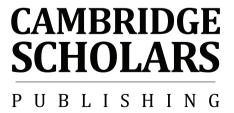# "The EU is Not Them, But Us!"

"The EU is Not Them, But Us!":
The First Person Plural and the Articulation
of Collective Identities in European Political
Discourse

By

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P U B L I S H I N G

I dedicate this book to my wife, Anna, who has not only been my constant inspiration and support during the research, but also had her fair share in the work by discussing with me many of the ideas, questions and problems that had to be dealt with in the course of this project.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War some two decades ago brought substantial change in Europe's prospects in global politics. The possibilities that opened up for a new united Europe had a major effect on the foreign policies of the so-called Western European, Central and Eastern European and Post-Soviet states. In light of this new global political situation, the process of European integration gained increased significance. All states in Europe came to position themselves in global politics in relation to the process of European integration and to the product of this integration, the European Union. For many of the Central and Eastern European states, European Union membership became the most important issue on their agenda of foreign policies. The fifth enlargement round of the EU (henceforth referred to as ER5) was the first occasion when these objectives could be met and countries of the former Eastern bloc could join 'the West' and create a new, post-Cold War European Union. By its sheer existence, the new European polity was supposed to dissolve the East and West division of Europe, a legacy of the Cold War. As a result, the EU as a political project was argued to be a space for shared European values for the first time in modern history, and it was expected to represent and foster 'the diversity of the people of Europe'. However, during the course of ER5 and in its wake, the EU as a political project has lacked public support. 'The diversity of the people of Europe' did not, and does not, express and mobilize a strong attachment to the European polity. The Union is generally perceived as something distant and at the same time too complex to identify with. This lack of public support results in the so-called 'democratic deficit of the EU'.

In practice the Union was and still is bound together dominantly by economic and legal ties between the member states (cf. Mach and Pożarlik 2008). In addition, historical reasons and reasons of security are also mentioned as motives for integration in the national media and in speeches of politicians in both the old EU member states (henceforth the EU 15) and the applicant states of the ER5. Yet, economic reasons have prevailed as the ultimate rationale for EU enlargement on both sides of the continent.

Therefore, European integration (at least in the ER5) has been primarily motivated by the conception of the EU as an economic project.

However, the EU, with all of its institutions and governing bodies, is more than just a free market of capital, goods, and labor force. In order to exploit the economic potential that is opened up for a common European political entity, such an entity has to be created via non-economic practices of successful European integration as well. This integration of a new European geopolitical space therefore needs to be performed via the articulation of certain values: the values of a 'European collective'. The values articulated in this discourse then may invite the people of Europe to identify with the imaginary community that the institution of the EU is envisioned to represent (cf. Fuchs and Klingemann 2002, Maurits van der Veen 2002).

There have been numerous attempts by EU institutions to create this collective space of belonging. These attempts are visible, for example, in the production of cultural symbols of European unity such as the European flag, the European anthem, or the motto of the European Union. Additionally, different academic exchange programs, among them youth exchange programs such as the ERASMUS or the Marie Curie programs (cf. Maurits van der Veen 2002, Caviedes 2003) and the construction of an official historiography of the European project of unification (with the Schuman declaration as its starting point) have also had among their aims to propagate identification with the EU for its citizens. Despite all of these efforts, the fact still remains that the contemporary EU is not a Europe *above* nations but a Europe *of* nations or rather nation states. It is beyond question that the national identification of 'the diversity of the people of Europe' is much stronger than their identification with the European polity. Nevertheless, to say that the EU is only a compound of its constituent nations is still a very strong overgeneralization of the current situation. The people of Europe have hybrid political identities, and their national identities are only one of the voices making up the chord of tones in this polyphony, though often the loudest one. Therefore, an analysis of the complexity of collective political identities generated around the European polity is necessary to understand the dialogic relationship between the EU as a political project and its European citizens.

In order to delineate the complex patterns of identification of 'Europeans', one must identify the voices of different collectives that make themselves heard in the context of this European identity formation, more specifically in the context of European integration and the political

discourses around it[1]. Particular European patterns of identification can be investigated by answering the following questions: What collectives make their voices heard in the political discourses around European integration? How are these collectives represented? What are their values? Do they construe themselves on a political, social or economic basis? As a result, the answers facilitate the understanding of how the EU as a political project is construed in the field of political discourse, which, in turn, may be beneficial for increasing public support for the European polity.

The majority of the studies investigating collective identities in the EU approach the issue from the perspective of sociology, political science, social psychology, or moral philosophy (e.g., Baumann 1995; Breakwell and Lyons 1996; Fuchs and Klingemann 2002; Risse and Meier 2003; Mach and Pożarlik 2008; Karolewski 2009; Checkel and Katzenstein 2009). Most of the works written on this subject consider identity to be a matter of process as opposed to that of a state. Currently, this process is more and more often viewed as discursive in nature, which signals a growing awareness in those scientific fields of the relevance of the perspective of discourse analysts and sociolinguists concerning the relationship between language and society. Mole (2007) formulates this thought in relation to the research on European politics as follows:

> The recognition of identity and discourse as key factors in the conduct of European politics has thus increased significantly over the past ten to fifteen years. However, traditional theories have struggled to make sense of this new social and political landscape, as the dominant role they ascribe to material forces – such as economic and military might – undermines their explicatory strength. In response to these changes and the increased interactions between actors at the sub-state, state and supra-state levels of action, social and political theorists have begun to pay much more attention to questions of identity and discourse. (Mole 2007: 1)

Although discourse is identified as one of the central components in recent studies on collective identities in the EU, discourse analyses that are based on empirical linguistic data are scarce among these works. Such studies are needed to reveal patterns of discoursal identification on a more general basis that are less dependent on the immediate context where these identifications occur. One example of this kind of research is Grad (2008) which contrasts European and national identities constructed in interviews with young adults in Spain and the UK. Among the major values of this

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[1] After Bakhtin (1981) and Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 22) I view these voices as implicitly dialogic.

particular study is that it was conducted on a relatively larger amount of
data (transcripts of fifty-four interviews) than most (qualitative) discourse
analytic studies would typically include. This makes the findings
applicable in distinguishing general discoursal patterns of identification of
his Spanish and British respondents. Hence, Grad's study is a significant
contribution to an understanding of the articulation of the collective
identification patterns of young adult EU citizens in the abovementioned
two countries. However, Grad's results – due to a different focus of his
study – have limited value for understanding the ways political discourse
contributes to the construction of collective identities in the EU[2].
Currently, I am not aware of any research that focuses on EU political
discourse by analyzing discursive constructions of collective identities on
the basis of a vast amount of empirical linguistic data.

In my view, the best terrain within which to observe collective identity
formation in the EU is the process of European integration. The reason for
this is that integration is designed to redraw the boundaries of the EU and
thereby reinterpret the borders of existing collectives around it and
possibly also create new collectives. The shaping forces of identity
formation in the course of European integration are perhaps the most
visible in the process of the ER5 as this was the occasion when the EU
was to be renewed as a real trans-European polity. Consequently,
integration in this event is approached from different perspectives beyond
the former dichotomous divide of West and/over East. Therefore, the ER5
can serve as a very fruitful terrain for analyzing the complexity of the
processes of identification in the context of a post-Cold War EU still
striving for the support of its citizens. Naturally, the insights in such a
research project hinge on the analysis of the textual articulation of the
various perspectives on integration, since they can lead to a deeper
understanding of the motives for belonging to the Union. The analyst
therefore has to select the textual materials in a way that reflects the
possible different perspectives.

In the intergovernmental institutions of the European Union, delegates
of the member states act as spokespersons of their national governments.
In doing so their official function is to represent their national collectives
in a context of EU politics. In other words, politicians, due to their
representative function, serve as mouthpieces of the national collectives
that they speak for. Their official role is to express the viewpoints of these

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[2] There are studies that focus on linguistic aspects of collective identity
construction in EU political discourse, e.g. Mole 2007, however these studies are
less empirical than Grad's research and they lack the potential of a quantitative
perspective based on larger amount of linguistic data.

collectives on particular issues (concerning enlargement). Their speeches delivered in various EU institutions can be seen as symbolic sites where the discursive constructions of the collectives that they represent are articulated. Political speeches, as far as their language is concerned, operate beyond the level of constative language use, since they function as performative language. This is especially true for official statements. In this sense, politicians are 'linguistic agents' who not only represent entities but also create the discursive reality of these entities. Discourse – viewed from this perspective and in this type of context – functions not only as mere linguistic representation but also as social action. The analysis of political speeches therefore helps us to understand how political action (of collective formation) is performed via the use of language. Hence, discovering the ways in which different collectives are represented by linguistic means within political speeches on European integration results in more than a plain description of linguistic features. An analysis of this kind explores the political actions performed by the different collectives via discourse where the very representation of the given collectives is at stake. What is more, in explicating these actions for the broader public, such an analysis counts as political action inasmuch as it influences the discourses that it analyzes.

However, in practice, the speeches are influenced by complex political factors that may affect the textual articulation of the representations. This influence can be traced in the ways politicians draw upon linguistic resources to construe different collectives in whose name they are speaking (i.e., by identifying with them). In this study I analyze the ways such collective identities are represented in official statements on the ER5 by presidents, prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs speaking for Finland, Hungary and the United Kingdom, respectively, in EU intergovernmental contexts between 1998 and 2004. These statements have a sound performative design due to their official function in the ER5 process. Therefore, they are created to perform political action. I interpret the results of the analysis of the linguistic features in terms of their political action in order to describe the ways the forming forces of European integration materialized in the ER5. The linguistic analytic methods that I use are grounded in Halliday's (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) systemic-functional grammar; however, I apply this framework to corpus-based data, which is less common among systemic-functional studies. The interpretation of the results of the systemic-functional analysis is based on a social critical approach to discourse in the sense of Fairclough (1995; 2003), Wodak (1999), and Krzyzanowski (2003). Hence, my analysis is an example of a corpus-driven systemic-functional analysis,

within which I combine both quantitative and qualitative methods on three corpora of official political statements on the ER5.

There has been no attempt to produce comparative analysis of current European political discourse that combines corpus-driven and qualitative systemic-functional analysis of official political statements. Furthermore, even the few studies that do combine corpus linguistics and systemic-functional linguistics do not incorporate statistical testing of their results. Thus, the relevance of this research is twofold. On the one hand, it provides new empirical knowledge about discursive constructions of collective identities in the ER5. On the other hand, methodologically speaking, this is the first study that carries out frequency analysis of transitivity on a corpus with statistical testing integrated into the analytical process. Therefore, the results are useful not only to linguists but also to a wider audience in Finland, Hungary and elsewhere.

My discussion starts off with chapter two, within which I describe in details the theoretical models that are relevant for this work and position the perspective applied in this book in relation to them. Chapter three provides an overview of European integration with a special focus on the ER5 and its political-ideological aspect. Chapter four offers a comprehensive description of the data, the research methods and the aims. Chapter five presents the first round of linguistic analysis based on a dominantly quantitative approach to the data while chapter six presents the second round of analysis, which consists of a qualitative analysis of the textual construction of certain collectives. Finally, chapter seven summarizes the results and discusses their implications for the discursive constructions of the collectives in the process of ER5.

CHAPTER TWO

ON LINGUISTICS AND POLITICS

In this chapter I explicate my analytical position in order to set forth for the reader the theoretical context for this analysis and interpretation of the subject matter. Therefore, I will outline the general frameworks of analysis that have influenced the present research, after which I will also reflect on my own role as an analyst and its impact on the findings. Finally, I will identify the broader goals of this study as a scholarly work. However, I will not detail my position on the political/ideological background of the texts I analyze or the questions of research methodology. These issues will be addressed in chapter three (interpretation of political discourse surrounding the ER5) and chapter four (corpus building)**.**

Linguistic studies of political discourse

There is a long tradition of linguistic analyses of political discourse. Probably the first public speech to be analyzed by linguists is Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, delivered in 330 BC (cf. Adams 1927: 131). Rhetoric, the systematic study of public speaking, was already part of the three arts of discourse in ancient Greece. Until the nineteenth century, rhetoric was an essential part of the education of the intelligentsia in Europe. But beyond education, rhetoric was also in the focus of attention of European philosophers. The study of political speeches has not lost its importance in modern times either, quite the contrary. With the appearance of mass media, politicians are able to reach a broader audience, which significantly increases their influence on public opinion formation[1].

According to Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 24-37), linguists who study political discourse have recently approached their subject either by viewing discourse as interaction or viewing it as representation. When analyzing actual fragments of political discourse, these linguists usually operate with tools that are developed on the basis of pragmatics, text

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[1] For an example of the extremes, one could consider the effect of the speeches delivered by Hitler and Goebbels during World War II.

linguistics, or discourse analysis. Linguists studying political discourse either take a pragmatic or a cognitive approach to political speeches. Linguistic analyses that deal with the pragmatic dimension of the speeches concentrate on political discourse as interaction and investigate how the speaker and the interpreter are positioned. This positioning can appear linguistically, for example, by means of indexicality expressed via the distribution of personal pronouns (person deixis), via signaling time of uttering and verb tenses (temporal deixis), place of uttering (spatial deixis), or the social relationships between the speaker and his/her audience/interpreters (social deixis). The cognitive approach sees itself as an alternative to the pragmatic approach. Linguists who concentrate on the cognitive dimension of speeches analyze the relationship of linguistic structure and discourse to representations in the mind. These researchers apply methods that reflect functionalist approaches to language, such as functional grammar, role and reference grammar, or cognitive grammar. In their interpretations of language use, they either aim to account for the communicative competence of language users by focusing on the social and psychological contexts of language as communication or they attempt to explain language use by cognitive processes (cf. Lockwood 2000: 36-46).

In this monograph I go beyond the pragmatic/cognitive divide with the help of applying Halliday's systemic-functional approach to the speeches I analyze. On the one hand, by exploring pragmatic relationships in the analyzed discourse I aim to explicate how discourse functions as a representation of the '*real conditions of existence*'[2], that is, as a means of re/producing ideologies of belonging. Thus, I also deal with discourse as representation, just like researchers studying the cognitive dimensions of discourse. In contrast to them, I understand discourse as a social force that influences and shapes the mind's representations of reality. In this sense I take an approach that interprets the relationship of discourse and the mind from a direction opposite to the perspective of cognitive linguistics. This approach, cutting across the either/or tendencies summed by Chilton and Schäffner (2002), corresponds to Halliday's dialectic position on the relationship between language (the mind) and reality informing his systemic-functional approach to grammar:

> Every text – that is, everything that is said or written – unfolds in some context of use; furthermore, it is the uses of language that, over tens of thousands of generations, have shaped the system. Language has evolved to satisfy human needs; and *the way it is organized is functional with*

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[2] I use this term on the basis of Althusser (2001: 101).

respect to these needs – it is not arbitrary. (Halliday 1994: xiii, italics added to the original)

As a result of explaining linguistic structural specificities in terms of the needs in a given social context, Halliday is able to consider linguistic meaning production as a social phenomenon, sidestepping the need to venture into the futile either/or debate between a cognitive or pragmatic position. This is why I find systemic-functional grammar the most suitable functionalist approach for rendering social interpretation to textual instances. As Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) later put the above formulation, "instead of explaining language by reference to cognitive processes […] we explain cognition by reference to linguistic processes" (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: x). Therefore, in my analysis I have chosen to apply Halliday's systemic-functional model, particularly his theory of transitivity for analyzing the discursive effects of cognitive representations of 'reality' in language use. In the following I will briefly discuss transitivity in the broader context of the three metafunctions of language in meaning production and argue for its relevance for my analysis and then I will proceed to discuss its potential in corpus-based analyses.

According to Halliday's theory, meaning production has three aspects, which are referred to as 'metafunctions'. These metafunctions are the ideational metafunction, the interpersonal metafunction, and the textual metafunction:

> It is clear that language does – as we put it – **construe** human experience. It names things, thus construing them into categories; and then, typically goes further and construes the categories into taxonomies, often using more names for doing so. […] There is no human experience which cannot be transformed into meaning. In other words, language provides a **theory** of human experience, and certain of the resources of the lexicogrammar of every language are dedicated to that function. We call it the **ideational** metafunction. […] At the same time, whenever we use language there is always something else going on. While construing, language is always also **enacting**: enacting our personal and social relationships with the other people around us. […] If the ideational function of the grammar is 'language as reflection', this is 'language as action'. We call it the **interpersonal** metafunction and suggest that it is both interactive and personal. […] But the grammar also shows up a third component, another mode of meaning which relates to the construction of text. In a sense this can be regarded as an enabling or facilitating function, since both the others – construing experience and enacting interpersonal relations – depend on being able to build up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along.

> This too appears as a clearly delineated motif within the grammar. We call
> it the **textual** metafunction. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29-30)

As I focus on cognitive representations of 'reality' in my analysis, I
investigate the ideational metafunction of the texts. I deal with this
metafunction on the level of clauses, since Halliday and Matthiessen
(2004) consider the clause as the basic unit of meaning. In relation to the
content of the clause they discuss its meaning as representation in the
following way:

> Our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of a flow of
> events, or 'goings-on'. This flow of events is chunked into quanta of
> change by the grammar of the clause: each quantum of change is modeled
> as a **figure** – a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having
> [see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999]. All figures consist of a process
> unfolding through time and of participants being directly involved in this
> process in some way; and in addition there may be circumstances of time,
> space, cause, manner or one of a few other types […]Thus […] the clause
> is also a mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and
> flow of events. The grammatical system by which this is achieved is that of
> **TRANSITIVITY** (cf. Halliday 1967/8).The transitivity system construes
> the world of experience into a manageable set of **PROCESS TYPES**.
> (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170)

To put this in other words, people build mental pictures of reality through
language. Halliday considers the processes of representation in the clause
as the grammatical basis of building mental pictures of reality. Processes
according to him represent those 'goings on' through which this is
achieved. In Halliday's theory such 'goings on' are processes of doing,
happening, feeling and being, which are indexed by verb phrases and their
concomitant noun and adverbial phrases in the grammatical system.
Halliday differentiates six types of processes and their corresponding
participants (i.e., the doers or the undergoers of these actions) and the
circumstances of these processes that make up the transitivity structure of
language in his model.

Halliday's systemic-functional model has been among the most
frequently used analytic tools in critical discourse analysis (henceforth
referred to as CDA) since the early stages of this discipline (cf. Young and
Harrison 2004). The reason for this is that both systemic-functional theory
and CDA view language a central feature in social life on the basis of the
function of language as a social practice. Additionally, systemic-functional
grammar can be used to relate grammatical structures of language use to
their contexts of use, which enables critical analysts to obtain the kind of

linguistic evidence they need for their social-critical objectives. Another reason why systemic-functional theory has been so popular with CDA is its systematic nature, which, with its close focus on particular textual structures, helps the analyst to avoid making biased interpretations. For a critical linguist, the system of transitivity specifies the types of processes and their grammatical structures that may also function to re/articulate the ideologies informing a speech occasion. In terms of the ideological function of this mental activity, one may argue that people build or rather re-construct meaning ideologically through language use as an effect of hegemonic relations of power[3]. Therefore, my motivation as a critical analyst for the choice of Halliday's system of transitivity is based on my understanding that by investigating the ideational metafunction of language, this system is concerned the most with constructed pictures of reality through the discourses, i.e., with ideology construction.

Corpus-driven systemic-functional analyses

According to Matthiessen (2006: 103), systemic-functional linguistics (henceforth referred to as SFL) has been linked with text-based research and corpus-based methodology since the earliest versions of the theory. Neale (2006: 145) also argues for conducting corpus-based systemic-functional analyses because they have the advantage of recognizing the meaning potential that SFL can reveal through 'instantiation' or 'evidence', which it otherwise lacks. Nevertheless, combining corpus linguistics (CL) methodology with SFL theory is a relatively new approach in linguistic studies. The formal frameworks for establishing connections between the two approaches (SFL and CL) were launched at the 29th International Systemic Functional Congress held at the University of Liverpool in July 2002. Since then many studies have appeared that combined the two approaches yet they are somewhat repetitive in so far as they are all centered on the exploration of the linguistic features of certain registers (Thompson and Hunston 2006: 7).

Because of the difficulties of quantifiability, it is much less common to perform corpus-driven analyses of Halliday's process types in the transitivity structure of language. One such study is Matthiessen's (2006) paper. Thompson and Hunston (2006: 5) also consider it to be the first to

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[3] However, not all meaning production is ideological. Whether a particular system of meaning is ideological or not is a matter of whether it is invested in the service or re/producing domination. In this sense, ideology is not necessarily in opposition to 'truth'; whether a particular ideological practice of meaning production is 'true' or 'false' depends on the position from which it is viewed.

attempt to operationalize frequency as a feature in SFL analysis. Since then there have only been a few corpus-driven studies that analyzed frequencies of process types. Studies that apply this methodology to political discourse have been even less common. I am only aware of three studies that analyze frequencies of process types in political speeches: Behnam and Zenouz's (2008) "A Contrastive Critical Analysis of Iranian and British Newspaper Reports on the Iran Nuclear Power Program" and Durán's (2008) "The Analysis of Political Discourse Applied to Bush's and Kerry's Speeches", both published in a collection entitled *Systemic Functional Linguistics in Use* (Nørgaard 2008). The third study is Alameda-Hernández's "SFL and CDA: Contributions of the Analysis of the Transitivity System in the Study of the Discursive Construction of National Identity (Case study: Gibraltar)" published in 2008 in *The Linguistics Journal*. However, all of these studies, just like the rest of the existing comparative corpus-driven SFL analyses, lack the feature of statistical significance tests as means of verifying the relevance of the frequency differences between their comparative results. This aspect of comparative corpus-driven SFL analyses is all the more surprising in the light of the fact that there is a long tradition of significance testing in CL and other quantitative linguistic approaches such as quantitatively based sociolinguistic studies.

In terms of their analytic position, Alameda-Hernández's and Behnam and Zenouz's papers also reflect a novel approach in that their research seems to be among the first corpus-based critical discourse analyses published. The relevance of corpus-based studies for CDA has long been argued for by Stubbs (1997), who finds corpus-driven CDA analysis necessary in order to make up for the lack of statistical and theoretical representativeness of the randomly chosen material in traditional CDA analyses. One of the most frequently cited problems that corpus-based CDA (and corpus-based SFL) faces is that quantitative methods, ironically, reduce the relationship between the texts and their social (or political) contexts (cf. Thompson and Hunston 2006: 3). One way of overcoming this methodological problem is to use corpora that are composed of texts that have similar contextual aspects and interpret the results in terms of the common specific aspects of these texts. Therefore, studies such as Alameda-Hernández's and Behnam and Zeouz's, which operate with (political) context specific corpora, are valuable contributions to present-day CDA research.

In this monograph, as in my former publications (Krizsán 2008a; 2008b), I wish to contribute to present-day CDA research by performing a Hallidayan corpus-driven critical linguistic analysis of political discourse

on EU polity. As stated earlier, Hallidayan SFL analyses of texts have long been performed by critical discourse analysts, yet rarely in corpus-based projects[4]. In order to verify the representativeness of my comparative results of transitivity systems, I apply statistical significance tests as part of my data processing methods. I carry out my linguistic analysis on three topic specific corpora that are built by selecting speeches delivered on the same topic (the ER5) by key politicians of similar institutional functions in their respective countries (Finland, Hungary and the United Kingdom). Although the actual EU institutional context of delivery of these speeches may differ (e.g., they were delivered at different congresses, summits, banquets, the Intergovernmental Conference, the ceremony of the signature of the EU accession Treaty, etc.), all are considered to be official statements by the countries represented. Therefore, the institutional functions of the speeches could be regarded as similar, allowing the researcher to draw general conclusions about the political context of the linguistic data.

The analysis as a form of interaction:
The researcher's position

In this study I adopt a critical standpoint towards the ideological investments of the selected speeches. My position is therefore meant to enact a social critique (cf. Hennessy 1993; Van Dijk 1993; Fairclough 1995; Calhoun 1998). In my view social critique in linguistic analysis consists in exploring ideological systems of meaning in accordance with Fairclough's (2003) definition of ideologies:

> Ideologies are representations of the social world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. (Fairclough 2003: 9)

Following Fairclough's critical approach I have chosen my interpretative tools to be those of CDA as developed in Fairclough (1995; 2003). CDA is:

> […] based upon a view of social semiosis as an irreducible element of all material social processes (Williams 1977). We can see social life as interconnected networks of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political, cultural, family, etc.). […] Every practice is an articulation of

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[4] The only studies being the aforementioned Alameda-Hernández (2008), Benham and Zeouz (2008) and Durán (2008).

> diverse social elements within a relatively stable configuration, always
> including discourse. (Fairclough 2003: 205)

In my analysis I focus on the ways the political network of social practices
is constituted via social semiosis. I examine this social semiosis as it is
constructed in discourse. My approach is critical in the sense that it
considers discourses (various systems of meaning) as effects of relations
of power and sees the enactment of certain power positions through
particular forms of language use. I consider these positions to be employed
either in order to maintain dominance – hence regenerate the status quo –
or to resist and even subvert the dominant ideology (cf. Fairclough 2003:
206) and, by extension, producing non-ideological meanings.

I base my linguistic analysis on pronominal indexes. According to
Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 13), pronouns are not just substitutes for
other nouns but are also means of establishing moral responsibility. Since
the usage of pronouns necessitates the understanding of social relations
(cf. Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 5), analyzing their employment facilitates
the understanding of the relationship of the discursive and the social.
Wilson (1990) shows how politicians manipulate the usage of personal
markers to avoid or mitigate responsibility, to show solidarity or power,
and fill their speeches with ideological content. Since the early 1990s there
have been many analyses on the interactional effects of pronominal
indexes in political speeches (e.g., Fairclough 1989; Wilson 1990; Gastil
1992; Johnson 1994; Zupnik 1994; Arroyo 2000). While earlier the
interactive effects of pronominal indexes were mainly studied by
conversation analysts and sociolinguists, most of these analyses do not
belong to the traditional forms of conversation analysis (CA) or
sociolinguistic studies. I also take a different analytical position to that of
CA researchers (cf. Sidnell 2010) in that I do not see the text/context
distinction as pre-given but analyze the representative function of
language use and, to a lesser extent, its function to encode meanings of
attitudes, interaction, and relationships (i.e., the ideational and interpersonal
metafunctions, respectively in Halliday's terminology) as a dialectical
process. Therefore, I approach meaning as dynamic and relative to the
situation within which participants engage in the ongoing work of being
and doing the 'representative' of a given (national) community and in and
through it being and doing the work of becoming recognized as (symbolic
representative) a member of another community (EU polity). In addition to
this epistemological difference, there is a methodological difference between
sociolinguistic studies (cf. Wardhaugh 2010) and the present analysis in
the ways that I use methods of quantitative, corpus-based statistical
analyses for legitimizing my interpretations. This difference lies in the

position the researcher takes regarding the ontological status of these methods. Statistical analyses are quite commonly used in sociolinguistic research but their understanding of the relationship between language use and (social) reality and therefore the role of statistics is basically referential and not constitutive. A sociolinguistic (variationist) approach would investigate language use in a way that the identity of the speaking subject is categorized in terms of his/her characteristic features as his/her 'variables' that are given and known prior to the moment of language use and therefore, 'conveniently', independent of the moment of its analysis. Consequently, the ways the subject uses language become markers, indexes of his/her language identity. The aim of a sociolinguistic analysis, then, is to describe language use as markers and transparent expressions of the language user's sociolect, the marker of his/her membership in a particular language community that could be reduced to a self-evident matter of frequency and (numerical) significance.

The corollary of this difference between the variationist approach and my critical project is then how the relationship between identity and language use is approached. I investigate language use to describe how (social) reality[5], including the speaker him/herself, is (re)constructed or accomplished by the discourses that the speaker enacts and draws on. Thus, the main difference between a variational analysis and the discourse analysis that I have chosen is that, according to the latter, no identity categories of the speaker are presupposed to exist as a template but they are to be re/constituted in the course of the interaction itself embedded in a given institutional context. In this sense I agree with Vološinov on the discursive and situated nature of (both personal and institutional) identities when he states that, "The personality of the speaker [. . .] turns out to be wholly a product of social interactions" in historically specific social institutions (Vološinov 1986: 90). Thus, I follow a mutually constitutive understanding of language and society in contrast to a positivist one that CA comes to be caught within. In correspondence to traditional CDA research (as described by Fairclough 1995), I regard my analysis of the speeches and the social situation of the ER5 as applicable only in the local and temporal situatedness of the discourses the participants are seeking to enact in the course of their negotiations of meanings of belonging.

Furthermore, I consider my own situatedness as researcher a key aspect of meaning formation as it appears in my interpretation. As Gee (1999)

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[5] After Vološinov (1986: 93-100) I see this reality in language as a system of social/political norms.

argues, (scientific) knowledge is a matter of institutional and intersubjective production:

> No set of research tools belongs to a single person, no matter how much academic style and our own egos sometimes force (or tempt) us to write that way. […] Whatever approach we take, it holds out the hope that various micro-communities of researchers working in diverse fields can begin to come together, seeing that, using somewhat different but related tools, terminologies, and theories, we are all contributing to a "big picture." (Gee 1999: 5)

In so far as I consider the identity categories that are relevant for my analysis as emergent in the course of language use, the establishment of the analytical categories themselves comes to be part of the results of this research. The difference between various uses of language then is to be explained in terms of the social positions and power potential the utterances deliver for their speaker(s) to assume. The availability of one position over the other(s) is the result of the ongoing negotiations of various relations of power that shape the actual institutions where the speech event takes place. According to this model, the dominant ideology is re/generated by the discursive re/articulations and contestations of (predominantly) unequal relations of power in the given (contemporary) social institutions The material function of dominant discursive constructions in these institutions then is to 'naturalize' that inequity itself as 'common sense' within which speakers just are 'in the dominant discourse' without doing the work of self-reflexivity.

The textual analysis in this study aims to identify some of the discourse strategies used for concealment and avoidance as well. As Macherey (2004) writes, the 'unsaid', the implied is the ideal 'hiding place' for ideologies informing the text: "The work encounters the question of questions as an obstacle; it is only aware of the conditions which it adopts or utilizes" (Macherey 2004: 222). In order not to encounter the obstacle (or obstacles), the work requires strategies of avoidance. This way, those strategies expose the places of obstacles, the concealed places of the question of questions (the critical questions) waiting for the analyst to reveal and explicate – provided s/he can approach them from 'elsewhere' than the logic of the dominant discourses one is expected 'to be in'.

As Hennessy (1993: 40) addresses the materiality of a discursive event, "[It] consists of the relations or supports through which discourses are constituted and which are embodied in institutions." In other words discourses (including academic ones) do not come to be meaningful in and of themselves but within *a system of intelligibility* that is shaped by