Commission and other EU bodies and cooperates with national parliaments of EU countries.

As reported by Wagner et al. (2014: 16), “the European Parliament's primary objectives coincide with the ones of any Parliament - to pass good laws and to scrutinise and control the use of executive power”. The Members of the European

Parliament sit in eight political groups, organised by political affiliation and not by nationality. A political group must contain at least 25 Members; MEPs cannot belong to more than one political group. If they wish, they can choose to be “non-attached Members” and not belong to any political group. As illustrated in the figure below, the European Parliament organises every week differently according to various tasks. This an example extracted from the European Parliament calendar - retrievable from its website – that shows how each week will be organised in January 2018.

	01				
	1	2	3	4	5
①	1	8	15	22	29
②	2	9	16	23	30
③	3	10	17	24	31
④	4	11	18	25	
⑤	5	12	19	26	
⑥	6	13	20	27	
⑦	7	14	21	28	

Figure 44. Weeks' organisation at the European Parliament

Green indicates “external parliamentary activities”, pink stands for “committees work”, violet indicates “political groups activities”, red refers to the most intense parliamentary week of the month which is the plenary session held in Strasbourg, and the circle indicates when the “Conciliation Committee” meets the Council at the Parliament. The “co-decision” procedure requires the Parliament and the Council to jointly agree on a text; if the Council cannot accept all the amendments adopted by the *Parliament* at second reading the negotiations between the two co-legislators of the *Conciliation Committee and the Council start*, with the objective of reaching an agreement in the form of a joint text.

5.3.1 Plenary Session and Parliamentary Committees

For the purpose of this study, it is fundamental to clarify the distinction between plenary sessions held by the Parliament in Strasbourg and the work done by parliamentary committees in Brussels. The press releases we analysed in Chapter 4 are institutional texts produced and translated by press officers during plenary sessions in Strasbourg. Press releases published after Committees' activities or votes held in Brussels are mainly written in English and French but get translated on rare occasions. Since we are focusing on institutional translation, we therefore excluded them from the analysis.

The European Parliament holds plenary sessions mainly in Strasbourg and sometimes in Brussels (mini-plenary), which usually take place once a month in 24 languages and mainly focus on parliamentary debates and votes. Plenary sittings are the culmination of the legislative work done in the parliamentary committees and political groups in Brussels; they are chaired by the President of the European Parliament whose role is to direct voting procedures, put amendments and legislative resolutions to the vote and announce results. The **European Commission** and the **Council of the European Union** also take part in the sittings and may be called upon to make declarations or to give an account of their activities in response to questions put to them by the Members of the European Parliament.

The European Parliament holds the following institutional powers:

- **legislative power:**
 - ordinary legislative procedure: the European Parliament and the Council jointly adopt the vast majority of European laws through a co-decision procedure;
 - consultation: the Parliament approves or rejects a legislative proposal or proposes amendments to it;
 - consent or non-legislative procedure: it applies only to certain agreements negotiated by the European Union;
 - other legislative procedures carried out in specific areas;
 - legislative initiatives: the Parliament can ask the Council to deliver an

opinion on the Parliament's resolution and on the Commission's work programme;

- **budgetary powers:** the Parliament shares with the Council of the European Union the power to decide on the annual budget of the EU;
- **supervisory powers:** the Parliament has the power to monitor other institutions and the proper use of the EU budget and to ensure the correct implementation of EU law.

In order to do the preparatory work necessary for the plenary session, the Members of Parliament organise their activities in specialised committees. The committees are responsible for preparing Parliament's positions in EU policy-making, setting up the legislative agenda and supervising the implementation of the adopted legislation, yearly budget and international agreements. Additionally, they also organise hearings with experts and monitor other EU institutions and bodies. For instance, the topic of migration is handled by the "LIBE" Committee, which is in charge of Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs. There are twenty parliamentary committees in total and they meet once or twice a month in Brussels to discuss specialised topics; every committee consists of a chair, a bureau and a secretariat and is made up of between 25 and 73 Members of the European Parliament. The committees undertake a wide number of tasks: they prepare, amend and adopt legislative proposals and own-initiative reports, consider the Commission and the Council proposals and can also set up special temporary committees or formal committees of inquiry.

In addition to the 751 MEPs, the Parliament is further organised into 12 Directorates-General under the supervision of a Deputy Secretary-General:

1. Directorate-General for the Presidency
2. Directorate-General for Internal Policies of the Union
3. Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union
4. Directorate-General for Parliamentary Research Services
5. Directorate-General for Communication
6. Directorate-General for Personnel
7. Directorate-General for Infrastructure and Logistics.

8. Directorate-General for Translation.
9. Directorate-General for Interpretation and Conferences.
10. Directorate-General for Finance.
11. Directorate-General for Innovation and Technological Support.
12. Directorate General for Security.

The Secretary-General is in charge and coordinates the Directorates-General. The organisation of parliamentary business however is under the political leadership of President of the European Parliament. The Units we have involved in the ethnographic analysis belong respectively to different Directorates-General: the Terminology Coordination Unit belongs to the Directorate-General for Translation, while the Press Unit is part of the Directorate-General for Communication.

5.4 “TermCoord” at DG Translation: the embryonic stage of terms

The Directorate-General for Translation ensures that the European Parliament documents are available in all 24 official languages of the European Union, enabling the Parliament to satisfy its commitment to the policy of multilingualism. As seen on the European Parliament's website, the main functions of DG TRAD can be summarised as follows:

- translating documents into and out of all 24 official languages of the European Union, providing all EU citizens with legislative texts in their own language and giving them the opportunity to communicate with the institutions in their mother tongue;
- developing and providing the appropriate IT equipment and terminology databases and subsequently integrating such tools into the workflow;
- revising documents translated externally and monitoring the quality of such translations;
- managing paid and unpaid translation traineeships.

As illustrated in the figure below, the Directorate-General for Translation is divided into three Directorates:

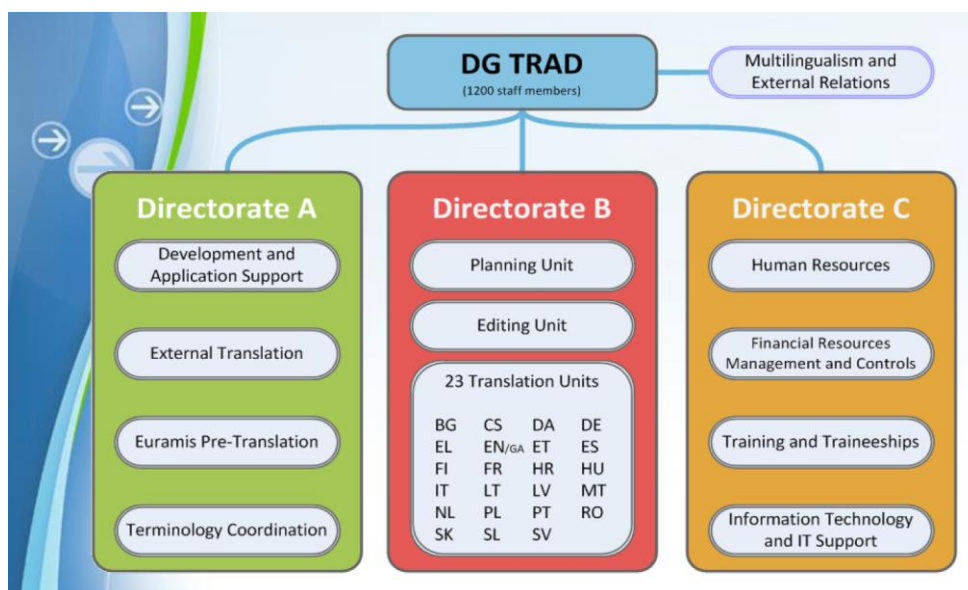


Figure 45. The Directorate-General for Translation at the European Parliament Source: TermCoord website <http://bit.ly/2BWtGqt>

The Terminology Coordination Unit belongs to Directorate A, whereas all 23 Translation units are assigned to Directorate B. All these Directorates closely cooperate with each other within the translation workflow of the Parliament. As translation is an integral part of the process of drafting and adopting legal acts, the EU Institutions employ hundreds of translators to meet translation needs and provide official documents through 552 language combinations. There are approximately 700 in-house translators, all of whom work at the European Parliament in Luxembourg, plus freelance translators whose work is revised by quality coordinators in the translation units. According to Wagner *et al.* (2014: 16), “in 2009 about 30% of [Parliament’s] workload was sent to freelance translators and agencies”.

The Terminology Coordination Unit of the European Parliament assists translators with their daily tasks by facilitating terminology research and management (generally carried out within the translation units) and by increasing the Parliament’s interinstitutional contribution to the EU terminology database IATE. However, the Directorate-General for Translation has gone through radical changes in translation management in the last twenty years; on one hand, the role of terminology and computer-assisted translation has rapidly evolved within the translation industry and on the other hand, the professionalisation of EU

translators gained greater importance due to EU enlargement in 2004 (see Pym *et al.* 2013). Our first task as ethnographers was to investigate the genealogy of TermCoord and the progress made in terminology management at the European Parliament.

5.4.1 Towards terminology coordination: the birth of TermCoord

In the past, when the European Parliament worked with less than ten official EU languages, terminology work was conducted on paper, without computer systems and translation memories. A Terminology Division was created with the aim of collecting glossaries and other terminology resources, which are now collected and available for consultation in the archives of the historical EU library in Luxembourg⁵³. As the Head of Unit, Rodolfo Maslias, told us:

In the past (...), at the beginning, FOR MANY YEARS, there was one full-time terminologist in every translation unit and it was a TRANSLATOR who was appointed to be the terminologist. All translators had a box where cards were placed in alphabetical order and filed by hand. This of course, could NOT be shared. (Interview #1)⁵⁴

At that time, more than a hundred glossaries on several domains were handed out to translators, together with dictionaries, in their respective languages. Additionally, consultations and interinstitutional meetings were organised together with the responsible administrator, the person in charge of the legal drafting process and the translators, who used to debate translation progress and constraints in the collation process⁵⁵. As reported in the extract above, one aspect that the Head of Unit of TermCoord soon emphasised in the interview was the lack of sharing of terminology. Indeed, he continues:

⁵³ The list of publications about terminology conserved at the historical EU library in Luxembourg are available at this link: <http://bit.ly/2zINuRi> (Accessed on 1st December 2017).

⁵⁴ All interviews were transcribed by using transcription conventions and are not reported in verbatim style. More details are provided in Appendix 4.

⁵⁵ The collation process consists in a meeting of translators from the different language units to ensure the consistency of all language versions.

In 1985, I created the first programme for amateur IT people through which we could share our research among the different translation units. It was the FIRST INTERNAL MULTILINGUAL portal database. (Interview #1)

The name of this interactive system for terminology was “dBase” and was available in six languages. As soon as the first terminology software such as *Workbench* and *Multiterm* started to be used at the Parliament, the Terminology Division was merged with the technical services SILK, at present called ITS, and printed glossaries were uploaded in the first database of the European Parliament called *Euterpe* (European Terminology for the European Parliament). At the same time, the European Commission launched its own terminological database called *Eurodicautom*. The concept of “sharing”, as we will later explain in a detailed section about translation management, is one of the main pillars of TermCoord's institutional identity and sparked the decision made by the EU Institutions to give birth to IATE, the interactive multilingual database of the European Union. IATE marked, indeed, the birth of the Terminology Coordination Unit.

The European Parliament created its online database called Eurterm and it was in parallel with a much bigger and much more known database of the European Commission called Eurodicautom. In 2002 it was decided to MERGE them in the database IATE. IATE is co-financed by all the institutions and only in 2008 the NEED was felt to create terminology coordination. (Interview #1)

The database EurTerm and Eurodicautom were available for internal use only; the former was used at the European Parliament, the latter was used by the European Commission, so terminology was neither harmonised between EU Institutions nor available for public consultation outside the “institutional wall”. In 2004, alongside the development of the interinstitutional translation memory system *Euramis*, the databases *Eurodicautom* and *Euterpe* were merged into one common interinstitutional terminology database called IATE. In October 2008 the Terminology Coordination Unit was launched to enhance and coordinate terminology in the EU Institutions through IATE.

5.4.2 Translation management: agents and practices at TermCoord

From the standpoint of translation as an activity, terminology is seen as a translator's instrument lying at the core of the translation process. As pointed out by Cabré (2010: 353), "terminology resources provide to translators the information needed to solve their doubts, that is, to find an equivalent in the target language, learn the meaning of a term in the source language or select the best option among several alternative terms". This is how we considered terminology as part of the translation policy implemented at the European Parliament DG Translation, where the unit TermCoord deals with the institutional terminology management and coordination.

When TermCoord was created back in 2008, the unit was solely composed of a few members: the Head of Unit, one full-time administrator and one part-time IT administrator. At present, the unit has grown to nine official members, one external web content editor and a team of rotating trainees (from 5 to 8), who are respectively employed from three to five months in two different areas: terminology and communication. Additionally, there are also unpaid study visitors coming to the unit for three weeks or one month, who can experience the work done by the team as part of their research.

As study visitors, we carried out fieldwork within this unit for a period of one month in May 2016. Coming from a journalism background, the first striking aspect we noticed when we arrived at TermCoord was the close and "unlikely" interconnection between terminology, translation and communication. This aspect harboured our hypothesis that communication and terminology in the EU context are not disjunct one from the other; in our experience in communication and journalism, no translation professional had crossed our way in news-rooms or communication departments and encountering this visible fusion between terminology and communication came as a surprise.

The Terminology Coordination Unit is mainly concerned with the Parliament's contribution to the IATE database. To coordinate IATE (see Section 3.2.2) and the terminology within the 23 language units, the unit undertakes the following tasks:

1. it coordinates IATE projects to feed and clean the termbank of 8.7 million

- terms in all EU languages;
- 2. provides IATE and terminology training at all levels for translators;
- 3. terminologists and trainees;
- 4. searches for new terminology and provides relevant terms for selected legislative procedures;
- 5. manages the interinstitutional portal Eur-Term of all EU Institutions;
- 6. provides ad-hoc tools for translators;
- 7. coordinates IATE terminology projects for translation trainees;
- 8. organises terminology-related seminars and workshops;
- 9. participates in the IATE Management Group.

As seen in the list of tasks mentioned above, coordinating the interactive multilingual database IATE is the main task undertaken by TermCoord. However, this does not mean that the Parliament is the only EU Institution in charge of it; indeed, the database is monitored by a management group with representatives from the following institutions: the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions, the Translation Centre for the Bodies of the European Union, and the European Central Bank. This interinstitutional cooperation around terminology can also be seen in relation to another platform used by in-house translators at the Parliament called ELISE (European Institutions Linguistic Information Storage and Exchange tool), and stands at the core of the birth of IATE.

Indeed, at the beginning of 2000 the need for an interactive database to strengthen the collaboration on translation became an urgent matter. EU Institutions launched a call for tenders, whereby the *Greek IT firm Quality & Reliability* and the Danish research institute *Centre for Sprogteknologi* took part in the call, leading to the formation of IATE. As the need to create one single interinstitutional portal prevailed, IATE absorbed the multilingual thesaurus *Eurovoc* and three terminologists and two assistants moved the content of *Euterpe* and the Rule of Procedures into the database. IATE was born in 2004 as an internal internet-based service for sharing terminology between institutions and became available to the public in 2007.

By conducting fieldwork at TermCoord, we identified two main principles of terminology management applied in the Unit: cooperation and sharing. One of the main challenges at TermCoord is to enhance cooperation and inclusion. Translation and terminology are not activities confined to isolation and solitude, but a sharing process where all members are institutionally “visible” and work as a team. In the ethnographic interviews we conducted with the members of the unit, we gained a better understanding of their profiles and tasks and discovered that terms go through a complex process before being stored in the IATE database. Managing the multilingual database IATE requires cooperation on two different levels: linguistic and technical.

5.4.3 Terminology Agents: who is who?

The figure reported below illustrates the composition of the Terminology Coordination Unit in two different blocks: IT Coordination and the IATE team.

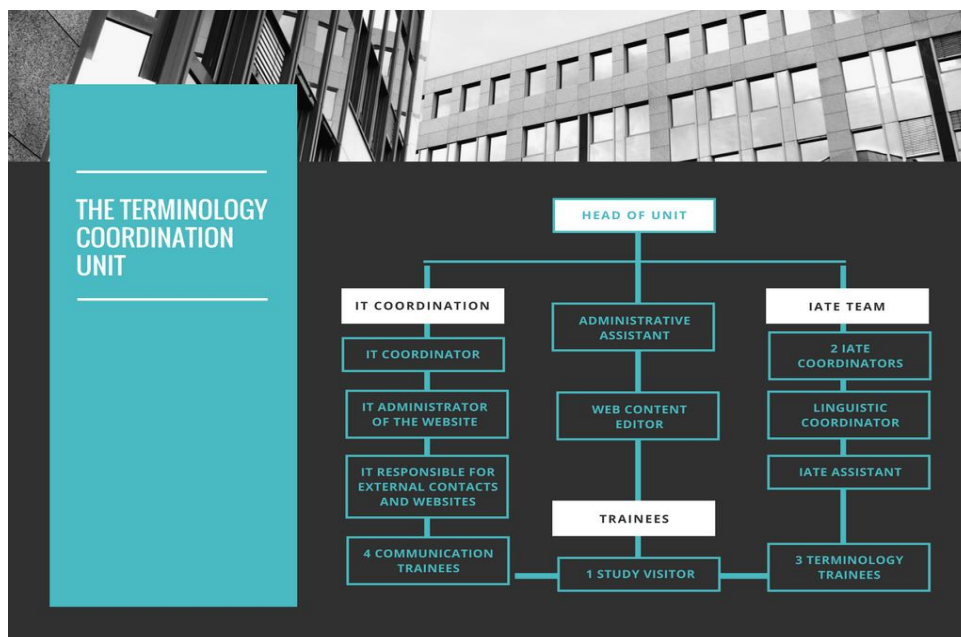


Figure 46. The Terminology Coordination Unit

According to the interviews we conducted within the Unit, all members of the IATE team and the IT Coordination group have either a linguistic or a translation university degree and most were working as translators at the European

Parliament before joining TermCoord. The Head of Unit provided us with a detailed description of the composition of the unit:

The Unit is separated into one part doing the core business, which is our main objective task, to MANAGE with other institutions IATE, the terminology database, (...) and also to coordinate the terminology work done within the linguistic units; we call this part the IATE team and this IATE team is made up of four members of the permanent staff and always has the assistance of three trainees, who apply especially for our unit in terminology and have very advanced skills in terminology. SO they cooperate with the permanent staff members and they make the IATE team. (Interview #1)

The main task of the IATE team is to manage terminology projects and assess the quality of terms stored in IATE. As the linguistic coordinator told us:

We [the IATE team] are all specifically responsible for everything related to terminology projects within the unit. I am responsible for quality-related issues as well, ALSO for the integration of terminology tools, trainees, organising seminars and trainings. The main task is communicating with the terminologists of the language units, keeping in touch with other colleagues and participating in different meetings. (Interview #2)

The second group of terminology agents belongs to the block of IT Coordination and deals with the management of three websites:

The first one is the internal one, addressed to all translators of the translation units, sharing the resources that they need and the second one is an interinstitutional one called Eur-Term, that is a terminology portal for all the thirteen institutions participating in the so called IATE Management Group, to collect and share terminology material for all translators, but also for drafters and all officials who access it through a special password that all officials of all EU Institutions have, called ECAS and the second objective is to provide collaborative platforms to work on common terminology projects among all institutions to have contacts, to know who are the terminologists, the quality coordinators. And this portal also has a wiki for each language for which our unit has been charged to initiate and to manage in cooperation with the responsible official language community. The third website, which is a very important task for our communication team is a public website that

TermCoord has; it the ONLY PUBLIC website of all the institutions and it has the aim to network us with institutional and academic bodies specialised in terminology. (Interview #1)

While the IATE team manages cooperation with other EU Institutions, the IT Coordination team is in charge of making all content available on TermCoord's internal and external websites and sharing this content with other EU Institutions and EU citizens.

5.4.4 Terminology Practices

Cooperation on a terminology level is enhanced by providing a wide range of terminology tools to the language units and to anyone in need of terminological support at the European Parliament. Terminology is not only used by translators or interpreters, but is employed by legislators, politicians and communicators in the production of draft laws. The main task is to collect terminology and store terms in one single interinstitutional database called IATE. There are currently three processes implemented by TermCoord to collect and store terminology in IATE.

First of all, translators can save their terminology findings using a feature called *TermSafe*, and these are later collected and checked by the IATE assistant at TermCoord. However, the process of collecting terminology does not always originate from TermCoord but is rather an institutional bi-directional process. The European Parliament committees, working groups or individual MEPs can make their own requests, depending on their needs to define terminology for institutional purposes. TermCoord refers to this practice as “proactive terminology support”, especially with regards to high-priority procedures where the European Parliament is responsible for verifying the legal language and the final text, voted at the Plenary Session, must be translated and published in the Official Journal.

To assist translators with the complex terminology of institutional texts, TermCoord prepares ad-hoc subject-based **TermFolders**⁵⁶, whose compilation consists of the following steps:

⁵⁶ TermFolders prepared by TermCoord are publicly available at the following link: <http://termcoord.eu/iate/termfolders/> (Accessed on 2nd December 2017).

1. collecting related texts in English;
2. extracting relevant terms;
3. adding terms to IATE;
4. cleaning up any inconsistencies in IATE;
5. sending the list of entries to the translation units.

TermFolders are prepared to increase terminological clarity in complex and recent areas like cybersecurity, data protection or disability terminology and are sometimes created by extracting terms from legislative resolutions like the “Railway Package”, the implementation of the “Common Fisheries Policy”, the recent Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry on Terrorism (PANA), whose legislative texts are all contained in the Official Journal of the European Union.

During our fieldwork at TermCoord we asked permission to publish the internal procedure concerning the compilation of TermFolders. The workflow to compile TermFolders is organised as follows:

1. Directorate B appoints a file coordinator and informs TermCoord;
2. Based on the information on the file coordinators' page and any available procedure documents, the IATE team decides if a TermFolder should be created;
3. Key terms are selected from the available documents;
4. Concepts are researched, defined and documented in IATE;
5. A TermFolder web page is created on the internal website where all relevant information is published:
 - EN glossary with definitions (monolingual entries are not searchable in Quest);
 - list of updated IATE entries for the information of PSCs and terminologists;
 - information about jargon or other problems that cannot be documented in IATE;
 - relevant reference material found during the research;
6. The parts of the TermFolder webpage that are relevant for external translators are copied to the external website and the link is sent to the

translation units by using the Outlook group ETU_TermFolders under TermCoord contacts.

The IATE team is also in charge of specialised **IATE projects** to provide topic-oriented multilingual entries in IATE and enhance the correct use of terminology in legislative texts. Some examples of such projects regard, for instance, gender terminology, electronic mass surveillance and robotics terminology, which are requested by Directorate B and sent to TermCoord (Directorate A). Besides IATE, TermCoord provides translators with a collection of **glossary links** to 3000 multilingual, bilingual and monolingual glossaries and dictionaries available online, categorised according to the domains featured in parliamentary texts. These links are retrievable by keyword, language, source or category. In the following figures, an example for the term entry “migration” is provided. The results obtained provide two links to the glossaries produced by the European Migration Network and one to the Council of the European Union.

GLOSSARY LINKS

Category: Any category

Keyword: migration

Source: Enter Description

Languages: EN IT

Find Glossary Clear Generate Link

Figure 47. Term entry “migration” in TermCoord section “Glossary Links”

Search results

Your search found 3 glossaries :

[EMN Glossario Migrazione e asilo -
EMN Migration and Asylum Glossary](#)

Source: www.seiugl.it

DA DE EL EN ES FI FR HU IT LT LV NL PL PT SK EE IE SE SI

[European Migration Network \(EMN\)
Glossary](#)

Source: www.ec.europa.eu

EN ES FR IT PT AR

[Migration: Key terms in 23 languages](#)

Source: www.bookshop.europa.eu

BG CS DA DE EL EN ES ET FI FR GA HU IT LT LV MT NL PL PT
RO SK SL SV

Figure 48. Results for the term “migration” in the Glossary links section

Ultimately, the last tool provided by TermCoord to the translators of the language units is the so called “**DocHound**”, a reference page that provides links to several types of legislative documents used in the EU institutions, which can be used to easily find source texts.



EU Interinstitutional Document Search

These are resources from EU Institutions of interest to translators. This page is updated regularly. Please send us your [feedback](#). Note that the links marked with an inverted bullet (▣) are intended for staff of the institution to which the link belongs and might not work for users outside that institution.

BASIC DOCUMENTS	LEGISLATIVE DRAFTING	OVERVIEW OF PROCEDURES	PRESS AND LIBRARY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaties (EUR-Lex) Official Journal Search EUR-Lex Simple Search Official Journal Budget of the EU National legislation (N-Lex) Financial regulation International agreements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interinstitutional style guide Manual of precedents for acts established within the Council of the EU Joint Handbook EN – Council of the European Union ▣ Legislative drafting guide – EUR-Lex – Europa.eu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> OEIL – Legislative Observatory of the EP PreLex database – monitoring of the decision making process between institutions IPEX – The platform for EU Interparliamentary Exchange (documents from national parliaments on specific proposals under the principle of subsidiarity) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EP Press Archives RAPID Press release archive Council press release database List of press contacts in EU institutions and bodies EP Library ▣
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SEARCH IN EP DOCUMENTS Search in plenary sittings documents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reports Motions for resolutions Texts adopted Debates Agendas Minutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Search in committees' documents Ordinary legislative procedure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parliamentary positions Joint texts Parliamentary questions Conference of Presidents – Bureau – Quaestors ▣ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rules of procedure Compendium of rules ▣ EP Establishment Plan ▣ Joint parliamentary assemblies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly EuroNest Parliamentary Assembly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> RDM Document models Staff Regulations Delegations and related documents Studies according to policy areas Rare documents on Epades Public ▣ Sirius
COUNCIL OF THE EU	EUROPEAN COMMISSION	EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE	EUROPEAN COURT OF AUDITORS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SIMPLE SEARCH FOR COU DOCUMENTS Search in ordinary legislative procedures (codecision) Council treaties and agreements database Council Press releases Council public register 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SIMPLE SEARCH FOR EC DOCUMENTS Comitology register EC Public consultations European Citizen's Initiative Register 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SIMPLE SEARCH IN CASE-LAW Advanced search in case-law Search in EU case-law via EUR-Lex Annual reports National case-law concerning EU 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SIMPLE SEARCH FOR ECA DOCUMENTS
OTHER INSTITUTIONS AND BODIES			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Council European Central Bank <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Search the legal framework Governing Council decisions Publications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic and Social Committee Committee of the Regions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Investment Bank – EIB Publications European External Action Service European Ombudsman – Public register 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Data Protection Supervisor Publications Office

Figure 49. DocHound Section provided by TermCoord

The terminology we described in this section was produced by TermCoord to improve translators' work. The next section will take a closer look at how TermCoord cooperates with translators within the European Parliament, and how

translators working at the Italian language unit in Luxembourg manage their translation work.

5.4.5 Cooperation in relation to terminology within the European Parliament

The principles of cooperation and sharing represent the strengths and challenges of TermCoord management, as the several language units are free to adopt different management practices to achieve the same goals. For instance, we noticed that the policies and institutional procedures regarding participation in research projects differed from unit to unit. At first, our aim was to conduct interviews with at least one translator belonging to every language unit, but as the procedures and bureaucracies varied from unit to unit, we preferred to focus on the Italian language unit and overcome the “bureaucratic monster”. This principle may be applicable to all management layers of the different Directorates. This “unity in diversity” approach permeates all institutional levels of the EU Institutions, rendering the terminology workflow as challenging as it is intricate.

To keep the terminologists and translators of the Parliament up-to-date and to facilitate cooperation within the European Parliament, TermCoord uses several means of communication. Alongside e-mail exchanges, IATE and the tools we described in the previous sections, Terminology Network meetings are organised twice a year to discuss the most important issues related to terminology, as well as “TerminoCafés”, where TermCoord staff and the translators can focus on particular questions relevant to each unit. On request, TermCoord also organises guided tours within the translation units in order to staff a brief overview of the available terminology resources, tools and services at their disposal. As we mentioned in Chapter 3, at present there are no full-time terminologists at the European Parliament, but only translators working as terminologists in several language units. “Rotating terminologists” are invited to TermCoord for a period of three months to delve into terminology work and acquire more competencies.

During our fieldwork at TermCoord we had the opportunity to meet two translators and one terminologist working at the Italian language unit in Luxembourg, with whom we discussed translation practices, management and

beliefs and the benefits and constraints of cooperating with TermCoord and with other “unknown agents”.

5.4.6 The Translator and the Translator/Terminologist

Although there are currently no full-time terminologists at the European Parliament, but only at the European Commission, the Head of Unit told us that the Directorate-General is progressing towards employing full-time terminologists at the Parliament too. Terminology work at the Parliament is currently embedded in the translation process and mainly relies on cooperation between the language units and TermCoord. Identifying “who has translated what and why” was not feasible in the case of our corpus-analysis of documents in EUR-lex, so the results we obtained guided us in our observation practices to explore how difficult coordinating terminology is and what constraints translation agents encounter when translating.

Our ethnographic fieldwork with translators consisted of two single interviews conducted in two different places, at two different times. As our research focused on term equivalents in Italian, we engaged with one translator and one translator-terminologist working at the Italian language unit in Luxembourg. As their working routine is very diverse and revolves around tight deadlines, according to the intensity of parliamentary weeks, we opted to conduct single interviews and avoid observation practices. The first interview took place during our Study Visit at TermCoord at the Italian Translation Unit. The second one took place in Brussels instead, during an event organised by DG Translation about multilingualism in the EU. Both translators positively welcomed this initiative, and agreed to participate in the project with enthusiasm. Both interviews were conducted in Italian to create more intimacy between the interviewer and the respondent and as Italian was the first language of all participants. The interview was structured by focusing on the components of the nexus model: translation management, agents, practices and beliefs.

Both interviews started by letting the translators talk about what they translate, assuming that translation was their only task. The question was not “what do you do as a translator” but “what type of documents do you translate”.

This was done on purpose, to see if at some point, one or both translators would break the conversation to remark that they also deal with alternative tasks. The translators of the European Parliament are indeed mainly concerned with the translation of a long list of different institutional documents and content, either legislative or non-legislative binding, like:

- legislative reports produced prior to negotiations between the Parliament and the Council;
- amendments written by the parliamentary committees;
- resolutions voted on during plenary sessions;
- parliamentary questions and opinions;
- and all the institutional texts that are published in the Official Journal of the European Union.

Furthermore, there are other types of institutional texts they are responsible for, including Members' speeches, confidential documents and more general content on institutional websites:

riceviamo testi scritti in italiano dai deputati che necessitano di (...), ehm, una revisione a livello di stile e punteggiatura per essere fruibili per essere tradotti dalle altre unità perché spesso la qualità redazionale lascia molto a desiderare. (laughs).

Back Translation: We receive texts written in Italian by Members who need (...) uhm, a revision in terms of style and punctuation, to be usable and translated from other units, because often the editorial quality leaves a lot to be desired (laughs). (Interview #3)

If politicians and their *entourage* provide documents of poor quality, which seems to happen frequently, the translator's role becomes essential to raise the standards of that text. Besides legislative texts, translators indeed deal with political texts too, which have a different communicative purpose compared to voted resolutions published in the Official Journal of the European Union. From our experience at the European Parliament, we saw that political texts and their translations are tasks often undertaken by MEP assistants, so we kept this information for the second “ethnographic round” with the Press Unit, to see if that would come as a surprise for them too.

While quickly listing the wide range of documents she translates, the first translator did not disappoint our expectations and **independently** pointed out how their role has changed in the last seven years:

Ehm (...) il ruolo del traduttore però all'interno del Parlamento europeo è in continua evoluzione. Diciamo che se una volta il traduttore restava nel suo ufficio a tradurre tutto il giorno oggi ha compiti molto diversificati.

Back Translation: Uhm (...), the role of the translator in the European Parliament is constantly evolving. Let's say that whereas once the translator remained in his office to translate all day long, today he has very diverse tasks. (Interview #3)

By merging both translators' responses, we were able to make a list of further tasks translators undertake at the European Parliament, which are usually ignored:

- **the *misinforme*** (both): meaning that they are responsible for ensuring that the linguistic form and layout of all the Italian texts the unit receives from freelancers are revised;
- **quality coordination** (first translator): dealing with quality issues, customer complaints, and drafting and providing guidelines to ensure consistent translations in terms of style and also terminology;
- **file coordination** (first translator): coordinating information regarding legislative package and organisational details, like deadlines or number of pages to be translated;
- **adding and updating terms in IATE** (second translator);
- **thematic groups** (both): each thematic group specialises in a particular area;
- **organisation of events related to translation** (second translator):
“Multilingualism Day” held in Brussels;
- **ad-hoc translation projects in collaboration with DG Communication:**
translating general contents for new initiatives like the “House of European History”, the “European Youth Event” and the “Sacharov” Prize.

As this list shows, the role of translators is very proactive from the point of view of the tasks they have to deal with on a daily basis, as well as for the several languages from which they translate the texts into Italian:

purtroppo non copriamo tutte le lingue e per alcune dobbiamo ricorrere al sistema PV ossia aspettare che l'inglese o il francese, tedesco, spagnolo e italiano siano pronti per iniziare a tradurre. Ad esempio, per il lituano non abbiamo nessuno quindi aspettiamo che la traduzione inglese sia pronta e traduciamo dall'inglese. Quindi il rischio dell'effetto telefono senza fili.. Ogni passaggio che va ad aggiungersi aumenta il rischio di errore; a volte ci sono casi anche interessanti in cui la traduzione dal lituano all'inglese se rivista va bene, la traduzione dall'inglese all'italiano se rivista può andare bene perchè c'è un piccolo margine di interpretazione ma se poi si confrontano lituano e italiano non sono la stessa cosa (laughs).

Back Translation: Unfortunately, we do not cover all languages and in some cases we have to use the *relay* system, meaning that we have to wait for the English or French, German, Spanish versions to start translating. For example, for Lithuanian we have nobody, so we wait for the English translation to be ready – for example – and we then translate from English. So the risk is the “telephone charades” effect. Every passage increases the risk of error; sometimes there are also interesting cases where the translation from Lithuanian to English is fine, the translation from English into Italian is fine but if you compare the Lithuanian and the Italian versions they do not correspond (laughs). (Interview #3)

In spite of the fact that translators have several advanced tools at their disposal, correspondence between different language versions is still felt as a serious challenge almost inevitable. Both translators reported to us that they use several tools to translate institutional texts, such as the software *SDL Studio*, which was bought by the Parliament, and *CAT for Trad*, an internal software designed ad-hoc by the Parliament for the translators. Furthermore, they also use the European Commission database *Euramis*, as well as an internal software called *Doc EP* which contains all types of legislative documents that are automatically transferred in the software *Cat for Trad*.

After a first round of background information concerning their translation tasks and tools, we shifted the conversation to the topic of migration and to the results we obtained in our corpus analysis of institutional texts. Both translators were not surprised to hear our findings; although they commented that confusing an “asylum seeker” with a “refugee” is considered a serious mistake in a legislative text, they seemed to be aware of the constraints other translators might have encountered. We asked them which terminological constraints they generally encountered and how they usually tackle them.

The first relevant information they provided concerns how terms flow across EU Institutions. The majority of the terms are coined and first used by the European Commission, who is the legislative initiator:

Diciamo che il Parlamento nella procedura legislativa ordinaria modifica dei testi proposti dalla Commissione europea e in questo caso la proposta di tradurre “hotspot” come punto di crisi è partita dalla Commissione europea e noi l'abbiamo ripresa. Ciò non toglie che ci siano dei contatti con le nostre omologhe terminologhe, quality coordinators di altre istituzioni e abbiamo una piattaforma per comunicare che si chiama “elise” e (...) quando ci sono delle (...) questioni da risolvere a livello interistituzionale usiamo questa piattaforma di scambio e quando una persona lavora a determinate procedure può creare degli “alert” per essere avvisato quando qualcosa viene inserito. Purtroppo c'è sempre un divario temporale molto ampio perché quando la Commissione traduce la comunicazione, la proposta scrive in elise gli esperti consultati per problemi terminologici. A noi questo arriva dopo un anno, dopo due anni.

Back Translation: Let's say that the Parliament, in the ordinary legislative procedure, amends the texts proposed by the European Commission, and in this case, the proposal to translate “hotspot”^{€™} as “punto di crisi” started from the European Commission, and was later used by us too. Moreover, we keep closer contacts with our terminologists and quality coordinators from other institutions and we have a platform to communicate called *Elise* (...). When there are (...) issues to be resolved at interinstitutional level, we use this exchange platform and when a person works on certain procedures, he can create "alerts" to be notified when something is inserted. Unfortunately, there is always a very wide time gap, because when the Commission

translates the communication, the proposal reports the experts consulted on the terminological issues into the platform. This is notified after a year, after two years. (Interview #3)

A lack of time and the issue of coordination were the predominant difficulties related to terminology that emerged from both our ethnographic fieldwork at TermCoord and in our interviews with the Italian translators. As terminology evolves rapidly and the chain of legislative procedures turns out to be very complex, merging all resources into one single database like IATE seems to be the only solution to harmonise terminology and communication in EU Institutions. When translators encounter a terminology problem, which is not solvable by consulting IATE, they first consult with their terminologists within the language unit. There are currently two translators working as terminologists in the Italian language unit. We interviewed one of them, who explained us what her tasks are:

alimento la banca dati IATE, che è la banca dati terminologica aperta anche al pubblico, e riceviamo delle informazioni su come alimentare, come creare le varie voci, in base agli iter legislativi in corso, e le tematiche trattate, in modo da tenerla aggiornata, così che possa servire ai traduttori. La Commissione crea la proposta e di solito il Parlamento si adegua alla terminologia della Commissione. Ci sono dei termini che possono risultare oggetto di dibattito come “hotspot”, allora lì ci sono delle riunioni terminologiche interistituzionali, e si discute e alla fine si cerca di uniformare. L'idea è di uniformare, perché tutti lavoriamo per gli stessi testi legislativi e gli stessi atti. Ci sono degli altri forum dove discutono di terminologia come la Rete REI (rete di eccellenza dell'italiano istituzionale) però non so quanto siano vincolanti le raccomandazioni che danno loro, mentre di solito all'interno del gruppo IATE ci sono degli accordi.

Back Translation: I store the terms in IATE, which is the terminology database that is publicly available. We receive information on how to add and update term entries, based on the current legislative procedures, so that they can be used by translators. The Commission creates the proposal and the Parliament usually adapts to the Commission's terminology. There are several terms that can be used for “hotspot”, so there are interinstitutional terminology meetings, there is discussion and in the end we try to

standardise. The idea is to standardise, because we are all working on the same legislative texts and the same acts. (Interview #4)

Besides internal discussions with the terminologists working in other institutions and through the platforms available for discussion like IATE and ELISE, there are other professional figures translators consult with when encountering a terminological problem:

Nel caso in cui il testo iniziale parte dal Parlamento, la controparte con cui ci confrontiamo sempre, anche nell'ambito della co-decisione per carità, ma soprattutto quando non abbiamo contatti con altre istituzioni sono i giuristi linguisti. I giuristi linguisti sono in contatto con degli esperti nazionali e loro possono chiedere un parere terminologico.

Back Translation: If the text originates from the Parliament, and we do not have any contacts with other institutions, the professionals we always have to deal with, even in the context of co-decision, are the lawyer-linguists. Lawyer-linguists are in contact with national experts, from whom they may request a terminological opinion. (Interview #3)

Lawyer-linguists (see Čavoški 2017) are responsible for making legislation in a multiplicity of languages, but are lawyers and not translators. Together with national experts, they play a fundamental role in coining and standardising new terms, together with the terminologists and the translators of the language units. Lawyer-linguists symbolise the indissoluble interaction between language and law. As reported by a lawyer-linguist in an interview published on the EU Council official You-Tube Channel, “lawyer-linguists are often confused for translators; they are responsible for the quality of legislation, to ensure that any legislation which is adopted by the EU is legally coherent, factually correct but also linguistically correct”⁵⁷. Terminological consistency is therefore interconnected

⁵⁷ For further information about the role of lawyer-linguists in EU Institutions, please consult the following links: - Interview with a lawyer-linguist working at the Council of the European Union: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n3c80Xpords> (Accessed on 14th December 2017). - Presentation by a lawyer-linguist and his view on terminology: <http://termcoord.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Robertson-EP-draft-final-10-11-2013small.pdf> (Accessed on 14th December 2017).

with the stages of legislative procedures, from the European Commission proposal until Parliament's and Council's approval. Lawyer-linguists initiate the terminological process, which is later mediated and updated by the terminologists and the translators.

During our discussion concerning the fuzziness of terminology of migration, both translators raised an important point. Legal terms are easier to harmonise compared to more general but related terms. Two examples they both referred to were the terms “hotspot” (punto di crisi) and “asylum shopping”⁵⁸, which are not legal terms but are extensively used in institutional communications and in the media:

Un termine in corso di discussione, o altri termini, sono “asylum shopping”, “visa shopping”, “return shopping”. È stato lanciato un concorso informale in seno al Consiglio per trovare degli equivalenti, visto che spesso anche nella stampa viene ripreso il termine inglese. Per ora, (...), tra i candidati abbiamo “caccia all'asilo più vantaggioso”, “caccia la rimpatrio più vantaggioso” e saranno ulteriormente vagliati.

Back Translation: A term under discussion, or other terms, are “asylum shopping”, “visa shopping”, “return shopping”. An informal competition has been launched in the Council to find equivalents, as the English term is often used in the press. For the time being, (...), among the candidates [for “asylum shopping] we have “caccia all'asilo più vantaggioso”, “caccia la rimpatrio più vantaggioso”.

Concerning the term “asylum shopping”, the English term is still being used in institutional texts in Italian, since no agreement has been reached yet. In the case

⁵⁸ According to the EMN glossary, “asylum shopping” is defined as follows: “In the context of the Dublin Regulation, the phenomenon where third-country nationals apply for international protection in more than one Member State with or without having already received international protection in one of those Member States”. In a note it is specified that: “The term ‘asylum-shopping’ has no legal definition, but is used in an informal sense and also in Commission Communications. It is often used with a negative connotation, as it implies an abuse of the asylum procedure through the lodging of more than one application for international protection in different

of “hotspot”, the terminological outcome was different; the Italian equivalent proposed for “hotspot” was “punto di crisi” which, however, did not have much success. As one of the translator told us:

La traduzione “punto di crisi” è stata concordata con l'autore principale della comunicazione, è stata concepita per poter coprire il maggior numero di significati, non essendo ancora chiara, almeno ai traduttori, la natura dell'oggetto designato.

Back Translation: The translation of “punto di crisi” has been agreed with the main author of the communication [the legislator], it has been conceived to cover the greatest number of meanings, since it is not yet clear, at least to the translators, the nature of the designated object.

Thus, the problem with accepting this equivalent is the reliance on the vague definition of the concept in English, which is still unstable and also reflects the instability of the situation of those people who are temporarily kept in these areas. The very first definition for “hotspot” appeared only recently, in a Communication from the European Commission to the Parliament and the Council on September, 23 2015, where a “hotspot” is defined as follows:

"A 'hotspot' is an area at the external border that is confronted with disproportionate migratory pressure. Examples are Sicily and Lampedusa in Italy or Lesbos and Kos in Greece. It is in these 'hotspots' where most migrants enter the Union. It is here where the EU needs to provide operational support to ensure that arriving migrants are registered, and to avoid that they move on to other Member States in an uncontrolled way".

Source: EUR-lex <http://bit.ly/2BWtGqt> (Accessed on 14th December 2017)

The consequent effect of assigning an equivalent to an undefined concept was that the media and the institutional press services preferred to use the anglicism “hotspot” in Italian texts too, for reasons of clarity and familiarity of the readership with the English version.

Member States (choosing the Member State which may grant the most appealing social, humanitarian and economic standards)”. EMN Glossary (2014: 34)

What emerged from both interviews is that translators and translator-terminologists are not alone in the battle for terminological harmonisation, but it is the interplay and the cooperation among all these professionals that can further consolidate terminology in EU Institutions. With reference to the usefulness of IATE in finding suitable candidate equivalents for “asylum shopping”, one translator reported:

Per ora in IATE abbiamo (...) un termine molto esplicativo, “moltiplicarsi delle domande di asilo”, però sarebbe opportuno trovare qualcosa di più stringato. A volte IATE non è utilizzato per fissare una terminologia ma per basi di conoscenza. C'era anche un'altra scheda della Corte di Giustizia risalente al 2012. I terminologi delle unità linguistiche sono competenti per il contenuto. TermCoord coordina e si pronuncia sulla correttezza formale delle schede ma ogni istituzione è abbastanza autonoma. Tant'è vero che qui (internal IATE) si può vedere l'istituzione che lo ha inserito e ci sono dei doppioni. Uno dei principi prima di inserire un nuovo termine in IATE è quello di cercare se il termine esiste già e aggiornare la scheda esistente, non crearne una nuova come in questo caso. Perché poi diventa un lavoro immane cercare di inserire tutti questi dati. Chi deve farlo è un traduttore/terminologo delle unità linguistiche. Quindi sono risorse che vengono tolte alla traduzione e i capi unità specie in periodi molto carichi sono molto restii.

Back Translation: For now, in IATE we have (...) a very explanatory term, "moltiplicarsi delle domande d'asilo", but it would be advisable to find something tighter. Sometimes IATE is not used to establish a terminology but as a basis for knowledge. There was also another folder uploaded by the Court of Justice from 2012. The terminologists of the language units are responsible for the content. TermCoord coordinates and intervenes regarding the formal correctness of the forms but each institution is quite autonomous. So here (internal IATE), you can see the institution that has inserted the folder and sometimes there are some duplications. One of the principles before inserting a new term in IATE is to check if the term already exists and then update the existing folder, without creating a new one as in this case, because then it becomes a huge job to try to merge all these data. A translator/terminologist of the language units must do this. Therefore, these

are resources that are “stolen” from the translation and the heads of units, especially when the volume of work is high.

What we could grasp from this conversation is that the amount of time dedicated to terminology is not always sufficient as there are often tight deadlines to deliver the translated texts. As we explained in the section dedicated to the research model, translation management and practices are intertwined with translation beliefs. During our discussion, both translators raised interesting points of view regarding the way they see their professional role; we report an extract of our conversation below:

Noi siamo la voce dei deputati letti dai cittadini quindi è molto interessante a volte dover tradurre dei testi con i quali non siamo assolutamente d'accordo personalmente (laughs) però noi dobbiamo nasconderci per poter lasciare che la volontà dei cittadini si esprima attraverso i deputati.

Back Translation: We are the voice of Members read by the citizens, so it is very interesting that we sometimes have to translate texts with which we do not entirely agree personally (laughs), but we must hide ourselves in order to allow the will of the citizens to be expressed through Members.

Interviewer: Però invisibile attivamente! (laughs)

Back Translation: but actively invisible! (laughs)

Respondent: Sì (laughs). Noi siamo al servizio dei cittadini. È quello che apprezzo molto di questa situazione ad esempio ad altre che sono più distanti dal cittadino e anche il Parlamento trovo che abbia una volontà di comunicazione molto forte rispetto ad altre istituzioni, una volontà di trasparenza e di apertura che apprezzo molto.

Back Translation: Yes. (laughs) We are at the service of the citizens. This is what I very much appreciate, for example, compared to others [institutions] who are further away from the citizens; I find that the Parliament also has a strong will to communicate with other institutions, a desire for transparency and openness that I very much appreciate.

The second translator, who also works as a terminologist in the Italian language unit talked about her professional role by expressing her concerns:

Il lavoro del traduttore richiede buon senso perché a volte si ha a che fare con testi delicati e si decide caso per caso perché non ci sono direttive per ogni cosa, per ogni situazione. Il lavoro è impegnativo e le scadenze sono impellenti e urgenti. Da quando il Parlamento è co-legislatore a pieno titolo, dopo il trattato di Lisbona il numero di pagine è cresciuto, e quindi non c'è tempo da dedicare alla terminologia.

Back Translation: The work of translators requires common sense because sometimes you have to deal with delicate texts and you decide case by case; because there are no directives for everything, for every situation. The work is demanding and the deadlines are urgent. Since Parliament has become a co-legislator thanks to the Treaty of Lisbon, the number of pages has grown, so there is little time to devote to terminology.

What resulted from our interview is that the role of the translator conforms to institutional aims, but translation is also seen as a personal act and not “typically anonymous, collective and standardised” (Koskinen 2011: 57). Perceptions explained by translators were very useful to gain insight into the complexity of the translation process in EU Institutions. Of course, our results as reported in Chapter 3 and 4 suggest that the translation process is not always homogenous; it could be described as a long chain where responsibilities for final translation products are distributed among several professionals with tight deadlines and many tools at their disposal. The challenge of terminological harmonisation is, however, still progressing and we hope we have provided a first glimpse into how the process works, who the unknown agents are and how they interact, as well as identifying which translation constraints lie in the translation process.

The next section will delve into cooperation on terminology with other EU Institutions by taking a closer look at how the IATE Management Group works.

5.4.7 Interinstitutional Cooperation on Terminology

As we learnt from the previous section, harmonising terminology and providing consistency through the IATE database plays a key role in the translation process. The IATE database is managed by an interinstitutional team chaired in turn by one of the institutions contributing to IATE and its funding. The Head of Unit of

TermCoord kindly invited us to participate as observers during a meeting of the IATE Management Group, which took place on May 30th 2016 at the Translation Centre for the Bodies of the European Union in Luxembourg.

The IATE Management Group is chaired by the Translation Centre, which caters to all the Commission's agencies and also houses the team responsible for the technical maintenance and improvement of the database. TermCoord represents the Parliament in the IATE Management Group, which puts in place task forces and working groups in order to constantly improve the content, interface and functions of IATE. At the meeting, there was one representative for the terminology coordination of every EU Institution: the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions, the Court of Auditors and the Translation Centre, the European Court of Justice, the European Investment Bank and the European Central Bank. Concerning the Parliament, TermCoord Head of Unit, the IATE Linguistic Coordinator and the Web Content Editor were present at the meeting.

Apart from administrative and technical aspects, which are not relevant to report for the purposes of our research, a longer amount of time was devoted to the implementation of the new interinstitutional portal EurTerm. EurTerm is a project of the IATE Management Group, created to collect contributions relating to terminology from all EU institutions and to provide support and resources in the field. EurTerm is the interinstitutional terminology portal offering cooperation on terminology and language level. The website contains so-called "language wikis", where translators can discuss terminology, find useful contacts for terminologists and other experts, consult with a calendar for all institutional and external events concerning terminology and access a vast collection of institutional and external resources, such as links to terminology-focused websites, online training and databases. EurTerm also contains interactive material like videos, e-books and news from around the world on terminology. We received kind permission to publish an image of the website's interface, whose figure is reported below.

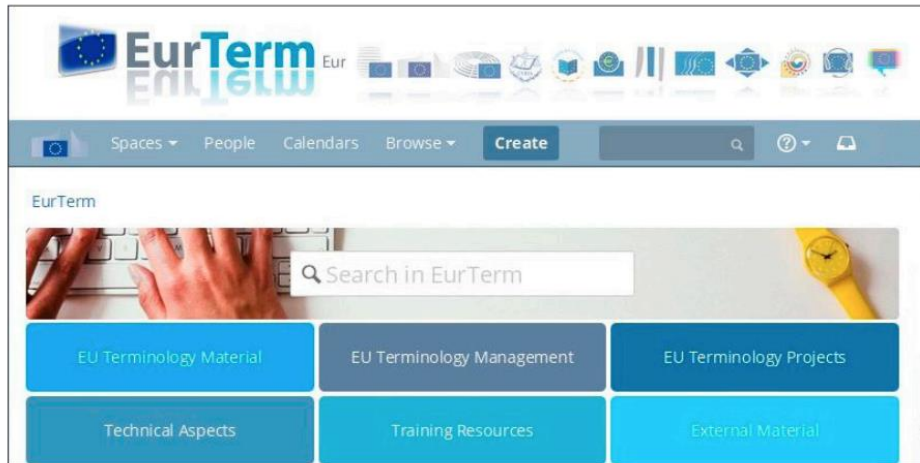


Figure 50. The interinstitutional portal Eur-Term

The meeting participants discussed whether EurTerm should be used only internally by the EU staff or should be made accessible to the public as well. We will respect the confidentiality of some institutional information we received by solely reporting that the positions concerning public access to EurTerm are not homogenous and reflect different institutional attitudes. While more conservative positions defended the institutional right of secrecy, there were also more progressive attitudes presented which promoted more institutional transparency.

While all EU Institutions unanimously share the principle of cooperation, the principle of sharing internal processes of terminology management with a wider audience divides professionals and is still a work in progress.

In the next section, we will gain better insight into the principle of “sharing” by explaining how TermCoord is trying to raise awareness on the importance of sharing terminology.

5.4.8 “Sharing” terminology: translation beliefs at TermCoord

As we explained in Section 5.5.3, TermCoord is composed of an IATE team and an IT Coordination team, which mainly deal with updating all the websites under the responsibility of TermCoord:

- DG TRAD’s internal website (European Parliament);
- EurTerm;
- TermCoord Public Website.

While we have already described the first listed websites, we have not yet provided information concerning the TermCoord public website on terminology and translation. In our experience, the probability of embarking on an ethnographic project with TermCoord would have been much lower without access to its public website. Like many language or academic professionals working in the field of linguistics, or translators belonging to the “old school”, we were not very familiar with terminology as a discipline. After surfing through this institutional website and meeting the TermCoord web content editor, our curiosity on terminology was piqued and we identified an opportunity to combine research on terminology and translation and make a contribution to the academic field.

As the Head of Unit Rodolfo Maslias reported:

The third website, which is a VERY important task of our communication team, is a public website that TermCoord has; it is the ONLY public website of all the institutions and it aims to network us with institutional and academic bodies specialised in terminology. Through this website we can do projects with the Universities, we can collect very important material that we share with our translators internally and we keep in contact with the evolution of terminology.

The Head of Unit and the IT responsible for the website decide which content will be published on the website. Both websites (internal and public) provide different types of content, for example:

- articles on topics related to terminology and translation;
- links to important terminology databanks and other terminology-related sites;
- terminology and translation book reviews;
- seminars, workshops and training sessions;
- information about international linguistics conferences, information about traineeships and study visits within the Parliament;
- theses and interviews on terminology.

As researchers, we had the opportunity to write for the “IATE term of the week” section, where knowledge about the database IATE is spread by choosing a newsworthy term from IATE, preferably debated by EU Institutions (we picked up

“transparency”), and write about its different meanings and relevance as a term in the EU Institutions. With reference to the terminology of migration, which was highly debated in the media across Europe, the website reports that in-depth analysis resulted from IATE projects conducted by universities in collaboration with TermCoord⁵⁹.

The constant and continuous efforts of the EU Institutions to urge EU staff to use correct terminology shows that awareness is still lacking within the Institutions in relation to which terms should be used and which tools can be used to find them. The position of TermCoord in this regard is firm and clear:

We are here for the citizens of Europe. We have several layers of communication and an obligation towards the citizens of Europe. The EU is everywhere in the daily life of the citizens and must be understood by its citizens. Language and communication must adapt to the people you address. (Interview #1)

I noticed an increasing need and desire to **share** resources and working methods, to **cooperate** on interactive platforms in order to achieve expertise and to **avoid the overlapping** of research. It is indeed feasible nowadays to let the experts in each field – be it in international organisations, academy or industry – do the **terminology research** and provide reliable results, which can be made available to everyone through various interlinking possibilities. (Interview #2)

The journalists have the same role as we do, we must use the language according to what they say [the citizens], to whom they say it and I think this is the biggest talent for a journalist: appropriate language for the interested user. If they used the European Terminology resources while writing, they would not confuse the terms, confusing the readers as well. It would be a very good idea to establish structured trainings for journalists, if we want the citizens of European understand what the European Union can offer to the countries and to themselves. (Interview #3)

⁵⁹ Terminology projects on the topic of Migration are publicly available at this link: <http://termcoord.eu/?s=migration> (Accessed on 12th December 2017).

What we grasped from our ethnographic study at TermCoord is that terminology is closely intertwined with communication; the beliefs we collected during our fieldwork at TermCoord are very much in line with the point of view of Cabrè (1999: 114):

Terminology, as both a discipline and an activity, but especially as a discipline, needs a new orientation that stresses its social and pragmatic aspects. Terms are only units in a system if they are used in communication, and therefore we must reconsider the importance of relating them to their natural speakers and social groups.

We agreed with TermCoord that we would alternate interviews and observation practices with “hands-on sessions”, so that we could get the most out of our ethnographic fieldwork and further explore some aspects that could not be grasped during interviews. In the next section, we will present what resulted from our experiment as “insider” terminologists through conceptual maps we produced after holding a final roundtable with TermCoord.

5.4.9 “Wrap up” roundtable: tracking the origins of terms

So far, we have presented how TermCoord manages and coordinates terminology at the European Parliament, as well as collecting translators' beliefs and describing their cooperation practices in our interviews. In the final stage of our ethnographic analysis, our research went through a “back and forth” phase, where we realised that some aspects of the translation process were still missing and we deemed them relevant to explain the institutional translation workflow and contextualise our corpus results.

We agree with the point of view of Schartzman (1993: 3), who pointed out “one of the defining characteristics of ethnographic research is that the investigator goes into the field, instead of bringing the field to the investigator. Ethnographers go into the field to learn about a culture from the inside out”. In Section 5.2, we reported a statement made by Massoli (2013: 34), according to whom “people spend all their time explaining how the EU works, without saying anything about what the EU does for you”. However, we learnt from our

ethnographic experience in the EU Institutions that what is done at an institutional level, especially in a multilingual and multicultural context like the EU Institutions, might not be fully understood without knowing the process behind the product.

By combining a corpus approach to translation with an ethnographic approach to translation, we argued that the reasons behind the institutional fuzziness or the use of dehumanising or humanising terms describing migrants, which influence the media and people's perceptions on this topic, might be interrelated with the complexity of how this “institutional machine” works. Scientific research often aims to ask questions and find solutions, but scant attention is currently being paid to the exploration of the context.

As part of our fieldwork at TermCoord, we had the opportunity to conduct experiments on how to clean and update a list of terms regarding the topic of “car emissions”, as well as provide reference and context for the definition of the term “European Association of Automotive Suppliers”. Extracts of the term tables we compiled are reported in the figures below.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Term/Appellation	Abbreviation / Short form	IATE entry	Languages	Action	Comments
2	AdBlue		3563948	complete		
3	advanced combustion modes		to add			
4	after-treatment technology		157738	many missing	EN needs update	
5	Association for Emissions Control by Catalysts	AECC	333789	all missing	EN needs update	
6	calibration		770912	many missing	EN ok	
7	California Air Resources Board	CARB	955787	only EN	ref. update	
8	car labelling		3556163	most missing	EN ok	
9	coast down test		223560	most missing	EN needs update	
10	Committee of Inquiry into Emission Measurements in the Automotive Sector	EMIS	3553170	complete		
11	conformity factor		to add			
12	defeat device		899333	complete		
13	deNOx aftertreatment		system	many missing	EN ok	
14	deNOx trap	DNT	to add			
15	diesel particulate filter	DPF	135717	CS, HR, SK missing	EN ok	
16	emission control technology	ECT	1194966	many missing	EN needs update	
17	emission exceedance		1195025	many missing	EN needs update	exceedance - 50256, 49911 - to be checked if the same
18	emission testing		1128931	many missing	EN ok	
19	emissions performance		3538881		EN needs update	
20	engine control unit	ECU	260805	complete		
21	engine-out emissions / or just engine-out?		to add			
22	Environmental Protection Agency	EPA	1398838, 787299, 46456, 113524, 61145			duplicates to be merged and primary to be updated
23	European Association of Automotive Suppliers	CLEPA	2230064	EN, ES		EN needs some update
24	European Automobile Manufacturers' Association	ACEA	866154	BG, CS, HR, LT, MT, SK, SL missing	EN ok	
25	exhaust aftertreatment system		3538317	part of COM project	COM contacted	
26	exhaust gas		1107673	part of earlier COM project, but some tags missing	several duplicates	
27	exhaust gas recirculation	EGR	1156577	complete		
28	gasoline direct injection	GDI	284485	many missing	EN needs update	
29	gasoline particulate filter	GPF	to add			
30	hybrid electric vehicle	HEV	1128935	EL, HU, MT missing	abbrev. needs update	
31	Institute for Energy and Transport	IET	3555941	most missing	EN ok	
32	Institute for Prospective Technological Studies	IPS	763838	BG, HR missing	EN ok	
33	International Council on Clean Transportation	ICCT	to add			
34	in-use NOx emissions		to add			
35	lean NOx trap, lean NOx adsorber	LNT	3565446	complete		
36	light-duty vehicles		2246644	many missing	EN ok (perhaps term ref. can be updated to the regulation)	
37	New European Driving Cycle	NEDC	2247016	complete		
38	NOx adsorber catalyst	NAC	to add			
39						

Table 52. Terminology project on “car emissions”

Our task was to check if the terms reported in the table already had an entry in IATE (column C) or if they had to be added in the database and then reported to the linguistic coordinator (column D). In some cases, the terms reported in the first column also had an abbreviation that should be added as a separate term entry in IATE (column B). Furthermore, in column E, if we encountered some duplicates or if the English version needed to be updated,

The second task we undertook regarded the compilation of a table containing the data relating to the term “European Association of Automotive Suppliers”; as illustrated in the figure below, our task involved providing the context reference and the definition of the term extracted from a reliable source.

IATE ID		
2230064		
Definition	Definition Reference	Definition Note
world's most prominent suppliers for car parts, systems and modules and more than 20 national trade associations and European sector associations	CLEPA, Who we are, 2015, http://clepa.eu/who-we-are/ , [26.5.2016]	
Term(s)	Term Reference	Note on Term
European Association of Automotive Suppliers	Commission staff working document Accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council : A Competitive Automotive Regulatory Framework for the 21st Century - Commission's response to the CARS 21 High Level Group Final Report - Impact Assessment Report [COM(2007) 22 final SEC(2007) 78], CELEX:52007SC0077/EN	
CLEPA	CLEPA, Who we are, 2015, http://clepa.eu/who-we-are/ , [26.5.2016]	
Context	Context Reference	
'In support of this the Applicant provided data on the percentage of installed LEDs in different lighting functions in the AUDI A6 model, in M1 vehicles produced by Volkswagen AG and production data from the European Association of Automotive suppliers (CLEPA).'	2013/128/EU: Commission Implementing Decision of 13 March 2013 on the approval of the use of light emitting diodes in certain lighting functions of an M1 vehicle as an innovative technology for reducing CO 2 emissions from passenger cars pursuant to Regulation (EC) No 443/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council Text with EEA relevance, CELEX:32013D0128/EN	
'(113) Figures provided by CLEPA in the above diagram concerning distribution of spare parts partially differ from those provided by car manufacturers in their replies.'	Report on the evaluation of Regulation (EC) No 1475/95 on the application of Article 85(3) of the Treaty to certain categories of motor vehicle distribution and servicing agreements, CELEX:52000DC0743/EN	

Table 53. Table compilation of the term “European Association of Automotive Suppliers”

Once the trainees or the study visitor have compiled these data, they are checked and validated by the IATE team and stored in the database. During the final roundtable, we asked the TermCoord staff to provide a chronological explanation of all the phases a term goes through before being validated and stored in IATE. By merging the data we collected during the roundtable and the information we consulted in the official IATE Handbook, we were able to map the process of

Phase 2: Pre-processing captured terms

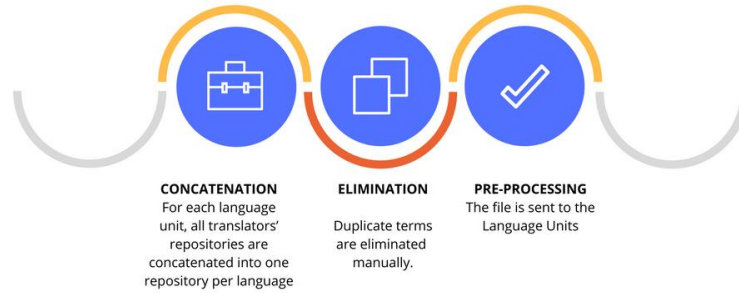


Figure 52. Terminology flow phase 2: Pre-processing captured terms

Both the concatenation and the elimination processes can be very time-consuming for TermCoord staff. As soon as the file is updated and ready, it is sent to the language unit, where the appointed terminologist deals with the linguistic filtering.

Phase 3: Linguistic filtering

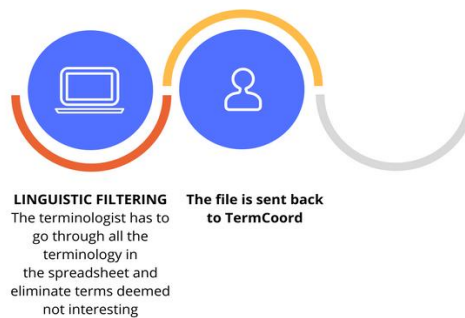


Figure 53. Terminology flow phase 3: Linguistic filtering

The process of linguistic filtering, where the terminologist selects which terms to keep in the file is, however, a subjective action and increases the risk of eliminating relevant terms from the list. After filtering the terms, the file is sent back to TermCoord, where IATE coordinators consolidate the terms in IATE.

Phase 4: : IATE Consolidation in TermCoord

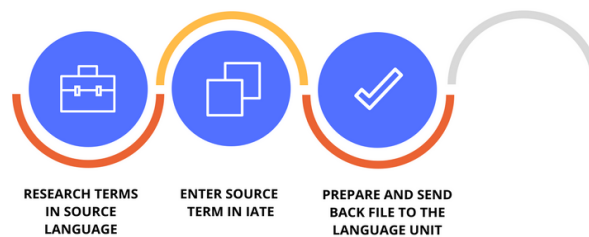


Figure 54. Terminology flow phase 4: IATE Consolidation in TermCoord

The final version of the file with updated term entries is sent back to the terminologist in the language unit, who finalises the process by inserting the missing terms in IATE.

Phase 5: Insertion into IATE by Language Units



Figure 55. Terminology flow phase 5: Insertion into IATE

Before translators encounter new terms and decide to capture them and start the process to store it in IATE, there are other “actors” who decide that a certain term

will be used to define a certain concept. If terminologists and translators don't decide on all terms, whether legal or more general terms like “hotspot”, who is responsible for it? The final roundtable we conducted with the unit was very helpful in shedding light on this aspect, and enabled us to establish the reconstruction of how terminology flows at the European Parliament.

The following figure illustrates all the actors involved in the terminology process that are responsible, in different ways, for harmonising terminology across the EU Institutions. By looking at the illustration below, you will notice that there is one professional figure that has not been frequently nominated nor widely described so far by participants, who, however, plays a fundamental role at defining terms in institutional texts.

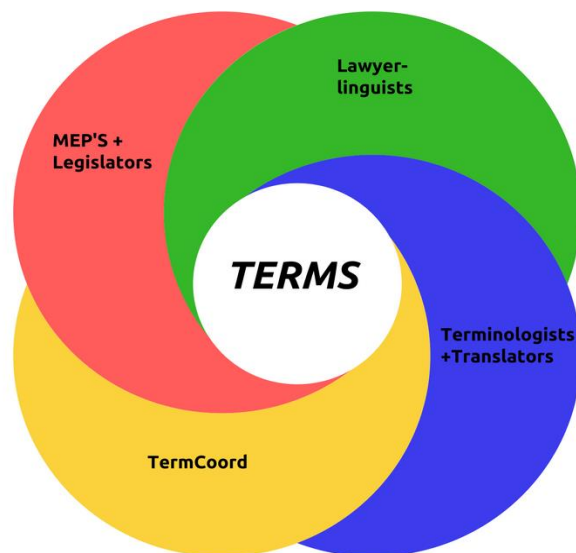


Figure 56. Terms' flow across EU Institutions

Surprisingly, lawyer-linguists were nominated only once during the course of our ethnographic fieldwork, and more precisely, in the first interview we conducted at the Italian translation unit. We assume that the reason for their invisibility (see McAuliffe 2016) might be due to the granularity of the process, which consists of a wide range of actors operating in interconnected phases during the process. Our task was to conduct further investigation on this matter, to reconstruct the translation flow and include all agents.

As terms are born in draft laws, they are first coined, agreed and negotiated by lawyer-linguists, who are responsible for developing legislation in a multiplicity of languages and are the initiators of the language process. Lawyer-linguists, mostly those working at the European Commission, are the initiators of the process and work side by side with legislators and politicians. Originally, lawyers and linguists were employed by the EU Institutions in two separate and distinct professional capacities. The lawyers prepared the texts with the negotiators, administrators and politicians, while the linguists interpreted orally at meetings and translated the texts into the other languages. With time, EU Institutions realised that there was a gap between the lawyers and the linguists and concerns rose relating to the quality of the texts and equivalence between language versions. Lawyers with language skills were recruited with the specific task of examining all language versions to ensure legal and linguistic equivalence between them.

Lawyers-linguists are, however, not professional translators (see section 5.4.6); as reported by McAuliffe, (2016: 10), who has conducted several interviews with lawyer-linguists at the European Court of Justice, “the translating aspect of the role of lawyer-linguist appears to be one largely learned ‘on the job’”. Their language skills are tested through a competition that requires candidates to translate legal texts and revise poor quality legal text plus an oral examination at the end. As Guggeis reports (2014: 54), “if the contribution of translators and interpreters is considerable, the ultimate responsibility and last word are for the lawyer-linguists”. The lawyer-linguists' opinion is, however, not binding; “their proposals can never alter the political substance of the text” (*ibid*, 53). This means that the final decision belongs to the legislator and the Members of Parliament.

Terminologists and translators enter the process of terminology management afterwards and contribute to harmonising terminology in all language versions; when encountering a translation or terminology problem, they share their doubts and proposals with their colleagues working at other EU Institutions through interactive platforms and during interinstitutional meetings. TermCoord is in charge of the coordination of terminological resources for translators together with other coordination units at other EU Institutions, with whom they cooperate

to develop IATE and internal interinstitutional databases like Eur-Term and ELISE. MEPs and legislators in Brussels, like translators, are also active users of terminology, meaning they are free to request terminological support from the Luxembourg districts and can contribute to consistency in institutional texts.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the ethnographic analysis we conducted at the Terminology Coordination Unit and aimed to provide insights into the terminology agents and practices that regulate terminology management at the European Parliament. Overall the analysis has shown that terms circulate among several EU “agents” or institutional professionals besides translators. These agents are largely “unknown” for the role they play in the translation process and their interconnections and networks remain mysterious to many EU officials. The ethnographic study we conducted on TermCoord enabled us to identify the unknown agents that are responsible for the terms used in legislative texts and to unveil the terminology practices in the translation process.

By describing the components of our research model – translation agents, management, practices and beliefs – we discovered two main principles regulating terminology at the European Parliament and in the other EU Institutions. Interinstitutional cooperation and sharing of resources are at the core of terminology work, to ensure consistency and ease the translation process. As we explained in the chapter, the progress made by the Parliament and the other EU Institutions in terminology management reached its climax with the launch of IATE in 2004, together with other interinstitutional databases that are still being implemented.

The 21st century marked a new era for institutional terminology and for the status of translators, who are not only “confined” in their offices to do translation work, but are actively involved in terminology projects and perceive themselves as the voices of the “political house”. We noticed that this progress is somehow reflected in the corpus results we obtained; if on the one hand migration terms are representative of the advancement made by the EU Institutions with relation to immigration and asylum policies, on the other hand, the recent developments of

translation and terminology policies have contributed to improving terminology consistency. However, the interconnection of different agents and complex processes increases the risk of mistranslation and inconsistency in terminology and poses the challenge to enhance cooperation on an interinstitutional level.

Thanks to an ethnographic approach to translation, we could track the progress made to harmonise terminology and show how the implementation of IATE and other means of interinstitutional cooperation may set the baseline for future improvements. As we explained in Chapter 4, institutional texts include legislative texts as well as political texts like press releases. These texts are produced and translated by press officers and contain extracts of legislative texts, as well as MEP statements. Chapter 6 will present the ethnographic work we conducted with the Press Unit in Brussels, to explore how terminology and translation are handled in the communication process by non-professional translators and how they impact the narration of migration.

Chapter 6

The European Parliament Press Unit

Communicating Migration through Translation

In Chapter 5 we provided an overview of the European Parliament's institutional role and presented the results of our ethnographic fieldwork at TermCoord. We explained how terms flow across EU Institutions, identified who is responsible for coining and negotiating terms, and discussed how terminology harmonisation relies on cooperation between several EU agents, all with different backgrounds and roles. As we explained in Chapter 4, there are several typologies of institutional texts produced in EU Institutions: not only legislative texts, which are produced by legislators, MEPs and lawyer-linguists and translated by professional translators, but also official press releases – whose purpose is to “facilitate the comprehension of complex, particular proposals and legislative or institutional issues” (Maresi 2013: 107) and make them comprehensible for the media and the citizens of Europe. In the previous chapter we have shed light on the role of lawyer-linguists, terminologists and translators, who mainly deal with legislative texts. Who is in charge of translating press releases at the European Parliament? Is the translation of press releases treated in the same way in all EU Institutions?

Institutional press releases have an informative function, as well as a persuasive function, as their purpose is to influence perceptions of the EU Institutions and the European Union. Like legislative texts, press releases are usually (but not always) translated in all official languages of the European Union, except for Irish and Maltese, to make them available beyond institutional borders. The European Parliament has to communicate with its 28 member states, but like the other EU Institutions, it lacks a common language to do so. The multilingual character of EU Institutions, like that of other international organisations, implies that numerous writers work in a foreign language, speak an average of two or three languages in a day and are often involved in a translation process as non-professional translators. The construction of texts usually follows text patterns

learned when acquiring our native tongue, even when we write in a foreign language (cf. Gunnarsson 1996; Vergaro 2005); therefore, the multilingual text production of an international body such as the European Parliament becomes an interesting sphere of investigation.

Translation of press releases in the EU Institutions has received scant attention in the field of Translation Studies; Lindholm (2008) conducted an ethnographic study on the Press Unit of the European Commission and Russo (2017) has investigated how terms are used in press releases about environmental policies written by the European Commission. This suggests that more attention may be drawn to institutional “trans-editing” (Stetting 1989) or institutional “adaptation” (van Doorslaer 2010, Valdeòn 2014) in the field of translation in EU Institutions. There is widespread agreement among researchers like Mossop (1988), Kang (2008) and Koskinen (2008) that institutional translation is still unexplored and that empirical studies are missing. What also remains under-researched is what kind of institutional roles deal with translation in European Institutions besides the ones we mentioned above.

Since the literature on this topic is still very limited in the field of Translation Studies, we based our ethnographic study at the Press Unit on previous research conducted on news translation, whose theoretical framework will be presented in the following section.

6.1 News Translation: a framework to research institutional trans-editing

The lack of information on the role and traits of the news-translator, or trans-editor (see Stetting, 1989) in the context of the European Union still remains a serious gap in translation studies. News Translation as a subarea of Translation Studies counts a wide range of extensive contributions in this field, largely applicable to the context of EU press translation as well. As stated by Palmer (2009: 186), “numerous studies on news language have been conducted, but most of them largely ignore the role of translation in news production”. Translation and Communication Studies are highly interconnected, although the terminology used to define journalistic translation has been largely debated among scholars; in 1989 Stetting coined the term “trans-editing”, Caimotto (2010) made a further attempt

coining the term “trans-reporter”, while in 2012 van Doorslaer proposed the term “journalator”.

Given that “no specific meaning is attached to translation” (Valdeòn 2015: 12), defining news translation results is even harder. Van Doorslaer (2010: 186) claims that “traditional and popular views of translation proper as a purely linguistic transfer are not appropriate to explain the complex processes of change involved in news text production”; Baumann, Gillespie and Sreberny (2011: 136) “separated out interconnected processes usually captured by the single term ‘translation’ and differentiated them into ‘transporting’, ‘translating’, ‘transposing/transediting’ and ‘transmitting’”. Schöffner (2012) assumes that defining “transediting” as a combination of translation and editing does not provide a clear definition, and detaches itself from Stetting’s original proposal.

This debate, which is still ongoing, prompted us to investigate the “press officer” as “news-translator” or “trans-editor”, their terms' use and translation practices at the European Parliament, and observe how translation is viewed by EU communicators. Valdeòn (2015) offers an extensive overview of all the research being conducted so far about news translation; his work has been used as a compass to orientate among different angles adopted by news translation scholars. Valdeòn reflects on “the main problem in the interface between translation and communication studies”, and outlines “the fact that communication scholars do not view translation as the linguistic and cultural transformations necessary to adapt a text, and continue to use the term ‘translation’ with a wide range of meanings” (Valdeòn 2015: 11). On the other hand, Wagner et al (2014: 56) remark that “many translators tend to lapse into a robotic style and forget how important it is to see things from their readers’ point of view”, considering that they also translate institutional texts which are addressed to a more general public.

Reflecting on some aspects concerning communication, which are rarely mentioned in Translation Studies, we find that the word “news” is often used too vaguely, and translation shifts found in the media texts often lack a substantial background concerning the following aspects: media practices, the status of the press in a particular country, the role of market constraints and political

intervention, a contextualisation of the type of media analysed (daily, weekly, monthly, online, print). In their research study, “Comparing Media Systems”, Mancini and Hallin (2004) have categorised “journalisms” in Europe and North America in a three-model system: the liberal model, the polarized pluralistic model, the democratic corporatist model⁶⁰. These journalistic models show substantial differences between EU countries, with reference to the degree of professionalism, political intervention and press development.

If the news-media system appears to be so diversified and influenced by a wide range of factors, it is probable that the status of translation as an embedded process in the news could be diversified accordingly, and major insights into how translation is employed in news-texts may provide a fruitful contribution to understand the evolving status of translation in the news. With reference to the EU context, the “melting pot” of cultures and the status of English as a lingua franca have further complicated the issue of outlining how translation is used in Brussels-based multilingual media. Hence, the Press Services of EU Institutions must deal with different journalism models and cultures all at once, and translation becomes even more challenging.

Valdeòn has conducted a study on the translation practices implemented at Euronews, a television channel created in 1993, and partly funded by the European Commission, which aims to cover international news from a European perspective. The work by Bielsa and Bassnett *Translation in Global News* (2009), a renowned three-year project ahead of a conference held at the University of Warwick, has examined the emergence of news agencies and their influence on news production and dissemination, by using a sociological and ethnographic approach. Bielsa and Bassnett have interestingly unveiled the origins of *Agence*

⁶⁰ In Mancini and Hallin model, the “Liberal model” involves UK, Ireland and USA and is characterized by the following features: weak government intervention, limited political parallelism and high professionalism. The “Polarized Pluralistic Model” comprises Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal and France and has the following features: weak professionalism, strong elements of political parallelism and late development of the press. The “Democratic Corporatist model” involves Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, The Netherlands, Norway and Sweden and is characterized by high professionalism, political systems are consensual and pluralism is organized and moderate.

France Press, born in 1982 under the name *Havas*, as a translation agency, later turned into a news agency. Furthermore, they have reflected on the concept of globalisation and localisation in the press, as well as the interlingual transformations in the news.

Davier (2012) has used a similar approach, investigating translation in the Swiss headquarters of *Agence France Presse* too, as well as in the Swiss agency ATS. With reference to cultural studies, Conway (2010) has combined his communication studies background with a cultural studies approach and has investigated “translation” as the result of the act of translating in the news. Pan (2014) has used ethnographic interviews with those responsible for the translation service to investigate a Chinese news agency. Van Doorslaer has analysed the role of media and translation in Belgian political ideologies (2010c), while Jacob and Tobback (2013) have studied the value of language in French-speaking newsrooms in Belgium.

This overview of previous research in the field of News Translation has shown the variety of angles used to analyse translation both in different institutional settings and in the news. The background of the European Union in addition to the role played by translation in the communication process still remains under-explored on both levels. If the language use of other international organisations has been studied to some extent (cf. Duchêne 2004, 2006; Maingueneau 2002), an integrated analysis of linguistic and communicative aspects is lacking in the studies of the European Union. In fact, it is “remarkable that there has been so little empirical research on EU institutional language use until now” (Loos 2004: 6).

In the next section, we will delve into the ethnographic fieldwork we conducted with the members of the Press Unit at the European Parliament in Brussels and explore the complex and collective nature of press releases production, the role played by terminology and translation within the texts, as well as the overall communicative situation. After introducing the Press Unit's members and tasks, we will briefly outline our role as ethnographers within the unit and present the unit's translation policy, consisting of the components identified in our nexus model (section 2.4.2): translation agents, translation management, translation practices and translation beliefs.

6.2 The Press Unit at DG Communication: who is who?

Like TermCoord, the Press Unit belongs to one of several Directorates-General that form the European Parliament's organisational structure (see Section 5.4.1). The Directorate-General for Communication (DG COMM) of the European Parliament communicates the political nature of the institution and the work carried out by the Members of Parliament. Its core business is to raise awareness of the European Parliament's powers, activities and decisions among the media, stakeholders and the general public. Its main tasks can be summarised as follows:

- to collaborate with the media, to inform, explain and enhance the visibility of the European Parliament's work;
- to increase awareness of the European Parliament among citizens, stakeholders and opinion leaders through the European Parliament's Information Offices, located in the 28 EU Member States and with a Liaison Office in Washington DC;
- to monitor media and trends in public opinion for MEPs
- to foster interaction with citizens through enhanced visitors projects, events, information campaigns and its presence on social media.

As the following figure illustrates, the Directorate-General for Communication is divided into four different Directorates: Directorate A (Directorate for the Media), Directorate B (Directorate for Information Offices), Directorate C (Directorate for Relations with Citizens) and Directorate D (Directorate for Resources).

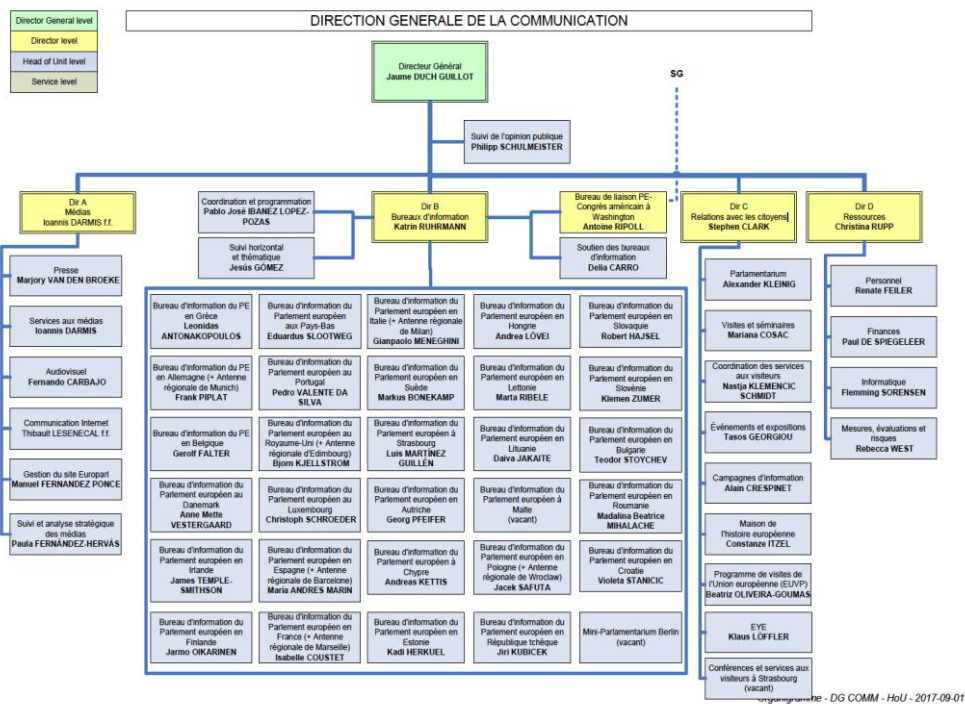


Figure 57. The Directorate-General for Communication of the European Parliament

Source: Internal website of the European Parliament

The Press Unit belongs to the Directorate for the Media (Dir. A) and is mainly concerned with reporting the Parliament's decisions and activities to the media and the citizens. As reported by Lindholm (2008: 33), “during the last couple of years the European Union has shown an increased awareness of the importance of efficient communication as well as more transparent legislation to get closer to its citizens”. In fact, since the European Parliament has moved on from being a consultative body with marginal powers to being a co-legislator with the Council, its role has a greater impact on and responsibility for the daily lives of EU citizens. Consequently, the Parliament's communication policy has striven to make progress to shift from “informing to communicating” (see Maresi 2013: 116) and to identify a successful communication strategy.

The Parliament needs to communicate on a daily basis to ensure the greatest possible press coverage of the activities and decisions taken by MEPs at the plenary and during committee meetings. In section 5.4.1, we explained how Members of Parliament organise their weekly activities, distinguishing between their work in several topic-related committees and during plenary sessions held once a month in Strasbourg and occasionally in Brussels. The composition of the

Press Unit, which is illustrated in the figure below, is interrelated and dependent on parliamentary activities and is therefore structured accordingly.

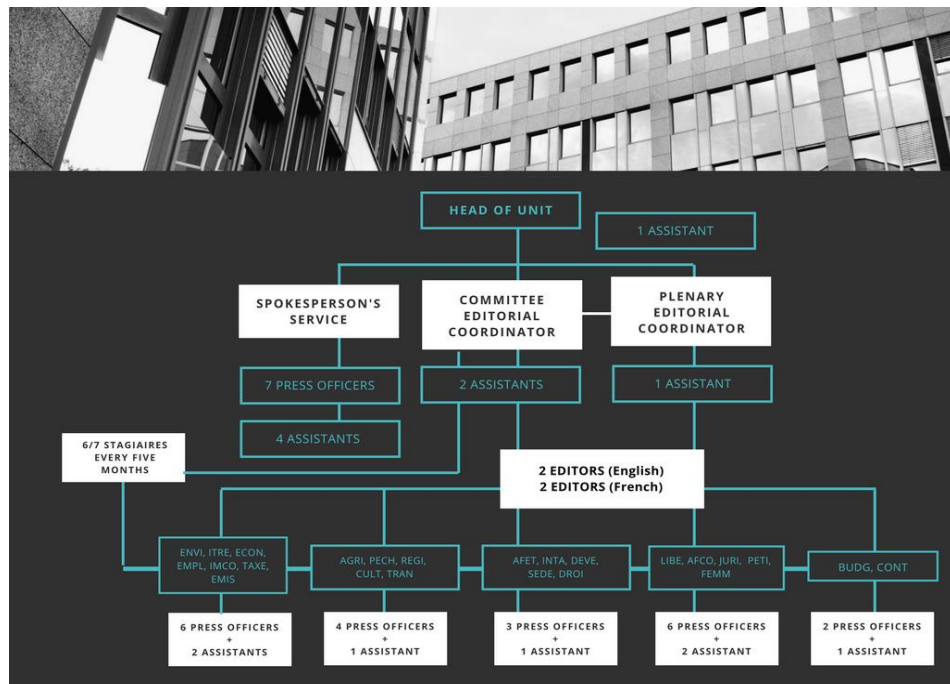


Figure 58. The European Parliament Press Unit

The Press Unit consists of 50 members divided into four teams according to the tasks they undertake: the spokesperson's service, committees' activities coordination, plenary activities coordination and editorial support. The Spokesperson's Service is a team of eleven people dealing with a variety of tasks that complement the detailed coverage of parliamentary business which occupy the rest of the Unit. This team mainly coordinates the production of the Agenda, detailing events of the week ahead for the media, and of the *EP Today* newsletter, which highlights the main items of media interest of the day and is sent to the whole accredited press each morning when there is significant parliamentary business. Furthermore, they deal with questions from journalists about Parliament as an organisation, and support Parliament's Spokesperson and the Head of Unit in dealing with sensitive issues like Parliament's salaries and expenses.

Originally, as we were told during our Study Visit, the Press Unit was divided into two separate teams: one was in charge of covering parliamentary committees' activities and the other one was responsible for covering plenary sessions in Strasbourg. At present, these teams have merged into a single group of thirty press

officers, who are respectively coordinated by a press officer monitoring committees' activities and another press officer monitoring plenary sessions. Every press officer specialises in one or two parliamentary committees and rotates every two-five years from committee to committee. Every parliamentary committee deals with specific interrelated topics:

AFET = Foreign Affairs

DROI = Human Rights

SEDE = Security and Defence

DEVE = Development

INTA = International Trade

BUDG = Budgets

CONT = Budgetary Control

ECON = Economic and Monetary Affairs

EMPL = Employment and Social Affairs

ENVI = Environment, Public Health and Food Safety

ITRE = Industry, Research and Energy

IMCO = Internal Market and Consumer Protection

TRAN = Transport and Tourism

REGI = Regional Development

AGRI = Agriculture and Rural Development

PECH = Fisheries

CULT = Culture and Education

JURI = Legal Affairs

LIBE = Civil, Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs

AFCO = Constitutional Affairs

FEMM = Women's Rights and Gender Equality

PETI = Petitions

TERR = Terrorism

PEST = EU authorisation procedure for pesticides

TAX3 = Financial crimes, tax evasion and tax avoidance

Due to the quantity of parliamentary committees, press officers cooperate in groups consisting of two to seven committees; only in certain cases – that we will explain later in this chapter – are they helped by assistants and rotating interns to draft and translate press releases. Finally, there is a team of editors, two for English and two for French, who are responsible for editing texts and carry out linguistic revisions. Press officers are not English native speakers and just a few of them have French as their mother tongue. The multilingual environment of the European Union is often characterised by language phenomena like code-switching - the practice of alternating between two or more languages - (see Wodak *et al.*, 2012) which affect written language as well. As explained by Wagner *et al.*,(2014: 75):

“Everyone working in a multilingual environment risks some erosion of their ability to speak and write their mother tongue. This is because of interference from other languages: the invasion of foreign vocabulary and syntax; exposure to the frequent misuse of their mother tongue; the effects of fatigue and compromise; and the desire not to appear pedantic”.

This confluence of many languages in the so-called “Euro-English” variety is also reflected in written language. Therefore, editors' interventions are essential to ensure that texts are grammatically and syntactically correct. The next section will describe what tasks the Press Unit undertakes.

6.3 The Press Unit: what they do

Communication with the media is the core business of the Press Unit at the European Parliament. However, the communicative situation of the European

Union entails some peculiar features; “as the European Union is not a nation state, nor a federation or an international organisation, it is difficult to talk about European public opinion, mass media, or language for that matter” (Lindholm 2008: 34). As we explained in section 6.1, there are several types of journalists and journalisms in Europe, and communication must be differentiated according to the targets and purposes of each. Indeed, the Press Unit communication strategy varies according to the type of media they are addressing, and in case of national media, according to their respective country of origin. Its tasks are differentiated as follows:

1. inform **Brussels-based correspondents**: press officers provide a weekly agenda about the activities of the Parliament's committees and political groups, prepare different typologies of press releases in English and French on committee activities and during plenary session. Additionally, they also organise visits to the Parliament for election observations and summits, press breakfasts and seminars;
2. inform **nationally based media**: press officers communicate with national media by providing newsletters and press releases in their mother tongue and the language of the media they are addressing, in close cooperation with the European Parliament Information Office which is present in all Member States;
3. inform **specialist journalists** in Brussels and in EU countries;
4. reply to questions and queries on European Parliament issues outside of normal parliamentary activities (Spokesperson's service).

All the aforementioned tasks are undertaken by using several means of communications. Press releases and newsletters are the main tools used by press officers to inform the media and the citizens about the EU's activities. There are two main categories of press releases: those published after committee's activities or votes and those published during plenary sessions. The former type of press release is usually published in English and French and occasionally in another EU language according to its relevance in a member state. Plenary press releases are

drafted in English and French and then translated into 23 languages; the same applies to newsletters, which are prepared the week before plenary session.

The European Parliament – and in a more general sense the European Union – is a fairly recent text producer, compared with the national administrations of its member states. However, this does not imply that EU Institutions are modest text producers; on the contrary, they produce an ever increasing number of texts, ranging from legal texts that are binding for the Member States to information for the public. Press releases are part of a communicative sequence and are not to be seen as an isolated communicative event. They are issued in connection to press conferences and are often formulated with respect to possible questions from the journalists gathered in the press room. Most importantly, press releases must persuade the media that the message is an adequate piece of news and not a concealed promotional effort. The Press Unit of the European Parliament prepares four types of press releases, according to the relevance of the topic:

- 1. high priority press releases:** these texts are prepared in advance and published on the website, as soon as possible after the voting procedure and always on the same day of the vote. They are e-mailed to the general mailing list which contains all accredited journalists in Brussels.
- 2. low priority press releases:** these texts are published on the website, and do not necessarily have to be published the same day. However, as a general rule the editorial team tries to publish all press releases as soon as possible after the vote.
- 3. specialised mailing list:** some texts are not published on the Parliament website and are neither checked nor polished by the editorial team. These texts are considered to be of limited interest to a specialised group only and are e-mailed by the press officer in charge of his/her specialised mailing list, with a disclaimer note at the end. The editorial team eventually checks the text and might decide after consultation with the press officer to upgrade it to a formal press release and publish it on the website.
- 4. "Non sauf si" press releases – to be seen after the event if it merits a publication:** these texts usually refer to uncertain dialogue meetings

outcomes or in general, discussions with EU Commissioners or other guests from outside Parliament, hearings, or votes on highly technical issues. It is up to the press officer to decide if these events merit coverage and need to be upgraded to a proper press release.

In order to produce these texts and provide the widest possible coverage, press officers establish close contacts with all the people involved in parliamentary committees activities, especially with journalists covering that particular committee. The secretariat of the committee and the administrators of the different political groups are very important contacts to have and they verify information on reports, votes, agendas and amendments. Press officers also work closely with Members of Parliament and especially with the Committee's chair, the rapporteurs and their assistants, in order to get quotes and organise press conferences. After important votes in the committee, press officers prepare press releases explaining the outcome of the vote and its consequences, as well as the debate and the political differences giving rise to the vote in certain cases. Press officers are requested under all circumstances to be impartial and to refrain from political interpretations and they use several means to communicate the institution.

The languages used in press releases and during events are mainly English and French, where translation or interpretation is not always provided in all 24 official EU languages. This means that the information flow takes place in languages that are not usually the mother tongues of those who write the texts or those who speak during events. Most importantly, press releases are not isolated communicative events but are part of a multilingual communicative sequence of interrelated events, which are key to ensure that information will flow outside the Parliament. It is frequently taken for granted and therefore is worth mentioning that these events are usually held in English and French if participants are all from different EU countries; in the case of national-based events, the press officer has the chance to express himself in his mother tongue if all participants are fluent in his same language.

Monday Briefing with journalists – Committees' Week

During Committee weeks, the Press Unit briefs journalists in the press room on the items indicated on the agenda. The head of unit & spokesperson asks some press officers to join her on the podium during the press briefing, where she gives a quick overview of what's on Parliament's agenda that week. The press officer's task is to explain what issues of relevance will happen in his/her committee and what is interesting about them for the media.

Pre-session briefing – Week before Plenary Session

On Fridays before plenary sessions in Strasbourg, DG COMM has a press briefing with the political group spokespeople. Before this meeting, on Thursday afternoon, the Director of Media and EPIO press officers are briefed by press officers on the subjects on the plenary agenda. That same morning, a unit meeting also takes place to decide on coverage and coordinate work during that week, usually immediately after the press briefing.

Press Conferences – Committees' week and Plenary Sessions

After key votes, both at parliamentary committees and during plenary sessions, press officers often organise a press conference with the MEP steering a particular piece of legislation through Parliament. Press conferences usually last 30 minutes maximum and take place in the press conference room in Brussels or in Strasbourg. Interpretation is normally provided in the language of the rapporteur, English and French. The press officer introduces the subject and the rapporteur, lets the rapporteur have her/his say and then gives the floor to journalists for questions.

Press Breakfasts

Press breakfasts are an important tool to sell a topic to a select group of around half a dozen journalists. During these events the rapporteur is given the chance to have a more informal or confidential exchange of views with journalists. It is up

to the press officer to suggest it, organise it with the rapporteur and select the journalists invited.

Technical Briefings

These communicative events are off-the-record briefings with the press, where both the press officer and the relevant desk officer of the Committee secretariat can explain in more detail very important and often complex issues and in particular the amendments tabled in a committee or at plenary or the outcome of votes at plenary.

The Press Unit's workflow as well as all communicative events mentioned above are planned and coordinated according to parliamentary weeks (see section 5.4) and during internal meetings, which are held weekly, and a unit meeting which takes place once a month. During internal meetings, press officers suggest to their thematic group coordinator what subjects need to be covered; the proposals from all groups are compiled into a table, which is first discussed by the editorial team and then presented to the editorial committee. A final planning table with an overview of the weekly coverage is then adopted by the **Editorial Committee** on Monday morning of the respective week, and is then presented to all press officers. These texts are either published on the European Parliament website, sent via e-mail, or linked on the social platform Twitter. At least once a month there is a general meeting where the whole unit is invited to discuss any points of interest, like administrative issues, human resources, or how to improve the workflow of the unit. Prior to those meetings press officers are invited to suggest topics for the meeting agenda.

By explaining the Press Unit's role and tasks, we hope we have provided the necessary background information for readers to better understand how terminology and translation are embedded in the press releases that will follow in the next section.

6.4 Mapping the translation process: from source text to target text

Our ethnographic fieldwork with the Press Unit was organised on two levels and according to two objectives; as press releases are first drafted in English, the first level was monolingual and our objective was to investigate how press officers choose terminology in their press releases, with a focus on texts about migration. The second level was bilingual and aimed to explore how press officers perform translation, with a special focus on the Italian team and how their practices affected the translation results we obtained in our corpus analysis.

Press releases are always drafted in English, “which has taken over as a lingua franca within the unit”, as we were told during one of the interviews, where different roles intervene in the drafting process:

The press officer writes the draft press release, they send it to the coordinators, they edit it and then it goes to us [=editors]. But sometimes depending on the issue, it goes to the head of unit either before it comes to us or after it comes to us which means that sometimes the press officer must say ok to all these changes and then at some point we’ve got to come in.
(Interview #6)

As explained by one of editors we interviewed, an institutional press release goes through a hierarchical drafting process, where a multiplicity of aspects must be taken into consideration, and three to five people with different mother tongues work together on the same text. The unit's policy is, however, to trust the initiator of the text and to consider every press officer as a specialist in charge of their text. In one of the editors' words:

I edit press releases, partly for language, partly for content. I can make suggestions on both. I believe the press officers as they own it and I try to get their agreement on what I edit for every subject (Interview #6)

The drafting process of press releases has changed since we left the unit in 2014. Before, the press officer used to draft the press release in English and then send it to the editors, who could polish the text in language and content; at present, one of the editors reported:

going up and down with this hierarchical structure (...) our role is correspondently reduced. We don't have a role anymore on how these things are presented or what will be a good line. But this is just the way the unit is developing. (Interview #6)

The Press Unit refers to the editing phase as the “ping-pong” process, which further complicates the final drafting as more hands are involved in the texts. The Press Unit kindly provided us with three samples showing the drafting process.

Phase 1: The Press Release is drafted by the press officer

All EU countries must take their fair share of asylum seekers

- Automatic relocation of all asylum seekers according to a fixed distribution key
- All asylum seekers must be registered and should not move on their own between countries
- Security measures should be stepped up
- Faster procedures and better protection of children

Responsibility for refugees should go hand in hand with use of EU funds, say MEPs in Parliament's mandate on new Dublin rules. Parliament is now ready to start talks with Council.

The Civil Liberties Committee on Thursday passed its proposals for a new Dublin regulation, the corner stone of the EU asylum system, suggesting ways to remedy current weaknesses and ensuring a robust system for the future.

To avoid that frontline member states shoulder a disproportionate share of Europe's international obligations to protect people in need, asylum seekers should be transferred to another member state as soon as they are registered and have been through a first security check and their chance of being accepted swiftly assessed.

Relocation would be automatic to ensure a fair distribution of responsibility between all member states. Asylum seekers who attempt to move on their own will be transferred to a random country to dissuade secondary movements and put a stop to the business of smugglers. Member states which do not follow the rules, should face limits on their access to EU funds, say MEPs.

Asylum procedures should be faster and the protection of children and in particular unaccompanied minors substantially strengthened.

Read more about the proposals from Parliament in this background [note](#).

The draft report prepared by lead MEP Cecilia [Wikström](#) (ALDE, SE) was passed by XX votes to YY, with ZZ abstentions. It constitutes Parliament's negotiation mandate for future talks with the member states in the Council. This means that Parliament is now ready to start negotiations, pending formal confirmation by the Plenary in November in Strasbourg.

Quote

Parliament's lead MEP on the revision, Cecilia [Wikström](#) (ALDE, SE) said: "The European asylum system is one of the key issues determining how Europe's future will develop. As rapporteur, my goal is to create a truly new asylum system based on solidarity with clear rules and incentives to follow them, both for the asylum seekers and for all member states".

Next steps

The plenary will be formally asked to confirm the decision by the Civil Liberties Committee to enter into negotiations during its November session in Strasbourg.

Phase 2: The Press Release is sent to the one of the editors

All EU countries must take their fair share of asylum seekers

- Automatic relocation of all asylum seekers according to a fixed distribution key
- All asylum seekers to be registered and should not travel between countries on their own
- Security measures ~~should to~~ be stepped up
- Faster procedures and better protection of children

Responsibility for refugees should go hand in hand with use of EU funds, say MEPs in Parliament's draft negotiating mandate on new Dublin rules. - Parliament is now ready to start talks with Council.

The Civil Liberties Committee on Thursday passed its proposals for a new Dublin regulation, the corner stone of the EU asylum system, suggesting ways to remedy current weaknesses and ensuring a robust system for the future.

~~Parliament is now ready to start talks with Council.~~

To avoid that frontline member states shoulder a disproportionate share of Europe's international obligations to protect people in need, asylum seekers should be transferred to another member state as soon as they are registered ~~and~~ have been through a first security check and their chance of being accepted swiftly assessed.

Automatic relocation or limited access to EU funds

Relocation would be automatic to ensure a fair distribution of responsibility between all ~~member states~~ EU countries. Asylum seekers who attempt to move on their own will be transferred to a random country to dissuade secondary movements and put a stop to the business of smugglers.

MEPs propose that Member states ~~which that~~ do not follow the rules, should face limits on their access to EU funds, ~~say MEPs.~~

They also want ~~A~~ asylum procedures ~~should to~~ be faster and the protection of children, and in particular unaccompanied minors, substantially strengthened.

Read more about **the proposals from Parliament in this ~~background~~ Background note** Note.

The draft report prepared by ~~lead MEP~~ Cecilia Wikström (ALDE, SE) was passed by XX votes to YY, with ZZ abstentions. It constitutes Parliament's negotiation mandate for ~~future~~ talks with ~~the~~ member states in the Council. ~~This means that Parliament is now ready to start negotiations, pending formal confirmation by the Plenary in November in Strasbourg.~~

Quote

Parliament's lead MEP on the revision, Cecilia Wikström (ALDE, SE) said: "The European asylum system is one of the key issues determining how Europe's future will develop. As rapporteur, my goal is to create a truly new asylum system based on solidarity with clear rules and incentives to follow them, both for the asylum seekers and for all member states".

Next steps

Phase 3: The Press release is checked by the coordinator

All EU countries must take their fair share of asylum seekers

- Automatic relocation of all asylum seekers according to a fixed distribution key
- All asylum seekers to be registered upon arrival
- Security checks to be stepped up

EU countries refusing to relocate asylum seekers should have reduced-limited access to EU funds, say MEPs in Parliament's draft negotiating mandate on new Dublin rules.

The Civil Liberties Committee on Thursday passed its proposals for a new Dublin regulation, the corner stone of the EU asylum system, including remedies to current weaknesses and creating a robust system for the future.

The first countries of arrival would no longer automatically be responsible for the asylum seekers. Instead, the assignment of responsibility would be based on "genuine links" to a member state such as family, prior residence or studies.

If no such link exists, asylum seekers would be automatically allocated to an EU member state according to a fixed distribution key, as soon as they are registered and after a security check and swift assessment of their eligibility for being accepted. This is to avoid that front line member states shoulder a disproportionate share of Europe's international obligations to protect people in need and to speed up asylum procedures.

Member states that do not follow the rules would face the risk of having their access to EU funds reduced.

Read more about the proposals from Parliament in this Background Note.

The draft report prepared by Cecilia Wikström (ALDE, SE) was passed by XX votes to YY, with ZZ abstentions. It constitutes Parliament's negotiation mandate for talks with member states in the Council.

~~To avoid that frontline member states shoulder a disproportionate share of Europe's international obligations to protect people in need, asylum seekers should be transferred to another member state as soon as they are registered, after a security check and after a swift assessment of their eligibility for being accepted.~~

~~Automatic acceptance of refugees or reduced access to EU funds~~

~~Relocation would be automatic to ensure a fair distribution of responsibility between all EU countries. Asylum seekers who try to travel to a country of their own choice, avoiding the registration in the EU country of arrival, will not be able to stay there as may happen today, but will be sent to another, randomly chosen EU country. The intention is to discourage the smuggling of refugees to a country of their preference.~~

~~MEPs want Member states that do not follow the rules, face the risk of having their access to EU funds reduced. They also want asylum procedures to be faster and the protection of children, in particular unaccompanied minors, substantially strengthened.~~

Read more about [the proposals from Parliament in this Background Note](#).

The draft report prepared by Cecilia [Wikström](#) (ALDE, SE) was passed by ~~43XX~~ votes to ~~16YY~~, with ~~0ZZ~~ abstentions. It constitutes Parliament's negotiation mandate for talks with member states in the Council.

Quote

Parliament's lead MEP on the revision, Cecilia [Wikström](#) (ALDE, SE) said: "The European asylum system is one of the key issues determining how Europe's future will develop. As rapporteur, my goal is to create a truly new asylum system based on solidarity with clear rules and incentives to follow them, both for the asylum seekers and for all member states".

Next steps

The plenary will be asked to formally confirm the decision by the Civil Liberties Committee to enter into negotiations during its November session in Strasbourg. Council has yet to approve its mandate.

Quick facts

The Dublin system is the EU law that determines which EU country is responsible for processing an application for international protection. The right to apply for asylum is laid down in the Geneva Conventions which all EU member states have signed and which has been incorporated into the EU Treaties. The Dublin rules spell out how EU countries must fulfil this common, international obligation and share the responsibility for people in need of protection among member states.

The Commission presented its [proposal for a new Dublin system](#) in May 2016. Parliament's rapporteur presented her [draft report](#) to the Civil Liberties Committee on 8 March 2017.

LINKS

Reform of the Dublin system [EU Legislation in Progress] (March 2017)

<https://epthinktank.eu/reform-of-the-dublin-system-eu-legislation-in-progress/>

How the asylum procedure works in the EU (At a glance, 05-04-2017)

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS_ATA\(2017\)599397](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS_ATA(2017)599397)

Audiovisual material for [professionals](#)

<http://audiovisual.europarl.europa.eu/european-asylum-system>

As these figures illustrate, institutional press releases follow the so-called “inverted pyramid style”, according to which a text starts with a lead containing the most important facts and finishes with more background information. Recently, the Press Unit has introduced bullet points at the very beginning of the text to improve the clarity of the context. Changes range from linguistic to more structural according to the topic and the type of press release (see section 6.3). The coordinator – who has ten years of professional experience and is more familiar with the “press trends” in Brussels – typically intervenes with structural changes and highlights the most important parts of the text:

La nostra idea è che il giornalista utilizzi il nostro comunicato per chiarirsi il soggetto (...) il giornalista e non un'agenzia stampa, il giornalista di un media scritto oppure online, che fa una copertura più estensiva di un'agenzia stampa, in quel caso noi pensiamo che la parte più valida del nostro comunicato è la spiegazione di quello che è successo per far capire al giornalista quello che è successo, ma poi LA PARTE CHE COPIA E INCOLLA, l'UNICA che noi ci aspettiamo E' LA QUOTE.

Back Translation: Our idea is that the journalist uses our press release to clarify the subject (...) the journalist and NOT a press agency, the journalist of a written or online media, who makes a more extensive coverage than a press agency (...) in that case we think that the most valid part of our press release is the explanation of what happened, to make the journalist UNDERSTAND what happened (...) but then THE PART that we EXPECT him/her to copy and paste is the QUOTE. (Interview #0)

MEPs' quotes in press releases are delicate elements, essential for the survival of the text. One of the challenging questions posed by Schäffner (2010: 149) in the context of translated political discourse concerned the unknown agents who select, write and translate these statements made by politicians. We hereby report the description provided by the coordinator:

when we prepare draft press releases in advance, which is 95% of cases, we do ask in advance the quotes, which (...), I would say that (...) in 50% of cases we get them immediately or we get a promise to get it AFTER the vote

(...) because sometimes the vote is uncertain and the member would like to see the outcome of the vote.

In case of institutional press releases, quotes are carefully selected by the MEP's assistants and then sent to press officers according to the requirements of the text. It is therefore unlikely to happen that the quote will be shortened or recontextualised by press officers as it might appear in a news article. The hardest challenge for press officers is to absorb the Parliament's position and reflect it into the text and make it appealing for journalists too. As explained by Jacobs (1999), a press release is a sort of "preformulated" news article that will most likely be retold by journalists. As journalists and journalism evolve in the EU communication setting, institutional texts must detect those changes and adapt accordingly. Lloyd & Marconi (2014: 9) reported that the attitude of journalists towards the European Union and EU Institutions has drastically changed since its foundation: "militants were replaced by people who had a different, less supportive approach to the EU" (*ibid.*, 9), which has made communication even more challenging. The Press Unit, as well as the whole Communication department at the European Parliament must therefore adapt their communication strategy and cope with several factors:

1. press behaviour: preferences of journalists concerning the medium (press releases sent via e-mail, published on the website);
2. structure of the press release (inverted pyramid style integrated with hyperlinks, bullet points, images, notes);
3. the language used in the press releases.

In the context of institutional press releases, language is not only a practical issue, but a very political one too, where terminology plays a vital role and keeps the text alive.

6.4.1 Terminology in press releases

What emerged from our corpus study and from the data we collected during our fieldwork is that press releases are and must be *hybrid* texts. In our view, and according to the data we collected during our fieldwork, an institutional press release is not owned by anyone other than the institution in which it is produced “as it has to reflect the majority of the house” (Interview #5). The voices speaking within the text are partly expressed through specialised terminology and partly expressed by using more general language. One of the major constraints encountered in a press release produced in a multilingual institution like the European Parliament concerns the type of English to be used within the text:

The tendency, the way I see it, it's always going to be far closer to Euro-english than British English. So we maybe try to (...) I speak for myself [=editor], I try to balance it out a bit. There's so MUCH terminology and jargon surrounding Brussels and these institutions that even when you try and balance it out, it's so heavily on the side of Euro-English. We try to make it more standard English so that any type of reader might understand it. We underestimate how small this bubble is and how few people understand it. When you've been here a long time you start being affected by it. (laughs). (Interview #6)

Terminology in press releases is balanced between institutional requirements and communicative efficiency. First, the choice of terms in English depends on whether the press release will be only published in English, like in the majority of committees' press releases, or if it will be translated into other languages, like plenary's press releases:

There is a difference between if I am editing something that is going into 23 languages and if I am editing something that's ONLY in English. I might choose to use something if it's only in English that I won't use if it's going into 23, because I know from experience that I am gonna have all these people [=press officers] coming up to me asking what does that mean. (Interview #6)

Our interviews and conversations about terminology in press releases mainly concerned texts about the migration crisis published and translated during plenary sessions between 2010 and 2016. Term choice depends on the type of terminology used by the “majority of the house”, therefore reflecting the position of the Parliament, and the terms used by the media, to make the text more comprehensible to the target readers:

I remember that in the committee [=LIBE] very early on, it was decided to use the correct terms. So not to use “illegal migrant” or “burden sharing”, but more “responsibility sharing”. I think that very early on, LIBE took this approach and we were there and it started to be normal for us too. We follow the majority of the house and if the majority would speak that way then you reflect the majority. (Interview #5)

The Press Unit's approach to term choice is to respect the type of terminology used by politicians, who – together with legislators and lawyer-linguists – are also responsible for the specialised terms used in legislative texts. The shifts in terminology we encountered in our corpus analysis therefore reflects how the European Parliament was tackling the migration crisis and how the representation of “migrants” evolved within the texts. As one of the press officers responsible for the parliamentary committee dealing with the migration crisis told us:

I go a lot by feeling and then I listen to the MEPs. They do play on the connotations and language is extremely political. You may hear the left wing using one terminology and the right wing party using a different terminology. We try to balance the two. We sort of think that (...) I think it becomes a feel (...) you know where the majority lies. But the Parliament is a political institution, it develops constantly. You need to sort of reflect the political majority. (Interview #5).

As we showed in our corpus results in Chapter 3, the difference between “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers” has increasingly been emphasised in the texts since 2015; before the crisis broke out in Europe there was a tendency to use the umbrella term “migrants” in press releases as well:

“Migrant” is the term we use only if we don’t know who they are (...) “refugees” or “economic migrants” before the arrivals and after the arrivals, that is also what splits the house. (Interview #5)

However, this statement corresponded only to some of the results we obtained; according to our analysis, the term *refugee* has replaced the umbrella term *migrant* since 2015, although the legal status of *refugee* has not been obtained yet. The term *refugee* has been de-terminologised from its former specialised meaning (a person who has obtained the legal status of refugee) to a more general meaning: all forced people fleeing their countries for reasons out of their control, although they still need to request and obtain the legal status of refugees.

The rotating system of press officers dealing with different committees and different topics every two-five years, as well as the tight deadlines in which they work, makes their familiarisation with specialised terminology even harder. There is no editorial control over the terminology used by MEPs or legislators during parliamentary debates or in legislative texts. However, in some paragraph of the texts, which do not contain either quotes from legislative resolutions or MEP’s statements, press officers replace specialised terms or Euro-jargon terms frequently used by MEPs with more general words:

We wouldn’t say “unaccompanied minors”, but rather “kids coming to Europe without their parents”, to make them human. (Interview #5)

The increasing use of more humanising terms like “people”, “women” and “children” was one of features that we encountered during our corpus analysis.

We are not writing poetry, but trying to get the message across. Personally, I hate jargon, I’d do everything I can to get rid of it, especially Euro-jargon and I try and write what I THINK is intelligible English for all the press officers in our unit because they need it to translate in their own languages. What I write is a kind of simplified British English with smaller vocabulary that I hope everyone in the unit is going to understand. (Interview #6)

Editorial control concerning terminology is concentrated on those “neutral” paragraphs that surround institutional quotes from resolutions and Members of

Parliament. Indeed, some terms indicated in EU official glossaries used to refer to “migrants”, such as “third-country nationals” or “non-EU nationals”, were seldom used in press releases but frequently used in legislative texts. Indeed, one of editors told us:

I hate “third-country” (laughs). I don’t think that’s understandable for people outside the EU circle. (Interview #6)

Specialised terms can be used in press releases to a certain extent, although the nature of the text is institutional. “The use of standardised terminology helps to make communication between specialists more efficient,” (Cabrè 1999: 47). A press officer, as well as an MEP, a legislator and a lawyer-linguist, is a specialist within his/her institution, who must be able to understand specialised concepts and use them with other experts; but when necessary, he must be able to find a way to make it simpler for journalists and consequently, a more general readership.

tu stai comunicando ai tuoi lettori, perchè l'attenzione all'ascoltatore, al cliente, al target è fondamentale. Uno quando fa comunicazione, la SOLA cosa da avere presente è a chi stai parlando.

Back Translation: You are communicating to your readers, because attention to the listener, to the client, to the TARGET audience is fundamental. When communicating, the ONLY thing you need to consider is who you are talking to. (Interview #0)

As explained by van Doorslaer (2010: 183), “in journalistic text production, translating and writing are brought together in one process that is both creative and re-creative at the same time. In most cases it is impossible to distinguish the two activities involved in this integrated process”. What distinguishes a press officer from a journalist, and a press release from a news article, is that the former has some institutional obligations in terms of language, while the latter is free to recontextualise information according to editorial needs. This affects the use of terminology too. For instance, with MEP quotes, press officers hardly ever edit what is sent by the MEP's assistant; although their aim is to have the journalist

copy and paste the quote reported in their text, the degree of freedom is certainly inferior. This is why, when conducting an analysis of political discourse or translated political discourse in research, it would be fundamental to provide the readership with more context concerning the type of communicative text analysed and the context in which that text is produced.

For example, a press release produced by a press officer working for a Member of Parliament would be different from a press release written by the official press service of the same institution. The former is based on a political party's view, while the latter reflects the majority of the institution and has a more objective nuance. Attention to terminology might follow different parameters; one of the editors told us about a past experience he had when working for a politician at the European Commission:

Years ago I worked for [xxx]. I once discussed this [using terminology guidelines] and he said: [xxx] I want coverage, ANY coverage. Bad coverage is better than no coverage. So just get a result and write in a way that journalists pick it up and use it. The point is to go into something that people are going to understand. (Interview #6)

Especially under tight deadlines, effective communication might have more importance for politicians than using correct terminology and consulting guidelines or other tools like glossaries. This is why we chose to compile our own corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament Press Unit rather than using the Digital Corpus of the European Parliament – containing all press releases published both by the press unit and the political parties – as press releases have different communicative purposes. In our corpus analysis we noticed two cases where editors made an attempt to find alternative terms to increase the readability of the text. We hereby report an extract of our joint interview with editors (Interview #6):

I: I noticed that there were also some terms in immigration press releases introduced by the unit. One was “would-be migrant” and the other one was “people in need of international protection”.

R1: I am afraid “would-be migrant” is certainly mine! (laughs). When you say it I see someone staying on a beach in Tunisia or somewhere who would like to migrate to Italy but can’t get on the boat or whatever (...) and I suspect that came out of a speech made by Martin Schulz. I confess here and now that (laughs) (overlapping)

R2: “people in need of international protection”..I think it might be more me! (laughs) and I think that reflects the background I had just before doing this job. That would maybe used by UNHCR [United Nations Refugee Agency].

The policy of the Press Unit concerning terminology is to give full trust to the press officer, who specialises in a parliamentary committee and has to remain impartial and faithful to the terminology used by the majority of the house. The hybrid nature of an institutional press release makes it necessary to implement editorial intervention to strengthen the communicative efficiency of the text and grasp journalists' attention. According to the data we collected during our fieldwork, press officers are not obliged to use the internal style guide regarding drafting press releases in English; the drafting process relies on cooperation between press officers, editors and the coordinators:

We have a press unit style guide which is ROYALLY ignored by everyone and has been for years. If a press officer has a problem with style, he'll ask us and we would see the problem. (Interview #6)

Drafting a press release is conceived as a craft that consists of structuring the text by balancing more technical paragraphs containing specialised terminology with more explanatory paragraphs focused on attracting journalists' attention. The unit's policy is to give the press officer a moderate amount of freedom as:

If you become too rigid you might lose sight of what you are going to achieve. (Interview #6)

Once the source press release has been published on the website, press officers are ready to translate the text into their mother tongues and publish it a few hours later.

6.4.2 The Institutional trans-editor: practices and beliefs

Most press officers at the Press Unit have a “double hat”, meaning that they not only act as committee specialists, but are also responsible for providing information to the national press, translating the newsletter from English into their mother tongue before plenary sessions, and translating press releases during plenary sessions. The renowned statement by Eco “Translation is the language of Europe” widely reflects the status of the translator's profession within the EU Institutions. Translation is embedded in all activities performed within EU Institutions, as the principle of multilingualism permeates all layers of communication; translation is everywhere but not translators, if we mean professional translators who entered the Parliament through a translation concour.

The European Parliament employs at least one press officer per language, who will be in charge of translating press releases into his/her mother tongue right after the source text in English has been published. A translation is therefore treated as a brand new text that must be published one hour after the English version has been released. According to the results of a questionnaire we prepared for all members of the unit, the majority of the participants (56%) reported that translation represents up to 25% of their daily work, as the following extract from the questionnaire illustrates:

What percentage of your daily tasks consists of translation work?

25 risposte

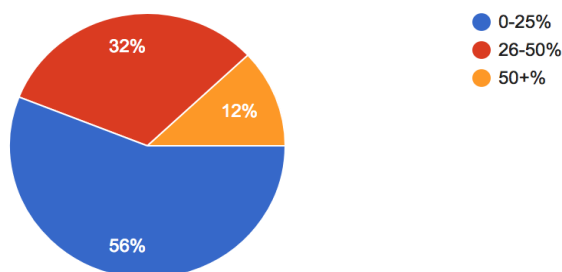


Figure 59. Percentage of translation work

32 % of participants indicated that 26-50% of their tasks consists of translation, while for 12% of them, translation represent more than 50% of their work. These results reflects two aspects accordingly: a different distribution of tasks among the members of the unit, as well as different perceptions of how translation work is performed and how many constraints are encountered. The distribution of translation work depends on the press officer's role and the large quantity of unit members; coordinators distribute translation work amongst their assistants and interns or, in urgent cases, colleagues from the European Parliament web communication department. As explained by one of the coordinators:

We are not enough. We are a huge unit, we are almost 50 people to deal with 24 languages and there are people who don't do press releases but do other work. My case is a special case. We have all in all no more than 7 language assistants, which makes 7 or 9 languages with this combination [=press officer + language assistant] but not 23. We are really far from 23 so it is the press officers dealing on their own. There are softwares helping us with this, but it is not always that helpful. It just gives the exact translation of bureaucratic terms. (Interview #0)

In some cases, like for the Italian press officer, translation work is shared with assistants and interns, who have either a communications or a translation background. The text is first translated and proofread either by the intern or the assistant and is then sent to the press officers who polish the text and then discuss some term choices or changes with the assistant. According to the questionnaire we gave to all members of the unit, 80% of press officers and assistants do not have a translation degree or have never worked as professional translators. One press officer passed the EU translation competition without having a translation degree, as well as an assistant who worked for fourteen years at DG Translation in Luxembourg. In four cases, two editors and two interns reported they have a translation degree and the editors had also worked as professional translators at the European Commission.

Are you a professional translator or do you have a translation degree?

25 risposte

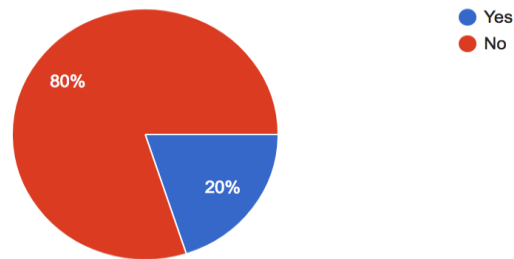


Figure 60. Percentage of participants having a translation degree

The majority of participants reported to have a background experience in one or more of the following areas:

1. Communication and journalism: 15 participants
2. NGOs: 5 participants
3. Foreign Affairs: 5 participants
4. Translation: 2 participants
5. University Lecturer: 1 participant

Unlike other institutions, like Amnesty International (Tesseur 2014: 122), press officers do not have an official translation guide but only a style guide for drafting press releases in English. Indeed, 64% of participants indicated that there is no style guide for translation work.

Do you have translation or style guides at the office?

25 risposte

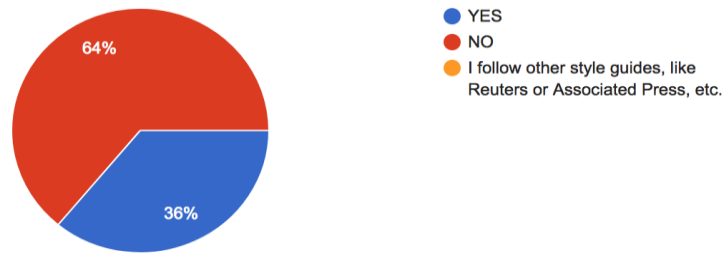


Figure 61. Percentage of participant using translation guides

As the translated text must be published a few hours after the English press release has been published on the website, press officers use several tools to produce their translations:

What type of translation software or tool do you usually use?

25 risposte

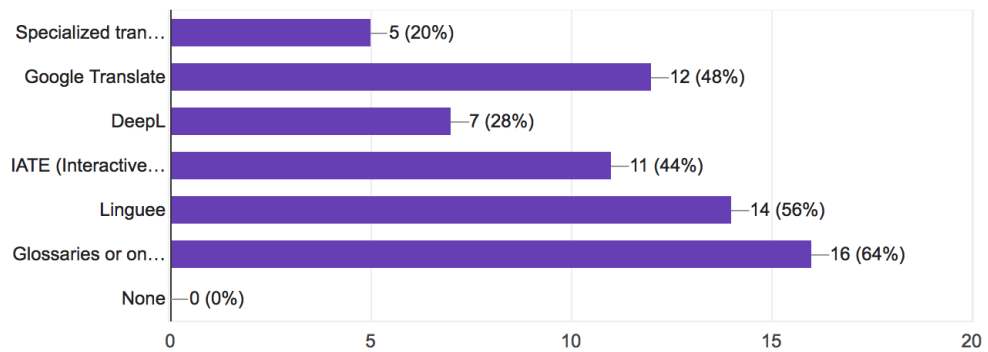


Figure 62. Translation softwares or tools used by participants

64% of participants use glossaries or online dictionaries to search equivalent terms, 56% use free tools available online like *Linguee.com* – which is a bilingual dictionary containing terms frequently used in EUR-lex or in EU Institutions websites – and 11% indicated that he/she uses IATE, the interactive multilingual database of the European Union. A very common practice within the unit is to use online translation softwares like *Google Translate* or *DeepL*, either to have a more

general look of how the machine translated text will look like or to post-edit the text. Translation practices vary according to the language and the personal background of the press officer:

R1: Google Translate in Portuguese has a Brazilian flavour sometimes (laughs). I don't call it translation because I really adapt a text. My aim is to make it understandable and interesting for Portuguese media. We are not translators as such but for quotes sometimes I might use Google Translate but not very often. I prefer to have a blank page and start writing.

I: Wow! This is very admirable!!!! (laughs)

I: I really enjoy writing so that's the process I like to build the text from an empty paper.

R2: I use Google Translate! (laughs) It's not that good in Danish so I don't work on the Google translation. I usually print and I have it next to me. It gives me the structure, to quickly remember and I change the Google Translation version. (Interview #5)

Läubli and Orrego-Carmona (2017: 67) conducted an analysis on the perceptions of translators on social media concerning the use of machine translation engines, like Google Translate, and state that “translators and researchers have different understandings of the functioning and purposes of MT, but at the same time show that translators are aware of the types of issues that are problematic for it”.

The issue and risk of using a machine translated text often of poor quality as might be the case with texts translated by Google Translate, was highly debated with the press officers, to measure their awareness and position on this matter. The coordinator summarised the view of the majority of the unit stating the following:

We can say that press officers are also translators in a certain way indeed (...) we are fine with it also psychologically, we do adapt translations to a certain extent. We do communication when translating, especially in the language. (Interview #0)

More than 50% of press officers consider translation to be an adaptation of a text “which involves negotiation, it involves conscious selection and it involves re-creation in the target language” (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 7), as illustrated from the following extract of the questionnaire:

"Translation involves negotiation, conscious selection and involves re-creation in the target language". Is this sentence representative of your translation work?

25 risposte

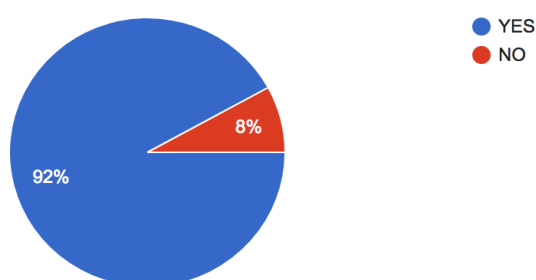


Figure 63. Participants' opinions

92% of participants indeed confirm that the statement quoted above from Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) is representative of their work. However, translation must be performed under tight deadlines and a time pressure is clearly perceivable from the way press officers describe their translation work:

We are really really busy with the committees, we get the press release followed by another press officer in English and then we translate. But, you know, it's not word to word, a one-to-one translation (...), it's an adaptation. It's fairly close and the aim is not to (...) We aim more for oral style (...) it has to be easy to read and it becomes a little more stiff when you have an accurate translation so it's not what we do (...). It is (...) You just really do it quickly; if a sentence is too long we would shorten it, to make it easy to read.

Assistants and interns have to cope with a lighter workload and organise their translation work following the process they feel more comfortable with. This is for instance how the Italian assistant structures her translation work:

What I do normally is that I cut and paste [=the source text] into Google and start comparing the text with the English translation, but I don't really care a lot if it makes sense. I just change it and I read it two or three times more and then without looking at the English text (...) In my opinion it has to be correct, all the words must be the correct ones, which is not difficult because you find them in the report but you must put yourself as a NORMAL reader not as an institutional reader and it must make sense that way. (Interview #7)

As the translated text must be published after a few hours, the policy of the unit is to produce in-house translations and not to externalise the process by involving translators from the European Parliament's translation service in Luxembourg. Translation is an integral part of their communication work; press officers own their texts as well as their translations. However, this policy may vary from EU Institution to EU Institution. While translation is important in all EU Institutions, practices may significantly differ. According to Lindholm's ethnographic analysis of press releases produced by the European Commission (2008: 45), texts are first drafted in the press unit, sent to translators at DG Translation at the European Commission and then sent back to the press unit for a final revision. As former interns, we had strong perplexities that this process would be feasible at the Parliament; translating a communicative text requires the translator to know the context very well and make the necessary adaptations to the text. Adaptations to a communicative text are seen as a vital element to convey the message and not as an optional practice. By referring to the European Commission's example, we collected participants' views on a possible externalisation of the translation process at the Parliament as well.

R1: When I read Commission's texts, I can CLEARLY see it's a translation. (...) it is different (overlapping)

R2: The press releases from the Commission and ours are very different. Those press releases are literal translations. Ours are done by press officers. You really see that our input into a press release takes into account the national interest. If in a report there's something that is more relevant for the Portuguese or Danish audience, of course we will highlight that and at the Commission they don't do this because it's a translation. If you read all 23

linguistic versions maybe not all 18 would have different information, what we call a national angle. (Interview #5)

The fact that part of the press officer's task is to add new data when needed, which is vital in translating press releases targeted for different audiences, is seen to distinguish it from a translator, who is viewed as a more “passive conveyer of information” (Bielsa & Bassnet 2009: 83). According to what we grasped from our ethnographic analysis, this is not related to any downgrading of the translation profession but rather identifies the problem of defining a new hybrid profession between communication and translation in the EU Institutions. Indeed, editors with previous experience as both press officers and translators at the European Commission also claimed that this process kills the communicative purpose of press releases:

I used to work on press releases at the Commission years ago and there everything is done in advance, the translator can't move a comma, it is absolutely rigidly the same. Here there is a certain amount of freedom to tailor the text to the audience which I think is VITAL in an effective communication unit. (Interview #6)

An issue is that it can often be not so accurate more than anything. We had situations where it had to be a joint press release [=Commission + Parliament] to be honest, my heart sinks when I know it's a joint press release. You don't know what's going on, you don't know why they are using a certain term. The joint press releases are very difficult to navigate. (Interview #6)

Translation practices therefore vary from EU Institution to EU Institution and sometimes may even clash with each other, as in this case. Editors are aware that lack of accuracy might occur in the text, but leaving out the communicative purpose and therefore risking a decrease in press coverage would be considered even more threatening. However, we were told that – in some cases – the Press Unit made some attempts to externalise the translations, so that their workload could be reduced.

Before the elections, we had the press kit done outside the house and we had to change a lot to shorter sentences and (...) whenever we have translations done outside of the house, the press officers will work on them and adapt and change a lot before it is sent out because for us it would be too formal. We cannot be far away from colloquial language. (Interview #5)

The externalisation of the translation process did not actually reduce press officers' workload but caused them extra work. What we argue here is that it is not about downgrading one profession or the other, but that the multilingual nature of EU Institutions and the evolving scenery of communication has made it necessary for translation to evolve and so all the professions should evolve accordingly. As explained by Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 15),

“For many journalists, a translator is seen as someone who provides a literal version of a text that would not be suitable for publication. The journalist then reworks that text into one that can be utilised. Needless to say, this is a view contested by professional translators who object to seeing their work downgraded in such a way”.

In the case of the Press Unit, the vision of translators and translation is influenced both by their previous experiences as translators themselves but also by experiencing externalisation. Translation requires some professional skills in the same way as communication does. If press officers sometimes make mistakes in their translations and underestimate the value of terms, translators do not have the so-called “nose for news” and can therefore find difficulties in implementing the required communication strategies. In their ethnographic study of news translators, Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 83) state that “generally, it is very difficult to conceptualise a difference between editors from translation and from journalistic backgrounds because, in order to work as news translators, translators have in fact to become journalists”. So far, no solution regarding the status of translation in EU communication has been proposed as the problem, as far as we could tell, has not yet been raised. During our interview with the coordinator we discussed the possibility and/or necessity of a new hybrid professional with a background in journalism and translation:

I: Is there any press officer who is also a professional translator?

R: No, è un profilo difficile da trovare, qualcuno che ha fatto studi di giornalismo e traduzione anche se fra dieci anni probabilmente sarà necessario.

Back Translation: No, it is a very difficult profile to find, someone who has done studies in journalism and in translation (...) although in 10 years this will probably be necessary. (Interview #0)

What we grasped during this conversation was that the ideal candidate would be somebody with both backgrounds, which at present is very difficult to find. One aspect which is also related to this issue is that the status of the translation profession in the EU Institutions is full of blurred lines, where the “old generation” of EU translators “required less qualifications than the new generation of translators” (Interview #1) making the competition much harder. In the Press Unit, we spoke with one press officer – whose background is mainly in foreign languages and journalism – who told us she had never trained as a translator before passing the EU translation competition. One of the communication assistants we interviewed with worked at DG Translation in Luxembourg for fourteen years as an assistant without having trained as a translator before joining the Parliament and learnt to translate by experience.

Lawyer-linguists, whose background is in law, have to pass a translation competition to be able to provide several linguistic versions of legislative texts; however, they also remark – as we explained in Chapter 5 – that they are not translators. We have to admit that at this stage of our work we started to feel very confused. As translation is embedded in every institutional department and “translation is the language of Europe” (Eco), the status of translators and translation skills may need to be reframed or discussed, as well as what translation has really become in the European Union. During the Translating Europe Forum we raised this issue by asking the audience: “How can we communicate Europe if we don't know its language?”. The nature of this question is certainly broad and in order to answer it, a lot of time, discussion and empirical research is required. We tried to contribute partly to this issue by asking press officers how they would label their translations as well as how they would define themselves.

During our fieldwork at the press unit, we realised that press officers have different views of their translated texts as well as of themselves; hence, we asked them to define their productions and their role in the questionnaire they compiled.

How would you define your translations? Tick one answer only.

25 risposte

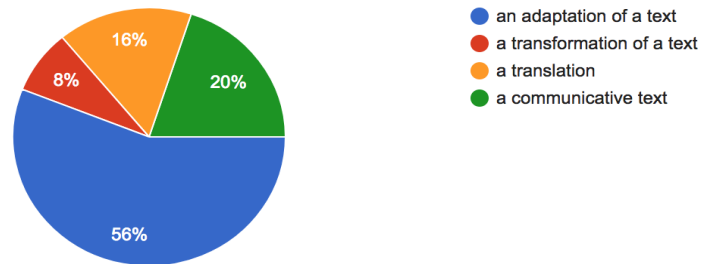


Figure 64. Participants' definitions of translation

As you can see from the question above, the members of the unit all have different views of their translations. The majority of them (56%) consider translations as an adaptation, 20% prefers the labelling “communicative text”, 16% does indeed think that it is actually a translation and 8% conceives it to be a transformation of a text. One of the feelings we had during our fieldwork at the press unit was that time and speed pressure directly affect press officers' translation practices and beliefs. Indeed, when answering the question:

"I think translation is naturally embedded in multilingual communication, so it is part of it and can be performed by non-professional translators."

Do you agree?

24 risposte

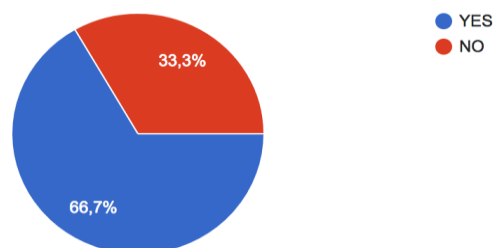


Figure 65. Participants' opinions

33.3% of participants confirmed this feeling by answering that translation of communicative texts should not be performed by non-professional translators, implying that they themselves should not be doing it. Of course, a large majority of participants (66.7%) still considers translation a normal as well as natural activity to perform in their communication work. Two members of the unit expressed their views on this matter by arguing that: “it might be that they are thinking: ‘I was hired to be a press officer and I spend a lot of my time translating! That’s not right’”. Some press officers do indeed consider it natural that communication in a multilingual institution involves translation, while others seem to suffer translation as a burden. What we also tried to investigate was participants' view of themselves as translators.

When you translate press releases, would you define yourself as a (only one option):

25 risposte

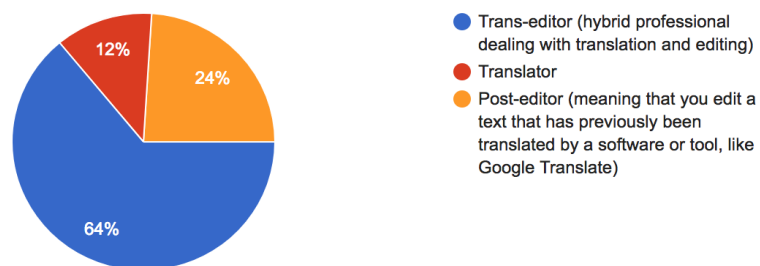


Figure 66. Participants' definitions of themselves as translators

The majority of participants (64%) would call themselves *trans-editors*, which is also the title we chose for this section to give them credit for how they would democratically prefer to be labelled. 24% chose *post-editor*, as they rely on a text already edited by a machine translation engine like *Google Translate* or *DeepL*, while 12% would call themselves a *translator*, and this is the case of editors who actually have a translation degree.

While collecting our data and reflecting on the results of the questionnaire we were glad that we had provided participants with a reflective window to such a sensitive issue. The volume of work, as well as the workflow's speed, made it hard

to discuss these aspects and listen to colleagues' views. A substantial portion of communication work at the Parliament relies on translation and raising awareness about its role and the effects of translation practices on the final product may therefore lead to future improvements. We very much appreciated that some participants gave us very positive feedback by providing us with further thoughts on their own initiative. Towards the very end of our study visit, we received an e-mail from one of the participants who very well summarised the status of translation in the multilingual setting of the European Parliament Press Unit, with which we would like to conclude this section:

Dear [xxx],

an old English editor who came to our unit from a translation unit in Luxembourg told me it was like going “from the Gulag to the Wild West”, which I suppose sums up the two “metiers” quite well.

You’re welcome to use it as a sub-head, if you like. The quote is from [xxx], now retired. My favourite analogy for translation is that it’s like two rivers of meaning, which you keep flowing as parallel as you can, within cultural constraints. Meaning, not individual words.

My second is that a translation can be “belle ou fidele”, but not both. Which, I suppose, comes to the same thing.

In the next section we will discuss how translation benefits press officers' communication with the national press, which sheds further light on the vital role of translation for communication at the European Parliament.

6.4.3 Translation as a communication strategy

As we explained in section 6.3, there is one press officer for every official language of the EU; part of their work consists of monitoring national-based media and maintaining a relationship with national journalists. Communication practices rely on different press behaviours according to the language and culture of a country, which the press officer must be very well aware of. As the coordinator told us:

I danesi, gli olandesi, gli svedesi sanno l'inglese da quando sono piccoli per 1000 motivi: le scuole funzionano meglio, la televisione non è tradotta. Il danese non aspetta il testo in danese, noi li facciamo pure ma pochi, il corrispondente danese non aspetta il testo in danese. Se il corrispondente italiano ha un punto prioritario, al 99% sa l'inglese bene non aspetta la traduzione in italiano che viene dopo quella inglese chiaramente.

Back Translation: The Danes, the Dutch and Swedes have known English since they were young for 1000 reasons: schools work better, television is not translated. The Dane does not wait for the text in Danish, we do it, but very few, the Danish correspondent does not wait for the text in Danish. If an Italian correspondent has a priority point, 99% know English well and do not wait for the translation into Italian that comes after the English one clearly. (Interview #0)

Translation of press releases may depend on the journalists' language expertise as well as on the type of media. Trends are detected with experience and by discussing directly with journalists during press breakfasts, via phone or e-mails or after press conferences. For instance, as the coordinator explained, the case of a national press agency is different from the case of a freelance journalist or a journalist covering EU Institutions for a specialised media. Indeed,

Se lo stesso giornalista ha due temi da coprire e il primo è quello prioritario e il secondo è “vediamo se lo copro”, essendo magari italiano o francese, greco o proveniente da paesi che hanno un background linguistico meno forte allora lì lui potrebbe coprire l'argomento (il secondo) solo se riceve il testo in italiano, in greco, in spagnolo. Quindi, dicendo in altro modo, se uno vuole assicurare una copertura ampia deve tradurre i testi.

Back Translation: If the same journalist has two topics to cover and the first is priority and the second is "let's see if I cover it", and the journalist is Italian or French or Greek and comes from countries that have a less strong linguistic background, then he may cover the topic only if he receives the text in Italian, in Greek or Spanish. So, putting it in another way, if we want to ensure broad coverage, we must translate the texts. (Interview #0)

Translation is not a choice but rather an essential institutional practice that makes the Institution more likely to be featured in the media. Press officers are aware of their strength as a source as well as the journalists' needs and weaknesses, where translation is a helpful tool to meet everybody's needs:

Quindi un buon servizio stampa sa che ha il vantaggio di avere un cliente che è molto impegnato e che ha bisogno del tuo aiuto. In un contesto multilinguistico e oberato di lavoro, la debolezza dell'altra parte è di non avere il tempo.

Back Translation: So a good press service knows that it has the advantage of having a customer who is very busy and needs your help. In a multilingual and overworked environment, the other side's weakness is that it lacks time.
(Interview #0)

According to our questionnaire, press officers have from five to ten years of experience in the communication sector; the translated text must contain all the powerful features of a communicative text and adapt according to the national angle. Therefore “the dominant strategy in news translation is absolute domestication, as material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations” (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 10). However, in press release translation, the approach is different from news-articles' translations – faithfulness to the source text must be respected for MEP's quotes and extracts from the report, while more general paragraphs throughout the text can be domesticated and adapted according to the communicative purpose of the text. Experience in the political arena and journalism are essential to become a press officer at the European Parliament, as well as being able to convey the message in their mother tongue.

In this light, we agree with the point of view of Conway quoted in van Doorslaer (2010: 181) on the fact that “we should no longer concentrate on the journalist himself, but rather on the larger social system in which he functions, including such aspects as the political role of journalists, or the influence of degrees of national identity on the journalists' institutional roles”. This is why externalising translations may be not compatible with the nature of a press release,

unless professional translators had experiences in journalism and communication too. In the questionnaire, we asked press officers to indicate how many years of experience they had in the field of journalism, communication and foreign affairs and the majority (48%) indicated ten years or more of professional experience.

Years of professional experience

25 risposte

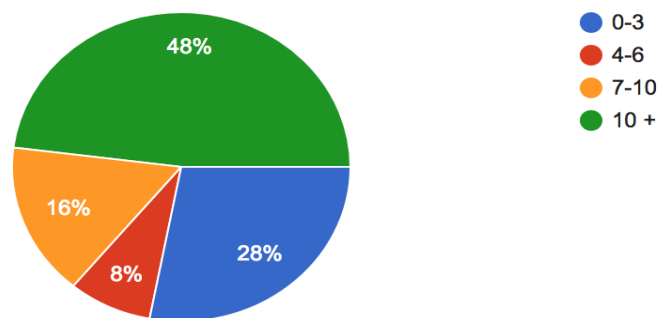


Figure 67. Participants' years of professional experience

Every press officer receives a weekly press review of the national press and thus can monitor which topic journalists will be more likely to cover. Providing translations of topics other than the most relevant one may therefore increase the possibility to have more press coverage. Furthermore, it is fundamental to structure your translation in a trustful way and meet the journalists' style:

Se tu sei una fonte che è considerata e merita grossa fiducia, ecco che il danese, l'italiano prendono la tua traduzione come buona e allora ritrovi spesso frasi per spiegare un concetto difficile che ci sono uscite particolarmente bene copiate e incollate un pò dappertutto perchè quel punto lo abbiamo spiegato così chiaramente che è inutile che il giornalista cerca una spiegazione diversa se quella è chiara e limpida e li penso che sia il grande successo. Quindi il contesto multilinguistico aiuta una fonte autorevole che da informazioni in più lingue ad andare sui media.

Back Translation: If you are a trustful source, then the Dane, the Italian take your translation as good and keep it. Thus, you often find phrases [=in news articles] we used to explain a difficult concept that were particularly well written, copied and pasted everywhere because we explained the point so

clearly that it would be useless for the journalist to provide a different explanation. Therefore, the multilingual context helps an authoritative source of information in multiple languages to be covered in the media. (Interview #0)

In the next section, we will delve into the final roundtable we held with the Italian press team – whom we had worked with back in 2014 – and discuss the results we obtained in our corpus analysis of press releases about migration.

6.5 Wrap-up roundtable: communicating migration through translation

The ethnographic fieldwork we conducted in the Press Unit was very intense during the course of the whole study visit. The results we obtained through our single interviews and questionnaire shed light on the press unit's translation policy as a powerful element of its communication strategy overall. All components of our nexus model – agents, management, practices and beliefs – were discussed during the interviews and are reflected in the data from the questionnaire we presented in the previous sections. The results we obtained in our corpus analysis of English press releases about migration were discussed with the press officers responsible for source texts in English, as well as with English editors, and highlighted the processes of term selection. Terminology in press releases is partly based on specialised terms – which are used by MEPs during their speeches, in the quotes they send to press officers or in legislative reports available online in all 24 official languages of the European Union – partly based on conscious selection of more general words to “ensure maximum clarity for an audience, regardless of the structures of the original” (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 16).

How do press officers choose term equivalents when they translate press releases in their own language? We unfortunately cannot provide a response for all languages, as we analysed only press releases translated into Italian; however, as the data from the questionnaire showed, every press officer uses different tools and practices, which are influenced by different beliefs on translation, so translation products may vary according to the press officer and the language into which he/she translates.

To conclude our ethnographic fieldwork, we organised a final roundtable with the Italian press team, to be able to discuss together the results we obtained in our corpus analysis and investigate whether there are possible correlations between translation practices and the final product. The English source texts are drafted by specialised press officers and translations of all texts are produced by the same press officer per language, sometimes helped by his/her assistants or an intern. This means that when translating, press officers might encounter some specialised terms concerning topics they do not follow and they are not familiar with. The selection of the right equivalent term therefore requires a careful terminology search.

Our roundtable took place in the silent room of the press unit with all members of the Italian press team: the coordinator of committees' press releases and the Italian press officer, two Italian assistants and one intern. After a first round of comments about the ethnographic work completed so far, I showed them the results of the questionnaire and distributed an information sheet showing in detail the results obtained in our corpus analysis. As researchers, we felt very privileged to have the opportunity to discuss our results with the authentic authors of the translations we had analysed, which is very unlikely to happen in EU Institutions where the translation flow frequently involves more producers, making it difficult to identify the original authors.

In our corpus analysis of translated press releases about migration from 2010 until 2016, we observed that in most cases equivalence with official terms indicated in glossaries was respected, but in other cases we encountered different and debatable translation strategies. Changes in translation are often referred to as “shifts” and are defined by Popovič (1970: 79) as follows: “all that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected, may be interpreted as a shift”. According to this definition, shifts are conceived to be more than just linguistic differences and may result from a misunderstanding or from a deliberate strategy implemented by the translator (Chesterman 2005: 26). Strategies might include “the initial choice of source or target orientation, decisions about foreignisation or domesticating, search strategies, or revision strategies” (ibid.). Chesterman (1997) divides shifts into three categories:

1. syntactic shifts which manipulate the form;
2. semantic shifts which manipulate the meaning;
3. pragmatic shifts which manipulate the message.

During the roundtable, we identified translation shifts together with the Italian press team by distinguishing between pragmatic shifts and stylistic shifts. Pragmatic shifts included strategies like addition, omission, rearrangement and explicitation, while stylistic shifts referred more to variation on the language level (formal or more informal words) and specifically to variation in the use of terminology. The tables reported below were compiled and discussed together with the press team and show the most significant examples of translation shifts implemented by year, from 2010 until 2016.

EN	IT	STRATEGY
Residence rights for refugees and people under international protection	Diritto di residenza comunitario ai rifugiati	OMISSION “people under international protection” = beneficiari di protezione internazionale
The new rules would enable beneficiaries of international protection who become long- term residents to take up residence in a Member State other than that in which they are recognised.	La nuova legge permetterà inoltre ai rifugiati e ai beneficiari di protezione internazionale di ottenere il permesso di residenza in uno Stato membro diverso da quello che ha concesso la protezione.	ADDITION “rifugiati” = refugees
Under certain conditions, they would also be entitled to equal treatment with citizens of the EU Member State in which they reside in a wide range of economic and social areas, including education and access to the labour market and social security benefits.	Inoltre, i rifugiati potranno godere, in una vasta gamma di settori economici e sociali e a determinate condizioni, dello stesso trattamento riservato ai cittadini dello Stato membro in cui soggiornano, " affinché lo status di soggiornante di lungo periodo sia un autentico strumento d'integrazione sociale di queste persone ", spiegano	ADDITION Quote added

	i deputati.	
Member States will have two years to comply with the new rules, which were approved with 561 votes in favour, 29 against, and 61 abstentions. The UK, Ireland and Denmark are opting out of this directive.	Gli Stati membri avranno ora due anni per conformarsi alle nuove regole, mentre la legislazione non avrà effetti per Gran Bretagna, Irlanda e Danimarca.	OMISSION Details concerning the vote outcome were moved up to the third paragraph of the text.
Migrants at sea: guidelines for EU border patrols	Verso linee guida Frontex per il soccorso in alto mare.	CULTURAL SUBSTITUTION Back Translation: towards guidelines to rescue lives at sea

Table 54. Translation shifts 2010

EN	IT	STRATEGY
Opening of the session: Egypt, child soldiers, executions in Iran.	Apertura della sessione: Egitto, bambini soldato, immigrazione e esecuzioni in Iran	ADDITION immigrazione = immigration
At the request of the EPP group, Tuesday afternoon agenda will now include a Commission statement....	Su richiesta di Mario Mauro in nome del gruppo PPE, l'ordine del giorno di martedì pomeriggio comprenderà una dichiarazione della Commissione...	ADDITION BY NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE "Su richiesta di Mario Mauro", Back Translation: "Upon Mario Mauro's request" Note: Mario Mauro is the MEP in the EPP group who made the request.

Table 55. Translation shifts 2011

EN	IT	TRANSLATION STRATEGY
Processing asylum applications jointly would enable member states to support each other at various stages of the asylum application processing procedure, such as identifying applicants , preparing first-instance decisions, conducting interviews or making recommendations.	Il trattamento congiunto delle domande di asilo consentirebbe agli Stati membri di sostenersi a vicenda nelle varie fasi della procedura della domanda di asilo, quali l'identificazione , la preparazione delle procedure di primo grado, i colloqui o le raccomandazioni.	TRANSPOSITION: VERB TO NOUN identifying “applicants” translated as “identificazione” = identification
The programme aims to step up the EU's role in providing international protection, especially for vulnerable groups such as women at risk.	il nuovo programma darebbe priorità al reinsediamento dei rifugiati più vulnerabili , quali donne a rischio.	EXPLICITATION use of more vulnerable “refugees”(rifugiati più vulnerabili) instead of vulnerable groups (gruppi più vulnerabili), to specify the program is referred to refugees and avoid the risk of generalization by the media.

Table 56. Translation shifts 2012

EN	IT	TRANSLATION STRATEGY
President Schulz opened the session with a minute's silence for the migrants drowned when their boat caught fire and capsized off Lampedusa on 3 October - a silence which he imagined pierced by the victims' screams and said should mark a turning point in EU policy.	Il Presidente Schulz ha aperto la sessione con un minuto di silenzio per i migranti annegati quando il loro barcone ha preso fuoco e si è capovolto al largo di Lampedusa il 3 ottobre scorso. Un silenzio che ha immaginato essere trafitto dalle urla delle vittime e che, a suo parere, dovrebbe segnare una svolta nella politica dell'Unione europea. Un dibattito sulla tragedia di Lampedusa si terrà mercoledì pomeriggio.	ADDITION Un dibattito sulla tragedia di Lampedusa si terrà mercoledì pomeriggio Back Translation: A debate on the tragedy of Lampedusa will be held on Wednesday afternoon.

Migration: EU must act to prevent further tragedies, says Parliament	Migrazione: l'UE deve agire per evitare ulteriori tragedie	OMISSION "says Parliament", considered as repetition of "EU".
MEPs reiterate that EU member states have a legal duty to assist migrants in distress at sea and note that legal entry into the EU is preferable to a more dangerous irregular sort.	I deputati hanno reiterato che gli Stati membri hanno il dovere legale di assistere i migranti in difficoltà in mare e sottolineato che l'ingresso legale nell'UE è preferibile a quello più pericoloso da clandestino.	HYPONYM è preferibile a quello più pericoloso da clandestino Back Translation is preferable to a more dangerous one, like in the case of clandestines.
Legal migration "Legal entry into the EU is preferable to a more dangerous irregular entry, which could entail human trafficking risks and loss of life", MEPs stress.	Migrazione legale I deputati hanno rilevato che "l'ingresso legale nell'UE è preferibile a un ingresso irregolare più pericoloso, che potrebbe comportare rischi di traffico di esseri umani e perdita di vite umane". Invitano, inoltre, l'UE e i suoi Stati membri a esaminare gli strumenti disponibili nel quadro della politica dell'UE in materia di visti e della sua legislazione sulla migrazione dei lavoratori.	ADDITION - EXPLICITATION Invitano, inoltre, l'UE e i suoi Stati membri a esaminare gli strumenti disponibili nel quadro della politica dell'UE in materia di visti e della sua legislazione sulla migrazione dei lavoratori. Back Translation Furthermore, they invite the EU and Member States to examine available measures concerning EU visa policy and legislation concerning migration of workers.
..said Parliament on Wednesday	..ha dichiarato mercoledì l' Aula	NEUTRAL-LESS EXPRESSIVE WORD "Aula" = room

Table 57. Translation shifts 2013

EN	IT	TRANSLATION STRATEGY
MEPs approve funds for asylum, migration and border surveillance until 2020	Approvati fondi per asilo, migrazione e sorveglianza frontiere.	OMISSION until 2020 = fino al 2020
Debates on EU approach to migration and the expulsion of migrants from Spain	Dibattiti sui migranti del Mediterraneo e loro espulsione dalle enclaves spagnole	ADAPTATION by OMISSION and EXPLICITATION Back Translation = Debates on migrants in the Mediterranean and their expulsion from the Spanish enclaves.
Migrants: Parliament approves search and rescue rules to prevent deaths at sea	Immigrati: il Parlamento approva nuove regole per scongiurare le morti in mare	HYPONYM The official translation of “migrants” is “migranti”. “Immigrati” (immigrants) is hyponym of “migranti”(migrants).
MEP’s call on member states to impose tough criminal penalties against human trafficking and smuggling , and on individuals or groups exploiting vulnerable migrants in the EU	I deputati chiedono agli Stati membri di imporre severe sanzioni penali contro la tratta di esseri umani, e contro le persone o i gruppi che sfruttano i migranti vulnerabili nell'UE.	OMISSION smuggling = traffico di esseri umani
Concerns about how to reconcile the fundamental rights and non-discrimination of migrants with the need to gather information to dismantle criminal networks profiting from trafficking were the key points raised by MEPs in Wednesday evening’s debate with the Italian Presidency of the Council, represented by Benedetto Della Vedova on the EU-wide police crackdown on clandestine migrants "Mos Maiorum".	I punti principali del dibattito di mercoledì sera sull'operazione di polizia a livello europeo sui migranti clandestini, nota come "Mos Maiorum", tra i deputati e la Presidenza italiana del Consiglio - rappresentata da Benedetto Della Vedova - sono stati le preoccupazioni per il rispetto dei diritti fondamentali e del principio di non-discriminazione dei migranti e la necessità di raccogliere informazioni per smantellare le reti criminali che traggono profitti dal traffico di esseri umani.	MISTRANSLATION “profiting from trafficking” translated as “che traggono profitto dal traffico di esseri umani” trafficking = tratta smuggling = traffico Right Translation: che traggono profitto dalla tratta di esseri umani.

Table 58. Translation shift in 2014

EN	IT	TRANSLATION STRATEGY
The resolution was approved by 432 votes to 142, with 57 abstentions.	La risoluzione non vincolante è stata approvata con 432 voti a favore , 142 contrari e 57 astensioni.	ADDITION/EXPLICITATION “non vincolante” = non-binding a favore = in favour contrari = against
Opening: minute’s silence for Nepal earthquake victims and Mediterranean migrants	Apertura: minuto di silenzio per le vittime in Nepal e nel Mediterraneo	OMISSION use of “victims” to refer to migrants as well
The session opened with a minute’s silence for victims of the Nepal earthquake on 25 April and migrants drowned in the Mediterranean on 20 April. President Schulz conveyed Parliament’s deepest sympathy to their families and friends.	La sessione si è aperta con un minuto di silenzio per i morti del terremoto in Nepal del 25 aprile e per i migranti annegati nel Mediterraneo il 20 aprile.	SYNONYMY “victims” = vittima “morti” = dead
The 800 – 1,000 people drowned in the latest Mediterranean migrant tragedy on 20 April were fleeing war.	Gli 800/1.000 migranti annegati nel Mediterraneo il 20 aprile scorso erano persone in fuga da guerre	EXPLICITATION people = persone migranti = migrants
The new routes used by smugglers , the role of the EU border agency Frontex, legal channels of migration to the EU and a comprehensive approach to migration came under the spotlight.	Le nuove rotte utilizzate dai contrabbandieri , il ruolo dell'agenzia di frontiera UE Frontex e una nuova agenda europea sulle migrazioni saranno parte del dibattito, che avrà inizio alle ore 17.30 circa.	MISTRANSLATION “contrabbandiere” refers to traffic of goods. “smuggler” should be translated as “trafficante” or “traghettatore”, which refers to smuggling of people.
To apply for asylum is a basic human right, and detention can only be used as a measure of last resort , they insisted.	Presentare una domanda d'asilo è un diritto umano basilare e può ricorrere alla detenzione solo come extrema ratio .	LATINISM “measure of last resort” = misura coercitiva, misura di ultima istanza

The text also states concerns about the impact of austerity measures on EU citizens' economic, civil, social and cultural rights and calls on the European Commission to set up a "scoreboard" to monitor democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights in EU member states.	Il testo sottolinea anche l'impatto negativo delle misure di austerità sui diritti economici, civili, sociali e culturali.	OMISSION "and calls on the European Commission to set up a "scoreboard" to monitor democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights in EU member states."
MEPs give go-ahead to relocate an additional 120,000 asylum seekers in the EU.	I deputati danno il via libera al trasferimento di ulteriori 120.000 richiedenti asilo nell'Unione europea	TRANSPPOSITION FROM VERB TO NOUN relocate = ricollocare (verb) relocation = ricollocazione (noun) trasferimento = transfer
Hungary opposing relocation	L'Ungheria si oppone alla delocalizzazione	ATTEMPT OF SYNONYMY, RESULTED IN MISTRANSLATION "delocalizzazione" is identified in IATE as "delocalisation". This term is identified only in the finance domain and is used to refer to goods, companies. relocation = ricollocazione, trasferimento, referred to people
Note to editors	Contesto	REARRANGEMENT "Note to editors" was previously translated as "nota per i redattori" and replaced with "contesto".
MEP's approve first emergency rules for distributing asylum seekers in the EU	I deputati vogliono un sistema di distribuzione dei richiedenti asilo permanente e obbligatorio	EXPLICITATION the verb "approve" = approvare is replaced with the verb "volere" (vogliono) = want
MEPs also call for a binding quota for distributing asylum seekers among all EU	I deputati chiedono inoltre alla Commissione di fissare una quota vincolante per la ripartizione dei richiedenti	OMISSION "better cooperation with third countries and tougher measures against people

countries, bigger contributions to resettlement programs, better cooperation with third countries and tougher measures against people smugglers.	asilo tra tutti gli Stati membri e più finanziamenti ai programmi di reinsediamento.	smugglers.”
Migration: Parliament calls for urgent measures to save lives	Migrazione: Parlamento chiede un sistema vincolante di quote per la ripartizione dei richiedenti asilo	TRANSLATION BY PARAPHRASE USING UNRELATED WORDS BACK TRANSLATION “Migration: Parliament calls for a binding system of quota to relocate asylum seekers”
.fighting trafficking and preventing irregular migration	lotta contro il traffico di esseri umani e la migrazione irregolare	TRANSPOSITION VERB TO NOUN “fighting” = combattere “lotta” = fight MISTRANSLATION “trafficking” = tratta but translated as “traffico” = smuggling

Table 59. Translation shifts in 2015

EN	IT	TRANSLATION STRATEGY
EU-Turkey deal on migrants: not perfect but most realistic tool to tackle crisis	Accordo UE-Turchia sui migranti: preoccupazione su funzionamento e rispetto diritti dei rifugiati	TRANSLATION BY PARAPHRASE USING UNRELATED WORDS BACK TRANSLATION “worry on functioning and respect of rights of refugees”
“Moment of truth to reaffirm EU values” urges UN High Commissioner for Refugees	Filippo Grandi , Alto Commissario ONU per i rifugiati: “momento della verità per riaffermare i valori europei”	ADDITION National Perspective BACK TRANSLATION Filippo Grandi , UN High Commissioner for Refugees
calling for safe asylum paths to avoid human trafficking	chiedendo percorsi sicuri verso la concessione dell'asilo per evitare il traffico di esseri umani.	MISTRANSLATION “human trafficking” translated as “traffico di esseri umani” BACK TRANSLATION “traffico di esseri umani” should be translated as “human smuggling”, which is a different concept

		than “human trafficking”.
Protecting migrant children: Wednesday afternoon debate	Dibattito sulla protezione dei bambini migranti	OMISSION “Wednesday afternoon debate” omitted

Table 60. Translation shifts in 2016

6.5.1 Discussing and laughing at results

This final phase of our ethnographic fieldwork required us to act with a dual role; as researchers, we tried to label translation shifts by relying on the taxonomy proposed by Chesterman (1995) that was briefly presented and explained to the participants; in order to contrast subjective interpretation and label the shifts with the eyes of translation's authors, we inevitably returned to our role as former interns, as if we were active agents in the translation process. The discussion revolved around two categories of shifts: pragmatic and stylistic shifts related to the structure of the text, and those shifts related more to terminology and problems of equivalence.

Omissions encountered in the texts are primarily due to space constraints in the texts; in order to be published, every press release must be uploaded in a software called *Scribo*, which sets the same limit of characters for headlines of press releases in all languages: 80 characters for short titles, 120 characters for regular titles and 190 characters for the lead. Therefore, the press officer might be obliged to remove some content or rephrase the headline completely.

Omissions in paragraphs throughout the text are due to the need to restructure the content. The Italian press team may adapt the text according to their taste and style; if the text sounds too heavy in Italian, they may opt to omit some parts and add them to another paragraph, or delete them according to their relevance. An omitted part may otherwise be replaced by a hyperlink redirecting the reader to official documents or speeches they might want to consult if interested. For this reason, a thorough knowledge of the readership is essential, to sense readers' needs and taste and leave them free to read additional details.

Additions may follow a different logic; in the tables reported above we decided to label some additions as “addition by national perspective”. The most important aim of the text is to make the content interesting for a national readership; therefore, specifying the name of a politician or an EU official of Italian nationality might increase press coverage and make the text more appealing for journalists. This strategy is implemented with names as well as with quotes. As the Italian coordinator told us, “we do communication when translating”, so if the source text was owned by someone else, the translation makes him the author. As we explained in section 6.4, freedom and trustworthiness are at the basis of the unit's policy.

The strategy “**translation by paraphrase using unrelated words**” implies that the new author might not like the words or the syntactical structure used in the source text or might think that those words would not be explanatory enough for the readership. **Explicitations, rearrangements** and **cultural substitutions** might therefore provide a solution to adapt the text according to the press officer's and the journalists' taste. These types of translation strategies are usually performed by the translation author and often not discussed with the other members of the team. The reason for this is related to the speed and time constraints in the workflow. It is more likely, however, that the intern might consult with the assistant and briefly asks for an opinion, although his/her translation is always revised and proofread by the press officer at the end of the process.

The most intense part of the discussion revolved around the choice of term equivalents; the former role we held as interns made it more difficult to externalise our perplexities concerning some results we had encountered in our analysis. We all unanimously agreed that choosing specialised term equivalents – especially in paragraphs quoting MEPs or extracts from legislative reports – is a smooth practice. The trans-editor must respect the terminology used by translators and MEPs. The problem starts when the press officer has to balance specialised terms with general words avoiding repetitions that in Italian are not very much tolerated or exchanging terms according to his/her taste. Major problems in terminology turned out to be the following:

- finding an equivalent for “migrants”
- finding an equivalent for “immigrants”
- omitting “asylum seeker” and using “migrants” as an umbrella term
- translating “trafficking” as “traffico” and not “tratta”
- treating “smuggling” and “trafficking” as synonyms
- the use of “profugo” as a synonym for “rifugiato (refugee)”

Laughter played a substantial role during the discussion; as emphasised by Koskinen (2008: 112), “communal laughter can constitute a major part of communication”. We did not want to be considered as final judges and we expressed this fear more than once during and after the discussion. “Migration in Translation” was a circular project that had started in the same place from where we were conducting the final roundtable, with the people who had supported us from the very beginning. The roundtable was conceived as an exchange, as a meeting point where different experts would raise the issue together. What we wanted to achieve was not to report the mistranslations encountered in the text, but to identify the processes behind term choice and move the “communication boundary” to the “translation sphere”. Having experienced news translation ourselves in that context, we were well aware of the time constraints. You don't have time to think too much about one single term, so in a way your eye must be trained on two levels: communication and translation. In our experience, and according to our research on the role of terminology and translation, the only way out of this sometimes “counterproductive hybridity” is to raise awareness on how terms carry their weight and find a quick enough strategy to check its use.

We ended up discussing hyponymy-synonymy relationships and the difference between “migrante” and “immigrato”, terms and words, terms and concepts, the de-terminologisation of the term *refugee*, and the variables used by Quirion (2001) to measure term implantation, like conciseness or the number of competing terms, which were considered very valuable points by all participants. An example they referred to was the use of “asylum seeker” rather than “asylum applicant”, where both variables play their role. “Asylum seeker” is more concise

than “asylum applicant” and undoubtedly more popular in general language: “there is no need to use a more bureaucratic term like “applicant”.

We explained that translating all types of migrants in a text – “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers” – might change the content of the text and would express the position of the Parliament at present. We laughed together about the recurring mistranslation of “trafficking” and “smuggling” whose official equivalents were admittedly ignored. This roundtable was an interplay between communication practices and translation research where all participants played a role and were able to benefit one from the other. A few days later, just before we were in the process of turning back into “outsiders”, we were sent two translated texts about migration in preparation for the upcoming plenary session, where all our objects of discussion, all the problems we had raised were in the texts and had been changed following the discussion. There would be no better way to conclude this chapter than by reporting the last e-mail we received at the end of our study visit, containing the extracts from the translated text⁶¹ and two smile emoticons, which very well sum up, in a way, the core and aim of the “Migration in Translation” project:

[...] il Parlamento solleciterà l’UE ad affrontare le violazioni dei diritti umani che i migranti, i rifugiati e i richiedenti asilo si trovano ad affrontare come vittime di conflitti, povertà, **tratta di esseri umani e reti di trafficanti.**

:))))

EN version: Parliament will urge the EU to address human rights violations that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers face as the victims of conflicts, poverty, **trafficking** and **smuggling** networks.

Nel progetto di relazione annuale dell’UE sui diritti umani e la democrazia nel mondo nel 2016, i deputati chiedono all’UE di meglio proteggere i diritti

⁶¹ The texts published on the European Parliament website are available on this link: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/it/agenda/briefing/2017-12-11/10/proteggere-la-liberta-di-religione-e-i-diritti-dei-migranti> (Accessed on 10th January 2017).

di **migranti, rifugiati e richiedenti asilo**, nonché a promuovere il dialogo interreligioso nelle sue relazioni con i Paesi terzi.

;))

EN version: On the basis of the EU annual report on human rights and democracy worldwide in 2016, MEPs are likely to call on the EU to protect **migrants, refugees and asylum seekers**' rights and to promote inter-religious dialogue in its relations with non-EU countries.

Chapter 7

Results and Conclusions

As people have always moved around the world, migration has always been a factor in world history. Early humans were nomads travelling in search of shelter and safety and today people move for many different reasons, from economic to political, from cultural to religious or environmental. Although the concept of migration is as ancient as human beings are, we still encounter difficulties in expressing the legitimacy of these movements and, consequently, in finding the right terms to describe this concept and everything that relates to it. The efforts made by the EU Institutions to discuss and address the migration crisis that has broken out in Europe since 2015 were marked by frequent debates and polemics, partly fed by imprecise and sometimes inflammatory terminology used in institutional texts to describe *migrants*. This process has been ongoing since the implementation of the Single European Act in 1983; before that, the concept of *migrant* – as we demonstrated in the corpus analysis – was mainly related to work reasons and was expressed by terms like *migrant worker* or *frontier worker*. The concept of *migrant* as an umbrella term, absorbing different types of people moving for different reasons, appeared in Europe only in the 1980s ahead of the oil crisis, the *Single European Act* and all the treaties that followed (*Maastricht Treaty*, *Amsterdam Treaty* and *Dublin Regulation*).

The *Migration in Translation* project was born from the hypothesis that a historical and socio-political phenomenon like the migration crisis can be looked at through the lens of terminology, especially in the multilingual setting of the EU Institutions, which rely on standardised terminology across languages and translation. Debating over terminology is not only a question of political and institutional correctness but has real implications for migrants themselves. As claimed by the prominent American investor Warren Buffet, quoted in Labitan (2010: 27), “bad terminology is the enemy of good thinking”; we chose this statement as its author is neither a linguist nor a politician but a renowned

entrepreneur and it provides proof that terminology is everywhere, not only in the field of translation or lexicography, and that it lays the basis of knowledge and communication overall.

This assumption led us to take some decisions over terminology in the present thesis as well. As frequently remarked by Wagner et al. (2014), the EU Institutions are often represented as a single abstract entity under the term “EU”, which is an umbrella term referring not only to institutions but also to the Member States that are part of the European Union. Therefore, we coherently decided to mark this distinction throughout the thesis by referring to institutions and bodies as “the EU Institutions” and not as the “EU”, which was also an issue we debated during our study visit at the Press Unit. EU Institutions are not Member States, which comprise the European Union in its geo-political sense; rather, EU Institutions all have different roles and a slight rivalry even exists between them, so they certainly do not appreciate being treated as a single and abstract entity. EU citizens, above all, should start to know what “this European Union” is really about.

The project developed on two levels and was structured into two parts. The first aim was to take a closer look at how *migrants* have been represented over time (from 1950 until 2016) through the lens of terminology and translation in two typologies of institutional texts produced by the EU Institutions: legislative texts and press releases. By conducting a detailed corpus analysis, we hoped we would be able to dig into the terminological fuzziness and provide empirical data confirming the general trend denounced by several organisations like the *United Nations*, the *International Organization for Migration* and some bodies within EU Institutions.

The second aim was to take a sociological view of the texts we analysed and investigate authors and practices in their institutional settings. We could clearly see the problem but we did not know what really stood behind it. By conducting an ethnographic study of the institutional policies in two units of the European Parliament we hypothesised that the results we obtained in the first part of the thesis might somehow be correlated to the processes implemented within the EU Institutions.

7.1 Research findings

As we explained in Chapter 1, the research aimed to answer two research questions whose findings are summarised below.

1. What impact have terminology and translation had on shaping the migration crisis in EU Institutions?

This question was addressed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, where the analysis of migration terminology preceded the analysis of its equivalents in Italian. By comparing all versions of the *European Migration Network* glossaries – which are the only official glossaries ever compiled by EU Institutions – we were able to build a list of terms referring to migrants in English – which has been recognised as the *lingua franca* in the European Union – and provide a clear overview of how many terms have been coined so far in the context of migration in the EU Institutions between 1950 to 2016, from the oldest to the newest ones. These terms were later investigated in legislative texts contained in the EUR-lex corpus and in a compiled corpus of press releases published by the European Parliament between 2010 and 2016.

By investigating their occurrences and patterns of use, we were able to draw a parallel with the historical background we provided in Chapter 1 and track their impact on the progress made by the EU Institutions when integrating the EU Immigration and Asylum Law with new treaties and programmes. As soon as new trends of migration erupted in the European Union between 1990 and 2012, a considerable number of new terms were coined and used in institutional texts, which made the representation of migrants more fragmented and organised into different categories, according to their conditions of entry, their rights and their legal definition in international treaties.

On the one hand, this overflow of new terms contributed to overcoming a simplified representation of migrants, who move from country to country for different reasons and under distinct conditions. On the other hand, this fragmentation caused further confusion and obscurity in institutional texts; indeed, according to our analysis, both professional translators and communicators made a large portion of mistakes within the texts. As concepts referring to *migrants* and

illegal migrants were not clear and divided the political debate, terminology suffered from this lack of clarity and gave rise to ideological implications and mistranslations throughout the texts, as confirmed by the case of *hotspot* that we presented in Chapter 5. Another issue regarding the terminology of migration is that not all terms that appear in the texts carry a legal meaning. For instance, *asylum* has a specific legal definition and not all *asylum seekers* can actually qualify for it. It is however fundamental to clarify that all migrants are granted the right to request asylum, which must be distinguished from a decision being made over an asylum seeker's case. Excluding *refugees* and *asylum seekers*, all other migrants are categorised under the term *economic migrants*, which, however, does not exist from a legal standpoint and can lead to a failure to recognise the individual circumstances of each migrant, who may have had multiple motivations to move. We reported several extracts from EU documents where EU officials and Members of Parliament frequently called on their colleagues to use correct terminology as terms also carry a legal meaning, remarking on the importance of recognising the distinctions in order to enable reasonable and respectful solutions to be found.

Before the so-called *migration crisis* broke out in Europe in 2015, all the voices within institutional texts (politicians, legislators, translators and press officers) used to reduce the entire body of migrants to only two categories: *legal migrants* and *illegal migrants*. The use of the adjective *illegal* led to sharp criticism both from within the institutions and the media and was replaced by *irregular*. *Irregular* was however not frequently used in press releases where the adjective *undocumented* was used instead as its synonym. The term *refugee* was originally used in the 1970s with its legal meaning conferred by the Geneva Convention: those people who managed to have their status legally recognised. After 2015, the term *refugee* was *de-terminologised*, meaning that its specialised meaning was changed into a more general one, referring to people fleeing their countries for reasons beyond their control but who have not obtained the legal status of *refugees* yet. The term *asylum seeker* first appeared in the 1990s but reached its peak in use only in 2009 and was previously included under the umbrella category of *migrants*. Providing an overview of which terms were used

and how they were used was the first step in preparing for our ethnographic fieldwork.

This terminological overview set the basis for our analysis of Italian equivalents in Chapter 4 and measured the impact of translation on the representation of migrants in institutional texts. *Migration* terminology started to become standardised after 2000 while variation of equivalents was more common before the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 and the Dublin Regulation in 2003. Terms that referred to different concepts were used as synonyms like *rifugiato* and *profugo*, or *rifugiato* and *richiedente asilo*, *immigrato* and *emigrante*, which were all used as synonyms for *migrant*. Translation served as a means to change the perception of migrants in institutional texts, so that they would not be perceived only as objects of policies. More general terms like *persone* (people), *cittadini* (citizens) or paraphrasing strategies like *persone bisognose di protezione internazionale* (beneficiaries of international protection) were increasingly used from the 21st century onwards, humanising the discourse revolving around migrants and reversing the trend of institutional translation as being regulated only by rigid and standardised norms. Especially in EUR-lex, the results we obtained went far beyond our expectations, with much creative flavour flowing from legislative texts and translators having an unexpected power of choice. The analysis showed overall how terminology can play an important role in shaping the discussion of effective migration governance and how the EU Institutions have been progressively moving towards harmonisation and standardisation.

This overview of how terminology and translation were employed in institutional texts served as a basis to shift our attention from “what” is translated to “who” is translating and “how” they do it, and we conducted our ethnographic fieldwork with the Terminology Coordination Unit and the Press Unit of the European Parliament to investigate the processes regulating terminology coordination and institutional translation.

2. How does the European Parliament structure its communication process through terminology and translation?

This question was addressed in the second part of the thesis and respectively in Chapters 5 and 6. In both chapters corpus results were integrated into our ethnographic fieldwork at the European Parliament, where we worked side by side with all members of the units and identified possible correlations between texts and processes. The fieldwork was complex but extremely useful to gain insight into how translation flows across EU Institutions and we placed terminology work at the centre of the translation process. By analysing the workflow at the Terminology Coordination Unit we were able to identify all *unknown agents* (Schäffner 2014: 131) that contribute to shaping terminology in the EU Institutions. The concepts of visibility, agency and status were particularly useful to gain a better understanding of the translators' position in the nexus model we used for our ethnographic fieldwork.

The analysis revealed that before terminology is coordinated and standardised by terminologists and translators in the language units it is coined by legislators, politicians and lawyer-linguists who ensure that all language versions will be consistent with all the official languages of the European Union. Terminology is then coordinated and stored in EU official terminology databases like IATE. The interactive terminology database for Europe was born in 2002 as an interinstitutional database to harmonise the terminology of all EU Institutions. Terms are stored by the members of the Terminology Coordination Unit according to specific criteria together with the translators of the language units. As argued by Bratanic and Loncar (2015: 208), “even when all efforts are made to coordinate terminologies as they develop, inconsistent terminologies continue to be created and used”.

The problem of EU terminology regards the discrepancies between concepts within a single language and across languages, which may not be apparent at the term level and are therefore “difficult to diagnose before possible instances of miscommunication or outright damage in legal effects occurs” (*ibid.*). An example was the term *hotspot* whose Italian equivalent was *punto di crisi*. As we were able to demonstrate through our interviews, terminologists and translators can express

their views on term and equivalents' choice, but the final word is up to the “author of the text”. According to Bratanic and Loncar (ibid.) “terminology harmonisation in the context of EU translation often turns out to be a myth”. By investigating the phases of terminology work in the field and unveiling the components of the nexus model we applied, we wanted to shift the attention from the problem to the agents and the practices used in the process.

On the one hand, our corpus analysis indeed showed that neither terminology nor translation were always consistent in institutional texts, and this has certainly had an effect on how information circulated across and outside the EU Institutions and influenced the perceptions of migrants and migration phenomena. On the other hand, it shed light on the progress made by the EU Institutions to provide the translators and all EU agents with the necessary tools to improve their work. Indeed, one of the policies of the Terminology Coordination Unit that we were able to testify by personally attending one of the IATE Management Group's meetings, is that active interinstitutional cooperation between the units is an ongoing process which goes hand in hand with the evolution of the European Union, which is still a young and evolving project.

As explained by Engberg (2015: 180) “the EU has decided not to have one language, but to function as a unit based on the interaction between many languages with equal official status, so it influences and shapes meanings in the different national languages”. There are still two types of problems to overcome, which we see as a work in progress and not as a goal impossible to reach: 1) the nature of EU concepts is often intentionally vague so that their application in the different legal and political systems of the Member States will be easier. But as a consequence they will not be fully harmonised (Engberg 2015: 209). 2) IATE entries are term-oriented and not concept-oriented. “As a consequence, concepts are not consistently handled as single terminological entries, which is easily noticed when examining the term” (Bratanic and Loncar 2015: 212).

The analysis concluded that translation practices and management are influenced by agents' translation beliefs relating to translation in general and to translation as a professional activity. The tools to increase translation consistency and accuracy are indispensable, as well as the cooperation and training of

translators through in-depth revision. The feedback from such translators is seen as essential in the whole terminology process. Standardisation and harmonisation of terminology is the foundation of the internal institutional communication process. However, terms and equivalents make their way outside the institution through a different type of institutional text: press releases.

In Chapter 6 we took a sociological view of translated press releases and analysed the role played by terminology and translation in the communication process at the Press Unit of the European Parliament. From the point of view of terminology we were able to make a closer comparison between the results we obtained in the corpus analysis and the point of view of the real authors of the texts. Institutional press releases are hybrid political texts whose clarity depends on the interplay between specialised terminology and more general lexicon. The most important part of a press release, which press officers expect the journalists to retell, is the quote made by Members of Parliament and directly reported from legislative resolutions. In this case, specialised terminology must remain faithful to the source text and no variation is admitted.

However, in other paragraphs that have a more explanatory purpose, press officers try to balance the position of the house, which is reflected through specialised terminology with general language and – as they claim – more “informal” and “emotional” words. In this case, they mostly rely on words that are usually used by the media. This may create, however, improper use of words, like for instance, using the umbrella term *migrant* although the position of the Parliament would require distinguishing between *migrants*, *refugees* and *asylum seekers*. At present, there is no policy concerning the use of terminology within the European Parliament communication department; term choice relies on the press officers' experience and cooperation with the English editors.

From the point of view of translation, the analysis shed light on the hidden role of institutional trans-editors, who share a wide range of similarities with news translators that have been widely researched in Translation Studies, although they differ in some aspects. Like in the case of terminology, term equivalents of MEPs' quotes and extracts from legislative resolutions respect the official EU guidelines, while core general paragraphs rely on the subjective choices taken by press

officers. Our ethnographic fieldwork first revealed the components of the nexus model and then aimed to find the correlations between the results from our corpus analysis and the translation practices implemented by press officers. The status of translation within the EU Institutions vary according to the units' policies and the actors' beliefs; from this point of view, a unified and harmonised interinstitutional translation policy has not been implemented yet.

This is why it is essential to distinguish between institutions as their own policies and beliefs may vary. Through the analysis, we raised awareness on the consequences of different translation policies (European Commission vs. European Parliament) and demonstrated how translation beliefs influence the practices and the final product. Translation is not only an integral part of the institutional communication effort to make the texts available in all EU countries, but is a vital translation strategy on its own. Indeed, it is used to increase press coverage in news media across the EU. The Press Unit neither employs nor externalises translations. Press officers own their texts in the same way they own their translations. According to the analysis, press officers and the other unknown agents who contribute as actors to the translation process, like editors, assistants and interns, all have different visions of translation and employ different methods to translate.

This diversity could benefit the communication purposes of a multilingual and multicultural media setting but may pose problems in consistency and harmonisation of terminology and translation. Indeed, in the final roundtable with the Italian press team we could shed further light on this issue and discussed the translation shifts we encountered in the texts. The majority of shifts are due to space constraints and relate to the need to provide a national angle in the new adapted text. In this regard, we could shed further light on the skills required to work as trans-editors in a multilingual institutional setting. A lack of terminological awareness in finding equivalents for the terms *refugees*, *smuggling* and *trafficking* was admitted by participants and turned into a fruitful contribution we were able to provide through our research, which led to concrete changes in the texts that were published right after our roundtable. The hybridity of institutional press releases in this text typology is intertwined with a necessary

evolution of the translation profession in EU Institutions. If press officers might lack the skills to evaluate the right term equivalents in a text, professional translators with no experience in journalism may not be able to identify the right communication strategy and render the text too formal.

7.2 Contributions to Translation Studies

“Migration in Translation” aimed to contribute to the field of Translation Studies, and more specifically to the research niche of institutional translation. As explained by Koskinen (2008: 22):

“we are dealing with institutional translation in those cases when an official body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of “speaking” to a particular audience. Thus, in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the translating institution. As a result, in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated”.

Koskinen (2011: 58) describes institutional translation as being collective, anonymous and standardised. Our analysis of institutional texts at the European Parliament confirmed that translation is indeed collective as many agents are involved in the translation process. The aim is to reflect the view of the institution. However, the degree of standardisation turned out to be lower than we expected, in the case of press releases in particular. The results of our corpus analysis indeed showed that neither translators nor trans-editors always respected the equivalence standards indicated in official tools provided by the EU Institutions, such as the EMN glossaries and IATE. This may be due several factors: the first one is that the process of harmonising terminology on an interinstitutional level is still recent and ongoing: IATE became a public platform only in 2008 and the new portal EurTerm was still under discussion when we conducted our study visit at the Terminology Coordination Unit.

The second factor might be that IATE contains a considerable quantity of terms and as terminology evolves quickly, in parallel with socio-political changes and legislative progress, updating existing entries requires a considerable amount

of time-consuming terminology work. Indeed, there are currently no full-time terminologists working at the European Parliament, only translator-terminologists who have to combine their translation work with terminology research. The aspect that most participants remarked on during ethnographic fieldwork was the lack of time and the volume of work.

The third factor is that translation practices vary from unit to unit and from institution to institution. Additionally, as translation is involved in several fields of EU Institutions, there are several *unknown agents* (Schäffner 2014: 131) that translate for their institution internally or externally without being professional translators. By looking at Lindholm's (2008) ethnographic research, we were able to compare how press releases get translated at the European Commission and how they are translated at the European Parliament. Our analysis showed that these institutions, although part of the same institutional machine and whose roles are interdependent on one another, differ in their policies and management as well as in their translation beliefs. This demonstrates that much progress still has to be made in terms of standardisation and harmonisation of terminology and translation policies.

With reference to anonymity, translation is not anonymous in the case of press releases translated by institutional press officers. Institutional translation not only comprehends legislative texts translated by professional translators, but also translations performed in communication departments and political parties, a niche that could be investigated further. The voice of the individual speaker is regularly changed in translation, and often relies on what the media are more willing to hear. So the media play a vital role in how terminology circulates around a certain topic like migration and share their responsibility with the EU Institutions regarding its consistency. This how the field of institutional translation interrelates with the field of news translation.

Most studies in news translation, like the ones by Bielsa & Bassnett (2009), van Doorslaer (2010), Caimotto (2010) and Valdeòn (2015), were used as a compass to expand the horizon towards a new type of trans-editor, the institutional trans-editor. Trans-editors at the European Parliament, who might differ from trans-editors working at the European Commission, share several similarities with

the news-translators described in those studies but also have other traits that require further investigation. The interplay between specialised terminology and general language in institutional text is a further aspect that characterises institutional press releases; press officers cannot recontextualise or rearrange institutional voices but only provide a dedicated space within the texts.

7.3 Contributions to the European Parliament

As we explained in Chapter 2, our role as ethnographers was intertwined with our previous experience as insiders back in 2013 and 2014. The nature of our fieldwork conducted at TermCoord differed from the fieldwork conducted at the Press Unit. In the former case, we adopted a “learning by doing” approach where our primary aim was to investigate how terminology is coordinated with translators at the European Parliament. Our role was that of participants-observers to fully comprehend several phases of work and shed light on institutional practices. In the latter case, we already had prior knowledge of the practices at the Press Unit, so our fieldwork was more conceived as a means to generate more professional awareness of terminology and translation policy.

The core of the “Migration in Translation” project was to investigate the role played by terminology and translation in shaping the migration crisis, identify the benefits and problems of institutional translation, and also to measure the impact of translation on communication. Several participants felt particularly involved with this topic and integrated the scheduled ethnographic fieldwork with further thoughts and conversations brought to the researchers of their own free will. As a final outcome, the Italian press team's perceptions about translation changed considerably and more attention to terminology and translation issues was paid as soon as new texts were produced.

Overall, this ethnographic study of institutional translation demonstrated how academia and the EU Institutions may benefit from each other and we hypothesised that this may lead to dual growth.

7.4 Limitations of the present study

Before starting a research *study*, and above all when you choose to employ ethnographic methods and a considerable volume of data, researchers may be aware that there are certain *limitations* to what you want to test or what possible findings may result from your efforts. The aim of this study was to investigate the role played by terminology and translation in shaping the migration crisis in EU Institutions. Although terminology plays a vital role in the translation process, the study of terminology as a discipline involves several theories and practices that were not dealt with in this study but may provide a basis for future research. Research into term implantation (Quirion & Lantier 2006: 107) is one of those areas that could shed further light on the factors governing the acceptance or the rejection of a recommended term or terminology. “If such factors can be determined, terminologists and language planners will be better able to propose terms that have a greater chance of successfully taking hold” (*ibid.* 108). The variables used by Quirion to measure term implantation were only used as a compass to discuss term choice practices with press officers, by considering the variables of conciseness and competing terms.

The second limitation of the present study concerned the size of the corpora we used in the first part of our research. In the case of the EUR-lex corpus, it was not necessary to compile the corpora as they were already available and aligned in the software *Sketch Engine*. The quantity of data analysed was considerable and, especially in the analysis of parallel corpora, required us to select a representative sample of 250 results by using a specific function provided by the software *Sketch Engine*. On the contrary, the size of the corpora of press releases was relatively small. This, however, was not due to time constraints but on the availability of the texts on the website. At present, the European Parliament is renewing its website and press releases before 2010 are not yet available as they are re-setting the archive section. It would have been valuable for the present research to analyse press releases from 1950 until 2016, as we were able to do with legislative texts.

Another limitation of the present study regarded the research models we employed in our ethnographic fieldwork. In some cases, it is was very difficult to distinguish between the three components of translation policy, especially

between policies and management. In the case of the press unit, the translation policy consists of not having a structured policy, as translation is considered to be embedded in the communication process. However, the concept of translation policy with its three components was useful to understand what processes take place at the European Parliament and to gain insight into the various factors that impact on translation.

Finally, the last limitation concerned the call made by Schäffner (2014: 150) to unveil the *unknown agents* who influence the translation process of political discourse. During our fieldwork, unveiling all groups of unknown agents was very complex and depended on participants' beliefs, including how they perceive their role. In our investigation, we demonstrated how the process of coining terminology and equivalents see legislators, politicians and lawyer-linguists as the main characters starting the process of coining and standardising the terminology in legislative texts. We unfortunately did not have time to investigate further into the role and practices of these agents, though this may inspire future research within this field.

7.5 Scope for future research

The present research project is conceived to be a further contribution to the field of institutional translation and news translation. In this light, it could be considered as a case study that aims to begin exploring new contexts of institutional translation from a dual perspective. The first one regards the context of institutional translation in EU Institutions, that could be further explored either from the point of the view of the status of the translation profession and the skills needed by non-professional translators who actually do translation work within the EU Institution. Research could also be conducted on the training and skills that are needed for all types of translators in the multilingual setting of EU Institutions and on how these could be provided effectively. As pointed out by Koskinen (2011), different institutional settings regulate translation in different ways, and their degree of institutionalisation varies. A comparative study of how the different EU Institutions employ translation with the help of ethnographic

methods may also contribute to helping EU Institutions discuss this issue interinstitutionally and move towards better harmonisation.

The second perspective is more on the side of news-translation. As remarked on by Valdeòn (2015), communication studies and translation studies have ignored each other for a long time; this may have prevented researchers from considering relevant aspects that would render research studies more beneficial for both fields. Identifying strategies in news translation without hearing the authors' perspective is a limiting descriptive analysis. Due to globalisation, news translation in newsrooms as well as in communication departments within institutions, can no longer survive without translation. From the point of view of translation, it is fundamental to distinguish between different types of journalisms and narrow news translation studies to specific types of media. This is an issue we also discussed with press officers during our ethnographic fieldwork; in this light one of the interviewees emphasised how the press unit differentiates its communication strategies according to the type of media or the country in which the media is placed. In our view as both researchers and journalists, a study of translation shifts in “the British Press” would result in a simplistic analysis that may spoil the representation of the British press overall. This point may also inspire universities' policies as well to provide further study programmes which combine communication and translation as currently there still seems to be a gap between these fields.

The last inspiring point that we feel particularly close to concerns the role of terminology in institutional texts like press releases, where the interplay between specialised terminology and general language is undoubtedly the pillar of these hybrid typologies of institutional texts. By measuring terminology implantation within these texts, researchers may provide useful insights to find better solutions regarding terminology in EU Institutions and raise awareness of the importance of terminology not only in translation but also in communication.

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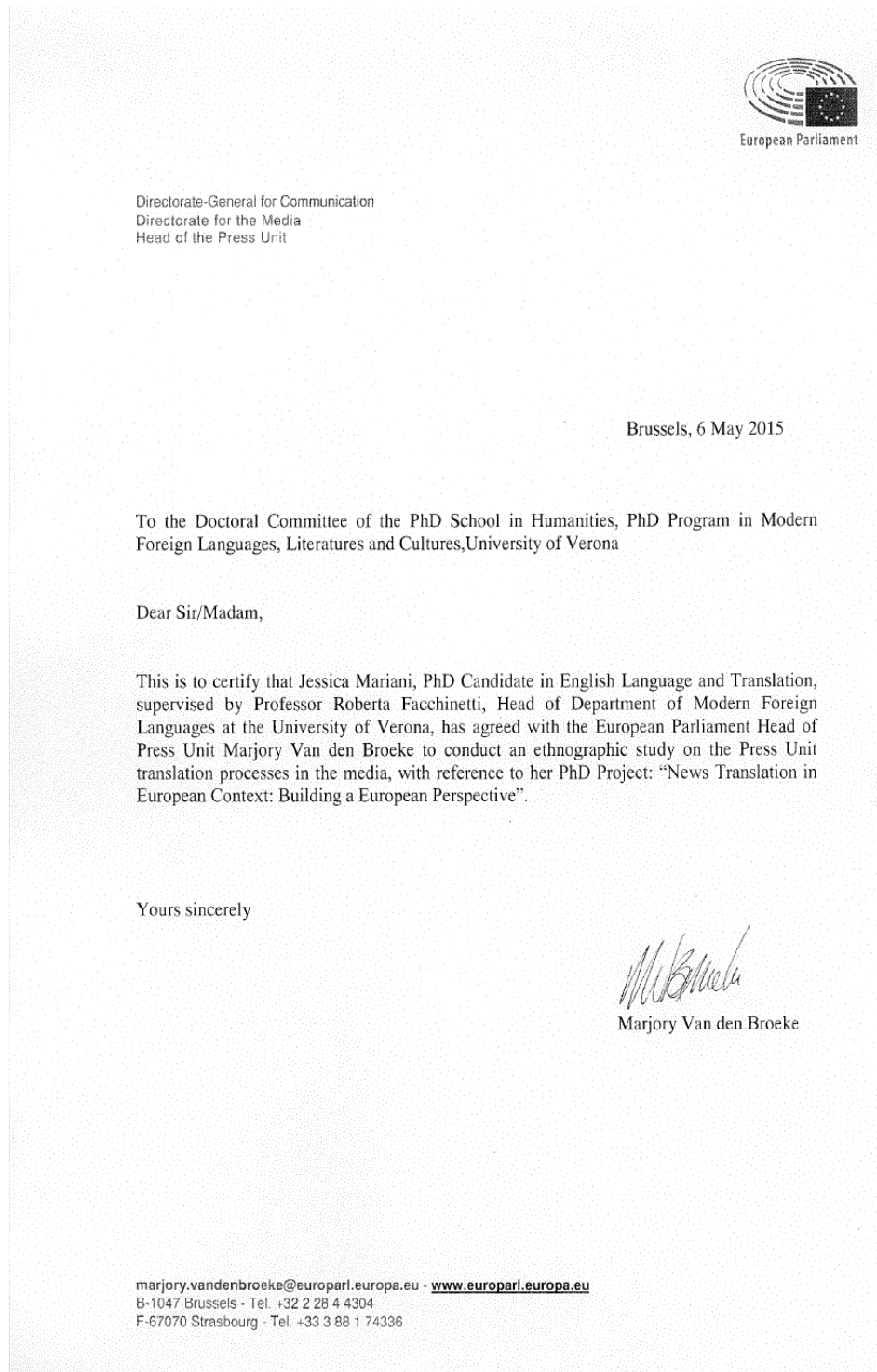
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Appendix 1: Agreements + Study Visit Invitations

a) Agreement with the Press Unit



b) Agreement with the Terminology Coordination Unit



Parlamentul European - European Parliament - Europäisches Parlament - Европeйскoе Парламент
European Parliament - Parlamento Europeo - European Parliament - Parlamento Europeo - Parlamento Europeo
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Directorate-General for Translation
Terminology Coordination Unit

Luxembourg, 10 May 2016

To the Doctoral Committee of the PhD School in Humanities, PhD Program in
Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures, University of Verona

Dear Sir/Madam,

This is to certify that Jessica Mariani, PhD Candidate in English Language and Translation, supervised by Professor Roberta Facchinetti, Head of Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the University of Verona, has agreed with the European Parliament Head of Terminology Coordination Unit, Rodolfo Maslias, to conduct an ethnographic study on terminology management processes and practices within the institution, with reference to her PhD Project "Building a European Perspective in News Translation: how translated information flows across the EU".

Yours sincerely,



Rodolfo Maslias
Head of Terminology Coordination Unit

c) Study Visit Invitation: Terminology Coordination Unit



Directorate-General for Personnel
Directorate for Human Resources Development
Contract Staff and Accredited Parliamentary Assistants Recruitment Unit
The Head of Unit

Luxembourg, **06 AVR. 2016**
D(2016) 13624

Ms Jessica MARIANI
jessica.mariani@univr.it

Subject: Admission to a study visit in the Secretariat of the European Parliament

Dear Ms MARIANI,

I am pleased to inform you that you have been admitted to a study visit in the Directorate General for Translation, Directorate for Support and Technological Services for Translation, **Terminology Coordination Unit in LUXEMBOURG from 02/05/2016 to 31/05/2016.**

Your study visit will be governed by article 32 of the *Internal Rules governing traineeships and study visits in the Secretariat of the European Parliament* dated 1 February 2013 (copy enclosed).

In order to get your access card you are kindly requested to go to the **KAD building on 02/05/2016 at 9.00 a.m.** After presenting your passport and this admission letter, you will receive a badge, giving you access to the European Parliament buildings in Luxembourg. Afterwards please report to **Ms Viola LACI-PONGRACZ (Office TOA 11A014A, Tel +352 4300 23038, viola.pongracz@europarl.europa.eu)** who will be your supervisor. Entrance is via the reception in the TOA building.

Yours sincerely,


Pierre-Antoine BARTHÉLÉMY

Pierre-Antoine BARTHÉLÉMY

Encls.: - Rules of 1.02.2013
- Maps of the buildings

Copies: Ms LACI-PONGRACZ, Linguist-terminologist, Terminology Coordination Unit
Mr DE DONA, Assistant, Accreditation Unit
Access Security Luxembourg

pierre-antoine.barthelemy@ep.europa.eu - www.ep.europa.eu
L-2929 Luxembourg - Tel +352 43 00 23029 - Fax +352 43 00 24888
F-67070 Strasbourg - Tel +33 3 88 1 74733

d) Study Visit Invitation Press Unit



Directorate-General for Personnel
Directorate for Human Resources Development
Contract Staff and Trainees Recruitment Unit
The Head of Unit

Luxembourg, - 6 NOV. 2017
D(2017) 44159

Ms Jessica MARIANI
jessica.mariani@univr.it

Subject: Admission to a study visit in the Secretariat of the European Parliament

Dear Ms MARIANI,

I am pleased to inform you that you have been admitted to a study visit in the Directorate General for Communication, **Directorate for Media, Press Unit in BRUSSELS from 13/11/2017 to 13/12/2017.**

Your study visit will be governed by article 32 of the *Internal Rules governing traineeships and study visits in the Secretariat of the European Parliament* dated 1 February 2013 (copy enclosed).

Please report on **13/11/2017 at 9.30 a.m. to Mr Federico DE GIROLAMO (Office PHS 01B436, Tel: +32 2 28 31389, federico.degirolamo@europarl.europa.eu)**, who will be your supervisor. Entrance is via the Accreditation Centre, Place de Luxembourg. After presenting your passport and this admission letter, you will receive a badge, giving you access to the European Parliament buildings in Brussels.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P-A Barthélémy'.

Pierre-Antoine BARTHÉLÉMY

Encls.: - Rules of 01.02.2013
- Maps of the buildings

Copies: Mr Federico DE GIROLAMO Head of Unit
Ms REEVES, Human resources assistant
Access Security Brussels

L-2929 Luxembourg - Tel +352 43 00 23029 - Fax +352 43 00 24888
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Appendix 2: Interview's questions

Interview #0 – Background Interview



QUESTIONS

Name of Press Officer:

- a) Considering press coverage of Committees' meetings, how do you report MEO's statements in press releases?
- 1) Do you take notes during the meeting and trust your notes?
 - 2) What happens when the MEP speaks in his/her mother tongue which you don't know?
 - 3) Do you take notes according to the interpreter's version?
- b) When political statements are obtained and are ready to be reported in the press release, who translates them?
- 1) Some press officers do have a language assistant, what about the others? If they have language issues while translating who do they get in contact with?
- c) Translating press releases for the media.
- 1) Is there any press officer who is also a professional translator?
 - 2) What is the general background required by the EP to be a multilingual press officer?
 - 3) What are the tools used by press officers to translate from and into a language ?

Interviewer: Dr. Jessica Mariani

Interview #1 - #2



QUESTIONS

Name and Role of the Participant:

- 1) What are your main tasks at TermCoord and how do you cooperate with the other members of the unit?
- 2) What is your personal background?
- 3) How was terminology coordination before IATE existed. How is the present situation and what are your next step?
- 4) When you say that every week 300 terms are added to the IATE database, who exactly adds these terms?
- 5) Is IATE consulted by translators outside the EU Institutions?
- 6) What are the main difficulties you encounter when coordinating IATE?
- 7) What would you suggest to journalists in order to improve language quality in news texts?

Interviewer: Dr. Jessica Mariani

Interview #3 - #4



QUESTIONS

Name of Translator-Terminologist:

Language Unit:

- 1) What are your tasks as a translator and terminologist at the European Parliament? (type of documents you translate, terminology work you do, other tasks you encounter in the unit other than translating)

- 2) Do you make use of any software or internal platforms to translate and conduct terminology work?

- 3) What are the most common and uncommon problems you encounter with terminology and translation in your daily work? (inconsistency, outdated entry in IATE, synonymy, polysemy..)

- 4) Concerning the terminology of Migration and Asylum, have you encountered any terminology problem in translating in your mother tongue? In the Italian case for example, the Italian equivalent of “hotspot”, “punto di crisi” was not very much appreciated neither by experts nor by the media and the general public. What is your view on this term? Is the case of your mother tongue analogue?

- 5) If you dealt with any text regarding Migration or Asylum in the EU, could you report any terminology or translation problem you encountered in your work?

Interviewer: Dr. Jessica Mariani

Interview #5



QUESTIONS

Name of and Role of the Participant

1) What is your role in the Press Unit and How is your daily working routine?

Guiding points:

- What is your mother tongue?
- Which Committee do you currently follow and which Committee did you follow from 2010 to 2016?
- Do you deal with a particular topic?
- Do you write texts in more than one language?
- Do you deal with translation in your working routine?
- Have you had any training in translation?
- Do you receive linguistic support? (language assistant)

2) Communication requires clarity and efficiency, especially in multilingual institutional settings, where terminology also carries legal responsibility. How important is terminology in communication and in your daily work?

3) How do you choose terms in a text?

Guiding points:

- Which documents do you rely on when you write a press release?
- Do you consult with glossaries, or databases like, for instance, IATE?
- Do you use some translation software or tool?- Do you consult with your colleagues?

4) The Migrant-Refugee crisis was a top-priority topic in the EU and a lot of progress has been made by the European Parliament to tackle this emergency. The debate about Migration also revolved around the words that are used to talk about it. What was your experience in this regard?

Guiding points:

- refer to some cases where you were not sure about some terms
 - did you set up some guidelines (i.e. “refugee” rather “migrant”, or both) with reference to language?
 - did you consult with English editors working in your Unit?
- 5) I would like us to briefly comment on the linguistic results which were obtained in the research

Guiding points:

- use of “migrant” as a broader term
- use of “refugee” as a broader term
- use of “migrant and refugee”
- use of refugee crisis
- do you treat “migrant”, “immigrant” and “emigrant” as synonyms?

Interviewer: Dr. Jessica Mariani

Interview #6



QUESTIONS

Name of Translator-Terminologist:

1) What is your role in the Press Unit and How is your daily working routine?

Guiding points:

- What is your mother tongue?
- What are your tasks within the Unit?
- Do you follow any Committee in particular or deal with a particular topic?
- Do you write or edit texts in more than one language?
- Do you deal with translation in your working routine?
- Have you had any training in translation?

2) Communication requires clarity and efficiency, especially in multilingual institutional settings, where terminology also carries legal responsibility. How important is terminology in communication and in your daily work?

3) Choosing terminology is part of a translating process. How do you choose terms in a text?

Guiding points:

- Do you rely on EU official documents?
- Do you consult with glossaries, or databases like, for instance, IATE
- Do you use some translation software or tool?
Do you consult with your colleagues?

4) Euro-English and British English: to what extent can we say we are in front of two different languages? How does this affect your work?

5) The debate about the Migration crisis revolved around the words that are used to talk about it. What was your experience in this regard?

Guiding points:

- Have you ever had any terminological constraints or cases of untranslatability?
- Did you set up some guidelines (i.e. “refugee” rather “migrant”, or both) with reference to language with your colleagues?

6) I would like us to briefly comment on the linguistic results which were obtained in the research.

Interviewer: Dr. Jessica Mariani

Interview #7



QUESTIONS

Name and Role of Participant:

1) What is your role in the Press Unit and How is your daily working routine?

Guiding points:

- What is your mother tongue?
- What are your tasks within the Unit?
- Do you follow any Committee in particular or deal with a particular topic?
- Do you write or edit texts in more than one language?
- Do you deal with translation in your working routine?
- Have you had any training in translation?

2) How do you cooperate with the other members of the Italian team?

3) How important is terminology in communication and in your daily work?

4) Choosing terminology is part of a translating process. How do you choose terms in a text and how do you find its equivalent in Italian?

Guiding points:

- Do you rely on EU official documents?
- Do you consult with glossaries, or databases like, for instance, IATE?
- Do you use some translation software or tool?
- Do you consult with your colleagues?

5) The debate about the Migration crisis revolved around the words that are used to talk about it. What was your experience in this regard?

Guiding points:

- Have you ever had any translation problem into Italian, or cases of untranslatability?

- Did you set up some guidelines (i.e. “refugee” rather “migrant”, or both) with reference to language with your colleagues?

Interviewer: Dr. Jessica Mariani

Appendix 3: Consent form for interviews



UNIVERSITÀ
di **VERONA**

Interview Consent Form

Ph.D Project

"Migration in Translation"

The role of terminology and trans-editing on tackling the crisis in the EU

Name of interviewee: _____

Position: _____

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the research project named above.
2. The purpose and nature of the interview has been explained to me, and I have received the research project as provided by the researcher.
3. I agree that the interview may be electronically recorded and the transcript be provided before publication.
4. Any questions that I asked about the purpose and nature of the interview have been answered to my satisfaction.
5. Choose option a) or b)
 - a) I do not wish my name to be used or cited, or my identity otherwise disclosed, in the research project.
 - b) I understand that the researcher may wish to pursue publication at a later date and my name be used.

Date _____

Signature _____

Appendix 4: Transcription Conventions

Transcriptions were made in a literal, verbatim style rather than in a formal, written style. The following table with conventions is based on Poland (2002: 639).

Speakers I R [xxx]	Interviewer Respondent When names of colleagues are mentioned during the interview, they are kept anonymous by using the following symbols [xxx]
Garbled speech xxx	Inaudible
Laughing (laugh)	Indications are provided in parenthesis
Pauses (...)	For pauses shorter than three seconds
Interruption R: What I think is – I speak for myself	A hyphen indicates when a speaker interrupts his or her speech
Overlapping speech R1: We work differently compared to - R2: (overlapping) our texts are different..	Hyphen for when one speaker is interrupted by the other, Speech of the other is started with (overlapping)
Emphasis	Capital letters indicate strong emphasis.
Clarifications [=]	When a quotation is taken out of the context and inserted in the thesis, clarification is sometimes needed of the original context. This was added between square brackets by the researcher.

Appendix 5: Questionnaire

"Migration in Translation" Questionnaire

By completing this questionnaire you are indicating your consent to participate in this research. This questionnaire is anonymous and does not require your identity to be disclosed. In order to gain a better idea of participants' background, a list of basic questions is included. Thank you for taking the time to reply.

*Campo obbligatorio

1. Age *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- 18-30
 31-40
 41-50
 50+

2. Current job at the Press Unit *

3. Name of the highest degree (i.e. Master in European Politics) *

4. Years of professional experience *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- 0-3
 4-6
 7-10
 10 +

5. If your job at the European Parliament changed during the years, please indicate what other position you had and for how many years. *

6. Years of professional experience before the European Parliament. *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- 0-1
 2-3
 4-5
 5 +

7. If you obtained professional experience before joining the European Parliament, please indicate what kind of work you did (4 years before the EP) *

8. In my daily interactions I use the following languages: *

9. What percentage of your daily tasks consists of translation work? *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- 0-25%
- 26-50%
- 50+%

10. From and into what languages do you translate? *

11. Are you a professional translator or do you have a translation degree? *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- Yes
- No

12. What type of translation software or tool do you usually use? *

Seleziona tutte le voci applicabili.

- Specialized translation software (i.e. SDL TRADOS STUDIO)
- Google Translate
- DeepL
- IATE (Interactive Terminology Database of the European Union)
- Linguee
- Glossaries or online dictionaries
- None

13. **Do you have translation or style guides at the office? ***

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- YES
 NO
 I follow other style guides, like Reuters or Associated Press, etc.

14. **Do you receive any training in the following areas? (more than one option available) ***

Seleziona tutte le voci applicabili.

- Translation
 Language
 Communication (writing skills, etc.)

15. **Tick the situations where you do not use your mother-tongue, so translation or interpreting (also on a non-professional level) is directly or indirectly involved in your work: ***

Seleziona tutte le voci applicabili.

- Committee meetings
 Hearings
 Debates
 Parliament votes
 Press briefings
 Press conferences
 Press breakfasts
 None

16. **When you translate press releases, would you define yourself as a (only one option): ***

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- Trans-editor (hybrid professional dealing with translation and editing)
 Translator
 Post-editor (meaning that you edit a text that has previously been translated by a software or tool, like Google Translate)

17. **"I think translation is naturally embedded in multilingual communication, so it is part of it and can be performed by non-professional translators." Do you agree? ***

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- YES
 NO

18. **Which of the following constraints do you think you have in common with a professional translator working at the European Parliament? (More than one answer possible) ***

Seleziona tutte le voci applicabili.

- Time pressure
 Cases of untranslatability
 Target readers
 Dealing with specialized lexicon and general language
 Difficulties in translating MEP's quotes

19. How would you define your translations? Tick one answer only. *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- an adaptation of a text
- a transformation of a text
- a translation
- a communicative text

20. "Translation involves negotiation, conscious selection and involves re-creation in the target language". Is this sentence representative of your translation work? *

Contrassegna solo un ovale.

- YES
- NO

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Appendix 6: Terms' definition in the European Migration Network Glossaries

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
alien	a person who is not a national of a Member State of the European Union.	a person who is not a national of a Member State of the European Union.	a person who is not a national of a Member State of the European Union.
applicant for international protection	-	-	A third-country national or a stateless person who has made an application for international protection in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.
applicant in need of special procedural guarantees	-	-	An applicant whose ability to benefit from the rights and obligations provided for in Directive 2013/32/EU (Recast Asylum Procedures Directive) is limited due to individual circumstances.
applicant with special reception needs	-	-	A vulnerable person, in accordance with Art. 21 of Directive 2013/33/EU, who is in need of special guarantees in order to benefit from the rights and obligations provided for in Council Directive 2013/33/EU.
asylum applicant	Means a third-country national or a stateless person who has made an application for asylum in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.	NO ENTRY indicated as synonym of "asylum seeker"	NO ENTRY indicated as synonym of "asylum seeker"
asylum seeker	indicated as synonym of "asylum applicant"	A third-country national or a stateless person who has made an application for asylum in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.	a person who has made an application for protection under the Geneva Convention in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken.
beneficiary of international protection	-	-	A person who has been granted refugee status or subsidiary protection status.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
civil war refugee	Term which is no longer in current use, and means a person (or persons) who leaves their country to escape from the effects of armed conflicts (direct effects of fighting, assaults of combat troops, displacements etc.).	Term which is no longer in current use. A person who leaves their country to escape from the effects of armed conflicts (direct effects of fighting, assaults of combat troops, displacements etc.).	A person who leaves their country to escape from the effects of armed conflicts (direct effects of fighting, assaults of combat troops, displacements etc.).
contract migrant worker	Persons working in a country other than their own under contractual arrangements that set limits on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant (that is to say, contract migrant workers cannot change jobs without permission granted by the authorities of the receiving state).	Persons working in a country other than their own under contractual arrangements that set limits on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant (that is to say, contract migrant workers cannot change jobs without permission granted by the authorities of the receiving state).	Person working in a country other than their own under contractual arrangements that set limits on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant.
cross-border worker	-	-	A person who works as an employee or self-employed person in one Member State but is recognised as residing in another (neighbouring) Member State.
de facto refugee	Refers to persons not recognised as Refugees (within the meaning of Article 1 of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951 as amended by the Protocol of 31 January 1967) and who are unable or unwilling for political, racial, religious or other valid reasons to return to their countries of origin.	Person not recognised as a refugee (within the meaning of Article 1 of the Geneva Convention and Protocol) and who is unable or unwilling for political, racial, religious or other valid reasons to return to their country of origin.	Person not recognised as a refugee (within the meaning of Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention of 1951 and Protocol of 1967) and who is unable or, for reasons recognised as valid, unwilling to return to their country of origin or country of nationality or, if they have no nationality, to the country of their habitual residence.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
emigrant	Means a person undertaking an Emigration	A person undertaking an Emigration.	In the EU context, a person who, having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months.
environmentally displaced person	Refers to a Displaced Person as a result of environmentally-driven Displacement.	A displaced person as a result of environmentally-driven displacement.	A person subject to forced migration as a result of sudden, drastic environmental changes.
environmentally-driven migrant	NO ENTRY Synonym of "environmentally displaced person"	NO ENTRY Synonym of "environmentally displaced person"	NO ENTRY Synonym of "environmentally displaced person"
forced migrant	Refers to a Migrant subject to Forced Migration.	Refers to a Migrant subject to Forced Migration.	A person subject to a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects).
frontier worker	-	-	In the EU context, a worker who is employed in the frontier zone of a Member State but who returns each day or at least once a week to the frontier zone of a neighbouring country in which they reside and of which they are nationals.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
displaced person	In the EU context, it means a third-country national or stateless person who has had to leave their country or region of origin, or have been evacuated, in particular in response to an appeal by international organisations, and are unable to return in safe and durable conditions because of the situation prevailing in that country, who may fall within the scope of Article 1A of the Geneva Convention or other international or national instruments giving international protection, in particular: (i) person who has fled areas of armed conflict or endemic violence; (ii) person at serious risk of, or who have been the victims of, systematic or generalised violations of their human rights.	In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person who has had to leave their country or region of origin, or have been evacuated, in particular in response to an appeal by international organisations, and are unable to return in safe and durable conditions because of the situation prevailing in that country, who may fall within the scope of Article 1A of the Geneva Convention or other international or national instruments giving international protection, in particular: (i) person who has fled areas of armed conflict or endemic violence; (ii) person at serious risk of, or who have been the victims of, systematic or generalised violations of their human rights.	In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person who has had to leave their country or region of origin, or has been evacuated, particularly in response to an appeal by international organisations, and is unable to return in safe and durable conditions because of the situation prevailing in that country, who may fall within the scope of Art. 1A of the Geneva Convention of 1951 or other international or national instruments giving international protection, in particular: (i) a person who has fled areas of armed conflict or endemic violence; (ii) a person at serious risk of, or who has been the victim of, systematic or generalised violations of their human rights.
economic migrant	Person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons not in any way related to the refugee definition, or in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood.	Person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons not in any way related to the refugee definition, or in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood.	A person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons that are not in any way related to the refugee definition, in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood.
economic refugee	This is considered to be an Economic Migrant and is not a Refugee in the strict legal definition given in the Geneva Convention.	This is an often misused term and thus the use of this term should be avoided. An economic migrant and not a refugee in the strict legal definition given in the Geneva Convention.	NO ENTRY indicated as a synonym of "economic migrant"

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
guest worker	Term no longer used, included for completeness, generally considered to be an Economic Migrant recruited for a restricted time of settlement and employment. This term is more or less restricted to migration flows in the fifties and sixties of the 20th century	Term no longer used in EU context, included for completeness. Generally considered to be an economic migrant recruited for a restricted time of settlement and employment.	An economic migrant recruited for a restricted time of settlement and employment.
immigrant	In EU context, means a person undertaking an immigration.	In EU context, means a person undertaking an immigration.	In the EU context, a person who establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country.
internally displaced person	Refers to a person or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.	A person or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.	A person or groups of persons who has been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and <u>who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border</u>
irregular migrant	Refers primarily to a third-country national who enters, and/or resides and/or works in a Member State without the necessary documents, permits, registration.	In the EU context, a third-country national who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils the conditions of entry as set out in Article 5 of the Schengen Borders Code or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that Member State.	In the EU context, a third-country national present on the territory of a Schengen State who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the conditions of entry as set out in the Schengen Borders Code, or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that Member State.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
long-term migrant	A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure, the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival, the person will be a long-term immigrant.	A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure, the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival, the person will be a long-term immigrant.	A person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes their new country of usual residence.
long-term resident	Means any third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Articles 4 to 7 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC.	Any third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Articles 4 to 7 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC.	A third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Arts. 4 to 7 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC or as provided for under national legislation.
mandate refugee	A person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provided by the High Commissioner, regardless of whether or not s/he is in a country that is a party to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 or the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, or whether or not s/he has been recognized by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments.	A person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provided by the High Commissioner, regardless of whether or not he/she is in a country that is a party to the Geneva Convention and Protocol, or whether or not he/she has been recognized by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments.	A person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the UN provided by the High Commissioner for Refugees, regardless of whether or not they are in a country that is a party to the Geneva Convention of 1951, or whether or not they have been recognised by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
migrant	A broader-term of an immigrant and emigrant, referring to a person who leaves one country or region to settle in another, often in search of a better life.	A broader-term of an immigrant and emigrant, referring to a person who leaves one country or region to settle in another.	In the EU context, a person who either: (i) establishes their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country; or (ii) having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months.
migrant worker	From UN Convention, this refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national. From OECD, means foreigners admitted by the receiving State for the specific purpose of exercising an economic activity remunerated from within the receiving country. Their length of stay is usually restricted as is the type of employment they can hold.	From UN Convention, a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national. From OECD, foreigners admitted by the receiving State for the specific purpose of exercising an economic activity remunerated from within the receiving country. Their length of stay is usually restricted as is the type of employment they can hold.	A person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which they are not nationals.
non-EU national	indicated as a synonym of "third-country national"	Any person not having the nationality of an EU Member State.	Any person not having the nationality of an EU Member State

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
overstayer	In EU context, an “overstayer” is a person who has legally entered but then stayed in a Member State beyond the allowed duration of their permitted stay without needing a visa (typically 90 days or six months), or of their visa and/or residence permit.	In the EU context, a person who has legally entered but then stayed in an EU Member State beyond the allowed duration of their permitted stay without needing a visa (typically 90 days or six months), or of their visa and/or residence permit.	In the EU context, a person who has legally entered but then stayed in an EU Member State beyond the allowed duration of their permitted stay without the appropriate visa (typically 90 days or six months), or of their visa and / or residence permit.
person eligible for subsidiary protection	Means a third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Article 15 of Directive 2004/83/EC, and to whom Article 17(1) and (2) of said directive do not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.	A third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin , or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Article 15 of Directive 2004/83/EC, and to whom Article 17(1) and (2) of said directive do not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.	A third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to their country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to their country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Art. 15 of Directive 2011/95/EC, and to whom Art. 17(1) and (2) of said Directive do not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country
person with a migratory background	-	-	A person who has: (a) migrated into their present country of residence; and / or (b) previously had a different nationality from their present country of residence; and / or (c) at least one of their parents previously entered their present country of residence as a migrant.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
posted worker	-	-	A worker who, for a limited period, carries out his work in the territory of a Member State other than the State in which they normally work.
presumed victim of trafficking in human beings	-	-	A person who has met the criteria of EU regulations and international Conventions but has not been formally identified by the relevant authorities (e.g. police) as a trafficking victim or has declined to be formally or legally identified as trafficked.
prima facie refugee	Persons recognized as refugees, by a State or UNHCR, on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their country of origin, which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition.	Person recognised as a refugee , by a State or UNHCR, on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their country of origin , which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition.	Person recognised as a refugee, by a State or UNHCR, on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their country of origin, which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition.
refugee	Within an EU context, this refers specifically to a third-country national or stateless person within the meaning of Article 1A (above) of the Geneva Convention and authorised to reside as such on the territory of a Member State and to whom Article 12 (Exclusion) of directive 2004/83/EC does not apply.	In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person within the meaning of Article 1A (above) of the Geneva Convention and authorised to reside as such on the territory of a Member State and to whom Article 12 (Exclusion) of directive 2004/83/EC does not apply	In the EU context, either a third-country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country, or a stateless person, who, being outside of the country of former habitual residence for the same reasons as mentioned above, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it, and to whom Art. 12 (Exclusion) of Directive 2011/95/EU does not apply.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
resettled refugee	-	-	In the EU context, a third-country national or stateless person who, on a resettlement request from UNHCR based on their need for international protection, are transferred from a third country to a Member State where they are permitted to reside with one of the following statuses: (i) refugee status within the meaning of Art. 2(d) of Directive 2011/95/EU; or (ii) a status which offers the same rights and benefits under national and Union law as refugee status.
seasonal worker	-	-	A third-country national who retains their principal place of residence in a third country and stays legally and temporarily in the territory of a Member State to carry out an activity dependent on the passing of the seasons, under one or more fixed-term work contracts concluded directly between that third-country national and the employer established in that Member State.
second-generation migrant	-	-	A person who was born in and is residing in a country that at least one of their parents previously entered as a migrant.
self-employed person	-	-	A person who is the sole or joint owner of the unincorporated enterprise (one that has not been incorporated, i.e. formed into a legal corporation) in which they work, unless they are also in paid employment which is their main activity. (In that case, they are considered to be employees.)


















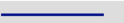



TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
refugee in orbit	Refugees who, although not returned directly to a country where they may be persecuted, are denied asylum or unable to find a State willing to examine their request, and are shuttled from one country to another in a constant search for asylum.	A refugee who, although not returned directly to a country where they may be persecuted, is denied asylum or unable to find a State willing to examine their request, and are shuttled from one country to another in a constant search for asylum.	A refugee who, although not returned directly to a country where they may be persecuted, is denied asylum or unable to find a State willing to examine their request, and are shuttled from one country to another in a constant search for asylum.
refugee in transit	Refugees who are temporarily admitted in the territory of a State under the condition that they are resettled elsewhere.	A refugee who is temporarily admitted in the territory of a State under the condition that they are resettled elsewhere.	A refugee who is temporarily admitted in the territory of a State under the condition that they are resettled elsewhere.
refugee sur place	In the EU context, it means persons granted refugee status based on international protection needs which arose sur place, i.e. on account of events which took place since they left their country of origin.	In the EU context, a person granted refugee status based on international protection needs which arose sur place, i.e. on account of events which took place since they left their country of origin .	In the EU context, a person granted refugee status based on international protection needs which arose sur place, i.e. on account of events which took place after they left their country of origin.
rejected applicant for international protection	-	-	A person covered by a first instance decision rejecting an application for international protection, including decisions considering applications as inadmissible or as unfounded and decisions under priority and accelerated procedures, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
short-term migrant	-	-	A person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (12 months) except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage.
stateless person	-	-	Person who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law.
statutory refugee	-	-	Person considered to be a refugee (according to the criteria of Art. 1A(l) of the Geneva Convention of 1951) under the provision of the international instruments preceding the Geneva Convention of 1951 or a person who has been recognized as a refugee by the former International Refugee Organisation during the period of its activities.
stranded migrant	-	-	A migrant who for reasons beyond their control has been unintentionally forced to stay in a country.
third-country national	Means any person who is not a citizen of the Union within the meaning of Article 17(1) of the Treaty, including stateless persons	Any person who is not a citizen of the European Union within the meaning of Article 20(1) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union and who is not a person enjoying the Union right to freedom of movement , as defined in Article 2(5) of the Schengen Borders Code .	Any person who is not a citizen of the European Union within the meaning of Art. 20(1) of TFEU and who is not a person enjoying the European Union right to free movement, as defined in Art. 2(5) of the Schengen Borders Code.
third-country national found to be illegally present	Means a third-country national who is officially found to be on the territory of a Member State and who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the conditions for stay or residence in that Member State.	A third-country national who is officially found to be on the territory of a Member State and who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the conditions for stay or residence in that Member State.	A third-country national who is officially found to be on the territory of a Member State and who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the conditions for stay or residence in that Member State.

TERM	EMN 2010	EMN 2012	EMN 2014
vulnerable person	Refers to minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence.	Minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence.	Minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children, victims of trafficking in human beings, persons with serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, such as victims of female genital mutilation.

Appendix 7: Frequency of occurrence of “Migration” terms by year found in Eur-lex 2/16

ALIEN

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 36 Total frequency: 4,457
P N	2013	667	176.80	
P N	2006	399	150.50	
P N	2003	391	218.60	
P N	2002	282	193.40	
P N	2005	269	125.20	
P N	2004	269	160.00	
P N	2008	260	94.70	
P N	2007	238	89.40	
P N	2012	181	60.20	
P N	2009	181	75.60	
P N	2014	173	59.30	
P N	2011	171	60.10	
P N	2010	136	60.30	
P N	1990	124	434.20	
P N	2000	116	88.10	
P N	2001	102	71.70	
P N	1999	92	109.70	
P N	1997	75	94.00	
P N	1998	61	70.60	
P N	2015	47	32.40	
P N	1994	31	52.80	
P N	1996	30	46.00	
P N	1989	23	86.00	
P N	1987	22	87.50	
P N	1993	20	45.40	
P N	1992	19	46.80	
P N	1988	19	65.70	
P N	1991	15	41.10	
P N	1995	13	26.00	
P N	1985	7	38.30	
P N	1980	7	31.90	
P N	1986	4	18.50	
P N	1981	4	21.30	
P N	1984	3	15.30	
P N	1983	3	17.60	
P N	1982	3	15.40	

APPLICANT FOR INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 16 Total frequency: 334
P N	2013	85	300.60	
P N	2009	76	423.40	
P N	2008	51	247.80	
P N	2011	40	187.70	
P N	2014	22	100.60	
P N	2001	18	168.80	
P N	2012	15	66.50	
P N	2010	8	47.30	
P N	2007	5	25.10	
P N	2015	4	36.80	
P N	2004	3	23.80	
P N	2005	2	12.40	
P N	2002	2	18.30	
P N	2006	1	5.00	
P N	2003	1	7.50	
P N	2000	1	10.10	

APPLICANT IN NEED OF SPECIAL PROCEDURAL GUARANTEES

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 2 Total frequency: 27
P N	2013	14	612.40	
P N	2011	13	754.60	

APPLICANT WITH SPECIAL RECEPTION NEEDS

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 2 Total frequency: 12
P N	2013	11	1,082.70	
P N	2011	1	130.60	

ASYLUM APPLICANT

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 22 Total frequency: 630			
P N 2013	80	150.00	
P N 2007	62	164.80	
P N 2009	54	159.50	
P N 2012	45	105.80	
P N 2014	42	101.80	
P N 2001	37	184.00	
P N 2011	35	87.10	
P N 1997	35	310.20	
P N 1999	31	261.50	
P N 1994	31	373.60	
P N 2003	29	114.70	
P N 2008	25	64.40	
P N 2015	24	116.90	
P N 2000	23	123.60	
P N 2002	18	87.40	
P N 1998	18	147.30	
P N 2010	15	47.00	
P N 2005	14	46.10	
P N 2006	6	16.00	
P N 2004	3	12.60	
P N 1995	2	28.30	
P N 1996	1	10.80	

ASYLUM SEEKER

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 23 Total frequency: 5,086			
P N 2009	641	234.50	
P N 2011	637	196.30	
P N 2012	605	176.20	
P N 2008	598	190.80	
P N 2013	433	100.60	
P N 2007	351	115.60	
P N 2003	274	134.20	
P N 2014	234	70.30	
P N 2001	213	131.20	
P N 2006	201	66.40	
P N 2005	200	81.60	
P N 2002	194	116.60	
P N 2004	103	53.70	
P N 2010	84	32.60	
P N 2015	68	41.00	
P N 2000	59	39.30	
P N 1999	50	52.30	
P N 1997	37	40.60	
P N 1990	35	107.40	
P N 1998	34	34.50	
P N 1996	20	26.90	
P N 1994	8	11.90	
P N 1995	7	12.30	

BENEFICIARY OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 15 Total frequency: 829			
P N 2009	312	700.40	
P N 2011	136	257.10	
P N 2013	79	112.60	
P N 2014	63	116.10	
P N 2007	61	123.20	
P N 2012	60	107.20	
P N 2008	45	88.10	
P N 2010	35	83.40	
P N 2015	17	62.90	
P N 2001	8	30.20	
P N 2005	7	17.50	
P N 2006	3	6.10	
P N 2004	1	3.20	
P N 2003	1	3.00	
P N 2002	1	3.70	

CROSS-BORDER WORKER

Year of the document		Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 23 Total frequency: 441
P N	2009	102	430.40	
P N	2012	72	241.90	
P N	2013	57	152.70	
P N	2002	30	208.00	
P N	2004	23	138.30	
P N	2011	22	78.20	
P N	2014	18	62.30	
P N	2006	18	68.60	
P N	2015	13	90.50	
P N	2007	13	49.40	
P N	1998	13	152.00	
P N	2010	11	49.30	
P N	2008	7	25.80	
P N	2000	7	53.70	
P N	1997	7	88.60	
P N	2003	6	33.90	
P N	1996	6	93.00	
P N	2005	5	23.50	
P N	2001	4	28.40	
P N	1999	2	24.10	
P N	1995	2	40.50	
P N	1991	2	55.40	
P N	1994	1	17.20	

DE FACTO REFUGEE

Year of the document		Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 5 Total frequency: 6
P N	1996	2	2,277.90	
P N	2003	1	415.30	
P N	2000	1	564.30	
P N	1998	1	859.30	
P N	1994	1	1,265.50	

DISPLACED PERSON

Year of the document		Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 26 Total frequency: 2,283
P N	2000	249	369.30	
P N	2005	165	149.90	
P N	2001	143	196.20	
P N	2011	142	97.50	
P N	2013	124	64.10	
P N	2012	124	80.50	
P N	1998	124	280.00	
P N	2007	123	90.20	
P N	1996	121	362.20	
P N	2006	120	88.30	
P N	1997	106	259.20	
P N	2008	100	71.10	
P N	2003	98	107.00	
P N	2004	97	112.60	
P N	2014	76	50.90	
P N	2010	74	64.00	
P N	1999	70	163.00	
P N	2009	62	50.50	
P N	1995	54	211.10	
P N	2002	50	67.00	
P N	2015	47	63.20	
P N	1991	4	21.40	
P N	1994	3	10.00	
P N	1993	3	13.30	
P N	1988	2	13.50	
P N	1957	2	343.30	

ECONOMIC REFUGEE

	<u>Year of the document</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Rel [%]</u>	
Items: 5 Total frequency: 21				
P N	2013	10	562.40	
P N	1997	4	1,063.50	
P N	2008	3	231.80	
P N	1999	3	759.30	
P N	2010	1	94.00	

EMIGRANT

	<u>Year of the document</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Rel [%]</u>	
Items: 26 Total frequency: 209				
P N	2007	26	208.30	
P N	2006	16	128.70	
P N	2005	16	158.80	
P N	2002	12	175.50	
P N	2001	12	179.90	
P N	2013	11	62.20	
P N	2008	11	85.40	
P N	1997	11	293.90	
P N	2012	10	70.90	
P N	2009	9	80.10	
P N	2010	8	75.60	
P N	2003	8	95.40	
P N	1999	8	203.50	
P N	2015	7	102.80	
P N	2004	7	88.80	
P N	2000	7	113.40	
P N	1995	7	299.00	
P N	2014	6	43.90	
P N	1998	5	123.30	
P N	1996	5	163.50	
P N	2011	2	15.00	
P N	1988	1	73.70	
P N	1987	1	84.90	
P N	1986	1	98.90	
P N	1984	1	108.40	
P N	1982	1	109.60	

ENVIRONMENTALLY DISPLACED PERSON

	<u>Year of the document</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Rel [%]</u>	
Items: 2 Total frequency: 2				
P N	1997	1	2,791.80	
P N	1994	1	3,796.40	

FORCED MIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 8 Total frequency: 20
P N	2013	6	354.30	
P N	2007	6	502.40	
P N	2015	2	306.90	
P N	2011	2	156.70	
P N	2014	1	76.40	
P N	2010	1	98.70	
P N	2006	1	84.00	
P N	2000	1	169.30	

GUEST WORKER

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 1 Total frequency: 1
P N	2007	1	1,674.50	

FRONTIER WORKER

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 35 Total frequency: 2,551
P N	2013	303	140.30	
P N	2003	140	136.70	
P N	2006	139	91.60	
P N	2008	129	82.10	
P N	2007	121	79.40	
P N	1998	120	242.50	
P N	2012	119	69.10	
P N	2014	110	65.90	
P N	2004	109	113.30	
P N	1997	102	223.30	
P N	2002	96	115.10	
P N	1988	91	549.40	
P N	2000	86	114.10	
P N	2005	84	68.30	
P N	1999	84	175.00	
P N	1991	73	349.30	
P N	2010	70	54.20	
P N	1996	70	187.50	
P N	1992	70	301.30	
P N	2011	65	39.90	
P N	2001	64	78.60	
P N	2015	57	68.60	
P N	2009	57	41.60	
P N	1993	31	122.80	
P N	1995	30	105.00	
P N	1982	26	233.40	
P N	1994	21	62.50	
P N	1986	20	162.00	
P N	1985	19	181.50	
P N	1981	17	158.00	
P N	1980	10	79.70	
P N	1989	8	52.30	
P N	1990	5	30.60	
P N	1983	4	41.00	
P N	1951	1	606.30	

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSON

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 18 Total frequency: 532				
P N	2006	49	154.80	
P N	2008	48	146.40	
P N	2007	47	147.90	
P N	2011	46	135.50	
P N	2013	43	95.50	
P N	2005	41	159.90	
P N	2014	39	112.00	
P N	2012	38	105.80	
P N	2010	34	126.20	
P N	2009	32	111.90	
P N	2015	30	173.10	
P N	2003	30	140.50	
P N	2004	17	84.70	
P N	2002	13	74.70	
P N	2001	10	58.90	
P N	2000	9	57.30	
P N	1998	4	38.80	
P N	1999	2	20.00	

IMMIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 25 Total frequency: 662				
P N	2005	89	278.90	
P N	2007	64	161.90	
P N	2006	64	162.50	
P N	2003	59	222.10	
P N	2008	54	132.40	
P N	2004	54	216.20	
P N	2002	44	203.20	
P N	2001	41	194.00	
P N	2013	32	57.10	
P N	2009	31	87.10	
P N	2012	27	60.40	
P N	2010	25	74.60	
P N	2011	22	52.10	
P N	2000	16	81.80	
P N	2014	14	32.30	
P N	1996	7	72.30	
P N	2015	4	18.50	
P N	1998	4	31.20	
P N	1995	3	40.50	
P N	1999	2	16.10	
P N	1994	2	22.90	
P N	1997	1	8.40	
P N	1990	1	23.60	
P N	1987	1	26.80	
P N	1986	1	31.20	

IRREGULAR MIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 16 Total frequency: 689
P N	2014	172	381.30	
P N	2013	122	209.10	
P N	2012	114	245.10	
P N	2015	107	476.60	
P N	2011	89	202.40	
P N	2007	22	53.50	
P N	2008	13	30.60	
P N	2010	12	34.40	
P N	2009	9	24.30	
P N	2002	8	35.50	
P N	2006	6	14.60	
P N	2001	5	22.70	
P N	2005	4	12.00	
P N	2003	3	10.80	
P N	2004	2	7.70	
P N	2000	1	4.90	




































LONG-TERM RESIDENT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 19 Total frequency: 1,908
P N	2001	299	490.90	
P N	2011	277	227.50	
P N	2012	255	198.00	
P N	2007	213	186.90	
P N	2015	170	273.50	
P N	2003	152	198.50	
P N	2014	120	96.10	
P N	2005	73	79.40	
P N	2013	65	40.20	
P N	2002	51	81.70	
P N	2009	47	45.80	
P N	2006	47	41.40	
P N	2008	42	35.70	
P N	2004	37	51.40	
P N	2010	16	16.60	
P N	1997	16	46.80	
P N	1996	14	50.10	
P N	2000	8	14.20	
P N	1999	6	16.70	
































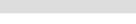








LONG-TERM MIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 3 Total frequency: 3
P N	2015	1	1,023.10	
P N	2005	1	691.40	
P N	2002	1	1,019.10	











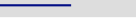




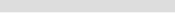




MIGRANT

P I N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 34 Total frequency: 8,559
P I N	2013	924	127.50	
P I N	2011	841	154.00	
P I N	2007	835	163.40	
P I N	2012	819	141.80	
P I N	2014	776	138.50	
P I N	2005	689	167.00	
P I N	2006	623	122.30	
P I N	2008	441	83.60	
P I N	2015	405	145.20	
P I N	2009	347	75.40	
P I N	2004	295	91.40	
P I N	2010	281	64.80	
P I N	2000	280	110.80	
P I N	2003	244	71.00	
P I N	2002	207	73.90	
P I N	2001	166	60.80	
P I N	1998	78	47.00	
P I N	1997	70	45.70	
P I N	1999	59	36.60	
P I N	1996	47	37.50	
P I N	1986	22	53.10	
P I N	1994	20	17.70	
P I N	1985	19	54.10	
P I N	1993	16	18.90	
P I N	1995	15	15.60	
P I N	1988	14	25.20	
P I N	1992	10	12.80	
P I N	1989	7	13.60	
P I N	1984	3	7.90	
P I N	1980	2	4.80	
P I N	1991	1	1.40	
P I N	1990	1	1.80	
P I N	1987	1	2.10	
P I N	1983	1	3.10	







MIGRANT WORKER

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 39 Total frequency: 5,983
P N 2013	449	88.60	
P N 2003	362	150.70	
P N 1997	317	295.80	
P N 2012	296	73.30	
P N 2000	293	165.80	
P N 2007	291	81.40	
P N 2002	271	138.50	
P N 2005	258	89.40	
P N 1999	252	223.90	
P N 1998	246	212.00	
P N 2011	232	60.80	
P N 2001	229	119.90	
P N 2010	201	66.30	
P N 2006	195	54.80	
P N 1996	184	210.20	
P N 2004	169	74.90	
P N 2014	165	42.10	
P N 2008	162	43.90	
P N 2009	161	50.10	
P N 1991	159	324.40	
P N 1990	150	391.30	
P N 1989	131	365.00	
P N 1993	112	189.20	
P N 1988	109	280.60	
P N 1995	101	150.70	
P N 1994	100	126.90	
P N 1992	86	157.80	
P N 1987	85	252.00	
P N 2015	59	30.30	
P N 1985	55	224.00	
P N 1986	33	114.00	
P N 1982	23	88.00	
P N 1983	15	65.60	
P N 1984	12	45.50	
P N 1980	9	30.60	
P N 1981	6	23.80	
P N 1957	3	196.50	
P N 1979	1	6.50	
P N 1951	1	258.50	


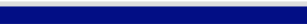






NON-EU NATIONAL

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 19 Total frequency: 383
P N 2014	84	335.00	
P N 2007	54	236.10	
P N 2013	36	111.00	
P N 2012	29	112.20	
P N 2015	24	192.30	
P N 2001	24	196.30	
P N 2008	21	89.00	
P N 2011	20	81.80	
P N 2003	19	123.60	
P N 2004	16	110.70	
P N 2006	12	52.70	
P N 2005	11	59.60	
P N 2009	7	34.00	
P N 1996	7	124.90	
P N 1994	7	138.80	
P N 2010	6	30.90	
P N 2002	4	31.90	
P N 2000	1	8.80	
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






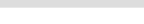


OVERSTAYER

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 14 Total frequency: 201			
P N 2008	79	637.70	
P N 2013	68	399.60	
P N 2011	9	70.20	
P N 2003	9	111.60	
P N 2010	8	78.60	
P N 2012	7	51.60	
P N 2015	5	76.30	
P N 2007	3	25.00	
P N 2006	3	25.10	
P N 2002	3	45.60	
P N 2000	3	50.50	
P N 2009	2	18.50	
P N 2004	1	13.20	
P N 2001	1	15.60	




















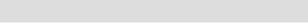


PERSON ELIGIBLE FOR SUBSIDIARY PROTECTION

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 11 Total frequency: 174			
P N 2014	47	412.60	
P N 2011	32	288.20	
P N 2009	32	342.20	
P N 2013	25	169.70	
P N 2012	11	93.70	
P N 2010	8	90.80	
P N 2004	8	121.90	
P N 2001	6	108.00	
P N 2015	3	52.90	
P N 2008	1	9.30	
P N 2003	1	14.30	







POSTED WORKER

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	
Items: 24 Total frequency: 1,570			
P N 2012	474	447.30	
P N 2007	214	228.30	
P N 2014	139	135.20	
P N 2006	121	129.50	
P N 2000	83	179.00	
P N 2008	56	57.90	
P N 2013	52	39.10	
P N 2004	45	76.00	
P N 2003	44	69.80	
P N 2001	42	83.80	
P N 2015	41	80.10	
P N 2009	41	48.60	
P N 1999	39	132.00	
P N 2010	37	46.50	
P N 2011	34	33.90	
P N 2002	26	50.60	
P N 1998	26	85.40	
P N 2005	21	27.70	
P N 1996	19	82.70	
P N 1985	6	93.10	
P N 1997	4	14.20	
P N 1995	2	11.40	
P N 1993	2	12.90	
P N 1980	2	25.90	

REFUGEE

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 36 Total frequency: 10,270
P N 2009	805	145.90	
P N 2013	712	81.90	
P N 2011	675	103.00	
P N 2012	664	95.80	
P N 2008	584	92.30	
P N 2014	571	84.90	
P N 2001	558	170.20	
P N 2000	546	180.00	
P N 2002	543	161.60	
P N 2003	538	130.50	
P N 2005	516	104.20	
P N 2006	497	81.30	
P N 2010	487	93.60	
P N 2004	459	118.50	
P N 2007	457	74.50	
P N 2015	316	94.40	
P N 1996	305	202.90	
P N 1998	285	143.10	
P N 1999	271	140.30	
P N 1997	248	134.80	
P N 1995	127	110.40	
P N 1994	22	16.30	
P N 1993	18	17.70	
P N 1990	13	19.80	
P N 1992	11	11.80	
P N 1985	10	23.70	
P N 1986	8	16.10	
P N 1991	7	8.30	
P N 1988	5	7.50	
P N 1984	3	6.60	
P N 1987	2	3.50	
P N 1981	2	4.60	
P N 1957	2	76.30	
P N 1982	1	2.20	
P N 1980	1	2.00	
P N 1979	1	3.80	

REFUGEE IN ORBIT

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 5 Total frequency: 8
P N 2012	2	370.40	
P N 2007	2	418.60	
P N 2001	2	783.20	
P N 1997	1	698.00	
P N 1994	1	949.10	

REFUGEE IN TRANSIT

Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] 	Items: 1 Total frequency: 2
P N 2006	2	1,680.70	

REFUGEE SUR PLACE

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 3 Total frequency: 4
P N	1996	2	3,416.80	
P N	2015	1	767.30	
P N	2000	1	846.50	

RESETTLED REFUGEE

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 10 Total frequency: 43
P N	2011	11	400.90	
P N	2015	6	428.30	
P N	2014	5	177.60	
P N	2012	5	172.30	
P N	2013	4	109.90	
P N	2009	4	173.10	
P N	2003	3	173.80	
P N	2010	2	91.80	
P N	2008	2	75.50	
P N	2004	1	61.60	

SEASONAL WORKER

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 32 Total frequency: 1,080
P N	2014	161	227.70	
P N	2010	130	237.70	
P N	2011	102	148.00	
P N	2005	74	142.10	
P N	2007	72	111.60	
P N	2008	63	94.70	
P N	2006	59	91.80	
P N	2013	42	45.90	
P N	1997	36	186.10	
P N	2012	33	45.30	
P N	2004	33	81.00	
P N	2001	29	84.10	
P N	1996	29	183.50	
P N	2000	24	75.20	
P N	1999	24	118.10	
P N	2003	22	50.80	
P N	2009	21	36.20	
P N	1993	20	187.20	
P N	1994	16	112.50	
P N	2002	14	39.60	
P N	2015	13	36.90	
P N	1992	13	132.20	
P N	1998	9	43.00	
P N	1995	9	74.40	
P N	1985	7	157.90	
P N	1982	7	148.40	
P N	1981	7	153.60	
P N	1991	4	45.20	
P N	1984	3	62.90	
P N	1988	2	28.50	
P N	1989	1	15.40	
P N	1983	1	24.20	

SECOND-GENERATION MIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 5 Total frequency: 6
P N	2007	2	558.20	
P N	2014	1	254.60	
P N	2012	1	246.90	
P N	2008	1	270.40	
P N	2001	1	522.10	

SELF-EMPLOYED PERSON

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ?	Items: 37 Total frequency: 10,963
P N	2006	849	130.20	
P N	2005	759	143.60	
P N	2007	746	113.90	
P N	1996	677	422.00	
P N	2008	606	89.70	
P N	1992	453	453.80	
P N	2014	422	58.80	
P N	2013	421	45.40	
P N	1997	420	213.90	
P N	2001	413	118.00	
P N	2004	400	96.70	
P N	2012	372	50.30	
P N	2011	369	52.70	
P N	2009	359	60.90	
P N	2000	340	105.00	
P N	2003	335	76.10	
P N	1998	304	143.00	
P N	2010	289	52.10	
P N	1999	282	136.70	
P N	1993	278	256.30	
P N	1994	208	144.10	
P N	2002	206	57.40	
P N	1990	199	283.30	
P N	1981	199	430.30	
P N	2015	188	52.60	
P N	1989	178	270.70	
P N	1991	168	187.10	
P N	1995	162	131.90	
P N	1988	108	151.70	
P N	1985	73	162.20	
P N	1987	52	84.10	
P N	1986	51	96.10	
P N	1982	28	58.50	
P N	1984	21	43.40	
P N	1983	11	26.20	
P N	1957	10	357.40	
P N	1980	7	13.00	

SHORT-TERM MIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ?	Items: 1 Total frequency: 1
P N	1998	1	5,155.60	

STATELESS PERSON

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 31 Total frequency: 3,616
P N	2007	672	311.20	
P N	2013	416	135.90	
P N	2012	394	161.40	
P N	2009	383	197.10	
P N	2010	240	131.10	
P N	2014	203	85.80	
P N	2011	192	83.20	
P N	2008	176	79.00	
P N	2006	165	76.70	
P N	2004	144	105.60	
P N	2001	140	121.30	
P N	2000	103	96.40	
P N	2002	83	70.20	
P N	2005	74	42.40	
P N	2003	72	49.60	
P N	2015	61	51.80	
P N	1999	17	25.00	
P N	1998	16	22.80	
P N	1996	16	30.20	
P N	1997	11	17.00	
P N	1992	9	27.30	
P N	1987	8	39.20	
P N	1990	5	21.60	
P N	1995	4	9.90	
P N	1985	3	20.20	
P N	1993	2	5.60	
P N	1984	2	12.50	
P N	1981	2	13.10	
P N	1994	1	2.10	
P N	1982	1	6.30	
P N	1957	1	108.40	

STATUTORY REFUGEE

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 2 Total frequency: 3
P N	2004	2	1,767.20	
P N	2002	1	1,019.10	

STRANDED MIGRANT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 4 Total frequency: 10
P N	2013	3	354.30	
P N	2012	3	444.50	
P N	2011	3	470.20	
P N	2015	1	306.90	

THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONAL

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 23 Total frequency: 5,224
P N	2005	941	373.60	
P N	2007	529	169.60	
P N	2013	449	101.50	
P N	2012	334	94.70	
P N	2003	313	149.30	
P N	2009	310	110.40	
P N	2006	303	97.50	
P N	2014	292	85.40	
P N	2011	289	86.70	
P N	2004	265	134.50	
P N	2010	239	90.30	
P N	2008	230	71.40	
P N	2001	189	113.30	
P N	2002	179	104.80	
P N	2000	150	97.20	
P N	2015	105	61.70	
P N	1998	30	29.60	
P N	1996	23	30.10	
P N	1995	17	29.00	
P N	1999	15	15.30	
P N	1997	12	12.80	
P N	1994	9	13.10	
P N	1993	1	1.90	

THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONAL FOUND TO BE ILLEGALLY PRESENT

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 3 Total frequency: 5
P N	2015	3	1,841.50	
P N	2013	1	236.20	
P N	2012	1	296.30	

VULNERABLE PERSON

P N	Year of the document	Frequency	Rel [%]	Items: 19 Total frequency: 613
P N	2013	310	597.30	
P N	2011	79	202.00	
P N	2014	56	139.50	
P N	2009	26	78.90	
P N	2012	23	55.60	
P N	2006	21	57.60	
P N	2008	19	50.30	
P N	2007	15	41.00	
P N	2005	14	47.40	
P N	2010	12	38.70	
P N	2003	11	44.70	
P N	2015	7	35.00	
P N	2004	7	30.30	
P N	2001	4	20.40	
P N	2002	3	15.00	
P N	2000	3	16.60	
P N	1999	1	8.70	
P N	1998	1	8.40	
P N	1997	1	9.10	

Appendix 7: Frequency of occurrence of “Migration” terms by year found in the EP press releases corpus

APPLICANT IN NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 1 Total frequency: 2
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	2	284.60	

ASYLUM APPLICANT

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 1 Total frequency: 2
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	2	1,059.50	

ASYLUM SEEKER

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 6 Total frequency: 81
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	48	168.70	
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	15	51.30	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	12	157.00	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	2	59.40	
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	2	27.70	
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	2	75.80	

BENEFICIARY OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 2 Total frequency: 5
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	4	2,674.90	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	1	481.00	

DISPLACED PERSON

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 1 Total frequency: 1
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	1	284.60	

IMMIGRANT

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 2 Total frequency: 5
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	3	1,840.80	
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	2	1,337.50	

LONG-TERM RESIDENT

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 1 Total frequency: 5
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	5	3,343.70	

MIGRANT

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 7 Total frequency: 105
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	38	103.00	
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	22	234.60	
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	19	50.10	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	15	151.40	
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	6	175.30	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	3	68.70	
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	2	63.70	

NON-EU NATIONAL

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 1 Total frequency: 2
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	2	277.10	

REFUGEE

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 7 Total frequency: 173
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	64	102.50	
P N Comunicati tornata 2015 (40).zip	54	88.80	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	19	116.40	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	19	264.10	
P N Comunicati tornata 2011 (7).zip	7	124.10	
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	6	38.80	
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	4	77.30	

THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONAL

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 2 Total frequency: 5
P N comunicati 2016 (44).zip	4	221.70	
P N Comunicati tornata 2010 (5).zip	1	668.70	

VULNERABLE PERSON

File name	Frequency	Rel [%] ⓘ	Items: 3 Total frequency: 4
P N Comunicati tornate 2014 (14).zip	2	560.00	
P N comunicati tornata 2013 (12).zip	1	264.90	
P N comunicati tornata 2012 (5).zip	1	601.20	

