MULTILINGUAL IDENTITIES

A study of attitudes towards multilingualism
in three European cities

EDITED BY LID KING AND LORNA CARSON

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Identities in Urban Contexts: the European multilingual city is the topic of one of the three main research strands of the Jean Monnet Network *European Identity, Culture, Exchanges and Multilingualism (EUROMEC)*. It sets its locus in the contemporary European city and seeks to explore the extent to which diversity and in particular linguistic diversity affects identity formation in the European context.

The Jean Monnet Programme is the part of Erasmus+ which is dedicated to promoting excellence in EU studies in higher education around the world. Jean Monnet activities have a history of more than 25 years and have provided support mainly to European integration studies in universities, involving more than 800 universities in nearly 80 countries of the world, thus becoming a major factor for promoting excellence in European studies and EU related research. Jean Monnet Actions aim to build bridges between academics, researchers and EU policymakers.

European identity formation, in this context, is identified as an overarching theme of the EUROMEC Network with three dimensions of more focused research: research into the patterns of European identity and citizenship among students studying courses in the area of EU Studies, the issue of emerging new European young researchers' identities based on an international study of processes and experiences in doctoral studies and identities in urban contexts. The network believes that the European city and the contemporary European university are loci and drivers of transformation and that deeper understanding will be achieved through its activities concerning European identity formation and constraints.

The EUROMEC Network brings together Jean Monnet Chairs in the area of European identity, culture, European citizenship, exchanges and multilingualism, researchers and academics in a European and broader perspective – from seven European universities (Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, Durham University, UK, the University of Luxembourg, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland, Majej Bel University in Banska Bystrica, Slovakia and the Leuven University, Belgium) and a university in China (Guangdong University of Foreign Studies). It is coordinated by Sofia University St Kliment Ohridski. The Network aims at applying an interdisciplinary approach in research and teaching. The EUROMEC research strand, whose findings are presented in this publication, involves researchers from the area of sociology, linguistics, language policy, statistics, anthropology and political science. Additionally, it has provided the opportunity for doctorate students and young researchers from different scientific areas to participate in the Network events, including seminars, workshops, a webinar and the EUROMEC international doctorate summer school in Trinity College Dublin in July 2017. Featuring the findings of the EUROMEC research strand on the European multilingual city, the 2017 EUROMEC summer school provided an exciting opportunity for doctorate students and early career researchers from various areas within the arts, humanities and social sciences to engage actively in the study of identity in European urban contexts alongside a team of expert academic researchers from the world's most eminent universities.

The methodology of the network organization presupposes the creation of small core research groups in the identified areas and these are further extended by bringing new people into the process of seminar organization and in particular into the preparation of the main network publications. The research approach is about understanding and analysing the realities of 'what is now' and 'what has been in the past' but also, on this basis, envisaging 'what can be in the future'. A mixed-method model of research was applied seeking to further the understanding of the current realities of multilingualism and to indicate the possibilities for future change and development in urban contexts. The work carried out led to the consolidation of relevant known data and policy documents on languages and identity and an analysis of recent and current realities and social representations relating to multilingual identities in European cities.

A study in three cities (Sofia, Dublin and Krakow) using Concourse sampling (Q methodology) was carried out in order to explore the subjective disposition of key stakeholders and to draw some tentative conclusions about what might be possible in the future. We were keen to explore a new and innovative research methodology in studies of urban life and cities. The focus of our research was on the subjective understanding of discourses related to urban multilingualism, and therefore Q methodology, used to collect, analyse and interpret data showing individual beliefs about a particular topic, was particularly appropriate. In our case this was the reality of multilingualism in European cities and the prospects of their becoming multilingual or more multilingual in the context of the European Union and the free movement of people. Our target group were young people, possible leaders in society in the future. They were asked to sort statements – opinions, not facts – obtained in the discourse which surrounds the topic and order them according to their own point of view. Thus we have been exposed in our analysis to a process of documenting 'subjectivity', the personal account of participants as citizens and residents in their own city and we were able to 'hear' different stories and histories of the three cities.

I do hope that this small scale study can indicate both the importance of the topic and the potential for further development both in theory (understanding the changing face of European cities and the accommodation of their multiple languages) and policy (urban policies and in particular language policies and the extent to which change is needed).

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OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH AND POLICY

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This chapter is a shortened and revised version of a fully referenced State of the Art which is available as a PDF document here

Introduction

In this chapter we aim to explore the relation between multilingualism and the contemporary city in contemporary academic literature and European policy documents, and to summarise the most salient recent research completed by researchers in this field. After reflecting on the nature of multilingualism/plurilingualism we firstly elicit some of the main theoretical perspectives, secondly report on the key methodologies used in the field and thirdly review some key elements of policy. We conclude by outlining some propositions for further research. We are aware that the field is a broad and growing one, involving many disciplines and so we do not claim to have referenced all possible sources. Our hope, nonetheless, is that this will serve as a useful aide memoire of some main issues which acted as the backdrop to the EUROMEC project

1. Research into urban multilingualism – an historical oversight?

It is our contention (King and Carson 2016: 3) that until recently the multilingual aspect of city life and urbanism, in terms of intense interaction between citizens from multiple backgrounds, has not been sufficiently explored. This is certainly the case for the contemporary 'champions' of the city as a solution to political and social challenges. For example urban multilingualism is not mentioned by Glaeser (2011) in his influential *Triumph of the City.* He emphasizes various cities' achievements without explicitly mentioning the question of language. Even so his main argument that *'the strength that comes from human collaboration is the central truth behind civilization's success and the primary reason why cities exist'* (Glaeser, 2011: 15) may imply the importance of multilingualism, given that most of the cities are multicultural.

A similar standpoint can be seen in Barber (2013) – his main argument being that city mayors respond to problems more effectively than nation-states, although he does not put any special emphasis on urban languages as part of this process. Nevertheless, the focus on such a universal virtue as democracy implies crossing boundaries, which is very typical of cosmopolitan and interconnected cities.

In general, therefore, research on urbanism, urban politics and urban planning by sociologists, geographers and political scientists has tended to overlook or downplay the importance of multilingualism, as though questions of identity/ethnicity were not inextricably bound up with languages. Multilingualism is often considered rather cursorily usually as a problem or as a subset of issues relating to migration and cultural diversity (e.g. Gottdiener and Budd, 2005; Cochrane, 2006). Although institutional responses to the ethnic diversity of cities are discussed at length, the linguistic composition of cities is rarely mentioned (Mac Giolla Chríost and Thomas, 2008; Kraus, 2011: 25). The *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies* (Hutchinson, 2010), for example, has no entries for 'multilingualism' or 'language', and its article on 'ethnic enclaves' discusses the formation of transnational and diasporic neighbourhoods in global cities without referring to the crucial role that language plays in their development (see King and Carson, 2016: 4).

Some recent studies do indeed focus on the multilingual character of today's cities and add to the recognition of the topic as worth exploring, but they are relatively few in number (Extra and Yağmur 2004; Yağmur and Extra 2011; Mac Giolla Chríost, 2007: Kraus, 2011; Clément and Andrew, 2012). Such research challenges *'older essentialist notions of bounded languages linked to stable national or ethnic communities'* (King and Carson, 2016: 4); a dynamic picture is emerging of ubiquitous, everyday multilingualism which resists clear-cut classifications and has become part of (post)modern city life (Cadier and Mar-Molinero, 2012; Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010).

The multilingual city thus provides a test bed for understanding social diversity and complexity. It is not that multilingualism does not exist elsewhere – many rural areas are affected by immigration and mobility – but the city is a particularly concentrated version of this new dispensation providing a valuable, distributed 'laboratory space' to help us understand how the needs and wants of diverse communities may interrelate.

The scope of current research into urban multilingualism

This recent interest in urban multilingualism covers a range of different subject areas, in particular in the domain of the social sciences. There are numerous and heterogeneous research themes in different disciplines encompassing: issues relevant to sociolinguistics (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Gasquet-Cyrus, 2004; Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow, 2014; McElhinny, 2012); to translation (Collins and Slembrouck, 2006; Larkish, 2006; Rillof and Buysse, 2015; Sharifian and Musgrave, 2013; Simon, 2010, 2012, 2012; Sulaiman, 2016; Yun, 2015); and the effects of multilingualism on teaching and education (Conteh, 2006; Dulio, 2014; García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2012; Manor, 2004; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montana and Cummins, 2014; Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh, 2012; Yağmur and Extra, 2011) and many more such as globalisation, language and urban policies, immigration and minorities.

A systematic search of peer-reviewed articles in the Scopus database and the keyword combination 'multilingual + city' resulted in 235 documents. There has been a notable growth in such research since the early 2000s. The top three countries of publication are the US, the UK and Canada.

Figure 1. Documents by year

Figure 2. Documents by country
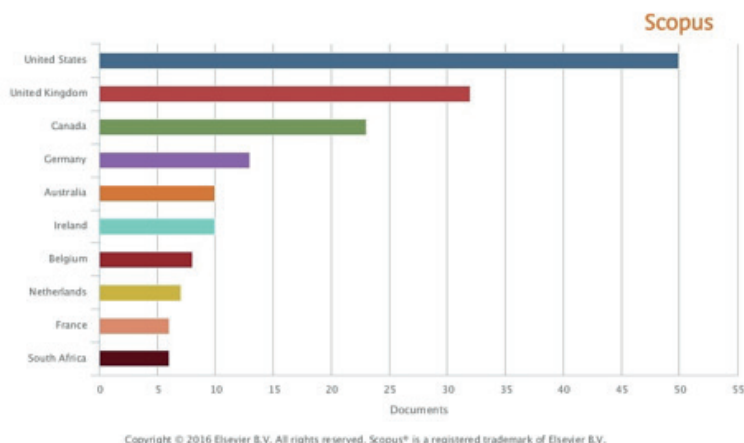
We may therefore conclude that after a considerable period during which multilingualism in the city was considered as only of marginal interest to researchers, since the turn of the century it has attracted increasing attention, and from researchers in a variety of disciplines. This in itself has created challenges of definition and scope.

2. Defining multilingualism

Research interest into multilingualism in general has also increased significantly since the turn of the century and this too has involved a number of different perspectives, and needs for definition. At the societal level, multilingualism has been examined as it relates to globalisation, the mobility of the population, and the effect of new communication techniques. A related development at the societal level has been the study of language practices in different contexts, including multilingual practices in urban contexts (Cenoz, 2013: 9-10).

It has been argued that factors such as globalisation, mobility and the 21st century communication technologies have resulted in a *'new linguistic dispensation'* (Singleton and Aronin, 2007; Maurais and Morris, 2003) where multilingualism is inherent in every domain surrounding human society (Singleton and Aronin, 2007: 83).Research on multilingualism may therefore be seen as heterogeneous or even disorganised because it is based on different theoretical frameworks and uses a wide range of methodological approaches. This can be highly productive, as the heterogenous nature of the research results in new proposals, concepts, hypotheses, and findings. The need to improve our knowledge of individual and societal multilingualism is linked to globalisation. The intensification of international contacts, the internationalisation of the economy, and the mobility of the population have produced more opportunities to conduct research on multilingualism and have also highlighted the importance of this research.

Multilingualism has also been intensively researched in the past decades from linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, cognitive and educational perspectives. These approaches have identified a series of dimensions from which it could be approached: individual versus societal, language proficiency versus language use, and bilingualism versus multilingualism. Consequently, the once compartmentalised definition of multilingualism has increasingly become more complex and more difficult to separate from its social context. In order to define multilingualism, including urban multilingualism and individual plurilingualism, a short overview of different approaches will be given.

2.1 Individual multilingualism: from bilingualism to plurilingualism

Different ways of understanding, using and reacting to languages has led to a wide range of views on individual multilingualism (Aronin and Singleton, 2012). For decades individual multilingualism was defined in terms of language fluency. Its conceptualisation took various forms: bilingualism deployed as a generic term for speakers of two or more languages, bilingualism and multilingualism as distinct phenomena, and a more functional definition of individual plurilingualism which focusses on the use of languages (Lüdi and Py, 2009). Initially, the native-speaker criterion for bi or multilingualism, also called maximal proficiency (Bloomfield, 1935) was a rigid one which implied a *'native-like control of two or more languages'* (Bloomfield, 1935: cited in Aronin and Singleton, 2012: 2). Subsequently the native-like criteria became problematic given the variation in understanding the native or first language (Aronin and Singleton, 2012: 3). These concepts have been commonly associated with the first language spoken in childhood, at home or within the community, and generally, with the language of origin. Inasmuch as this conceptualisation can be applied to many cases, it cannot fit all cases because people *'may prioritise differently their languages in terms of what is perceived more important'* (ibid: 3). Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 18-20) suggested that this conceptual distinction *'can be a matter of high proficiency, functionality, identification, and automacy'*. In view of these considerations, researchers concluded that *'there is no such thing as perfect bilingualism'*, and therefore, other approaches were to be considered (Aronin and Singleton, 2012: 3).

Gradually the focus shifted from a native-like criterion to a criterion of any-proficiency, or minimal fluency or unbalanced multilingualism which could be defined as *'at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language'* (Hall 1952) Research has shown that there is considerable difference between bilingualism and multilingualism, in that, unlike bilinguals, multilingual speakers deploy not only their native language, but also other languages of their repertoires to overcome any lack in a given language, provided the languages are typologically similar (De Angelis, 2007). Objections have also been raised to both approaches, since as Aronin and Singleton (2012: 3) point out, both perfect bilingualism and any-fluency may be *'less useful at a practical level because… it is generally known that very few people have really mastered two or more languages to an equal level of across-the-board native-likeness'*, while any-fluency multilingualism which is common to *'very many countries of the world… would encompass virtually the entire population'* (2012: 3).

2.2 Plurilingual repertoires

The difficulty of defining individual multilingualism in terms of fluency-criteria, alongside the increasing contact between languages, brought a considerable shift to criteria based on language-use as *'the most important and characterising instance of multilingual speakers'* (Cenoz, 2013: 6). In these terms, individual multilingualism involving several languages, has been given a more functional definition as 'plurilingualism'.

Plurilingualism can be distinguished from various kinds of bilingualism (whether simultaneous or successive) in that it is not about the accumulation of separate language competences but about a repertoire of linguistic resources. These can be developed in formal or non-formal learning contexts or with different proficiency levels. They can be classified as receptive (through listening and reading), and productive (through speaking and writing) (Grosjean, 2010; Wei, 2008). Importantly, as Edwards (1995: 2-3) points out, these plurilingual competences *'need not be equally developed because the use of these languages differ by context'* (1995: 2-3). In this sense plurilingual competence should not be considered as a collection of monolingual competences but as a part of a whole linguistic repertoire which is accessed, varied, and developed in collaboration with the interlocutor (Lüdi and Py, 2009: 157).

The Council of Europe, in the seminal *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (2001) proposed a description of plurilingual and pluricultural competence as *'the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw.'* (Council of Europe, 2001: 168). In simple terms we may understand individual multilingualism or plurilingualism, as *'the capacity of an individual to communicate in two or more languages'*, while (societal) multilingualism, is the *'co-existence of many languages in a society'* (King and Carson, 2016: 9).

2.3 Societal multilingualism

Plurilingualism occurs contemporaneously with societal multilingualism, in that the individual draws on his/her linguistic resources for communication purposes when involved in a social multilingual context (Cenoz, 2013: 5). Historically, languages have been intrinsic to human society because they enable communication between people and speech communities, but they are also an essential means for individuals and communities to express, share and develop their 'self-identity' (García, 1992: 6; Sachdev et al., 2012).

Multilingualism, therefore, has been a constant presence within society because of large population movements, colonialism, political unions, border language contact, and individual/group cultural and education aspirations (Edwards, 2007: 450). Alongside these factors, globalisation in all its dimensions, technology and web communication, and ease of travelling across borders have further enabled and fostered language contact. Nonetheless, multilingualism around the globe is markedly uneven; the estimated 6000 languages of the world are distributed in 200 states, of whom only a quarter give recognition to two or more languages (Edwards, 2007). This is generally thought to be the result of state-formation through a single, and very rarely more than one, national language (e.g. Blackledge, 2000). Despite this, as García (1992: 3) observes, *'multilingualism has never ceased to exist even in apparently homogeneous monolingual states'*. Conversely, it is also acknowledged that officially bilingual states such as Belgium or parts of Canada are not necessarily multilingual, but may involve coexisting monolingualisms.

Subsequently, linguistic distances among different linguistic groups required a means of bridging societal gaps: lingua francas, translation and interpretation are some of these means. Nevertheless, if on the one hand, lingua francas have been long seen as enabling communication and progress, on the other, they were accused of monopolising communication, and eventually threatening linguistic diversity. In this regard, Edwards (2007) argued that lingua francas *'have never spelled the death of multilingualism as much as they have been the product of it, and indeed, a contributor of it'*. Similarly, García (1992: 8-9) described how, once English was established as a functional language, since it has been deployed as a tool detached from its cultural significance, this lead to states of diglossia (Fishman, 1991: cited therein), English as Lingua Franca (ELF) became the engine for language maintenance, that is, the *'vitalization and revitalization of many little languages, struggling to keep their distinct link to a unique ethnic identity and their liberating symbolism'* (ibid.: 9). She further argued that, by becoming functional, ELF loosened its subtractive initial nature when language and culture were imposed by colonialism, and became additive (García et al., 2007: 9).

3. Researching urban multilingualism

Probably the most comprehensive overview of urban multilingualism to date has been the LUCIDE project and the associated publication (King and Carson 2016). Another important general survey of European multilingualism was the Language Rich Europe project which reviewed language policy in 63 cities in 24 countries.

The LUCIDE network involved 16 city partners in Europe, Australia and Canada and developed ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities, with the aim of helping institutions and local and national economies *'make better productive use of diversity as an economic resource and to strengthen social cohesion by fostering better communication and mutual understanding.'* Five spheres of city life were delineated in order to explore how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life. These spheres – which are not mutually exclusive – were:

- education
- the public sphere
- economic life
- the private sphere (activity driven by citizens themselves)
- urban spaces or the 'cityscape'.

The findings were reported in City Reports (one for each of 18 cities in Europe, Canada and Australia) and in 5 more practical 'Toolkits' suggesting activities and giving examples of existing best practice in Education, Health, Public Services, the Economy and the Urban Landscape. These are available from the LUCIDE website. An overview and analysis is also given in a book, published by Multilingual Matters in 2016: *The Multilingual City: Vitality, Conflict and Change* which provides a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic situation in the multilingual city, and a perspective on future 'policies in and for the diverse city' (King and Carson, 2016: 200).

In the *Language Rich Europe* report, (Extra and Yagmur 2012) a detailed analysis is carried out of European policy perspectives. Among other things it considers to what extent the city has an institutionalised strategy for multilingualism; whether services and documents are provided in languages different from the national one; the web presence in other languages; the use of interpreters and translators in public services; the languages used in job descriptions and provision of language training recruitment of speakers of other languages; and the recognition of the plurilingual skills of the staff. The results show that around one-third of the 63 European cities surveyed have an institutionalised strategy for promoting multilingualism and that half of the cities offer multilingualism services (only 10 do not). 23 cities include language skills in the job descriptions of their staff and 18 provide language training for staff. The most prominent areas where multilingual services are provided are tourism, immigration and integration, legal services and transport, followed by health services. The target groups for oral and written services are: a) international travellers, business people and tourists; b) immigrants; and c) speakers and readers of regional and minority languages.

What emerges from these earlier studies is some understanding of the scope of urban multilingualism and of a number of key research areas, many of which are increasingly being addressed by researchers in a number of fields, addressing questions and problems related to multilingualism, globalisation, literacy, education, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, linguistics, language policy, linguistic diversity, immigration and minority languages. Perhaps the main broad areas of interest are as follows (although inevitably there is considerable overlap).

3.1 Superdiversity

The study of multilingualism in urban contexts was expanded by work on notions of superdiversity and hyper-diversity, in densely diverse and socially complex cities. The term superdiversity was coined by sociologist Stephen Vertovec and introduced in an issue of the journal of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* in 2007. His term set out to capture the 'diversification of diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) in Britain, including the multidimensional shifts in migration patterns, migrants' legal statuses, demographic profiles and human capital. The term has become widely used in linguistic anthropology and in the field of multilingualism. In his seminal article, Vertovec specifically addresses multilingualism in Britain, describing it as *'an under-studied field of diversity in the UK'* (ibid, p. 1032). He draws attention to some specific local configurations of language communities in London and policy responses (both positive and lacking) to these, for instance in Tower Hamlets in London where translation into Eastern European languages had, at the time of writing, outstripped the demand by the traditional population of British Bangladeshis for Sylheti/English translation. The term hyper-diversity as used by the researchers Tasan Kok et. al (2013) further differentiates between city populations, pointing to differences not just between but within citizen groups at the level of 'lifestyle, attitudes and activities' (ibid., p. 5), and provides a robust framework for the study of linguistic diversity in urban contexts.

The work of Jan Blommaert has contributed extensively to our understanding of multilingualism and globalisation, including new forms of linguistic inequalities. Drawing on Vertovec, he has examined the superdiversity of international mobility from a complexity perspective, pointing out that any ideas of stability of language, culture and society are now necessarily impossible. In his 2013 volume *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes: Chronicles of Complexity*, he argues that seemingly chaotic sociolinguistic environments – multilingual cities – do in fact have their own, always changing, order. Taking the example of his home city Antwerp, Blommaert uses the tools of complexity theory to explore the linguistic landscape created by a remarkably heterogeneous population.

3.2 Linguistic landscapes

A significant and growing field of research in recent years concerns the visual representations of multilingual practices, not exclusively but very often in cities, which are inescapably linked to power relations and the relative prestige and visibility of different languages (Carson 2016: 65-72) Since 2015 a dedicated journal on linguistic landscaping – *Linguistic Landscape/An international journal* (Shohamy and Ben Rafael) has provided a range of relevant research articles, many of them concerning urban multilingualism and 'anchored in a variety of disciplines'. An earlier review, Gorter's *Linguistic landscapes in a multilingual world* summarises a large number of studies, publications and research projects in the field from 2007 to 2013 (Gorter 2013).

This research enables us to increase knowledge about societal multilingualism by focusing on several key components: language choices, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomena, regulations, and aspects of literacy. Linguistic landscapes can be seen as important in monolingual contexts but the research is more revealing when dealing with multilingualism, variation, and the conflict and contact of languages. The linguistic landscape or the multilingual cityscape is a 'multifaceted phenomenon', and its study is related to a multitude of perspectives and disciplines. (Gorter, 2013: 191).

There have been several attempts to develop a broader theory. For example, Spolsky and Cooper (1991), in their study of the languages of Jerusalem, aimed to build a theory of language choice on signs from a literacy perspective. Spolsky put the model in a wider context than the linguistic landscape and linked the study of public multilingual signage to language policy theory (Spolsky, 2009a, 2009b). Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2006) investigated the degree of visibility on signs in different languages. Their theoretical assumptions are based on four sociological structuration principles and the linguistic landscape is seen under these principles as the symbolic construction of the public space (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Shohamy, Ben Rafael & Barni, 2010).

Shohamy (2006) continued this line of reasoning and referred to the linguistic landscape as a public arena where language battles are taking place and where the choice of languages can establish a domination of space. Linguistic landscapes can be seen as elements of the mechanisms of language policy that can perpetuate ideologies and the status of certain languages and not others.

One striking example of language conflict and dominance is Lai's analysis of 1160 visual signs in Hong Kong, (Lai 2013) This shows a highly bilingual profile of English and Chinese – one of these two languages or a combination including one of them is present in most of the signs studied. English remains very powerful as a prestigious international language but Chinese is becoming more dominant as the first written language of the majority. However, other foreign languages appear in only 3.1% of the signs, consisting mostly of names of European brands and names of Japanese restaurants. This analysis leads to the conclusion that minorities in Hong Kong are hardly visible and that the influence of China while currently not very significant is expected to increase in coming years.

Sebastian Muth's article 'Informal signs as expressions of multilingualism in Chisinau: how individuals shape the public space of a post-Soviet capital' shows that the Russian language has a constant present in the streets of the capital. According to the author, this is a product of history. The research shows that the Moldovan capital is an unusual case, because in many of the cities that were once part of the USSR, Russian is not the preferred language.

3.3 Soundscapes and multi-ethnolects

An important aspect of the 'landscape' of the city is the audible impact of multilingualism – or soundscape. This also is discussed in some detail in King and Carson (Carson p*73*ff*). It encompasses most obviously the voices and conversations heard in the city environment where 'the streets echo the languages of the city's…diversity' (Anna Lebedev, a Romanian journalist speaking about Dublin and cited by Cronin, 2004:9). It also includes the cultural life of the multilingual city and the impact of broadcast media, including the internet. In Melbourne for example 64 community groups work with the community radio station which broadcasts in 57 languages each week (Carson 2016: 75.)

An interesting aspect of the new soundscape is the so-called multi-ethnolect – the language being developed, typically by the urban young and involving combinations of different languages. Nortier and Dorleijn (2013) discuss the position of multi-ethnolects which are seen as new types of contact languages. Multi-ethnolects are typically used by speakers of diverse ethnic backgrounds including the dominant, mainstream background. They are urban phenomena that emerge in particular among adolescents in a multilingual and multicultural city. The studies on multi-ethnolects are all carried out in urban contexts (ibid: 25).

An interesting example of what some have called a hybrid urban language comes from Barcelona. Corona et al (2013) explore the use of Castilian and Catalan among migrants in Barcelona. Although these newcomer students are educated in Catalan, the majority use diverse varieties of Spanish as their language of everyday communication. In the case of students from Latin America, it is possible to observe the emergence of a new repertoire that shares traits of different varieties of Spanish spoken in South America as well as varieties of vernacular Catalan and Spanish.

3.4 Languages and identity

Central to the EUROMEC project, the concept and challenges of identity in a European context have interested many researchers. This also is a theme in the LUCIDE research which analyses *'the image of the city in a process of continual revitalisation'* both in relation to *'the image of the city (what is is and what it wants to be)* and as *'an arena of language contacts in which groups, communities and individuals negotiate and embed their identities'* (Stoicheva, 2016: 85).

The question of ethnolinguistic identity can also be linked to language policy, given the relative power accorded to various languages. Although this is not necessarily a specifically urban phenomenon, the city context can be seen as a important focus for change. For example as a result of Luxembourg's becoming the second banking economy centre in the world in the 1960s and 1970s and a most important European Union capital making use of both French and German, additional language planning efforts were made. These included declaring Luxembourgish a national language, creating a council for Luxembourgish language protection and making legal requirements for 'a basic knowledge' of the language as a condition of nationality. (Garcia, 2012)

In the article 'You are what you speak? Globalization, multilingualism, consumer dispositions and consumption', Mark Cleveland et al (2015) examine whether users of English as a second language begin to share the values/behaviours of English speaking countries, given the perceived connection between language and culture. Their research demonstrates that acquiring English espouses numerous values and behaviours characterising global consumer culture, including enhanced materialism and cosmopolitanism, and diminished levels of consumer ethnocentrism and communication in the vernacular. The various languages considered – in isolation and in tandem – were significantly linked to food consumption and several acculturation patterns were identified. Asymmetries are present between monolingual Anglo-American marketers and their potentially bilingual/multilingual consumers. As consumer behaviour becomes more global, its meaning remains partially embedded in local terms, even among English-fluent consumers.

3.5 Language planning and policy

This is reviewed at some length by Skrandies (King and Carson, 2016:142) who points out that the link between policy and politics is an important one. Backhaus, (2012) for example has examined municipal language policies in terms of the languages used by the administration especially in public signs, and concluded that there are two counter-directional trends in these policies: language policies addressing the needs of linguistically diverse populations and language policies controlling the language(s) used in the city (e.g. in some US municipalities and in Nazareth). The two trends derive from two entirely different ideologies, implying respectively inclusion and exclusion of language minorities.

The strong relation between the city and multilingualism is also emphasised by Spolsky (2009). He analyses the formation of complex multilingual urban areas and also the spread of English related to massive demographic movements. Migration, urbanisation, tourism, trade, military occupation all create opportunities for increased contact between different groups. He also focuses on the management of public linguistic space – the language policy of areas such as streets, roads, squares, rail and bus stations – as well as the use of languages in the media and how this controls language choice.

A major issue is the city policy towards linguistic minorities, whether in the provision of public services, the recognition of public and private space and the sensitivity or otherwise of the Education system. This was a major focus of the LUCIDE project and publications (King and Carson, 2016). Some important issues have included the tendency towards the assimilation of language minorities, even in officially bilingual countries such as Canada (Ortega and Verduro 2015) and also the pressures on city authorities 'from below' for example through the activities of NGOs to become more accommodating to immigrants' needs (de Graauw 2015, see also King and Carson, 2016: 194).

3.6 Language education

Educational policy is generally a national or regional responsibility. However it has been convincingly argued that the City has an important role to play in scoping and implementing education. This is for two reasons: firstly the diverse nature and varied histories of most urban centres which create particular needs and demands and secondly because it is at the city, municipal and school level that educational policy is actually carried out. (Little, 2016:149)

One of the principal challenges for many multilingual cities is that of integrating minority language pupils. An important critique has been that since language education policy often reflects an 18th and 19th century 'one nation one language' ideology, there has been a tendency to stress the national language and suppress other first languages. A recent example is that of Italy, and specifically Rome and Turin (Love 2014) where it is argued that by adopting a subtractive rather than additive position on immigrant languages the issue became politicised and that this is *'a serious obstacle for the legal and educational outcomes for adult students with little or limited formal education and literacy backgrounds'* (ibid: 26). In a recent study by Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag (2016) 'Silencing Linguistic Diversity' which surveyed the views of 775 monolingual teachers in Flanders the same kind of effect was noted in a school context. The teachers' monolingualism *'was found to trigger teachers to have lower expectations about their students'.*

Other recent research on immigrant students suggests an alternative approach, in this case to the learning of a foreign rather than national language (Maluch et al, 2015). Taking account of such variables as cognitive abilities, age, gender, socio-economic status, parental education, and indicators of cultural capital they argue a generally positive correlation between bilingualism and English foreign language achievement, although this positive varies between bilingual groups with different home languages.

A similar conclusion was reached by Yaman Ntelioglou et al. (2014). This research presents the results of a collaborative inquiry project in an elementary inner city school in Canada, with a large number of immigrant students with diverse linguistic backgrounds. The aim is to explore the teachers' approaches to multilingualism, multimodality and multiliteracies in schools with a high number of English language learners. The conclusion is that when teachers have the capacity to implement 'enlightened language policies' in their own classrooms, with multilingual and multimodal forms of pedagogy, students' home languages are legitimised and their literacy is enhanced. It is probably not without significance that this more positive and solution-focussed research comes from Canada, where since the 1980s the work of Jim Cummins and others has been at the forefront of research and developmental work on the languages of schooling and the promotion of an additive approach to minority language students. (Cummins 1981, 2008, 2013)

Although it is not a research organisation, it would be incomplete not to mention the work of the Council of Europe in this context. Since the publication of the Common European Framework of Reference it has put great stress on a plurilingual approach to education (Council of Europe, 2001: 4). It might be argued that its support for work on language education policy (Beacco and Byram, 2007) and latterly the Language of schooling (Beacco et al, 2016) have been major impetuses in this area (although not specifically related to an urban context). See also below section 5.

4. Methodologies

Research on the multilingual city adopts various and mixed methodologies from the social sciences, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. Methodologies used in researching urban multilingualism include:

- Policy analysis (Czyzewska, 2014; R. Moore, 2015)

- Qualitative interviews (Dhunpath & Joseph, 2014; Love, 2015)

- Focus group interviews (Dhunpath & Joseph, 2014)

- Questionnaires (Dhunpath & Joseph, 2014; Jeoffrion et al., 2014)

- Linguistic landscaping (Lai, 2013) (Gorter, 2013)

Another innovative methodology arose from the interdisciplinary collaboration of applied linguists and economists in SUS.DIV, a European Network of Excellence about Sustainable Development in a Diverse World. A team of researchers explored the possibility of using econometric models to analyze the linguistic landscape and to look into the use and nonuse values of the signs (Cenoz & Gorter 2009; Nunes, Onofri, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2008; Onofri, Nunes, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2010). In their study they applied the contingent valuation method to an allocation scenario in which persons were asked during street interviews to answer standardized questionnaires about the linguistic landscape. One research question concerned preference structures (what languages do the interviewees prefer?) and another priorities (how much is it worth to them?) (Aiestaran, Cenoz & Gorter, 2010).

Mitchell (2010) demonstrated the value of triangulation of different methods. He combined a discourse analysis of a newspaper clipping, the languages overheard being spoken on the street, and a quantitative photographic investigation of the linguistic landscape. More and more scholars purposefully combine several research methods: For example, Bogatto and Helot (2010) combined quantitative with qualitative methods in Strasbourg; Dray (2010) juxtaposed a survey-type analysis with a detailed qualitative ethnography on Jamaica; and Lou (2010) added together a geosemiotic analysis of shop signs, observations of community meetings, interviews with neighborhood residents, and ethnographic fieldwork in Chinatown, Washington, DC. Also, Papen (2012) combined textual and visual analysis of signs with interviews with sign producers such as shop owners, activists, and street artists in a neighbourhood in Berlin. The results of these studies seem to be based on a relatively small set of nonrandom and selective empirical data, which can illuminate the relationship of individual signs with issues of multilingualism and with wider social, economic, or political developments, but at the same time can be a weakness because replication and generalization seem difficult' (Gorter, 2013).

Despite this range of research approaches and methods, there are few if any examples of research into multilingualism, and specifically urban multilingualism which make use of the Q methodology described later in this report, although the basis for such work was established by Lo Bianco (2015).

5. Policy perspectives

The two main European institutions concerned with education, the European Union and the Council of Europe, have both developed policies on multilingualism over a number of years.

5.1 European Union

The European Union claims to be the first political entity with a specific policy on Multilingualism. This has been developed since the formation of the European Economic Community when equality of status was given to the 5 original official languages of the Community. There are now 24 official and working languages in the Union. The most important documents on multilingualism are the *1995 White Paper on Education and Training – Towards the Learning Society* which set out as a key objective 'The Learning of 3 Community Languages' ; and the more recent Framework Strategy on Multilingualism (2005) which set out a comprehensive strategy for the new millennium, including support for minority languages.

Language policy was a major part of the Lisbon Strategy with its central aim of making the EU *'the most dynamic and competitive knowledge based economy in the world'*. It was further clarified at the Barcelona Council of 2004, which refined the meaning of '3 community languages' as 'mother tongue plus two' and called for *'further action … to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age'*. In 2004 an *Action Plan* was agreed with member states, the outcomes of which were reported in 2007.

Since 2010 the importance of multilingualism has, however been downgraded in the Commission. The post of Commissioner for Multilingualism was subsumed into the work of the Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth in 2010 and since 2014 there has effectively been no portfolio for Multilingualism.

5.2 The Council of Europe

The Council of Europe has played a major role in supporting multilingualism – which it regards as the characteristic of a society – as well as Plurilingualism – or the ability of individuals to operate across languages. Although the major contributions of the Council of Europe have been in the fields of language teaching, learning and assessment, most notably through the publication and dissemination of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), and through the work of the ECML in Graz, policy on languages has also been central to its work since at least 1954. The Council has had a Policy unit based in Strasbourg which has made a major contribution to policy development across Europe. In particular it has been responsible for the production of 17 Language Education Policy Profiles and for a Guide for the Development of language education policies in Europe (Beacco and Byram, 2007). Recent priorities of the Council of Europe have been The Language(s) of Schooling, Migrant languages and Intercultural Education. Details are available on the Policy Unit section of the website.

5.3 Urban multilingualism?

However most of these strategy documents do not put a particular emphasis on the city as a factor in language policy, rather emphasising the need to develop multilingual skills for all European citizens and explaining the importance of multilingualism for the economy as well as its support for social cohesion and intercultural dialogue, and quite explicitly in the case of the Council of Europe as a foundation for democratic citizenship.

Certain aspects of these documents do, however, specifically refer to language policies in the cities. The Communication *Multilingualism: an Asset for Europe and a Shared Commitment* (2008), possibly the last significant document on multilingualism from the Commission, does emphasise in its Section 4.2 '*Overcoming language barriers in the local environment*' the need for multilingualism in the cities in order for a better understanding:

[M]etropolitan areas and tourist resorts in Europe have gained considerable experience in coping with the needs of foreigners who do not speak the loca language. The Commission attaches great importance to this and will support the dissemination of good practices in this area. (European Commission 2008)

The need for legal translation and interpretation is also emphasized.

As for the Council of Europe, the *European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages* (1992) stipulates the need for providing interpretation and translation for regional and minority languages at criminal and civil proceedings (Article 9) and for the provision of public services in regional and minority languages (Article 10). The more recent work of the Council of Europe on Adult Migrants (http://www.coe.int/en/web/lang-migrants) is also – rather inevitably – rather focussed on urban contexts. In addition the Policy Education profiles contain useful analysis and proposals on many urban contexts across Europe.

In general however, the specific challenges and benefits of the multilingual city have not been a systematic part of the European institutions' narrative on multilingualism.

5.4 Critiques of European language policy

In recent years in particular there have been a number of important critiques of European and most especially EU language policy. Some of these have been generally supportive, while pointing to shortcomings or new directions. These include *Languages in Europe – Towards 2020* (King et al., 2010)*,* which reassesses the main aspects of European policy and suggests new priorities for the 21st century, including a greater emphasis on plurilingual education and the multilingual city. *Language Rich Europe* (Extra and Yağmur, 2012) provides an overview of multilingualism in 19 European countries and makes proposals for further developing key policy areas, most notably in relation to the position of immigrant languages. This is reviewed at greater length in section 3 above as one major strand in the research was that of urban multilingualism.

Other critiques have been more sceptical about the direction of European policy. Some have seen it as a support for the internal market, but problematic in other respects (Czyzewska, 2014), or contradictory in that it both welcomes and regulates diversity (Johnson, 2013). Others have been more critical, describing the policy as a top down and reactionary one with antecedents from the French revolution (Moore, 2015). As well as Moore a number of other researchers have seen EU language policy as either reactionary and tending to consolidate existing distinctions within the EU (Gal, 2012) or to ignore the significance and impact of super diversity (Blommaert, 2013). However none of these critiques really addresses the specific issue of urban multilingualism.

6. Future directions

The study of multilingualism in the city is an expanding academic field that uses a multitude of theoretical perspectives and employs a range of methodologies connecting language diversity and multilingualism in urban settings. We now outline some possible directions for future research that emerge from this review:

Cityscapes

The nature of the linguistic landscape in the multilingual city has become of considerable interest. It is likely to remain an important issue, not only in terms of which languages are used but also in relation to its moral, ethical, and legal dimensions. The multilingual cityscape is a place that reflects the relative power and status of the different language groups in a specific context and will certainly require further research as we seek to understand the dynamics of urban realities in the challenging contemporary world.

Soundscaping

Many studies already consider the perspectives of speakers and users of language in the city (e.g., Malinowski, 2009; Lou, 2010; Papen, 2012), but Ben Said (2011) suggests a future line of inquiry, remarking that linguistic landscape research *'ought to include voices from the people as an essential part of the interpretation of the linguistic landscape'* (p. 68). In recent years many other authors have combined linguistic landscaping with soundscaping with promising results (Gogolin, Siemund, Gogolin, Schulz, & Davydova, 2013; Pappenhagen, Scarvaglieri, & Redder, 2016; Redder, 2013; Scarvaglieri, Redder, Pappenhagen, & Brehmer, 2013; Yagmur, 2016).

Research in institutional contexts

The investigations of semipublic institutional contexts, such as government buildings, libraries, museums, hospitals, schools and Universities can provide promising results. Educational institutions in particular can be an important context for research. Dagenais et al (2009) aimed to document the literacy practices of elementary school children, by examining multilingualism and language diversity in their communities in Vancouver and Montreal. Such mapping of the linguistic landscape in an educational context may provide a promising way to teach about language awareness and literacy practices.

The impact of technology

The new technologies – Interactive digital advertisements, text messaging, Twitter, Facebook provide a new and inexorably changing context for understanding the multilingual dispensation of our cities. Rapid machine translation and new communication tools also facilitate communication across languages . The growth of these technologies is both a challenge and an opportunity for researchers in urban multilingualism. Although there is much research and political interest in the 'smart' or 'intelligent' city to date consideration of the potential of and for multilingualism seems rather limited (Gobbi and Spina, 2013).

Changing identities

We have begun to understand the nature of new urban identities and their increasingly multiple and flexible characteristics. There is, however, a great deal more to understand, not least the re-emergence of more traditional 'national' or 'ethnic' identities in some communities and circumstances, which in some cases can threaten the multilingual dispensation. Further work on the influence of lingua francas on identity – for example in educational contexts is also an important area for research.

A more coherent methodology

Most of the studies and research project conducted in this area illustrate but do not test theoretical ideas. Theoretical work can be further deepened and developed by creating methodologies to test theoretical ideas nor just illustrate or depict them. The field is expanding, the new technologies provide a wider possibility for collection of empirical data but it is important not only to create new samples but also to build on previous research in order to propose more provable and connected research.

Some conclusions

What this brief overview suggests is that the field of urban multilingualism is one of growing interest to researchers, and also one which has a certain urgency in the climate of uncertainty and societal and community tensions characterising the second decade of the 21st Century. Further work in this area may therefore contribute both to better understanding the world and also to helping to change it.

Because this is a relatively new field of study, it also has some limitations and contains some conceptual challenges, not least because of the wide range of perspectives which are being brought to bear on the question – what we refer to above as 'heterogenous or even disorganised'. What we have aimed to provide, in some rather broad brush strokes, is an up-to-date account of current research on urban multilingualism particularly in Europe. This has included exemplars of research activity into different aspects of the multilingual city, including a range of theoretical and empirical studies that cover questions and problems related to multilingual practices, globalisation, literacy, education, applied linguistics sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, linguistics, language policy, linguistic diversity, immigration and minority languages, among others.

Given the diversity of disciplinary lenses that are deployed by researchers and authors, we cannot, therefore, claim that this document is necessarily representative of all of these research directions. However, we do hope that the contents drawn together will help illuminate the field and encourage new work in this burgeoning area. More parochially we trust that it will provide a useful backdrop to our own detailed, but small scale research, into attitudes towards urban multilingualism in three different European cities.

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Q method used in the survey Radosveta Drakeva

In this chapter we describe the method, used for collecting and analyzing data for the research project 'Identities in urban contexts: the European multilingual city'. In order to collect more focused views of young people concerning multilingualism in urban context, the survey was conducted using the Q-method (Q-methodology).

Q-Methodology (Q), originally created by William Stephenson (1902-1989), is a research method used to study systematically human subjectivity (people's viewpoints on specific topics). It combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches, using a specific technique to collect and sort data. Q is based on statements, asking the respondent to arrange rather than to evaluate them thus expressing their thoughts on some ideas not in isolation but in relation to other ideas ('I agree with A more than I agree with B').

Q is a variation of factor analysis, the essence of which is the 'concept of a concourse, a random collection of self-referable statements about something, of statistical dimensions'. (Stephenson c. 1984 p.5)

In the beginning, a collection of statements is created, with their number in most cases being divisible by 16, so usually the number of the Q-statements is 48, 64 or sometimes 70. The number of the statements is determined in correspondence with the specifics of the statistical analysis.

The respondent is then asked to arrange these statements in several categories, starting from 'mostly disagree' or 'this does not refer to me at all' to 'mostly agree' or 'this refers fully to me' ('Q-sort'). The number of categories might vary, with the 'mostly disagree' categories valued as (-) and the 'mostly agree' categories valued as (+). The ranking of the variables in the Q-sort usually represents a normal distribution. A typical Q-sort matrix with values from (-5) to (+5) is represented in the next figure:

Fig. 1: The scheme of the Q-methodology (Brzezinska et al., 2012, p. 25)
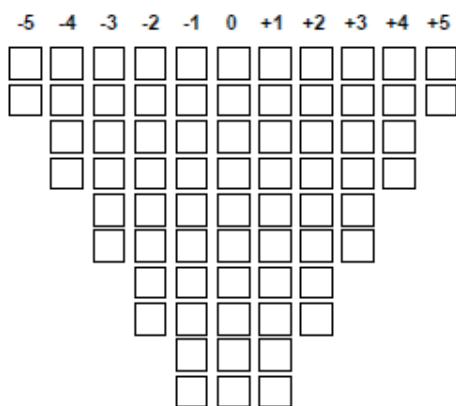
Traditionally, the Q-sort has been done on a paper template, with the statements written on paper cards:

Fig. 2: Q-sort paper-based template and cards (Photo taken by the author for the needs of the research)

After finishing the Q-sort, the choices of the respondent are inserted into a results' file, valuing each statement according to its position in the paper template. These results are further analyzed with the PQ method software. This process is described in more detail by Kaloyan Haralampiev in the next chapter (pp 26-35)

Q-method in 'Identities in urban contexts: The European Multilingual City' research

'The European Multilingual City' survey aimed to understand and explain some contemporary challenges to European identity, especially in Europe's cities. The survey was conducted amongst young people in three cities – Dublin, Krakow and Sofia, in the period May – July 2016.

A set of 64 statements was composed, 58 of them being general for all the cities, and 8 – specific for each city. The 64 statements were chosen from a wider collection of more than 300 statements, extracted from focus-groups (conducted in Dublin), paper and electronic media, and official documents (legal or administrative papers). The statements were additionally verified in focus-groups conducted in Sofia. The list of the statements (for each of the three cities) is presented in *Appendix 1*

An 11-column Q-matrix with values from (-5) to (+5) and one position in the extreme -5/+5 columns was used. The reasons for choosing this form of Q-matrix are set out in *Appendix 2*

The survey was conducted in the official language of each city – English for Dublin, Bulgarian for Sofia and Polish for Krakow. The results were analysed separately for each city, so the survey could be regarded as three parallel surveys conducted in one and the same period with the same type of respondents.

The respondents were asked **to do the Q-sort using an on-line platform**[1] – http://q-survey.net/8 – taking advantage of its functionality to do the survey at their own pace and over an unlimited time period. The respondents were young people – mostly students – who were intentionally asked to participate in the survey and were given personalized access to the platform, so the chance that accidental Internet users might join the survey was very low.

The on-line platform strictly follows **the Q-method steps**.

During the first phase, the respondent is exposed to the statements and asked to divide them into three categories – 'generally agree', 'neutral' and 'generally disagree':

Fig. 3: Q-online platform: phase 1 (Source: http://q-survey.net/)
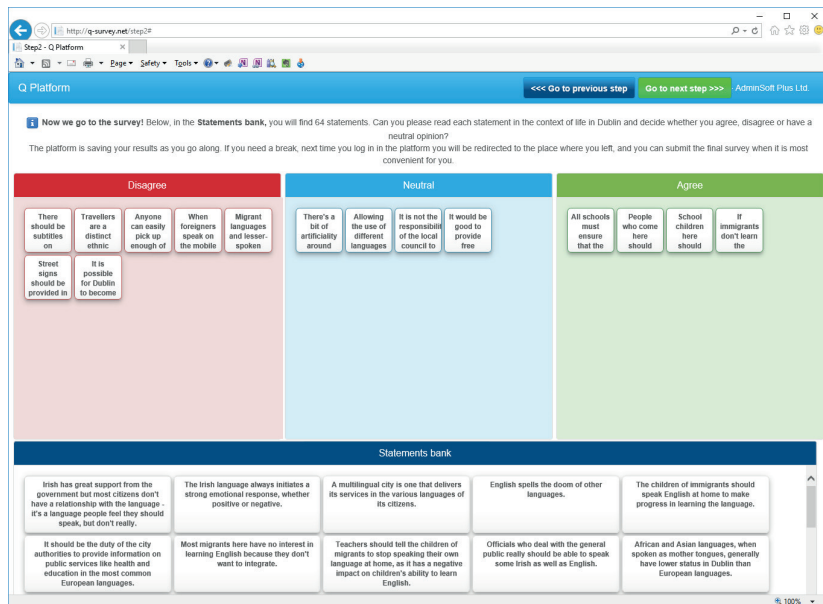
In the second phase, the respondent is asked to do the Q-sort, starting with the 'extreme' options. The platform leads the respondent through the steps and does not allow him to jump back or forward. This automated control of the progress assures the strict application of Q-method principles.

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[1]The on-line platform was developed by AdminSoft Plus Ltd. Bulgaria and used for the research carried out for the EUROMEC Jean Monnet Network.

Fig. 4: Q-online platform: phase 2 (Source: http://q-survey.net/)
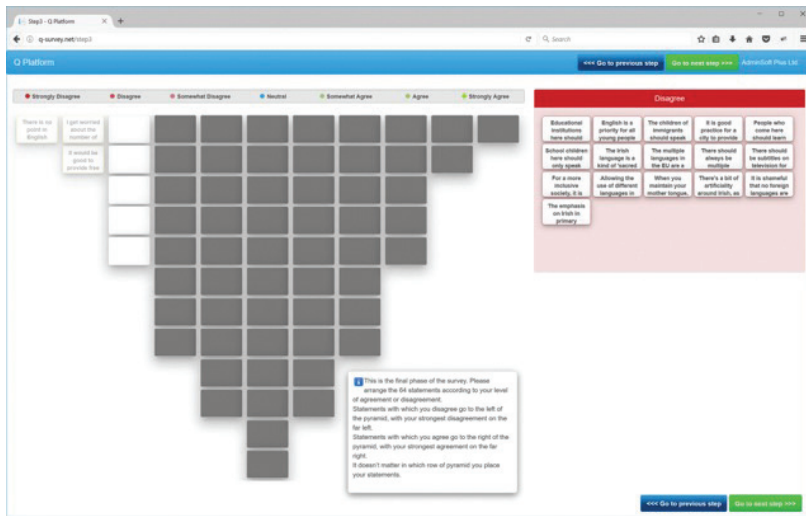
In the third phase, the platform asks the respondent to comment on the statements that he/she has positioned in the most extreme positions (-4 /-5 /+4 /+5):

Fig. 5: Q-online platform: phase 3 (Source: http://q-survey.net/)
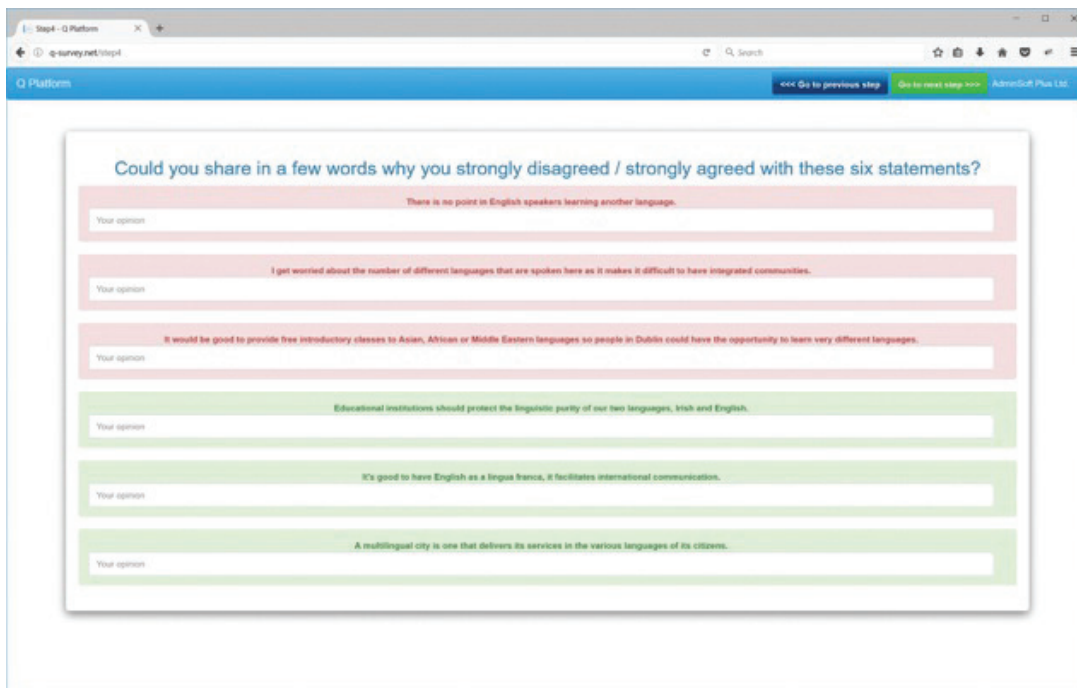
The platform gives a full flexibility to the respondent concerning the time of performing the Q-sort. The phases are not time-limited, and the respondent can stop at any time and continue later. This gives the respondent an opportunity to work at his/her own pace and to revise the work if needed.

The number of the respondents who began the survey was 196 (for all the three surveys). The distribution of the participants amongst the three cities is presented in the following table:

Fig. 6: Number of respondents starting the survey

Survey	Number of respondents
Multilingual City Dublin	63
Multilingual City Sofia	51
Multilingual City Krakow	82

The number of the respondents who finished the survey is 136, which is about 69% of the total number of respondents and can be regarded as an acceptable response rate for an on-line survey:

Fig. 7: Proportion of respondents starting the survey
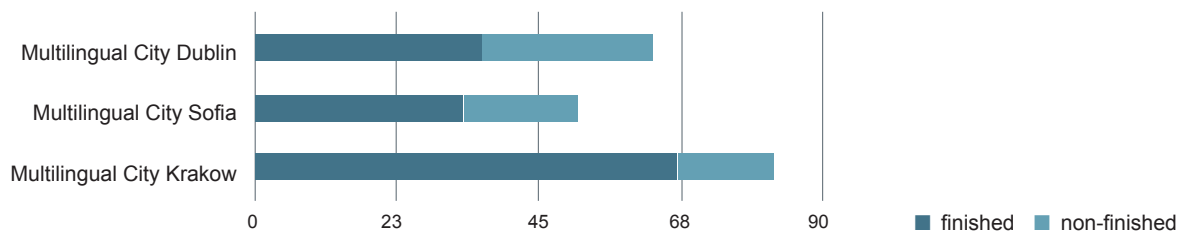
This number of participants is sufficient for valid Q-results, as the minimum required number of participants in Q is about one-third of the number of the statements (in our case – 21 participants could give valid Q-results).

The average time for finalizing the Q-sort on-line was expected to differ significantly from the time needed to conduct the same in the classical paper-based way. From the 136 respondents that finished the Q-sort, 35,9% of the respondents did this in less than 30 minutes, 32,3% of the respondents needed between 31 and 60 minutes, and 25,8% of the respondents used more than 1 hour, which means that they had taken the opportunity to stop and finish the Q-sort at a more convenient time later. Ten of the respondents (6%) even needed more than one day. The possible impact of the duration of the Q-sort on the validity of the results, especially in the cases when the process was interrupted for more than one day, has to be further analysed.

At the end of the survey, the respondents were asked to reflect on how they felt during the survey. The notes that relate to the format of the survey are given in the table below:

Survey	Notes (in the original language, as written by the respondent)	Notes (translation by the author)
Dublin	The survey was a little difficult and did not actually serve the purpose (for me) completely as far as gaining an idea about the issues concerned. The reason I say this is because the pyramid structure had far too many less tiles within for options that I needed to put in the strongly agree or strongly disagree sections and I had to forcibly change my answers to fit the structure of the pyramid.	
Dublin	I think it would be easier if we could position from the beginning the statements in the different degrees of agreement or disagreement. It would be easier and faster.	
Dublin	It was a bit hard to do it but very interesting. Thank you!	
Dublin	It was excellent! Time consuming and thought provoking!	
Sofia	Много приятна анкета, заради различните форми на интеракция.	A very nice poll because of the different forms of interaction.
Sofia	Забележка - при подреждането в симетрична пирамида (равнобедрен триъгълник), ако човек е по-позитивно настроен и подреди в първата част повече от твърденията в зеленото квадратче (както направих аз), след това трябва да направи "отстъпление", като подрежда твърденията в пирамидата. Т.е. някои мои зелени твърдения станаха сини, а някои сини - червени, като това не отразява точно моето мнение от първата част. Трябва да има възможност за подреждане на отговорите не само в равнобедрен триъгълник, но и за местене на скалата в основата на триъгълника (т.е. респондентите да определят сами колко твърдения да подредят в зелено, синьо и червено).	Note: in the lineup of the symmetrical pyramid (isosceles triangle) - if the person is more positive and in the first part sorts most of the statements in the green box (as I did), then he/she has to 'take a step back' by grouping the statements in the pyramid, i.e. some of my green statements had to become blue and some blue ones - red, it does not accurately reflect my opinion of the first part. It should be possible to organize the answers not only in an isosceles triangle, but also to move the blocks at the base of the triangle (i. e., for respondents to define themselves how many statements to rank in green, blue and red).
Sofia	Част от твърденията бяха формулирани за скала "Съгласен/Несъгласен", но друга част бяха просто факти, които изискваха потвърждение с със скала "Да/Не". Не съм сигурна, съгласявайки се с дадено твърдение, защото заобикалящата ме реалност е такава (въпреки че лично аз не съм съгласна с нея) как ще бъде интерпретирано това в последващия анализ. Също така пирамидата ми се стори тясна и прекалено "оразмерена" за моя начин на подредба - много от твърденията ми отидоха в по-неутрална част, тъй като нямах място в крайните позиции, а исках да слагам още твърдения там.	Some of the statements were formulated for an 'agree / disagree' scale but some were simply facts that required confirmation on a 'Yes / No' scale, I'm not sure, if I agree with a statement, because this is the reality that surrounds me (although I personally do not agree with it), how this will be interpreted in the subsequent analysis. Also, the pyramid seemed too narrow and 'calibrated' for my way of arrangement - many of the statements went into the neutral part because there is no place in the extreme positions, while I wanted to put more statements there.
Sofia	Анкетата ми хареса. Само не съм съгласна с построяването на пирамидата във втора стъпка, защото не позволяваше да премествам кутийките, когато не съм сигурна.	I liked the poll. I just do not agree with the construction of the pyramid in the second step because it did not allow me to remove the boxes when I was not sure.
Krakow	Bardzo atrakcyjna, ciekawa ankieta (badanie). Co jest fajne, ze nie jest zrobiona w standardowy sposob, np. w google.	Very attractive, interesting poll (survey). What is cool is that it is not done in the standard way, e. g. in google.
Krakow	Bardzo ciekawa ankieta - nigdy przedtem nie spotkalem sie z taka forma	A very interesting poll - I have never encountered such a form before.

Krakow	Ankieta jest niezwykle dluga i czasochlonna. Byloby to latwiejsze, przyjemniejsze i pomoglo by osiagnac lepsze rezultaty, gdyby ankieta byla krotsza, miala tresciwsze pytania, ktore nie sa tak skrajne i do siebie podobne. Nie bylaby nuzaca, po 10 minutach wypelniajacy robi te ankiety nieuwaznie, aby tylko skonczyc.	The poll is extremely long and time-consuming. It would have been easier, more pleasant and would help achieve better results if the survey was shorter, had more questions that were not so extreme and similar. After 10 minutes one fills in the questionnaire just to finish it.
Krakow	Kwantyfikatory "zawsze" i 'nigdy". Wydaja mi sie dosc ryzykowne.	Quantifiers 'always' and 'never'. They seem quite risky.
Krakow	Bardzo ciekawa ankieta oraz niesamowicie wygodna, poniewaz moglem powrocic do jej wypelnienia po tygodniu! :O Z checia sam poznalbym to know-how jak stworzyc taka przyjazna ankiete ;)	A very interesting poll and amazingly convenient, as I could return to it for filling after a week! I would like to know how to make such a friendly poll
Krakow	Uwazam, ze badanie jest troche za dlugie - mozliwe, ze czesc osob zacznie je robic i podda sie po paru minutach.	I think the study is a bit too long - maybe somebody will start doing it and will give up in a few minutes.
Krakow	System ukladania stwierdzen w piramide wydal mi sie nieco nieintuicyjny - jestem bardziej przyzwyczajony do 10-stopniowej skali "Calkowicie sie nie zgadzam -> Calkowicie sie zgadzam". Wolalbym tez, by mozliwosc modyfikacji ulozenia stwierdzen byla mozliwa podczas calego procesu wypelniania, a nie dopiero na koncu. Latwiej byloby sie zorientowac w podgrupach stwierdzen, gdyby wyswietlaly sie w calosci lub mialy wytluszczone slowa kluczowe.	The pyramid system was a bit unintuitive - I'm more accustomed to a 10-step scale. 'I totally disagree -> I totally agree.' I would also like to have the opportunity of modifying the statement during the entire filling process, and not only at the end. It would be easier to identify subgroups if they were displayed in full or had bold keywords.
Krakow	Nie moglam otworzyc testu na tablecie ani smartfonie i musialam wlaczyc komputer, co zdecydowanie bylo bardziej uciazliwe i moze wplynac na zwrot ankiet wsrod badanych jezeli napotkali podobny problem.	I could not open the test on my tablet or smartphone and had to turn on the computer, which was definitely more burdensome and could affect the return of questionnaires among the respondents if they encountered a similar problem.

The notes of the respondents vary in a wide range from total agreement with the format of the survey and the possibility to do it on-line and at their own pace, to total disagreement with the composition of the statements and the structure of the pyramid. Some of these notes show lack of full understanding of the Q-method in general and in such case the lack of a 'mentor' who could help the respondent to feel comfortable with the idea of the extreme sorting might have led to some uncertainty of the respondent how to proceed with the sorting till the very end.

The On-line platform assures the collection of data strictly keeping the range of the Q-sort, so the data collected was fully reliable for the discourse analysis.

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Stephenson, W 'Introduction to Q-Methodology', c. 1984. Unpublished manuscript reprinted in *Operant Subjectivity*, 1993/1994 (October/January), 17(1/2), 1-13 www.operantsubjectivity.org/pub/239/OS-17-1-Stephenson.pdf

Brzezinska, O. et al., (eds.), 2012, Identity and Democracy in the New Europe. The Next Generation Finds Its Way, Oslo, ARENA

In this section we describe the algorithm behind the PQMethod software and present the results of the EUROMEC research project conducted in June-July 2016 in three European cities: Sofia, Dublin and Krakow.

The method for gathering the data is described in the previous chapter by Radosveta Drakeva. Here only the Q-analysis will be presented.

After gathering the data, we entered it in a dataset in the usual way – the rows represent cases (respondents) and the columns represent variables (statements). However, before performing the Q-analysis the PQMethod software itself transposes the dataset – the rows represent variables (statements) and the columns represent cases (respondents).

After that we performed a factor analysis with the PCA method of extraction and the Varimax method of rotation. The PQMethod software also provides a centroid method of extraction and hand rotation. However, the combination of PCA and Varimax rotation is the most popular way of applying factor analysis. The main idea is that the factor analysis will group the respondents into factors based on the similarities in their q-sorts of the statements. These factors represent discourses.

For the interpretation of the results of factor analysis there are two important questions:

1. How many factors (discourses) are there?

2. Which respondents are associated to each discourse?

There are two ways to identify the number of the factors (discourses):

1.1. To choose all factors with an eigenvalue over 1.

1.2. To use a scree plot.

If we use eigenvalues over 1, then we will have 6 discourses in Sofia and Dublin and 12 discourses in Krakow. However, the scree plots show that the more adequate choice is 3 discourses for Sofia and 2 discourses for Dublin and Krakow. We use the so-called 'elbow rule', i.e. the number of the factors is determined by the breaking point of the scree plot.

Fig. 1. Scree plots

a. Sofia

b. Dublin

c. Krakow
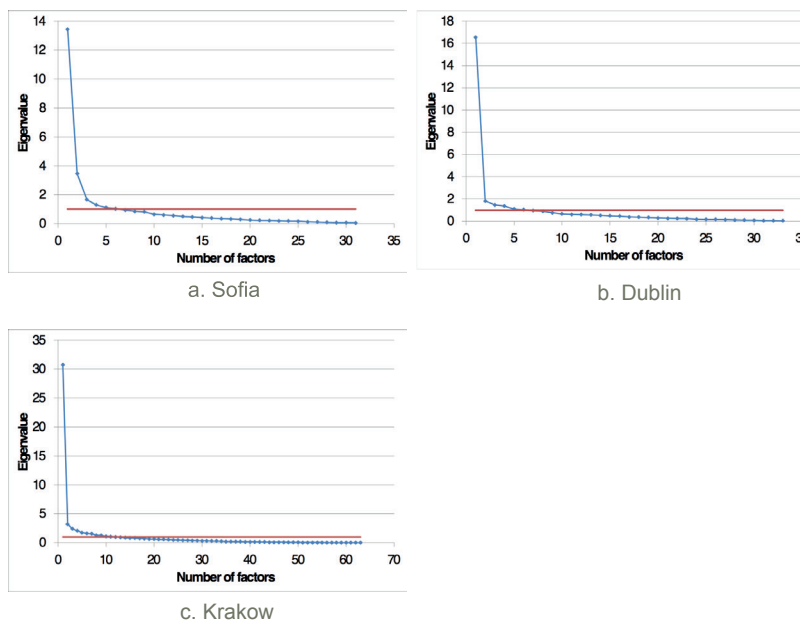
The relation between respondent and discourse is determined by the coefficients in the rotated component matrix.

The coefficients in the rows of the rotated component matrix are in fact regression coefficients of linear regression with a dependent variable the q-sort of each respondent and independent variables the factors (discourses):

(1) $$q_i = \sum_j b_{ij} F_j$$

where q_i is the q-sort of the respondent i, b_{ij} are the coefficients in the rotated component matrix and F_j is the factor (discourse) j.

However, in the PQMethod software by default factor analysis is performed by use of a correlation matrix. This is mathematically equivalent to the use of standardized values (z-scores). Therefore, Equation (1) becomes:

(2) $$z_{q_i} = \sum_j b_{ij} z_{F_j}$$

where z_{q_i} is the z-score of the q-sort of the respondent i and z_{F_j} is the z-score of the factor (discourse) j.

However, when we use standardized values, then it can be shown that $b_{ij} = Beta_{ij} = r_{ij}$ (SPSS 16.0 Algorithms, 2007: 660-661), where $Beta_{ij}$ are the so-called standardized regression coefficients and r_{ij} is the correlation coefficient between the q-sort of the respondent i and the factor (discourse) j.

This is a key to the rules for association of respondents to discourses. There are at least four rules for associating respondents to a discourse:

Rule #1: Since $b_{ij} = Beta_{ij}$ we take the maximal absolute value in each row of the rotated component matrix. Thus we will associate the respondent to the most important discourse.

Rule #2: Since $b_{ij} = r_{ij}$ we take the maximal absolute value in each row of the rotated component matrix only if it is larger than 0,5. Thus we will associate the respondent to the highly correlated discourse.

Rule #3: Since $b_{ij} = r_{ij}$ and r_{ij}^2 is the so-called coefficient of determination we take the maximal absolute value in each row of the rotated component matrix only if it is larger than 0,7. Thus we will associate the respondent to this discourse which describes more than 50% of the total variance of the individual q-sort.

Rule #4: Since $b_{ij} = r_{ij}$ and r_{ij}^2 is the coefficient of determination we take the maximal absolute value in each row of the rotated component matrix only if it is larger than $\frac{1}{2} \sum_j b_{ij}^2$. Thus we will associate the respondent to the discourse which describes more than 50% of the variance explained by all discourses.

Rule #4 is used in the PQMethod software. It leads to the following results:

Table 1. Respondents by cities and discourses

Discourses	Sofia	Dublin	Krakow
Discourse 1	13	23	39
Discourse 2	8	10	24
Discourse 3	5	-	-
Total	26	33	63
Number of respondents	31	33	63

In the PQMethod software a weight of each respondent is calculated. The formula is (Brown, 1980: 242):

(3) $$w_{ij} = \frac{b_{ij}}{1 - b_{ij}^2}$$

Thus a bigger b_{ij} leads to a bigger weight.

After that we can calculate weighted mean scores of each statement by discourses. These mean scores are the basis for the interpretation of the discourses. In the PQMethod software standardized values (z-scores) of the means are calculated within each discourse. This is also suggested by Brown (1980: 242-243).

The next step in the PQMethod software is the assignment of rounded factor scores (Brown, 1980: 243). In our case the highest z-score becomes +5, the two next-highest become +4 and so on. On the opposite side the smallest z-score becomes -5, the two next-smallest become -4 and so on. This is as if all respondents associated with a particular discourse perform a q-sort as one whole. According to Brown (1980: 243) the rounded factor scores "are usually reported since they conform to the format in which the data were originally collected". As it is mentioned in the PQManual "this (nonlinear) transformation of the factor scores is nothing but a matter of convenience" (Schmolck, 2014).

The last step is the pairwise comparisons of the discourses. According to Brown (1980: 299) the test statistics is normally distributed and its expression is:

(4) $$Z = \frac{|z_{ij} - z_{ik}|}{SED_{jk}},$$

where z_{ij} is the z-score of a statement i within the factor (discourse) j, SED_{jk} is the standard error of the difference between factors (discourses) j and k.

(5) $$SED_{jk} = \sqrt{SE_j^2 + SE_k^2},$$

where SE_j is the standard error of the factor scores of factor (discourse) j (Brown, 1980: 299).

(6) $$SE_j = s_j\sqrt{1 - r_{jj}},$$

where s_j is the standard deviation and r_{jj} is a measure of the factor (discourse) reliability (Brown, 1980: 297).

The standard deviation of the z-scores is 1, hence:

(7) $$SE_j = \sqrt{1 - r_{jj}}$$

Therefore:

(8) $$SED_{jk} = \sqrt{1 - r_{jj} + 1 - r_{kk}} = \sqrt{2 - r_{jj} - r_{kk}}$$

For the measure of the factor (discourse) reliability Brown (1980: 292) recommends the equation of Stephenson:

(9) $$r_{jj} = \frac{0.8n_j}{1+(n_j-1)0.8},$$

where n_j is the number of the respondents within a factor (discourse) j.

If we substitute Equation (9) into Equation (8) we will obtain a direct equation for the standard error of the difference:

(10) $$SED_{jk} = \sqrt{\frac{1}{1+4n_j} + \frac{1}{1+4n_k}}$$

Since the test statistics is normally distributed, the difference will be statistically significant at the 0.05 level if $Z > 1.96$, i.e. if $|z_{ij} - z_{ik}| > 1.96SED_{jk}$.

The PQMethod software provides all of the above figures:

Table 2. Number of the respondents, measure of the factor (discourse) reliability and standard error of the factor (discourse) scores by cities and discourses

	Sofia			Dublin		Krakow	
	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	Discourse 3	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	Discourse 1	Discourse 2
n_j	13	8	5	23	10	39	24
r_{jj}	0.981	0.970	0.952	0.989	0.976	0.994	0.990
SE_j	0.137	0.174	0.218	0.104	0.156	0.080	0.102

Table 3. Standard error of the difference and the limit of the statistically significant difference at 0.05 level by cities and differences between discourses

	Sofia		Dublin	Krakow	
	D1-D2	D1-D3	D2-D3	D1-D2	D1-D2
SED_{jk}	0.222	0.258	0.279	0.187	0.129
$1.96SED_{jk}$	0.435	0.506	0.547	0.367	0.253

Using the $1.96SED_{jk}$ the PQMethod software identifies the so-called distinguishing statements for each discourse and the so-called consensus statements. In the following tables we present the rounded factor scores for the distinguishing statements only.

Table 4. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Sofia

In these tables:

– if there is only one grey cell in the row, this means that the z-score behind the rounded factor score is statistically significantly different from the two others z-scores but between the two others z-scores there is no statistically significant difference;

– if there are two grey cells in the row, this mean that there is a statistically significant difference between the two z-scores behind the rounded factor scores but there are no statistically significant differences between each of these two z-scores and the third;

– if there are three grey cells in the row, this mean that there are statistically significant differences between each of the three z-scores behind the rounded factor scores.

No.	Statements	Discourse		
		1	2	3
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	1	1	4
4	African and Asian languages, when spoken as mother tongues, generally have lower status in Sofia than European languages.	-1	0	3
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	-2	3	-3
6	Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication.	2	1	4
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	-1	4	-3
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our Bulgarian language.	3	-2	-1
10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.	2	1	3
11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.	2	0	2
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	3	1	5
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	0	-1	1
14	English spells the doom of other languages.	-3	-2	-3
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Sofia.	0	0	-1
17	I don't need to speak any foreign languages in life.	-5	-3	-4
18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.	-2	-4	-1
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	0	0	3
21	The children of immigrants should speak Bulgarian at home to make progress in learning the language.	0	-2	0
23	It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage.	1	2	1
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	1	2	2
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Sofia could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	1	1	0
28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.	3	3	1
30	Migrant languages and lesser-spoken languages are not really seen as an asset in Sofia.	0	1	1
31	More help from the government is necessary for minorities who seriously struggle with Bulgarian here.	0	2	3
32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning Bulgarian because they don't want to integrate.	0	-2	0

Table 4. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Sofia continued

No.	Statements	Discourse		
		1	**2**	**3**
34	People are treated strangely here when they can't articulate themselves in Bulgarian.	-1	1	0
36	Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English.	2	5	3
37	People who don't speak Bulgarian should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-2	-3	-2
38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Bulgarian language.	-1	-2	-5
39	School children here should only speak Bulgarian during their break time.	0	-4	-2
42	The Bulgarian language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.	3	-1	-4
45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.	2	4	1
47	There is no point in English speakers learning another language.	-2	-1	0
48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	1	1	2
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	1	0	-1
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	0	2	0
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning Bulgarian properly.	-1	-3	-2
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	0	-1	-3
53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.	-3	-2	-1
54	When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	4	0	2
55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.	3	0	0
56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.	2	3	1
57	Radio programs in Turkish would disintegrate the Bulgarian nation.	-1	-2	-1
58	I don't feel good when somebody is speaking Roma/Turkish on a bus or train.	-1	-5	0
59	Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected.	5	0	1
60	I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language.	4	0	0
61	The Roma language needs to be supported.	-3	1	-2
62	The Turkish language needs to be supported.	-4	1	-3
63	I don't see any problem having the news in Turkish on national media.	-4	2	-2
64	If the Turkish programs are removed it would be a great retreat from human rights in Bulgaria.	-2	0	-1

Table 5. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Dublin

No.	Statements	Discourse	
		1	**2**
1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.	4	1
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	2	1
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	2	0
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	3	1
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English.	-1	0
10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.	2	3
11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.	0	2
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	1	4
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	-1	3
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Dublin.	0	-1
18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.	-3	-2
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	1	3
21	The children of immigrants should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language.	-2	-1
25	It is possible for Dublin to become too multilingual.	-1	0
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	1	-1
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	2	1
35	People who come here should learn English - it's a necessity to survive in Dublin.	0	4
36	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English.	1	0
37	People who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-3	-2
40	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as English and Irish.	0	-3
43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Dublin represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.	0	-2
44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	2	1
45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.	4	2
46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Irish.	-2	-3
48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	2	0
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	0	-1
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	0	0
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly.	-2	-1
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	-1	2

Table 5. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Dublin continued

No.	Statements	Discourse	
		1	**2**
53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.	-1	-1
57	It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.	-2	-1
58	There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.	0	2
61	There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here.	1	0
62	It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.	2	3
63	Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.	0	-2
64	The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.	-1	0

Table 6. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Krakow

No.	Statements	Discourse 1	Discourse 2
1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.	1	0
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	2	1
3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Krakow.	3	0
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	0	-1
7	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards.	4	2
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	1	0
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our Polish language.	0	2
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	4	2
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	1	1
14	English spells the doom of other languages.	-4	-2
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Krakow.	0	-1
19	I get worried about the number of different languages that are spoken here as it makes it difficult to have integrated communities.	-2	-2
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	0	1
22	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors.	3	2
24	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries.	-1	0
25	It is possible for Krakow to become too multilingual.	0	1
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	2	1
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Krakow could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	1	0
28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.	3	4
29	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child.	-4	-2
32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning Polish because they don't want to integrate.	-1	0
33	Non-Polish-speaking workers are seen as intruders in Krakow.	-2	-3
35	People who come here should learn Polish - it's a necessity to survive in Krakow.	-1	1
37	People who don't speak Polish should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-3	-2
38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Polish language.	-3	-1
40	Street signs should be provided in English as well as Polish.	1	-1
41	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Polish.	-3	-4
42	The Polish language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.	0	3
43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Krakow represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.	0	-1
44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	3	1
46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Polish.	-2	-1

Table 6. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Krakow continued

No.	Statements	Discourse 1	Discourse 2
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	1	1
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	1	0
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning Polish properly.	-2	-1
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	0	2
54	When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	1	5
55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.	1	3
56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.	5	4
58	The definition of a Pole is a person who can speak good Polish	-1	-2
59	Speaking minority (np. German) or regional (Silesian, Górale, Kaszubian) languages opens up new horizons.	0	1
63	Radio programs in regional languages disintegrate the Polish nation.	-2	-3
64	Parents should not transmit regional languages to their children because they are useless	-2	-4

The rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements are the key to the interpretation of the discourses. The labelling of the discourses and their analysis within the three cities follow in the next three sections.

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MULTILINGUALISM IN THE CITY – THE CASE OF DUBLIN
Daniela Modrescu & Lorna Carson

1. Overview of Dublin results

The aim of this part of the Q-study was to explore the subjective disposition of respondents to urban multilingualism in Dublin. From the Dublin study, two viewpoints emerged. One cluster of responses indicated a group of respondents who embrace urban linguistic diversity and see this as an asset for the future of Dublin. From this perspective, urban multilingualism is regarded as part of the image and identity of the city, in which the city's linguistic diversity is reflected. This profile indicates an attitude of openness towards all languages, independent of language status, within a multilingual Dublin which speaks the languages of its citizens. Respondents in this cluster indicated that the city's institutions should be responsible for fostering and enhancing the visibility of the city's languages. The best city they would want to live in would be a city that views its languages as resources. The second significant cluster engaged with and values, to some extent, Dublin's urban multilingualism, but from a more pragmatic point of view. From this perspective, English is viewed as an asset for the future of the city. This is viewed more from a globalised perspective than from a perspective of monolingualism or nationalism. Together, responses within this cluster did not view linguistic diversity as a problem in the city as long as everyone learns English.

2. Introducing Dublin

Intense linguistic diversity resulting from immigration is relatively recent in Dublin (Carson et al. 2014). However, by 2011 in Dublin 12% of the population was speaking languages other than English and Irish at home and one in six residents in the administrative division of Dublin City was a non-Irish national. The preliminary results of the 2016 Census have shown an increase in the overall population of Ireland by 169,724 since 2011, from a total of 4,757,976 people (Central Statistics Office, 2016). Dublin was recorded as the area with most economic growth, and with the highest inflow in terms of migration. Irish and English are the official languages of Ireland. English is the dominant language, and the language of instruction in general. Moreover, foreign languages are not a compulsory part of the curriculum (Carson et al., 2014). According to Carson (2016: 37), there is 'evidence of much awareness of Dublin's changing ethnoscape, with pragmatic responses to the challenges of multilingualism in the public sphere. However, the official status of Irish and English eclipses other languages in the school system.

In addition to the standard statements shared across the three cities, a subset of Dublin-specific statements was included in the Q-sort, including statements on the role of the Irish language, migrant languages and foreign languages. These statements were extracted from transcripts of the semi-structured interviews conducted among a diverse sample of respondents in Dublin during the LUCIDE project (2011-14).

- *D1: It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.*

- *D2: There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.*

- *D3: The Irish language always initiates a strong emotional response, whether positive or negative.*

- *D4: Irish has great support from the government but most citizens don't have a relationship with the language - it's a language people feel they should speak, but don't really.*

- *D5: There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here*

- *D6: It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.*

- *D7: Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.*

- *D8: The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.*

3. Profile of Dublin participants

The Dublin respondents are drawn from a broad sample of the target population: 12 Irish nationals, and 21 non-Irish nationals with a wide linguistic range: monolingual, bilingual, and plurilingual. They are aged between 18 and 35, and are residents of the city rather than visitors. Both university graduates and non-graduates were recruited, as well as those currently in education and in different occupations.

Table 1. Profile of the Respondents by Discourse

Number of respondents	Average age	Gender		Maximum level of education achieved				Current occupation			
		M	F	Sec	Cert	BA	MA+	Stud	Emp	SE	None
Discourse 1 – 23	29.0	10	11	4	1	5	13	12	10	0	1
Discourse 2 – 10	27.4	3	7	0	0	5	5	6	3	1	0
Total 33	28.5	13	18	4	1	10	18	18	13	1	1

The cohort as a whole shows a high level of education, including 18 (55%) with postgraduate qualifications.

The breakdown by national origin and language capability shows that of the respondents grouped around Discourse 1, seven were Irish nationals and sixteen were non-Irish nationals. The majority of them spoke more than one language, including 14 who spoke three or more.

Table 2. Linguistic Repertoires in Discourse 1 (n=17)
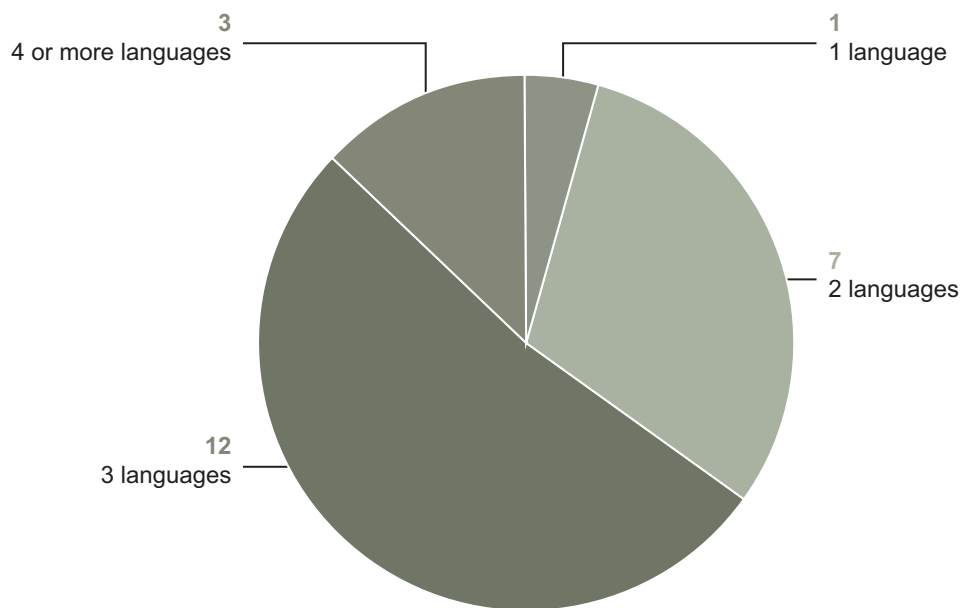
Among the respondents grouped in Discourse 2, four were Irish nationals and 6 non-Irish nationals. The linguistic profile is quite similar to that in Discourse 1.

3. Profile of Dublin participants continued

Table 3. Linguistic Repertoires in Discourse 2

5
3 languages

1
4 or more languages

1
1 language

3
2 languages
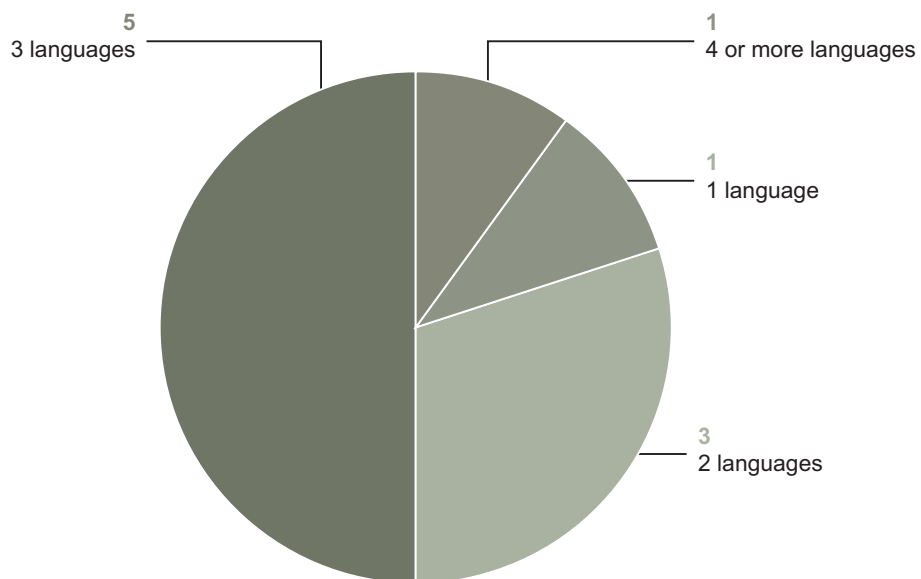
4. Results

Thirty-three individual Q-sorts were analysed for Dublin, and two factors were extracted. Out of the thirty-three Q-sorts, 23 congregated significantly around Discourse (factor) 1 and 10 around Discourse (factor) 2.

	Number of respondents
Discourse 1: Open towards all languages, independently of their status, within a multilingual Dublin which speaks the languages of its citizens	23 respondents
Discourse 2: English is the norm for pragmatic reasons, no strong national ideologies, tendency towards elite multilingualism, fostering languages of immigrants and minorities at home, multilingual teaching.	10 respondents

The distinguishing statements for each discourse are provided below. The Q sort is on the -5/+5 scale where -5 means 'most disagree' and +5 means 'most agree'.

Table 4. Distinguishing Statements for Discourse 1

| Statement No.	Statement	Q sort
1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.	4
45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.	4
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	3
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	2
44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	2
62	It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.	2
48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	2
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	2
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	2
10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication	2
61	There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here.	1
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	1
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	1
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	1
36	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English.	1
63	Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.	0
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	0
11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.	0
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	0
35	People who come here should learn English - it's a necessity to survive in Dublin.	0
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Dublin.	0
43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Dublin represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.	0

4. Results continued

Table 4. Distinguishing Statements for Discourse 1 continued

Statement No.	Statement	Q sort
58	There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.	0
40	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as English and Irish.	0
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	-1
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English.	-1
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	-1
25	It is possible for Dublin to become too multilingual.	-1
64	The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.	-1
53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.	-1
46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Irish.	-2
57	It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.	-2
21	The children of immigrants should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language.	-2
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly.	-2
37	People who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-3
18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.	-3

Table 5. Distinguishing Statements for Discourse 2

Statement No.	Statement	Q sort
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	4
35	People who come here should learn English - it's a necessity to survive in Dublin.	4
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	3
10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.	3
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	3
62	It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.	3
58	There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.	2
45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.	2
11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.	2
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	2
44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	1
1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.	1
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	1
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	1
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	1
25	It is possible for Dublin to become too multilingual.	0

4. Results continued

Table 5. Distinguishing Statements for Discourse 2 continued

Statement No.	Statement	Q sort
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English.	0
36	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English.	0
61	There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here.	0
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	0
48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	0
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	0
64	The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.	0
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Dublin.	-1
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	-1
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	-1
53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.	-1
21	The children of immigrants should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language.	-1
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly.	-1
57	It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.	-1
63	Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.	-2
43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Dublin represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.	-2
18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.	-2
37	People who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-2
46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Irish.	-3
40	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as English and Irish.	-3

The full list of distinguishing statements with their rounded factor scores can be consulted in Appendix 3, which also contains the distinguishing statements for Kraków and Sofia.

4.1 Dublin Discourse 1

Responses significantly clustered in the first factor share an openness towards all languages, independent of language status, with positive attitudes towards a multilingual Dublin which speaks the languages of its citizens. Twenty-three respondents loaded significantly on Discourse 1: 10 males and 11 females with an average age of 29 years. The maximum level of education achieved was postgraduate (13), followed by undergraduate (5), secondary schools (4), and diploma or post-secondary school certificate (1). Twelve of the respondents define their occupational status as studying full-time, ten as employed, one out of work but not currently seeking employment. Their linguistic repertoires included three languages (12), two languages (7), four languages (2), and one language (1). Among the respondents, seven were Irish nationals and sixteen were non-Irish nationals.

We can analyse Discourse 1 in more detail by interpreting the 'Distinguishing Statements' in Table 4 above. Reference my also be made to the Discourse breakdown in Appendix 5 which lists not only the most positive and most negative statements but also the relative weight given to distinguishing statements between Discourses 1 and 2.

Two key statements on the inevitability of multilingualism

Discourse 1 was characterised by two key statements. The first one was G1: 'the monolingual city idea is out of date' (G1 +4). Respondent 2, a 32-year-old Brazilian female speaking Portuguese, English and Spanish, with postgraduate qualifications and currently employed in Dublin, described a monolingual city as mirroring its static citizens in terms of 'evolving' or 'changing':

> *Even small cities sometimes speak more than 1 dialect. People change and the communication is how they express so if the city keeps talking always on the same way it is because it is not changing or evolutioning (sic).*

This comment provided us with a concentrated explanation of the Factor's highest ranking. She considers cities as made up of its citizens who communicate their being through their languages, independently of the status of the language. People were viewed as changing with time, and therefore, the languages of the city change with them, hence the city cannot be monolingual. Discourse 1 supported the statement that 'a (multilingual) city should deliver its services in the various languages of its citizens' (G2 +2). For this reason, there is a sense that, in the case of Irish citizens, 'officials who deal with the general public (in Dublin) should really be able to speak some Irish as well as English' (G36 +1), because the city should find a balance and speak the languages of its people. Consequently, the respondents were sceptical about the extent of any artificiality around this issue (G58 0) and, if on the one hand, the respondents clearly did not consider 'the extensive use of English in media as showing disrespect for Irish' (G46 -2), on the other, they felt negative towards complaints about the disposition of the Irish language legislation, 'like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English' (D1 -2).

Furthermore, Discourse 1 viewed Dublin's multilingual environment as beneficial for the city because it turns it into 'an attractive destination for investment' (G44 +2). Consequently, respondents believed the city should, to some extent, equip itself for its various citizens, whether for temporary visitors or investors, by providing a level of 'public services such as health and education in most known EU languages' (G26 +1) and, 'always provide multiple languages option on ticket machines' (G48 +2). On the other hand, they were not sure that adding other languages than Irish and English to street signs would be necessary (G40 0).

The second statement that further defined Discourse 1 was G45 (+4):

> *The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.*

Although respondents acknowledged both the benefit of having English as a lingua franca (G10 +2), and to a slightly lesser extent, the necessity of having it in their linguistic repertoires (G12 +1) they rather disagreed with English as the first choice as a foreign language in Europe (G13 -1). Therefore, they felt highly positive towards 'the multiple languages of Europe' as 'a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding' (G45 +4). Respondent 20, a 27-year-old Irish male, undergraduate, and currently employed, contextualised his aspiration for solidarity through languages and, inherently, through their speakers and their cultures, within 'these difficult times' as 'most important', because they enable communication between cultures and understanding. Respondent 20 is the only respondent of Discourse 1 who reported being monolingual (English):

> *Solidarity is most important during these difficult times and it also helps us to connect better with each other.*

Respondent 28, a 28-year-old employed Irish national with postgraduate qualifications who speaks four languages (English, French, German and Russian), provided us with his understanding of the role of the EU's 'multitude of languages' from a national citizenship point of view:

> As translation into national languages is guaranteed by the Treaty of Rome, this ensures that social barriers do not obstruct national representatives from being heard in EU institutions. This guarantees democratic representation, irrespective of the social standing of the person that I choose to represent my interests at EU level.

Education and the City

Discourse 1 seems to reinforce the notion that learning foreign languages should 'start from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards' (G7 +3). At the same time, while respondents acknowledged to some extent the existence of 'a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here' (D5 +1), they believed that 'it would be good to provide free introductory classes in Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages' (G27 +2). Therefore, they considered it 'shameful' that no foreign languages are included in the Irish primary curriculum' (D6 +2). Moreover, they did not necessarily attribute this lack to 'the emphasis (placed) on Irish in primary schools' (D8 -1), nor were they fully convinced that educational institutions had any role in protecting the linguistic purity of English and Irish, or if there actually was a need to protect 'the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English' (G9 -1). Nevertheless, respondents did feel strongly about the role of the 'educational institutions here' in 'supporting and promoting minority languages' (G8 +3), including their 'representation in the school environment in some way' (G5 +2). Respondent 8, a postgraduate Irish national studying full time, and a speaker of Irish, English, and French, explained his viewpoint:

> Both indigenous minority languages and the language of immigrants should be supported and promoted by our educational institutions. These languages are part of who we are as a society and to ignore them only breeds ignorance, intolerance, and a narrow perspective on our society and the world in general.

Discourse 1 further highlighted the solidarity and inherently multicultural nature of the multilingual city through its disagreement with statement G18: 'I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport' (G18 -3). Respondent 20 provided further specification of this viewpoint:

> I think that is the benefit to have various languages heard in public as it helps minorities to connect with each other.

Conversely, they reported being comfortable when surrounded by other cultural patterns, i.e., they did not perceive foreigners' 'speaking on the phone' as 'shouting' (G53 -1). Consequently, the various languages of Dublin were not actually perceived as a problem, and the moderate disagreement with 'Dublin is risking becoming too multilingual' (G25 -1) bears this out. However, to a degree they did maintain the view that immigrants should learn the national language in order to strengthen inclusion (G20 +1). They were nonetheless uncertain whether learning English was a matter of survival (G35 0), because they felt strongly that this should be enabled independently of the language spoken, and therefore strongly disagreed with the idea that 'people who don't speak English should lose their entitlement for state benefits' (G37 -3). Respondent 5, an Irish national, undergraduate studying full time, who had English and 'some Italian' (respondent's words), defined her position as follows:

> State benefits are there to help with the most basic things, enough for food, shelter, and medical costs. Everyone should be entitled to these basic necessities no matter what language they speak.

In the same area, Discourse 1 disagreed with the idea that 'immigrants' children should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language' (G21-2). On the contrary, they conceived of 'multilingual teaching, i.e. allowing the use of different languages in the classroom', as a possible option for learning English, in that it would not be 'an obstacle to learning English properly' (G51 -2).

4.2. Dublin Discourse 2

Responses which were significantly clustered in Discourse 2 see English as vital for pragmatic reasons. They demonstrated no strong nationalist ideologies. These responses show positive attitudes to elite multilingualism as well as to maintaining the languages of immigrants and minorities at home and towards multilingual teaching. Ten respondents gave significant weight to Discourse 2: seven females and three males with an average age of 27.40 years. In terms of maximum education level, five reached a postgraduate level, and five undergraduate level. Six are studying full-time, three are employed, and one is self-employed. Five of them reported a three-language linguistic repertoire, three reported two languages, one four languages, one five languages, and one reported speaking one language. Four respondents were Irish nationals, and six respondents were non-Irish nationals.

We also analysed Discourse 2 with reference to Table 5 above (Distinguishing Statements for Discourse 2) and to the breakdown and comparison of the two discourses in Appendix 5.

English a pragmatic but not exclusive necessity

In this case also, there are two key statements at the core of the discourse. The first, G12 (+4), shows that respondents share the strong belief that 'English is now a necessity: it is no longer an advantage as a second language, but it is a must' (G12 +4). Respondent 15 summed it up as follows:

> *Who does not speak English is a person limited in 2016, in personal relationships because it can not interact with different cultures, and integration is problematic, but in the working field where if you do not know the….* [The remaining text was not processed by the Q software]

Therefore, they viewed the statement that 'English is a priority for all young people in European society' (G11 +2) as a matter of fact, and clearly embraced the advantage of the use of English as a lingua franca (G10 +3). Respondent 6, an Irish national (speaking English and Irish) currently studying full-time at undergraduate level, explained this position:

> *No doubt, this is a very common language spoken in many of the most powerful nations in the world, I think some skill is required with no matter who you are to get by when it comes to international communication.*

Inherently, they strongly believed that 'English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe' (G13 +3). Respondent 15 expressed his opinion as follows:

> *Certainly the teaching of English in schools should be a priority, since the early years of school, and should be, however, more practical than theoretical. More exchange programmes between students, school trips in country who speak English should be promoted and funded by the government.*

English was clearly seen as an asset. Nonetheless, they also gave significant weight to the statement that 'the multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding' (G45 +2) and,at the same time they agreed that 'we should learn languages when we are young because it is too difficult later' (G52 +2), thus suggesting that they also favour foreign language learning, particularly the languages of Europe. Consequently, they felt as extremely 'shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum' (D6 +3). They expressed the view that to some extent 'it would be good to provide free introductory classes in Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages' (G27 +1), and definitely considered that 'a wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Dublin' (G3 +2). Respondent 22 strongly emphasised the criticality of this issue:

> *This is a national embarrassment. Children of many countries are more or less fluent in English through schooling systems and Irish children are missing out on the benefits of this type of learning.*

However, they had reservations about the idea that there is a kind of multilingualism in Dublin where important languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of refugees who come here' (D5 0). Moreover, they ranked as neutral the fact that 'the emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages' (D8 0), and expressed no particular support for the necessity to protect 'the linguistic purity of Irish and English' (G9 0). Notably though, for the most part they discarded the idea that 'travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted' (D7 -2).

Respondents agreed with the statement that 'There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English' (D2 +2), and therefore, they did not view 'the extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements' as showing 'disrespect to Irish' (G46 -3), nor did they take any particular position towards those who felt that 'officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English' (G36 0). At the same time though, they did not necessarily find it 'annoying having to deal with the Irish language legislation, like having to put up a street sign in both Irish and English instead of just English' (D1 -1). Respondent 15 summarise their opinion in terms of communication for all:

> *I agree to keep their cultural origin and their native language, but in a multilingual country is right that the information is given in English, understood by all.*

Practical and liberal

The second statement emphasised in Discourse 2 placed was statement G35 (+4) which strongly emphasises that 'people who come here should learn English – it's a necessity to survive in Dublin' (G35 +4). Respondent 11 described the issue of not learning the national language as an inconceivable matter:

> *English is the language of government, business, entertainment, and education in Dublin. It would be foolish to move to Dublin and not learn English.*

Therefore, they indicated as highly important that 'if immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society' (G20 +3). Respondent 25 outlined the issue in terms of whose responsibility it should be for enabling national language learning:

> *To integrate you need to learn the language and this should be pushed by the government otherwise you get ghettos as in Holland, Germany, Belgium and France.*

Nonetheless, they expressed themselves clearly against the idea that 'people who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits' (G37 –2). They were also relatively opposed to the statement that 'the children of immigrants should speak English at home in order to make progress in learning the language' (G21 -1), and that 'allowing the use of different languages in classroom to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly' (G51 -1). Instead they believed that 'it is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage' (G23 +2), but they were reluctant to agree that 'everyone should be entitled to first language acquisition – the language where they come from – in the public school system here in Dublin' (G15 -1).

Overall, Discourse 2 respondents expressed the view that they were not uncomfortable when they were sharing public spaces, whether streets or public transport, with 'people speaking languages that I don't understand' (G18 -2). Moreover, they acknowledged that to some degree, 'the multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment' (G44 +1). Therefore, their understanding of the city implies a degree of multilingualism, whereby 'the monolingual city is out of date' (G1 +1) and as one that 'delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens' (G2 +1). Despite this, they slightly disagreed that 'it is the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages' (G26 -1), and were unsure to what extent 'for a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the cost involved' (G50 0), further highlighting their viewpoint by strongly disagreeing with the necessity to provide streets signs 'in other languages as well as English and Irish' (G40 -3).

5. Discussion of Dublin findings

We will now suggest some overall conclusions about the two discourses – both what distinguishes them and also where there is consensus.

Discourse 1 Open and Inclusive multilingualism

Discourse 1 seems to reveal highly positive attitudes towards the vitality of urban multilingualism in general, and of Dublin in particular. It appears that participants do not make social comparisons or ethnic categorisations, and therefore, as borne out by the literature, they prioritise inclusion through language contact instead of exclusion though language and institutional dominance (Sachdev et al., 2012). For them, support for city dwellers is seen as a matter of the human condition and not of nationality or language spoken. Respondents appear as ready to accommodate ethnolinguistic diversity by converging with the other languages because they see them as resources, independently of the level of their current visibility (Giles et al., 1977). Their convergence appears concrete because they feel city spaces and linguistic rights belong to everyone.

As showed by their ranking, respondents seem to be against assimilation – they want people to maintain their ethnolinguistic identities by using languages in public life, and not only at home. Languages are perceived as having a positive value. Moreover, they make no social categorisation because they are not comparing with them, and this difference is valued as positive. They want the languages to be visible at all levels because they feel that it is through languages that minorities connect. Consequently, they disapprove of conservative monolingualism (Sachdev et al., 2012). However, they probably do have more positive attitudes towards EU languages, possibly because they are easier to access, and more likely to be a source of immediate benefit. But at the same time, no prestige value seems to be attached. They appear to view EU languages as representative of democratic rights, both individual and collective. It can be implied that they feel their attitudes can impact on the EU project, building a better Europe to live in, as they aspire to doing with their city (Stoicheva, 2016). Another supposition that can be derived from their viewpoint is that they perceive the EU as a community, their community.

It also seems that they manifest their desire to build the best city to live in, and they do it through the city's linguistic diversity. For this reason they hold the educational institutions responsible for giving support and visibility to linguistic vitality. They appear to express attitudes that educational institutions should promote practical and less theoretical language learning. Moreover, the respondents' disposition towards linguistic diversity does not seem to discard one language for another for strictly value-based reasons – their ideal would appear to be the potential to add languages. In this sense, languages are seen as bridging linguistic diversity, but also cultural diversity. They see language contact as important, especially at the educational level where people are felt to be entitled to their uniqueness-richness (García, 1992).They feel active action should be taken, and they want it to be practical and not superficial. Respondents viewed Dublin city as multilingual, and maintained that the city should be active in rendering its linguistic diversity more visible and accessible. They did not want to confine languages in isolated spaces, but they wanted those spaces to merge. However, they seem against the prevalence of one language over the others, while acknowledging the necessity to communicate through the language of the majority group in situations in which most of the population speak the same language. Moreover, their viewpoint reflects the theory which states that English in its role of lingua franca is detached from its cultural value and is therefore becoming an engine towards minority language maintenance (García, 1992).

Discourse 2   Pragmatic and rather English-centred multilingualism

Discourse 2 on the other hand, takes a different view, although not completely polarised, to the first factor. Here participants seem to prioritise English above overall linguistic diversity by taking a position of assimilation (Giles et al., 1977). In this group's view, English is perceived as going beyond its value as a foreign language and is defined as overtaking the value of European elite languages. They appear to view English as a pragmatic inevitability, therefore, it could be said that they attach economic value to it. At the same time though, it appears that English is also seen as tool to bridge cultures. This may imply that respondents approach urban linguistic diversity from an assimilative point of view, where inclusion is through the language (Giles et al., 1977). Linguistic vitality is seen as a structured system where English comes first, then EU languages, and then the others. Lastly, their viewpoint positions the language of Travellers very low. They seem to exclude this group, and, as Giles et al. (1977: 316) pointed out, position them as a minority which does not receive support, and for whom language and culture are not regarded as relevant. Factor two does not show any particular nationalistic attitudes, a fact which would seem contradictory given that they have ranked English with the highest values. One interpretation might be that their monolingual conservatism is not connected to national positions but to globalisation (Sachdev and Cartwright, 2016). Moreover, Factor two oscillates between including and excluding the languages of and in the city, in that although they express acceptance towards ethnolinguistic identities, and therefore appear apparently accommodating, on the other, they disempower by denying the right to mother-tongue education (Carson, 2016).

The two viewpoints which emerged are visibly distinguished by the statements they ranked at the poles of their Q sorts. On the one hand, Discourse 1 sees 'the monolingual city as out of date' (G1), and on the other, Discourse 2 thinks that 'people who come here should learn English' (G35), and that 'English is now a necessity…' (G12). These two poles describe two populations of respondents who, on the one hand embrace linguistic diversity, and on the other, see English as a pragmatic means both to succeed in a globalised world, and to connect with the other cultures because they express the opinion that everyone should know English and it is no harm to have it as lingua franca. However, what they do have in common with Discourse 1 is the consideration that 'children should learn foreign languages from the earliest age…'(G7). This brings us to two conclusions: that both groups view language diversity as important, but they differentiate in the way they conceptualise their role in the context of urban multilingualism.

Discourse 1 embraces urban linguistic diversity and sees it as an asset for the future of Dublin. They regard the vitality of Dublin's urban multilingualism as the image and identity of the city, in which city dwellers are reflected. They believe that ethnolinguistic communities should have more support from the city's institutions, in particular at the educational level in fostering language learning. Such support is seen as instrumental in bringing communities together and therefore fostering co-habitation. For these respondents, the multilingual city should put greater emphasis on the variety of languages within its territory as a marker of future progress – the vitality of urban multilingualism.

Discourse 2 appears to engage with the linguistic diversity of the city, but from the position of the dominant language. For these participants English is the asset of the future. Although monolingual conservatism could explain this position, Discourse 2 respondents do not express any favour towards nationalistic ideologies, in that they do not feel more support should be given to Irish. Instead they appear to advocate the use of English as a matter of necessity, in that the in-city, in-nation and in-world communication, power relations, and intercultural communication occur through English. Therefore, the position they adopt appears to derive from the role of English as lingua franca rather than nationalistic monolingualism.

Some concluding thoughts

While guarding against too sweeping a conclusion based on this relatively focused target group, we may nonetheless suggest that on the one hand there is a quite significant degree of consensus between the two discourses about the importance and inevitability of multilingualism in the city and of the value of multilingualism for society and for individuals.The distinction, however, between the open and inclusive multilingualism of Discourse 1 and the more pragmatic – rather Anglocentric – approach of Discourse 2 is an important one. It is also noteworthy that the issue of Irish as a national language was not a major concern in either of these discourses, perhaps because of the particular composition of the cohort.

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MULTILINGUALISM IN A CENTRAL EUROPEAN CITY.
The case of Kraków in a historical and patrimonial context Krzysztof Kowalski

1. A symbol of identity

Kraków occupies a remarkable place in the history of Poland. Its role in the shaping, maintaining and transmission of Polish national identity was and remains unique. This city-symbol has a meaning which is deeply anchored in the past of the country and the Polish nation. Capturing the extent of the emotions and associations which accompany this city in the Polish imagination is possible by referring to its remarkable political, cultural and artistic past. Furthermore, and of particular importance from the perspective of reflections upon the multilingual nature of the chosen European cities of Dublin, Kraków and Sofia, the question of the coexistence of many languages in this city has historical roots. Kraków was and is a multicultural and multilingual city. However, it does not mean – and this should be strongly emphasized – that it was home to the same languages and cultures as today. The history of multiculturalism in this city and its multicultural identity has been a stormy one. It has its own intercultural dynamic relation which saw Poles, Jews, Germans, Austrians and Ukrainians live side by side within its borders together with the representatives of many other nations, cultures and religions.

The dynamics of coexistence

From a broader perspective, one may say that the history of Kraków – with the city being a catalyst of Polish national identity – allows us to capture the intricate dynamics of the coexistence of 'our' dominant Polish heritage with many others. At the same time, it is the story of the periodic silencing and strengthening of the material and immaterial legacy of the past (including languages) which did not belong to 'our' heritage against the backdrop of Kraków. It is a tale of the regaining of the voices of those whose presence one could not have ignored until recently and whose voices had once been heard. In addition, the example of Kraków may help one to ponder about the primacy – and its consequences – of the national heritage and language of the majority, in whose shadow other legacies and languages once lived, and now return in the form of politically postulated multiculturalism and multilingualism.

Following the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and at the turn of the 21st century, 'foreign' and 'difficult' heritages began to emerge from the shadows in Central Europe – including in Poland. At this moment, the ideological thaw and political openness to the 'other' gave not only a voice to the 'foreign' heritage but, perhaps more significantly, made its unique nature an attribute, thanks to which a historical city – in our case Kraków – is able to build up its symbolic capital not only around the national heritage of the majority but also thanks and through a recently 'dormant' minority heritage (see the example of Jewish and German heritage in Krakow: Murzyn 2006; Murzyn 2008: 314-346; Purchla 2005; see as well Davies, Moorhouse 2002).

As a consequence, in the cultural landscape of Central European cities which were wrestling with the legacy of 'our' and 'yours,' elements appeared in the 20th and 21st centuries that were previously considered 'foreign' and not previously emphasized. It was only then that multiculturalism and multilingualism became good standards which the city authorities wanted to stress and which were considered something worthy of imitation and promotion in Europe. During this period, the monolithic nature of culture in the region noticeably weakened. Thus this 'strange' heritage which had been considered 'foreign' until recently, became something which today has been 'adopted'. In addition, this was the era of reflective cosmopolitanism (Meng 2011), in which a problematic heritage was considered 'ours' and worth highlighting in the cities of this part of Europe (e.g. Kraków and Wrocław), leading to the creation of their multicultural and multilingual identity and brand.

Concept of heritage and otherness

A sensitivity to 'foreign' heritage and 'foreign' languages is a symptom of a certain cultural openness which is neither permanent nor fixed and even more illusory is the conviction that the achieved level of this openness to 'otherness' cannot be weakened. This stems from the fact that heritage depends on trends which may either open it up to 'others' or close it in 'their' face. This dynamic is often accompanied by political integration or disintegration processes (at the European level too). They accompany the inclusion or exclusion of 'others' and 'their' heritage to/from the landscape of the city, society, nation or Europe.

From this perspective, reflections on a selected aspect of heritage – for example on multicultural and multilingual Kraków – may point to processes that go beyond this fragment of cultural reality. They are characterized by wider phenomena, wherein sometimes 'others' are included in our differently understood 'imagined communities' (cities, societies, nations, Europe), while at others these same 'neighbours' are excluded from 'our' community of memory. I will emphasize that the processes of opening and closing to diversity and multiplicity in Europe are difficult to analyse in isolation from the processes of political integration and disintegration in Europe. However, this is the subject of other research that has already resulted in separate studies (compare: Kowalski, Törnquist-Plewa 2016). It is obvious that reverse processes – from opening to closing or from a polyphonic to a monolithic message – are of course possible, but Europe has repeatedly suffered in the 20th century as a result of their consequences.

2. An historical overview of the city

The first references to Kraków emerge in the 10th century and its name was mentioned for the first time by Ibrahim ibn Jaqub, a Jewish merchant from the Cordoban Caliphate, who described it as a trade centre in the Slavic territories (Małecki 2007: 20; see as well Worozumski 1992: 24; Ostrowski 1989: 16; Krasnowolski 2007: 122; Dąbrowski 1965: 61). In 1038, Kraków took over from Gniezno the function of the capital of the state and continued as such until 1596, when it lost this honour to Warsaw which has remained the capital to this day. The capital of Kraków advanced significantly as a result of it being accorded Magdeburg rights in 1257 (Niezabitowski 2007: 122).

A cultural and artistic centre

It should be emphasized that it was in Kraków – in the Wawel Cathedral – that the majority of the coronations of Polish kings took place and it is in the same place that they found eternal rest. This national necropolis of Polish kings and pantheon of national heroes, included Józef Piłsudski, the man who won Polish independence in 1918[1]. In turn, the Wawel Castle was the home and headquarters of Polish kings and, furthermore, the Jagiellonian University (established in 1364 as the second university in Central Europe after the Charles University of Prague – 1348) helped to make Kraków a remarkable academic, cultural and artistic centre in Central Europe (Małecki 2007: 64). Following its creation, many foreigners flocked to the city seeking an education. In this context it is worth mentioning that already in the 14th century Kraków was home to many Germans, Jews, Hungarians and Italians who found comfortable conditions for growth and development in this place. In turn, the 16th century – known as the Golden Age – saw the further development of Kraków take place at the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty, who then ruled not only the Kingdom of Poland but also the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (on the presence of Italians in the court of the last kings of the Jagiellonian dynasty, see Rożek 1988: 55). Kraków became the capital of one of the largest and most culturally and linguistically diverse powers in the Europe of the time. The end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, however, was a tragic one with its neighbours – Prussia, Austria and Russia – dividing its territory amongst themselves in the course of three successive partitions (1772, 1793, 1795). Following the last of the partitions, Kraków found itself in Austria which promptly began a process of Germanization of the city. German became the main language of government in the city (Małecki 1994: 10-11) and of instruction in the Jagiellonian University (Małecki 1994: 17-18).

The 19th century and the Napoleonic Wars brought hope to Poles that their independence might be restored yet they in fact had to wait until 1918. This period saw Kraków serving as the arena for the burial of national heroes (such as Prince Józef Poniatowski in 1817) and patriotic ventures (the raising of the Kościuszko Mound in 1820-1823). The city became a symbol of Polishness and a national treasure house, with its precious relics being housed in the National Museum (1883) and protected by the Society of the Lovers of Kraków's History and Monuments from 1897 (*Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa*). It shaped the historical-national style in art, whose most famous proponent was the painter Jan Matejko (1838-1893) (Małecki 2007: 178-179). The gradual identification of Kraków as the national *sacrum* gradually became a fact. Between 1918 and 1939, Kraków played a crucial role in strengthening Polish identity following the regaining of independence after 123 years.

The Second World War and the Holocaust

In September 1939, Kraków surrendered to the Germans without a fight and became the capital of the General Government. Wawel became the seat of Hans Frank, the Governor General, and in this place began a battle for the symbolic takeover of the city. The Germans destroyed all traces of Polishness, with their victims including the statue of Adam Mickiewicz in the Main Square and Tadeusz Kościuszko at the foot of Wawel. The systematic plundering of works of art also began (for example, the altar carved by Wit Stwosz in St Mary's Basilica). Streets were renamed (the Main Square became Adolf Hitler Platz) and German cultural institutions were created (Chwalba 2002: 25-26). German became the language of government and, following the *Sonderaktion Krakau* (where nearly 180 professors and employees of the university were arrested on the 6th of November 1939), the Jagiellonian University was closed. Kraków was meant to be a German city, a Nuremberg of the East and, as a result of this, there were Nazi plans to rebuild the entire city (see Purchla 2005).

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[1]The last funeral in Wawel took place on the 18th of April 2010, when President Lech Kaczyński was laid to rest in the crypt together with his wife Maria following their deaths in the Smoleńsk air disaster of the 10th April.

Whilst the wartime events largely spared the architecture of Kraków, the German occupation dramatically changed the demographic makeup of the city, as almost the entire Jewish population fell victim to the Holocaust (Jews made up 25% of the pre-war population of the city). The creation of a ghetto within Kraków (1941-1943) served only as a staging post towards a tragic end in KL Płaszów and KL Auschwitz-Birkenau (Chwalba 2005: 223). The Holocaust claimed, together with its victims, a culture and language which had been present since the 14th century. The German language remained in the consciousness of Poles as a language of invaders and occupiers and the trauma experienced by Poland and Kraków during the Second World War endured for several postwar decades.

Europe and a new multilingualism

The new 'opening up' of Kraków took place following Poland's entry into the European Union in 2004 and which the city has been able to utilise to great effect in appealing to its historic potential. Currently Kraków – in a similar manner to Wrocław – belongs to those cities in Poland which have been able to exploit their clear multicultural and multilingual potential. The historical capital of Poland is becoming an international centre of business, science and culture in the second decade of the 21st century. Furthermore, Kraków has also become one of the cities where its inhabitants can enjoy the highest quality of life and it has also enjoyed tremendous interest on the part of tourists, something only strengthened by its place on the UNESCO World Heritage List (1978). Multiculturalism and multilingualism are once again an everyday feature of daily life in the city. Multiculturalism and multilingualism have returned to Kraków.

3. Attitudes to multilingualism – the Q-sort

As in all three of the cities taking part in the research aiming to assess the different attitudes to the presence of many languages, 64 statements were prepared as the basis of a Q-sort analysis. Amongst them, 56 were identical for all three cities. They were supplemented by 8 statements which were specific to the given city. The common statements can be seen in Appendix 1. The statements which only featured in the research conducted in Kraków were as below (Table 1). It should be noted that the statements presented in the tables in Appendix 1 and below are in English but the research conducted in Kraków was conducted in Polish.

Table 1. Statements specific to Kraków

K. 57	Kraków is the capital of good Polish language
K. 58	The definition of a Pole is a person who can speak good Polish
K. 59	Speaking minority (np. German) or regional (Silesian, Górale, Kaszubian) languages opens up new horizons.
K. 60	A regional or minority accent is not well regarded in the public sphere (transport, cafes etc.)
K. 61	People who speak with a minority or regional accent have a smaller chance of finding good jobs in public administration
K. 62	Minority and regional languages should be spoken only in the places where they come from (German language in Lower Silesian, mountain dialect in Podhale region
K. 63	Radio programs in regional languages disintegrate the Polish nation.
K. 64	Parents should not transmit regional languages to their children because they are useless

Results of the data processing

In Kraków we had 63 respondents. The processing of 63 individual Q-sorts with PQMethod software allowed 2 different discourses to be isolated (see Table 2) which were attributed to 39 respondents (discourse 1) and 24 (discourse 2).

These discourses were later characterised as

1   cosmopolitan and pragmatic and

2   nationalist and pragmatic.

These descriptions and the reasons for them are discussed further below.

Table 2. Number of respondents in discourse

Discourse	Number of respondents
1. cosmopolitan and pragmatic	39
2. nationalist and pragmatic	24
	Total 63

It should be remembered that respondents made their sorts using a scale from 'fully disagree' to 'fully agree', which in the Q sort results in a scale from -5 to +5 where -5 means 'fully disagree' and +5 means 'fully agree'. However in the Q-sort using the PQMethod to isolate specific discourses, only those statements which had different values were considered for further analysis. In other words, it takes into account only those statements which differ in isolated discourse and not those which have the same values.

As a result, the collection of statements divided into discourse 1 and discourse 2 (Appendix 4) do not contain statements which have identical values. Furthermore, the grouping in the second table in Appendix 4 shows the decreasing values assigned to the statements in discourse 1 and against their backdrop there emerges the different set of value statements which constitutes discourse 2.

4.   Profile of the respondents

The research was conducted with 63 respondents who were identified as young professionals and future leaders. Between discourse 1 and discourse 2, there were certain differences in terms of age, gender, level of education, employment and knowledge of foreign languages.

Table 3. Profile of the respondents by discourse[2]

Discourse PQMethod – number of respondents	Average age	Gender		Maximum level of education achieved				Current occupation achieved			
		M	F	Sec	Cert	BA	MA+	Stud	Emp	SE	LfJ
Discourse 1 – 39	24.0	13	26	17	1	9	12	25	13	1	0
Discourse 2 – 24	23.5	12	12	12	0	5	7	15	5	2	2
Total 63	23.8	25	38	29	1	14	19	40	18	3	2

[2]Under 'current occupation', full time interns are counted as 'employed' N= 1+1.

The mean **age** for both discourses is basically the same and amounts to 23.92 for discourse 1 and 23.58 for discourse 2.

In terms of **gender** the difference is more significant since in discourse 1 there are more women (26 women = 66,7%). The participation of men and women in discourse 2, however, is identical (50% women and 50 % men).

There are some differences in the **levels of education achieved** since in discourse 1 more respondents have a BA degree. There are 17 respondents with a high school diploma in discourse 1 and 12 in discourse 2. The situation is similar for those with an undergraduate degree as 9 have done so in discourse 1 and 5 in discourse 2. In terms of those with an MA, discourse 1 predominates with 12 respondents and with discourse 2, only 7 having a postgraduate degree.

In terms of **occupation** there are also some differences since in discourse 1 there are more students (25) than in discourse 2 (15). Those employed, including two interns, number 13 respondents in discourse 1 and only 5 in discourse 2.

With respect to **declared knowledge of foreign languages** (see Table 4) there are also variations, with a knowledge of 2 or 3 languages including Polish being declared by 24 respondents in discourse 1 and 20 in discourse 2, the main foreign language being English. When those who claim knowledge of English plus 2 other languages is included then the difference is even more marked 34 (discourse 1) – 21 (discourse 2).

Table 4. Languages spoken in correlation with discourse 1 and discourse 2

Number of respondents	Polish only	English	English plus 1	English plus 2	English plus 3	English plus 4
Discourse 1 – 39	2	17	7	10	2	1
Discourse 2 – 24	1	8	12	1	1	1
Total 63	3	25	2	11	3	2

Overall it might be said that the respondents in discourse 1 were generally educated to a higher level than those in discourse 2 and included more students and greater levels of multilingual competence. However, given the small size of the sample one should be cautious in drawing any conclusions. The cohort as a whole does not show significant variations between the two discourses.

5. Analysis of the results

Looking at the values given to the statements in the discourses, one might say that both discourses (1 and 2) are almost equally pragmatic. However, the fundamental difference between them is the attitude towards the Polish language as considered as the core element of Polish culture, identity and – one might say – the relation to the past and tradition. In the discourse 1, the position of the Polish language is quite weak with a very strong position of linguistic pragmatism (the more languages you speak, the better your position will be in the economic market which does not have national limits). This is the reason why we have called it 'cosmopolitan and pragmatic'.

In the second discourse, the position of the Polish language is the highest possible (+5), making of it the core of Polish identity construction and self-esteem (speaking Polish, makes you Polish and it is via this language you keep links with the tradition which as a result allows you maintain high self-esteem). However, it is necessary to note that the nationalist nature of this discourse does not exclude the very pragmatic attitudes multilingualism of individuals as it – multilingualism – visibly takes the second position on the scale of values attributed to statements characteristic for the discourse 2. This is why we have called this discourse 'nationalist and pragmatic'.

Discourse 1 – cosmopolitan and pragmatic

Statement 56 obtained the highest position in discourse 1 (+5 / G. 56: Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market). The necessity of learning languages and joining multilingual organizations was highly emphasised in order to guarantee better prospects. It is worth noting that this statement indicates that multilingualism is a desired competence which contributes towards individual success.

Table 5. Discourse 1 – 'cosmopolitan and pragmatic' main positive values

No.	Statement	Value
G 56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.	5
G 12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	4
G 7	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards.	4
G 3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Krakow.	3
G 22	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors.	3
G 28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.	3
G 44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	3

Languages a basis for success

The conviction about the role of languages in education as the basis for future success found confirmation in the values of statement 7 (+4/G. 7: *Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from kindergarten onwards*). This stressed strongly the need to build linguistic competencies. The particularly pragmatic character of discourse 1 is also indicated by the very high position of statement 12 (+4/G. 12: *English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must*). In other words, English represents a basic competence for individuals which in the contemporary globalized world is beyond dispute. The severity of market requirements in relation to the linguistic competence of the individual is strong here. In other words, it is the market that determines the competences that an individual should have in order to succeed.

It is not insignificant that in discourse 1 statement 3 (+3/G. 3: *A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Kraków*) also enjoys a strong position. This shows that it is not just the English level of the individual which is responsible for success but other languages (including non-European ones) which may provide added-value for the individual in the job market. An identical value to G. 3 (+3) in discourse 1 may be found in statements 28, 22, and 44. They differ slightly in terms of the stress played on the universal character of linguistic competence (G. 28), or the city in which the multilingual competence is to be attained and utilized (G. 22 and G. 44). Statement 28, in turn, (+3/G. 28: *Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking*) has more of a general character. G. 22 and G. 44, on the other hand, stress the role of the city: G. 22 (+3 / *It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors)* and G. 44 (+3 / *The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment*). This emphasis, I think, is significant here, since language competence is embedded in a certain frame of reference and it is the city itself (not the national community), followed by the globalized market.

An urban and global frame of reference

In other words, individuals in discourse 1 placed themselves firmly in the urban and global frames of reference ; the national community and its identity, culture and past does not play a prominent role in this discourse. This is rather subsumed by the market and the achievement of individual success (as shown by the relatively weak values for: +1 / G. 54: *When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins* i +1 / G. 55: *When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem*).

Also relatively strong are the positions enjoyed by statements which show the relations between an individual and the state and its administration. Here one may detect a strong rejection (-3) in discourse 1 tackles of statement 37 (G. 37: *People who don't speak Polish should lose their entitlement to state benefits*), 38 (G. 38: *Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Polish*) and 41 (G. 41: *Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Polish*). In other words, the state should not limit individuals who work in Kraków but do not speak Polish. Furthermore, it is not correct to believe that the administration should only use Polish nor is it the role of the teacher to negatively influence the student to not learn the language of his parents if it is different to Polish. To express this thought in a positive way, it can be said that representatives of the state (public services and teachers) should play the role of a positive catalyst for the individual decisions that language learners make. Thanks to this, Kraków will become part of a global economy where individual success will be possible by leveraging the potential of a multilingual city supported by the state administration.

The strongest rejection in discourse 1 is to be found in the statement that English and or other languages represent a threat to Polish. The -4 value was also attained by statement 14 (G. 14: *English spells the doom of other languages*) and 29 (G. 29: *Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child*).

In conclusion, one can say that discourse 1 is deeply individualistic and puts the individual acting primarily on the global market at its heart while still being anchored locally (in the city). National (community) reference frameworks are weak, and the role of government (local and state) is reduced to a level that is intended to support language policies at city and/or state level.

Discourse 2 – nationalist and pragmatic

Statement 54 enjoyed the highest level in discourse 2 (+5 / G. 54: *When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins*). At the same time, very strong emphasis was placed on the role of Polish as a constituent element of Polish national identity.

The central role of community identity

This clearly shifts the stress placed on the issue in discourse 1, which is organized around the individual who is the axis of the whole discourse (the pragmatic use of languages by individuals for the purposes of individual success).

Here in the case of discourse 2 – the highest value (+5) is ascribed to the community, which is a clearly defined frame of reference for the unit. As a result, the loss of Polish means the weakening of identity and relationships with culture and the past. This clearly national dimension is additionally strengthened and reinforced by the relatively high value (+3) given to the native language, which becomes something of a sacrum, something to be protected at all costs (+3 /55: *The Polish language is our most sacred tradition and should be preserved at all costs*). In addition, using Polish is seen as a key element of self-esteem (+3 / G. 55: *When you keep up your mother tongue, it helps your self-esteem*).

Table 6. Discourse 2 – 'nationalist and pragmatic' main positive values

No.	Statement	Value
G 54	When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	5
G 28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.	4
G 56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.	4
G 42	The Polish language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.	3
G 55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.	3
G 52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	2

A pragmatic approach to other languages

It should be strongly stressed that aside from the strongly accentuated dimension of identity present in discourse 2, one may notice another pillar, namely the pragmatic approach to languages by individuals and the presence of languages (regional and foreign) in the backdrop to multilingual cities. Hence the value of +4 is given to statement G. 56 (+4 / *Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market*), and G. 28 (+4 / *Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking*). The pragmatic dimension is reinforced by the value of +2 ascribed to statement G. 7 (+2 / *Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from kindergarten onwards*), G. 12 (+2 / *English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must*) and G. 22 (+2 / *It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors*).

Discourse 2, in comparison with discourse 1, clearly roots the individual in a cultural community whose determinants are languages (both minority and immigrant). This fact is clearly displayed (-4) by the rejection of those statements which suggest that there is limited sense in using and transmitting regional languages to children as well as their native tongue (-4 / G. 64: *Parents should not transmit regional languages to their children because they are useless* i -4 / G. 41: *Teachers should tell pupils to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Polish*). In other words, parents should teach children regional languages and immigrants should protect their own languages. Furthermore, there is no negative impact in learning foreign languages on the acquisition of a child's mother tongue.

Discourse 2 relatively strongly (-3) rejected the validity of the statement of the unspecified danger or threat posed by 'others' and 'their' languages to Kraków (-3 / G. 33: *Non-English-speaking workers are seen as intruders in Kraków*).

The role of the state and administration of the city in protecting Polish attracted far greater support in discourse 2 than in discourse 1. Thus the value of + 2 was received by statement 9 (G. 9: *Educational institutions should protect the purity of our language*)[3], but statement 37 (G. 37: *People who don't speak Polish should lose any entitlement to state benefits*)[4] met with a weaker rejection than in discourse 1 and gained a value of -2. In this context, the state should care for Polish as it represents a 'holy tradition' and the rejection of state support from the state towards foreigners who did not learn Polish was met with less opposition in discourse 2 than in discourse 1.

In summary, one may say that the axis of discourse 2 is not the individual *tout court*, but an individual strongly anchored in a linguistic, cultural and national community. Furthermore, discourse 2 accepts different cultural belongings and strives to help them endure whilst retaining a privileged role for Polish and ensuring the protection of its rights. Finally, and this must not be overlooked, discourse 2 is also pragmatic beyond its identity dimension since linguistic competence is meant to serve the attainment of success on the part of individuals in the global arena.

6. Conclusion

The research conducted on the multilingualism of the young professionals and future leaders of Kraków relates to a certain fragment of the complex cultural and historical reality of the city. These are all the more limited in that the study was conducted in 2016 and only for the young and educated residents of the capital of Małopolska (i.e from amongst its future leaders). In addition, Poland's accession to the European Union (2004) and the growing migration crisis, which marked the EU's internal and external policies in 2015-2017, are an important context for the research.

In other words, the revival of heritage and the positive value placed on Kraków's multiculturalism and multilingualism are contextual. This city is like a vernacular arena, where European or even global trends predominate. Their symptoms – I believe – were captured in the study conducted and the case of Kraków allows for two visions of the presence of 'foreign' languages in Kraków's landscape to be identified. The axes of the first vision are free individuals, and the second axis is a competing vision – I believe – of the community. The first vision – I think – has a clearly open character. In the second, there are shades of the preeminent status which the Polish language should enjoy in a city which is a symbol of Polish national identity. Behind this position may be hidden a far from *explicit* closing or rejection of anything 'foreign' yet this remains only my presumption.

In conclusion, the actors of discourse 1 are individuals while the actors of discourse 2 are individuals who are strongly anchored in their national communities. From an even broader perspective it can be said that this study carried out in 2016 in Kraków allowed us to grasp the basic opposition that is drawn between two visions of the future of Europe. It will be an arena where individuals or entire imagined communities will struggle and compete for success. If the vision of a future Europe in which communities would compete for victory was to become stronger, the processes of closing and excluding the 'other' heritage from the 'landscape' of 'our' cities might be a worrying and very real prospect. The friendly openness to 'other' legacies and languages is – apparently – weakening (2017), even though in Central Europe the 'closure' to the 'foreign' has been responsible for the tragedy of individuals, cities and entire nations. However, this phenomenon should be described in another comparative study.

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[3] U Value in discourse 1 = 0
[4] Value in discourse 1 = -3

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MULTILINGUALISM IN THE CITY – THE CASE OF SOFIA Maya Grekova

This research builds upon the assumption that language/mother tongue is still an indicator for cultural difference, and therefore the way that we perceive our (native/national) language and the language of the others is crucial for our identity and openness to difference. The goal of the study is to find out what are the attitudes towards languages among young people in three European cities. Do they perceive the learning of different languages as a path to communication with others or as a means to individual success in a globalized world? Do they perceive their national language as something more valuable than minority/ immigrant languages or are they ready to recognize all languages as having an equal worth?

1. The city of Sofia and some general language issues

Sofia became the capital of the Principality of Bulgaria (from 1908 – Third Kingdom of Bulgaria) in 1879 – one year after its liberation from the Ottoman Empire. At the time, Sofia was a small town and the decision to make it the capital of the newly established state was primarily based on its insignificance within the Ottoman Empire. According to the first census conducted at the end of 1880, Sofia had 20,501 inhabitants: 56% Bulgarians, 30% Jews, 7% Turks, and 6% Tzigani (the official name of Roma people in Bulgaria till the end of 1990s) (Кираджиев 2006). Sofia's layout was based on a fragmentation of the urban territory into ethnic neighbourhoods (mahala), an arrangement that was typical for the Empire at the time.

According to the last census before WW2 (conducted in 1934), the ethnic composition of Sofia's population was as follows: 423,385 (84.4%) Bulgarians, 25,863 (9.0%) Jews, 3,896 (1.4%) Tzigani, 3,430 (1.2%) Armenians, 588 (0.2%) Turks (Кираджиев 2006: 30).

According to the latest census (2011), the city of Sofia has 1,291,591 inhabitants. When asked about their mother tongue, 1,130,514 (87.53%) indicate Bulgarian language, 6,518 (0.50%) – Turkish, 16,711 (1.29%) – Romani, 1,121 (0.07%) – Armenian, 77 (0.006%) – Jewish, 10,042 (0.78%) – other languages, 6,389 (0.49%) cannot answer the question, 120,219 (9.31%) do not want to answer (National Statistical Institute – Population by ethnic group, mother tongue… 2011). Approximately 20,000 foreign citizens live in Sofia (See http://www.segabg.com/article.php?id=555662).

On that basis we can conclude that Sofia is far from being a multilingual city.

There are two crucial issues which we should take into account when analyzing the research results.

Bulgaria and regional and minority languages

The first one is of a more general nature and relates to the situation in Bulgaria. Bulgaria is one of the fourteen member states of the European Council that has not signed/ratified or in any way adopted the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (See http://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/148/signatures). This is no accident. The debates preceding the ratification of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* in 1999 clearly showed that the Bulgarian political parties do not acknowledge the existence of 'national minorities'. The use of the word 'minority' in the language of political actors and by extension journalists is almost completely devoid of content.

The issue of 'minority' (ethnic community) languages is raised in two contexts only:

- Educational – children from minorities who do not know/speak well Bulgarian language and because of this, on the one hand, our educational system confronts various problems and, on the other hand, children achieve bad/low educational results, drop out early, cannot find their place in the labour market and overall create a problem for the Bulgarian state and society;

- Political in the narrow sense – overtly negative to angry reactions from representatives of almost all political parties when a member of a minority (Turkish) or a party perceived as Turkish engages in some sort of public communication with citizens in Turkish language. This happens or receives media attention mainly in a pre-election phase.

Views on multilingualism

The second issue is linked to the results of the Bulgarian research within the frame of the LUCIDE project (*Languages in Urban Communities: Integration and Diversity for Europe*) (See http://www.urbanlanguages.eu/) which was conducted in Sofia and Varna. Without discussing the specificities of this study and presenting its results, let me nevertheless refer to the general conclusion of its authors:

'To most [of the respondents] language diversity encompasses mostly foreign languages and is therefore considered an asset. Very few people include minority and migrant languages when talking about multilingualism, and even fewer think to include the languages of people with disabilities. That aspect of multilingualism is highly sensitive.

Another sensitive issue is the effect of multilingualism on the Bulgarian language since there are concerns that multilingualism reduces native language competency and amends the language system and structure'

(Politov, Lozanova 2015: 19).

2. Results of the data processing

In the Sofia case, we have 31 respondents. The processing of 31 individual Q-sorts using the PQMethod software led to the isolation of three discourses; five respondents fell out – i.e. their Q-sort cannot be attributed to any of the three discourses.

Discourse 1 – 13 respondents; **Discourse 2** – 8 respondents; **Discourse 3** – 5 respondents.

There are altogether 48 statements: 40 out of 56 common statements and 8 out of 8 Sofia-specific statements. The common statements are as set out in Table 1 of Appendix 1. The Sofia specific statements are as follows:

S1	Radio programs in Turkish would disintegrate the Bulgarian nation.
S2	I don't feel good when somebody is speaking Roma/Turkish on a bus or train.
S3	Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected.
S4	I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language.
S5	The Roma language needs to be supported.
S6	The Turkish language needs to be supported.
S7	I don't see any problem having the news in Turkish on national media.
S8	If the Turkish programs are removed it would be a great retreat from human rights in Bulgaria.

3. Profile of the respondents

We will now frame the profile of the respondents associated to each of the three discourses, ignoring the 5 respondents who are not associated with any of them.

Table 1. Profile of the respondents by discourse

Discourse PQMethod – Number of respondents	Average age	Gender		Maximum level of education achieved				Current occupation			
		M	F	Sec	Cert	BA	MA+	Stud	Emp	SE	LfJ
Discourse 1 – 13	27,00	7	6	3	1	4	4	3	8	1	1
Discourse 2 – 8	28,50	3	5	0	0	2	6	2	5	1	0
Discourse 3 – 5	24,60	4	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	0	0
Total 26	27,00	14	12	4	2	8	11	9	14	2	1

As the data show, there is a slight difference in average age, gender and completed educational level of the respondents within the three discourses but given the small size of the samples there are no sufficient grounds for any conclusions.

Discourse 1: the average age is 27; the gender distribution is almost uniform; there is a uniform distribution between respondents with high school degree (continuing their education in university) and respondents who have completed a BA and MA degree.

Discourse 2: the average age is 28.5; the number of women is higher than that of men; all respondents have completed a BA or a MA degree (those who hold a BA degree continue their studies in MA programs).

Discourse 3: the average age is 24.6; the number of men is higher than that of women; 4 out of 5 respondents are students.

All respondents are Bulgarian citizens with Bulgarian as a mother tongue. Only one respondent (**Discourse 2**) indicated Italy as a country of residence. Two respondents (**Discourse 1**) indicated another city as a city of residence.

Based on languages they have proficiency in, respondents are distributed within the discourses as follows:

Table 2. Speaking foreign languages by discourses

Discourse PQMethod – Number of respondents	English	English and German	English and Italian	English and French	English and Russian	English and Spanish	German
Discourse 1 – 13	7	2	1	1	1	-	1
Discourse 2 – 8	3	1	1	1+1 (Serbian)	1	-	-
Discourse 3 – 5	3	1 (Russian, Polish)	-	-	-	1	-
Total 26	13	4	2	3	2	1	1

We cannot observe any specificity between the discourses with regard to spoken foreign languages. All respondents (with one exception) speak English. Half of the respondents speak only English as a foreign language, while the other half speak at least one more foreign language.

Regardless of some differences among the respondents within the three discourses, there are not sufficient grounds to assume that any of the features from the respondents' profile we tried to outline have any relevance for sharing the main attitudes that distinguish the discourses. We may only presume that women seem more inclined to share cosmopolitan attitudes towards language and that maybe some MA programs create conditions for cultivating such attitudes. Yet, these are simply assumptions that can be verified by other methods in other studies.

4. Analysis of the results

The labels/names attributed to the discourses are:

Discourse 1 – Nationalistic: language as a source of national identity; language in urban spaces is an identification of belonging to 'Bulgarianness' which needs to be preserved and protected;

Discourse 2 – Cosmopolitan: language as a source of cosmopolitan/European identity; the use of different languages in the urban space opens up the city and contributes to the communication among its residents who have different ethnic and national origins, i.e. different mother tongues;

Discourse 3 – Pragmatic: language as a source of personal success; knowing a language/languages different from one's mother tongue provides more opportunities for success on the labor market as well as for communication with members of different cultures.

For each of the three discourses, I isolated those statements from *Table 4* in Chapter 3 (Appendix 3) that receive positive values 5, 4, 3, and 2 and which also differentiate the respective discourse from at least one of the other two discourses.

Discourse 1 – Nationalistic

The vividly articulated nationalistic attitude of all three statements with the highest value 5 and 4 in **Discourse 1** (See *Table 3 below*) is beyond any doubt – the statements clearly underline the exclusivity of the Bulgarian language: Bulgarian language as the earliest documented Slavic language is 'our' source of pride; it is cultural heritage that should be protected – but not merely as cultural heritage but also as an aspect of 'our' identity and culture. Two of these three statements that received the highest value on Discourse 1 are among the eight that are specific to Sofia.

Two of the other statements with values 3 and 2 – **G 9.** *Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our language, Bulgarian*, and **G 42.** *The Bulgarian language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs* – definitely correspond to and further shape this nationalistic attitude towards the Bulgarian language. Two others – **G 12.** *English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must*, and **G 36.** *Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English* – acknowledge the need to know English as it concerns both individuals and representatives of state/ local institutions. One of the statements – **G 55.** *When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem* – we can consider as upholding a universal value: every mother tongue maintains self-esteem, but within the context of the other statements with a high value I would rather interpret it as referring to 'our' (Bulgarian) mother tongue.

Table 3. Discourse 1 – 'Nationalistic'

No	Statement	Value
S 3.	Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected. Respondent explains his/her value 4 attributed to this statement: *Not only as ours but also as world heritage.*	5
G 54.	When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins. Respondent explains his/her value 4 attributed to this statement: *Yes, I definitely agree with and support this statement because the Bulgarian language is the one that builds and maintains our identity, culture and origin; we say: 'Bulgarian identity, Bulgarian culture, Bulgarian origin'; if Bulgarian language would not have existed, what would our identity, culture and origin be like. If there is no Bulgarian language, we will not lose just a part but the whole, because it is not a part of that but it builds them, it is in their roots and sustains them.*	4
S 4.	I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language. Respondent explains his/her value 5 attributed to this statement: *And we all should be proud of this in order to preserve the values of the people.*	4
G 9.	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our language, Bulgarian.	3
G 12.	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	3
G 42.	The Bulgarian language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.	3
G 55.	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.	3
G 36.	Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English.	2

Discourse 2 – Cosmopolitan

The statement with the highest value 5 in **Discourse 2** – **G 36.** *Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English* – is not among the statements that distinguish **Discourse 2** from at least one of the other two discourses for which reason it is not included in *Table 4*. It differentiates **Discourse 1** from **Discourse 2** and **Discourse 3**. We may say that it is a consensual statement for **Discourse 2** and **Discourse 3**. Next in line, the statements with the second highest value 4 for **Discourse 2** are linked to the two main dimensions of the cosmopolitan attitude towards language: minority languages should have the support of educational institutions – they are part of the linguistic diversity of the EU which constitutes its wealth and the preservation of this wealth provides conditions for greater solidarity and mutual understanding among European citizens. The three statements with highest value in Discourse 2 are among those that are common for the three cities.

Three of the statements with value 3 and 2 point to respect and protection of minority/migrant languages in general – **G 5.** *All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way,* and **G 23.** *It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage*; and take into account the specificity of the Bulgarian context with regard to Turkish language being a minority language in the country today and therefore deserving support – **G 63. (S 7.)** *I don't see any problem having the news in Turkish on national media*. The cosmopolitan spirit in terms of support for linguistic diversity can be detected in the statement **G 50.** *For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved*. The set of these statements, on the one hand, upholds linguistic diversity in a nation-state even if public institutions maintain the privileged position of the national/official language; on the other hand, the set promotes institutional recognition of other languages. That is, these statements are in favour of providing opportunities for a multilingual environment in the Bulgarian city.

Table 4. Discourse 2 – 'Cosmopolitan'

No	Statement	Value
G 8.	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages. Respondent explains his/her value 5 attributed to this statement: *This might be a way to legitimize minority languages as 'normal' and in this way to end the marginalization of people based on the use of certain languages. Another one who also attributed value 5 to this statement wrote: This will contribute to creating a more integrated society as well as preserving specific cultures and legacies.*	4
G 45.	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding. Respondent explains his/her value 4 attributed to this statement: *The multitude of languages in the EU guarantees national sovereignty and respect for ethnic differences.*	4
G 5.	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way. Respondent explains his/her value 4 attributed to this statement: *For the purposes of refugee integration, it would be good to.*	3
G 23.	It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage.	2
G 50.	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	2
S 7.	I don't see any problem having the news in Turkish on national media.	2

Discourse 3 – Pragmatic

The three statements with the highest value 5 and 4 in **Discourse 3** (see *Table 5*) focus on the need for multilingualism: on an individual level, it is linked to learning the English language as it is perceived as crucial for multicultural communication, but also to the conviction that in today's world everybody can easily learn any foreign language at least for basic communication; in the context of acknowledging the existence of a multilingual world, the city should provide its services in various languages. All three statements with highest value (5 and 4) in **Discourse 3** are among those common for the three cities.

The next four statements ranked on high value (3 and 2) in **Discourse 3** lead us in three different directions: the first – **G 20.** *If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society* – stresses the need for people/immigrants in today's world to acquire the language of the society they live in in order to be able to communicate with the others and to be accepted by them; the second – **G 5.** *African and Asian languages, when spoken as mother tongues, generally have lower status in Sofia than European languages* – has the gist of 'registering facts'; the third – **G 54.** *When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins* – underlines the value of the national (Bulgarian) language for 'our' identity; the fourth – **G 48.** *There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines* – has a clearly pragmatic thrust: if not people then at least machines should 'know' various languages. Yet, this seeming variegation in the content of three of these four statements can be interpreted also as a way of 'coming to terms with reality': it is true (it is a fact) that if immigrants do not speak the language of the country they reside in, they are/will be to some extent unaccepted/isolated by the locals; as it is a fact that African and Asian languages when spoken as a mother tongue have a lower status than European languages – mostly because African and Asian immigrants are received with much stronger distrust compared to European migrants; it is a fact that 'we' (no matter who those 'we' are) lose part of our identity and culture when losing/ceasing to speak one's mother tongue (in this case overlapping with the national language).

Table 5. Discourse 3 – 'Pragmatic'

No	Statement	Value
G 12.	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must. Respondent explains his/her value 4 attributed to this statement: *It is a necessity in everyday life; English is now spoken everywhere and by everybody.*	5
G 2.	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens. Respondent explains his/her value 5 attributed to this statement: *Foreigners should feel well.*	4
G 6.	Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication. Respondent explains his/her value 5 attributed to this statement: *I consider this absolutely possible as long as one has the will for it.*	4
G 4.	African and Asian languages, when spoken as mother tongues, generally have lower status in Sofia than European languages.	3
G 20.	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	3
G 54.	When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	2
G 48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	2

5. Comparison between discourses

Let us now compare respondents' individual assessments relating to each of the discourses as well as the average evaluations of the statements that have the highest value in the three discourses.

The follow-up tables are grouped in triplets: every first table of the triplet (*Tables 6, 7, 8*) includes the individual assessments of the respondents linked to the respective discourse on its highest value statements; the next two tables in the triplets (*Tables 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b*) represent the individual assessments of the respondents from the other two discourses on the highest value statements within the respective (third) discourse.

Table 6. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 1 on the three statements with the highest value (5 and 4)

R.	S 3 (59) Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected.	G 54 When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	S 4 (60) I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language.
1.	3	5	4
2.	4	3	3
3.	5	4	2
4.	3	4	4
5.	1	2	5
6.	3	1	3
7.	1	2	2
8.	4	0	3
9.	3	3	3
10.	2	5	3
11.	3	2	2
12.	3	2	3
13.	5	3	0
Av.V.	3.08	2.77	2.85

Table 6a. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 2 on the three statements with the highest value in Discourse 1

R.	S 3 (59) Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected.	G 54 When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	S 4 (60) I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language.
14.	1	0	1
15.	1	4	1
16.	0	0	0
17.	1	1	0
18.	-1	-3	-4
19.	-1	0	-2
20.	-1	-1	-1
21.	0	0	0
Av.V.	0.00	0.13	-0.63

Table 6b. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 3 on the three statements with the highest value in Discourse 1

R.	S 3 (59) Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected.	G 54 When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	S 4 (60) I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language.
22.	0	4	0
23.	2	2	1
24.	1	0	-1
25.	4	2	-2
26.	0	0	0
Av.V.	1.40	1.60	-0.40

A few things deserve to be noted:

- The average values of the three statements in **Discourse 1** are **high** and the difference among them is **small**: 3.08, 2.77, and 2.85. This supports the interpretation of a strong focus of the discourse around these three statements.

- Only one of the three statements in **Discourse 1** has a positive average value in **Discourse 2** (**G 54.** *When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins*) and this value is low (0.13), whereas among the remaining two statements one has a value of 0.00 and the other has a low negative value (-0.63).

These results give us reasons to contest the popular view in Bulgaria that the 'cosmopolitan' discourse is a mirror image of the 'nationalistic' discourse – at least where language is concerned. For its representatives (respondents from **Discourse 2**), sharing the view of equal worth of different languages and the need to support minority languages does not mean depreciating the national/native language. The latter's worth is rather a given, whereas the worth of minority languages is contested in Bulgarian society and that is why the efforts of institutions should be directed towards their recognition as valuable.

- Two of the three statements of **Discourse 1** have positive average values in **Discourse 3**: **S3 (59)** *Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected* (1.40), **G 54** *When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins* (1.60).

We can argue that the pragmatic view on languages does not underestimate the position and role of the national/native language.

Table 7. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 2 on the three statements with the highest value

R.	G 36. Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English.	G 8. Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	G 45. The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.
14.	3	1	2
15.	2	5	3
16.	3	2	3
17.	2	0	-2
18.	1	-1	4
19.	4	5	3
20.	4	5	3
21.	3	1	1
Av.V.	2.75	2.25	2.13

Table 7a. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 1 on the three statements with the highest value in Discourse 2

R.	G 36. Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English.	G 8. Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	G 45. The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.
1.	1	-1	0
2.	0	0	1
3.	1	0	1
4.	0	0	2
5.	2	-3	2
6.	1	2	1
7.	3	-1	2
8.	1	-1	1
9.	2	-3	2
10.	2	0	4
11.	2	0	1
12.	0	1	1
13.	1	-2	1
Av.V.	1.23	-0.62	1.46

Table 7b. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 3 on the three statements with the highest value in Discourse 2

R.	G 36. Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English.	G 8. Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	G 45. The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.
22.	2	-2	1
23.	2	-1	0
24.	4	-2	1
25.	3	-4	0
26.	1	-2	1
Av.V.	2.40	-2.20	0.60

It is worth noting the following:

- The average values of the three statements in **Discourse 2** are **high** and the difference among them is **greater** than in **Discourse 1**: 2.75, 2.25, and 2.13.

- Two of the three statements in **Discourse 2** have a positive value in **Discourse 1** and **Discourse 3**: **G 36.** *Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English* – respectively, 1.23 and 2.40; **G 45.** *The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding* – respectively, 1.46 and 0.60.

- The third statement from **Discourse 2** – **G 8.** *Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages* – has negative values in **Discourse 1** as well as in **Discourse 3**, but the negative value in **Discourse 3** is much higher than in **Discourse 1** (-2.20 v/s -0.62).

There is significant similarity between the nationalistic and the pragmatic discourse: both refuse to acknowledge the rights of minority languages **but** admit the need for public officials to know some English and recognize the existence of multiple languages in the EU as its richness, as a bridge for solidarity and mutual understanding. In contrast, the cosmopolitan discourse accepts multilingualism and minority languages and, in the context of this acceptance, supports minority languages in Bulgaria.

Table 8. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 3 on the three statements with the highest value

R.	G12. English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	G2. A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	G6. Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication
22.	3	5	3
23.	4	3	5
24.	5	2	2
25.	1	3	0
26.	4	1	5
Av.V.	3.40	2.80	3.00

Table 8a. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 1 on the three statements with the highest value in Discourse 3

R.	G12. English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	G2. A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	G6. Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication
1.	2	2	2
2.	5	2	2
3.	3	2	0
4.	1	1	1
5.	0	1	3
6.	2	-2	0
7.	2	-2	0
8.	5	0	3
9.	4	0	1
10.	2	3	1
11.	4	1	1
12.	4	1	1
13.	3	1	1
Av.V.	2.85	0.77	1.23

Table 8b. Individual assessments of respondents from Discourse 2 on the three statements with the highest value in Discourse 3

R.	G12. English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	G2. A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	G6. Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication
14.	0	0	0
15.	2	0	1
16.	1	2	1
17.	4	2	0
18.	2	2	3
19.	3	3	0
20.	1	0	1
21.	2	0	1
Av.V.	1.88	1.13	0.88

There are a few things worth noting:

- The average values of the three statements in **Discourse 3** are **higher** than the respective values in **Discourse 1** and **Discourse 2**: 3.40, 2.80, and 3.00. This can partly be attributed to the fact that only 5 respondents fell into **Discourse 3** (in contrast to **Discourse 1** with 13 respondents and **Discourse 2** with 8 respondents).

- All three statements in **Discourse 3** have positive average values in **Discourse 1** and **Discourse 2**.

We can say that Discourse 3's pragmatism with regard to languages permeates the other two discourses as well – there is no clear demarcation between the three discourses when we look into the average values of support for the statements with the highest value in **Discourse 3**.

5. Consensual statements

Now, let us discuss those statements that are not included in the rounded statements for Sofia (Appendix 3). These statements do not differentiate the three discourses from one another. What is of interest to us here is if there are statements with positive values (1.00 and higher) in all three discourses.

There are five statements that all three discourses accept with positive agreement. All of them unconditionally support multilingualism in the city.

The first two (**G 3.** *A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Sofia*, **G 7.** *Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from kindergarten onwards*) express agreement with the need for the educational system to provide children with opportunities to learn various languages from an early age; while the next three statements are directly linked to supporting the presence of foreign languages in urban space (**G22.** *It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors*, **G 40.** *Street signs should be provided not only in Bulgarian but also in English*, **G 44.** *The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment*).

Finally, let us examine the statements that all three discourses disagree with. Since here for the first time we refer to negative values, let us clarify one thing. In our view, the positive evaluation of statements (values from 1 to 5) significantly differs from the negative evaluation (values from -1 to -5). While diverging support for different statements aims to hierarchize the values that the respondent sees in them, self-distancing from statements is by contrast non-hierarchizing: since I do not support a statement, it is not particularly important how strongly I **do not support** it; the important thing is my non-support. Therefore, up to this point, we have used the negative values only in comparison with the positive values of the respective statement in another discourse. But it seems important to examine these few statements that all three discourses strongly disagree with – that is, their values in all three discourses are in the range of -1 to -5. There are six such statements.

We can interpret the disagreement with statement **G 29.** *Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child* as confirming the need for children to study foreign languages from an early age; whereas the disagreement with statement **G 41.** *Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Bulgarian* – as an acknowledgement of the worth of each language.

The disagreement with statements **G 16.** *Having many languages in a city makes it difficult for some citizens to access social services*, **G 19.** *I get worried about the number of different languages that are spoken here as it makes it difficult to have integrated communities*, **G 25.** *It is possible for Sofia to become too multilingual* which is common to all three discourses comprises an indirect support for the presence of various languages in urban space or, the least, is a sign for the lack of any predisposition to limit their presence, of any fear caused by their presence.

The disagreement with the statement **G 33.** *Non-English-speaking workers are seen as intruders in Sofia* cannot be interpreted unambiguously. Some respondents probably disagree with under-appreciation of people (including Bulgarian citizens) who do not speak English, while others probably think of foreigners who can speak neither Bulgarian nor English. And yet another group of respondents are likely expressing their disagreement with the assessment of current attitudes in Sofia.

6. Conclusion

The processing of the individual Q sort distinguishes three discourses that we designated as 'nationalistic', 'cosmopolitan' and 'pragmatic' on the basis of those statements that received the highest positive value. However, the comparative analysis of the three discourses shows the following:

- The nationalistic discourse is focused on the non-acceptance of minority languages but is neither against learning foreign languages nor against their presence in the public space of the city.

Here, we should keep in mind two specificities – of the Bulgarian educational system and of the current presence of foreign languages in urban space. In schools in Bulgaria, it is customary for children to study a foreign language as a mandatory subject. The problem is whether they actually learn it. In the urban space, a foreign language is associated mainly with tourists or minority members (Turks and Roma) – and while tourists are 'desirable foreigners', Roma are the non-desirable inhabitants of the city and the Turks are rather unnoticeable in the urban space (they are also valued, especially recently, as non-resident workers in construction). Although in the last few years, the 'refugee problem' is much exploited and attitudes towards refugees are extremely negative, their presence in urban space is rather invisible. Therefore, the lack of any predisposition against the presence of foreign languages in the city's urban space can be interpreted as a consequence of their actual absence. The question remains whether such a negative predisposition might occur once the bearers of foreign languages stay 'among us' instead of being foreigners who come and go.

- The main difference in the focus of the 'cosmopolitan' discourse compared to the other two is its support for minority languages.

In other words, this discourse, by recognizing the equal worth of languages, supports not only studying various languages from an early age as well as the use of any mother tongue but also the presence of foreign languages in urban spaces, including efforts to provide access to administrative and social services in foreign languages.

- The 'pragmatic' discourse differentiates itself from the other two discourses not so much based on the statements it agrees with but rather based on the statements it disagrees with.

For this discourse proficiency in various languages is an advantage in contemporary world, hence their studying must be supported. In the urban space, there are people speaking various languages, therefore administrative services should be accessible to them too. It would be more pragmatic, however, for those foreign-languages speakers, when they have decided to stay in 'our' city, to learn the national (Bulgarian) language. This discourse disagrees with the nationalistic praise of Bulgarian language (despite cherishing it as 'ours') but it also disagrees with the support for minority languages.

The results of this study support these conclusions but the latter can and should be verified based on other research methods. We should not forget that the respondents in this study are young people – students or recent university graduates. And in the case of Sofia, all of them have Bulgarian – i.e. the national language – as a mother tongue.

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THREE CITIES: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND STORIES
OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE Joseph Lo Bianco

Political containers: urban, national, transnational

In 2012 the European Union (EU) was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, apparently by unanimous decision of the Norwegian Nobel Committee (The Nobel Peace Prize 2012). While the Kingdom of Norway is associated with the European Union through belonging to the European Free Trade Association, it is not itself a member state. The Nobel Committee, a strictly independent body, is appointed by the Parliament of Norway, and issues citations as the public explanation for its decisions, a kind of reasoning for the awards it makes. According to the citation the basis for the awarding of the 2012 Peace Prize to the EU is for having contributed over *'...six decades...to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe'. The citation specifies that 'over a seventy-year period, Germany and France had fought three wars. Today war between Germany and France is unthinkable. This shows how, through well-aimed efforts and by building up mutual confidence, historical enemies can become close partners'*. The citation makes special mention of the periods of accession to the EU and its requirement of formal democratization as a condition of membership, citing in this respect Greece, Spain and Portugal, and more broadly for advancing democracy and human rights in Turkey, and tackling *'the division between East and West'*.

Kraków (Cracow), Dublin and Sofia are three cities as different from each other as cities could be, but they are all European cities, engaged in and influenced by, this shared Europeanising process, differentiated by history and geography, in the west, centre and southeast of Europe. Two are national capitals with all that entails in the history of nation making and one is a 'cultural capital' with its special national significance. The EU experiment is shaping global conceptions of the kinds of political container human beings are attached to and identify with. Britain is currently on the way to becoming the first defector state from the Union, and the bulk of the reasoning for the controversial 2016 plebiscite that has precipitated this is about relative economic benefits and the issues related to the free movement of citizens of EU member states. All of these questions, hardly ever specifically nominated, implicate language and communication, one of the key reasons that a major activity of the EU since its inception has been language planning. The EU's 'fact sheet' on Language Policy (EU, 2017) highlights that language policy aims to facilitate mobility, since citizens cannot practically establish themselves in another part of the Union without the language abilities needed for work, education and participation. It does not discuss the symbolic importance of languages but these are both significant and implied. The extensive range of measures taken by the organs of the EU on all aspects of language, learning, protection and promotion, are aimed also at intercultural understanding, so that *'The EU has designated language learning as an important priority, and funds numerous programmes and projects in this area. Multilingualism, in the EU's view, is an important element in Europe's competitiveness. One of the objectives of the EU's language policy is therefore that every European citizen should master two other languages in addition to their mother tongue'.*

The focus on 'competitiveness' in economic terms captures neatly the conflation of a diverse range of material and symbolic elements that languages, perhaps uniquely among human cultural properties, capture. Language is simultaneously practical and symbolic, nations and peoples are moved by claims that particular languages express the spiritual essence of a people, link them to their historic antecedents, and project them into the future as distinctive groups. Yet languages are also material, practical, quotidian. Because Europeans today, partly through the efforts of the EU, are often highly multilingual, and because English is a predictable common presence in practically all European countries as a language of work, recreation and study, some mixture of symbolic and material dimensions to language is present in attitudes and discussions of the European project.

What are the precise ways that these attitudes and ideologies of language manifest themselves? How are we to understand them? What is common among Europeans and what differences are there? How have non-European global forces influenced views and beliefs about language? How has population mobility and the economic crisis of the past 12 years impacted on attitudes to language? These are all critical questions that need to be interrogated at micro and macro scale. Given the past central role of languages in the formation and consolidation of nations in Europe, and the catastrophic conflicts which they propelled European nations towards in the early part of the 20th Century, it is critical to study these phenomena and to comprehend better than we currently do the potential bonding role of language, the kinds of multilingualism contemporary life can produce, the role of technology in communication, the ideologies and attitudes towards languages, the most effective pedagogies and programme designs for language learning and much else besides.

The EU is premised, as the Fact Sheet explains, on '*respect for linguistic diversity*' and this respect is claimed to be a '*fundamental value of the EU*', so that linguistic respect accompanies '*respect for the person and openness towards other cultures*'. While these are given legal expression in the Treaty on European Union, and enacted in practical ways in education, translation policies, they have been lodged within the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, adopted in 2000 and made legally binding by the Treaty of Lisbon (signed December 2007). Here the language rights are '*negative'*, focused on prohibitions, such as banning discrimination on grounds of language (Article 21) and '*positive*', by placing an obligation on the Union to respect linguistic diversity (Article 22).

No other entity in the world today, or at any time in history, has claimed a mandate so broad and a mission so deep for language pluralism, from legal to practical, and despite uneven application and shifting enthusiasm for aspects of the language agenda of the Union, it remains enshrined in law and given effect in a wide array of programmes. EU member states vary significantly in their responses to and endorsement of the principles, regulations, and programmes of EU language policy, in no case more clearly than with regard to the question of minority protection, such as the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the 2013 European Parliament resolution calling for much greater attention to protecting language diversity and its earlier resolution (24 March 2009) on '*Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment'*, extended on 23 November 2016 in a resolution on sign languages and professional sign language interpreters (T8-0442/2016). The most extensive recognition of course is the full officialisation of languages within the EU, currently recognising 24.

Because policies express desirable future states, rather than describe actually existing realities, there is a contrast between policy declaration in law and lived reality. This gap, and the attitudes and beliefs, ideologies and sentiments, contained there, are the subject of this research. The insights afforded by the Q sorting methodology deployed by three studies provide a picture, still small and provisional, of the dynamic interplay of local and national, urban, and Europe-wide ideas of young professional people. The projects reported by Maya Grekova, in Multilingualism in the City, for Sofia, Daniela Modrescu and Lorna Carson, in their Dublin Q Report and Krzysztof Kowalski in his study of Kraków, Multilingualism in a Central European City, provide an invaluable instalment in a longer term investigation of the intersection between transnational policy, national interpretation and response to the transnational policy and citizen response.

These studies focus on young people, and are located in two states at the eastern end and one at the western end of the European Union. The ideals that have motivated EU policy on language have been evolving according to the problems and issues current among its member states; none of the three countries concerned was a member of the original Treaty of Rome participants. The growth of the EU from its original 1957 'Inner Six' (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands) in a series of so-called enlargements. The first of these enlargements was in 1973, when Ireland (along with the UK and Denmark) joined, to the successive waves of new admissions, bringing in Poland in 2004 in the 'Fifth Enlargement' and Bulgaria in 2007, during the 6th enlargement. It is possible that the vintage of membership could be a factor affecting the depth of perception and response to EU ideals, such as multilingualism and mobility.

Europe is therefore home to the greatest peacetime transfer of sovereignty ever undertaken. While Britain negotiates its exit from the European Union several nations are seeking admission, with Serbia, Montenegro and Turkey at different stages of accession talks, and its remaining 27 member states affirm their continuing adherence.

The political container of Europe, and specifically of the EU, is a dynamic and strong but not exclusive presence in shaping ideas and values about language, communication and belonging in the European space. Q sorting, as described in the reports by Kowalski, Grekova and Modrescu/Carson aims to account for the subjective and deeply held views of selected participants. While citizens of Bulgaria, Ireland and Poland now enjoy common and broadly conceived citizenship, and have similar though not identical supra national affiliations to EU laws, treaties, programmes and ideals, they differ significantly in their historical trajectory, geographic location, economic and educational conditions and national aims. The gap of 34 years between their memberships of the EU, 1973 to 2007, represents three cycles of compulsory education, and an entire demographic generation. More significant perhaps is the radically differentiated pre-accession histories. While all three have bitter national memories of colonisation or external domination, in the Republic of Ireland's case independence and full autonomy was achieved in 1922, experiencing rapid economic development in recent decades and achieving one of the world's highest Human Development Index scores; in other words a long established formal democracy with a mixed economy. Bulgaria entered the EU only 18 years after first allowing multi-party elections and then making a full transition to formal democratic governance after 43 years as a Soviet satellite and one-party state. Poland's recent history is even more tumultuous with its central European geography exposing it to episodes of forced partition

between the late 18th and 19th centuries, successive Nazi and Soviet invasions, and eventual subjugation to a one-party status under Soviet domination for almost 45 years, before establishing full democratic governance after the Solidarity revolutions from 1980 and economic and political liberalisation after the 1989 Revolutions across communist eastern Europe.

A word about national languages

In recent years there has been a surge of interest in communication and diversity in cities, alongside a rich stream of literature about governance, social relations and the cultural and economic character of cities.

One of the organizing ideas of the language-related studies linked to urban life is super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007), embraced and critiqued in turn, and generating a range of terms aiming to characterize communication in linguistic contexts through explanatory notions such as multivocality, plurilingualism, translanguaging, metrolingualism and polylanguaging. But these communication centred terms, and even super-diversity itself, can blind us to the continuing focus of many residents of cities, citizens of nations, cultural forces and political movements that are not only unenthusiastic about pluralism in its various manifestations, but also openly scornful, hostile or actively fearful of it.

The greatest contrast with the dynamism these new sociolinguistic terms seek to capture is with stability and order, and perhaps most extremely with the attempt during the nineteenth century height of European romantic nationalism. The research from the three cities being discussed provides evidence, at least in Kraków and Sofia, of the enduring hold of some of this discourse.

In his seminal work on language and nationalism Joshua Fishman (1972) remarked that nationalists seek authenticity, and believe this apparently clear notion to be represented by uncontaminated language. But where is uncontaminated language to be found? Often researchers and cultural figures seek pure forms of expression that will help to differentiate one essential nation from another in the '..lower classes and distant past' (Fishman, 1972, p. 8). These desires for basing continuity in territorial space with the forms of speech used there is a process that seeks to capture, express or describe the 'spirit' of the nation. This spirit is what makes the collectivity unique, but the project to attach political autonomy and statehood to a self-conscious nationality is a separate and not indispensable process.

Not all self-identifying 'nations' desire to become autonomous states. While these aspirations were alive in strong way during past centuries and are often believed to have faded, they remain prominent and present in movements for national construction all across the world, and as different as possible from each other (Lo Bianco, 2012), yet made common by the link between communication and community which is the core or central claim of nationalism in language. Especially acute among national language revival movements, whether in Europe or elsewhere, has been the idea that use of an expressive, emblematic national language helps to constitute the legitimate grounds for political autonomy, a power attributed to language, or rather to specific forms of language, in programs of state formation and often for national consolidation once an independent state has been achieved. For this reason, education, and especially language education, has been critical to the project of bringing about the fact of a nation through obliteration of language differences within the political territory once independent statehood has been achieved. It is clear from most analysis that far from being naturally existing entities, nations and national languages require major efforts of construction, and so language becomes a key, but not universal vehicle, in the formation and then in the consolidation, of independent political entities.

These 'nations', as states, are territories (Elden, 2013), geopolitical spaces over which the desire to establish and then consolidate a single political and administrative authority, and exclusive or at least dominant literature and language, were projects to bolster unification, efficiency and authenticity (Fishman, 1972). That a single, literate, expressive official national language has done this work at the core of Europeanism is an indicator of the radical nature of the EU project, the transnational aim not only of superseding divisions, but of giving acknowledgement in law and programming to sub-national or minority languages as well.

The city is a container of both the private and public lives and activities of its residents and the repository of the concentrated history of nations, the locus of intense economic activity, innovation and upheaval and change. These dynamic features of the close life of cities distinguishes them from their hinterlands, and distinguishes the large and dense city from the smaller and more dispersed counterpart. To extend the point by Fishman about cultural authenticity and language I would argue that many scholars and seekers of a kind of romantic nationalist essence have sought their depiction of national character in rural areas, in the past times, and in uneducated populations, for these are imagined to be least likely to be corrupted by the heterogeneity and cultural dynamism of the city and

so to have preserved tradition. In this way a city becomes a problem for an extreme nationalist discourse, it can disrupt an ordered and organic continuity of the 'essences' of the identity and character of populations, yet it is in cities that any success of the national project must also be achieved.

The emergence of the European Union, in the wake of and in direct response to the catastrophes wreaked by excessive unconstrained nationalism, with its strong and clear language dimensions (Hutton, 1999), and its continuous and historically unprecedented effort to enshrine multilingualism at the centre of the notion of the trans-national European polity it has been constructing, has transformed the status of languages. Alongside these developments the city itself has come into greater prominence, the city not so much as an expression of a nation but as an entity and locus of its own, a container and therefore a shaper of the lives, attitudes and communicative behaviour of its denizens.

The Three Cities

The value of the work of comparison and contrast represented in the Kraków (Cracow), Dublin and Sofia studies can be understood along two main lines, made possible by the judicious use of a shared and overlapping research method, Q sorting. The statements that respondents have ranked in the three cities are mostly identical, allowing us to see at a glance what is similar across the three, while the small number of locally applicable or unique statements differentiate the sets of statements that respondents have ranked both internally to each site and across the three. This means that the three city reports provide us a view of the same and the different, the unique and the shared, the common and the particular, both across the three and within each one, and also across any two. We need to keep in mind the limited scope of the study, most respondents have the national/dominant language as their mother tongue, and most are students or professionals. Q does not aim to make representative statements about entire populations but deep and accurate statements about discourses and their characteristics.

In general, we can see that Kowalski's Kraków, Grekova's Sofia and Modrescu/Carson's Dublin are studies of young European professionals in those cities and at the same time of Krakóẁians, Sofians, and Dubliners or any combination of two. It is noted in the studies that this is a preliminary research effort, however even the analysis as described by the authors will repay much more extended reflection than I can do here, and will be a substantial part of a book on the city and multilingualism that I am preparing for 2018. It should also be said that these three studies form a part of the preceding research of the LUCIDE project (King and Carson, 2016) and the following work that will be undertaken in each of the cities.

Q sorting method was selected for this research following an exploration of various alternative methods. Q sorting fits closely with the primary questions the research was posing, which is how to gain access to the subjective views of a population of persons while preserving a rich and un-simplified approach to the problem and minimising the level of researcher construction of the issue being studied. Q preserves the original categories and expression in which a particular or controversial issue is debated and re-presents statements selected from the debate/discussion or issue to participants for ranking, with the ranks subjected to quantification through statistical analysis. In these ways Q is a rigorous empirical method that combines elements of quantification within a qualitative lens, attaching depth of understanding to robust reliability.

In their Q sort analysis, the Sofia researchers identified three strongly marked discourses, that relate to and differentiate each other. These are a 'nationalistic', a 'cosmopolitan' and a 'pragmatic' orientation to the questions posed about multilingualism, language study, the Bulgarian identity in and through language and the future, imagined and projected for young people. According to Grekova the nationalistic discourse is characterized by '*non-acceptance of minority languages*' premised fundamentally on '*praise*' or celebration of the Bulgarian standard language, but if in other settings this premise would lead respondents to express opposition or hostility to all languages other than the national one, this is not so among the Sofia respondents. Instead those who adhere to the 'nationalistic' discourse are '*neither against learning foreign languages nor against their presence in the public space of the city*'. In relation to the first of these two, the study of languages, the finding is less surprising than in relation to the second, which appears like a radical departure from a typical discourse of language nationalism. Here we immediately see a point of value in the subtlety of the Q approach, allowing a nuanced interpretation of the problem at hand, which is that languages and indeed language as an abstract category, has multiple meanings. For the Sofia 'nationalists' language is at the same time a declaration of attachment to the Bulgarian identity in its traditional language centred form and a pragmatic acceptance of commercial languages but a repudiation of other aspects of language.

Grekova explains the apparent contradiction by calling to mind two distinctive aspects of the Bulgarian public and institutional context to explain why an apparent and strong nationalism is not closed to languages in either education or public space. First, the education system of the country and second some characteristics of urban space. Language study is mandatory in Bulgaria, and the category 'languages' serves to conceal as well reveal a hierarchical prestige order, so that their speakers are organized according to levels of 'public desirability': foreigners, mainly tourists, whose presence is financially beneficial and temporary, and who can't be assumed to be Bulgarian speakers, are welcome and multilingual public signage a necessary concession to their economic contribution. The other dimension of the public presence of languages other than Bulgarian are minority languages, spoken by Turks and Roma, and neither of these two categories is temporary nor are they regarded as financially beneficial to the economy. These two are therefore 'undesirable', and in the case of the Turks they are also mostly invisible, at least as far as the linguistic landscape is concerned, though they gain from a certain kind of utility value as non-resident construction workers. Refugees are an additional and different category of language presence within the nationalistic orientation to language, attracting negative stigma, though also largely absent in the physical space of the city.

The nationalist discourse is differentiated from the cosmopolitan largely in relation to the latter's acceptance of minority languages other than tourists language, or public commercial English. Essential within the cosmopolitan construction of the language debate languages are of equal worth, if worth is claimed on behalf of one language it is to be logically extended to others, or it is assumed that others would do that on behalf of their languages and this cannot be denied to them. As a result the discourse of cosmopolitanism ranks higher on education variables, and supports early teaching of various languages. Cosmopolitans are also more open to and accepting of the presence in public space of languages other than Bulgarian and English, and are more accepting of the idea that access to administrative and social services in several languages is an entitlement that the state should provide. Differentiating from these two is the 'pragmatic discourse', though elements of pragmatism are clearly present in both of the previous orientations. Pragmatists in the Sofia case however, according to Grekova, are not so much differentiated by agreements or convergence towards the cosmopolitans and nationalists but according to their disagreements. For the Sofia Pragmatists language proficiency is an un-ideological issue, a question solely to do with calculations of return on investment or benefit gained for effort expended. Whether it relates to education provision or to the public space, the two dimensions the Sofia study, Pragmatists see that administration and education alike should simply, directly, un-problematically respond to the presence of speakers of other languages without invoking issues of nationalism or even the accepting ethos and support for minority languages promoted by the Cosmopolitans.

Like the compelling findings from the Sofia case the Kraków research on multilingualism and young professionals/future leaders in the city relates to the inevitably complex history and current circumstances of the city. A further qualification by Kowalski is important to note. The study's participants were *'young and educated residents of the capital of Malopolska'* however his further point that these constitute its 'future leaders' points to the benefit of target audience selection that gives additional strength to Q sorting, careful selection of participant populations which allows the results to speak powerfully of the 'mind sets' of the critical population segments on topical issues at key points in time.

Unlike the three discourses uncovered in Sofia the Kraków research produced two, these were the most robust loadings from the 63 sorts that constitute the analysis, with 39 respondents conforming to the 'Cosmopolitan and Pragmatic' and 24 to the contrasting 'Nationalist and Pragmatic'. We can see immediately that the pragmatic ethos is spread between the two otherwise similar-sounding orientations in the Sofia sample. Kowalski points out that those who combined cosmopolitan attitudes with their pragmatism had a slightly higher average educational attainment than their counterpart 'Nationalists', and further that this group had a greater number of students and greater multilingual competence, but that the two discourses were not in any case greatly divergent. This is an important aspect of the cohesion that is more evident in the Kraków study than in any of the others as is discussed in the report. The city is a 'vernacular arena', by which Kowalski means that wider trends within or from the EU and the general impact of globalisation, so that so that for the 'Cosmopolitan Pragmatists' human subjects, modern Polish people, and the residents of the city pre-eminently are seen as 'free individuals'. This characterisation distinguishes the orientation of this discourse from the greater stress on 'community' of the 'Nationalist Pragmatists'. This is a fascinating perspective exposing a mirror of two of the Sofia views, in which the language that constitutes the nation, Polish in this case of course, requires honouring in any debate or consideration of languages, since the premise from which other languages are to be debated, included or considered is the secure and indissoluble link between Polish and Poland. Kraków, the city, the royal capital, carries precisely this same kind of emblematic value in the vision of the political unity and identity of the nation

as the national language does, but for one discourse this is possibly self-evident or at least does not require foregrounding whereas for the other this represents the ground or premise from which all other considerations commence. The pragmatism that characterises both discourses and which unites them, reducing the distance between them, suggests a sophisticated awareness, as does the Sofia data, that language proficiency requires patient effort, long term commitment and considerable investment. The wider European reality is instantiated in these visions, perhaps, with one placing a limit of the degree or extent of integration, and the other less concerned with asserting a boundary for the national community.

So far these two cities, despite differences, expose a sense of a shared and significantly recent struggle for the national community, something whose presence in Ireland is older, and possibly more sublimated. The *'focused target group'* that constitutes the Dublin sample has revealed a quite high degree of convergence around the '*importance and inevitability of multilingualism in the city and of the value of multilingualism for society and for individuals*'. More like Kraków than Sofia, in finding only two stable discursive formations in the debate about language, but in several key ways very different from both, the young Dubliners are divided not by any obvious or strong space devoted to native nationalism, since no community of Irish speakers is represented. Hence the national language that might serve the nationalist discourse occupied by unique distinctive and much struggled over languages in Sofia and Kraków is English, an initially foreign, imposed, colonial language, now officialised, localised, and 'owned' by the Irish. This essential difference perhaps accounts for why the Irish respondents converge more than their counterparts in the other cities, but also why even the differences between them are hardly about community or belonging but about different kinds of pragmatism. Perhaps the greatest evidence of this is that the researchers dub the discourses Dublin 1 and Dublin 2. The first is characterised by openness towards all languages, and, significantly, offers this openness regardless of the status of these languages, as it imagines and builds its presence as a discourse around the idea of the city, Dublin, as a presence almost unto itself, with little or no apparent reference to the national hinterland. Dublin's languages are from anywhere and all belong, according to Dublin Discourse 1. By contrast, but not greatly, Dublin Discourse 2 is rooted in a pragmatism around English, an Anglocentric pragmatism, with little in the way of nationalism and a tendency, as the researchers call it, towards 'elite multilingualism', in which immigrant and minority languages have a more proper location in homes and domestic spaces rather than in public ones. English is an asset, it isn't England's English, but global English, an instrumental resource for commercial success and global participation, and both the Dublin Discourses are positive about open and inclusive multilingualism,

Concluding remarks

These are small studies, preliminary in conception and scale. However, their findings are interesting and compelling and suggest the great value we could derive from applying Q sorting on a much larger and more deeply comparative scale. Learning from Kraków (Cracow), Dublin and Sofia we could add other sites, and select our participants from large and small cities, from rural areas, from diverse population groupings and from different social categories.

The language policies promoted by the EU, and the Nobel Prize it was awarded, all invoke the ideals of reconciliation, communication, intercultural competence and understanding alongside pragmatism of various kinds, instrumentalism and the pursuit of practical benefits. Language serves all these functions, being practical and symbolic. It makes an ideal and necessary object of EU attention. We cannot know precisely how much it has contributed directly to the positive and pragmatic attitudes of the respondents, and the highly moderated nationalism attitudes of the young citizens of Kraków, Sofia and Dublin but it augurs well for the spirit and broad aims of European integration.

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Explanatory note

These 56 'common statements' were, when relevant, made specific to each city. So for example Statement G3 below read 'A wide choice of language, both European and non-European should be offered in schools in Dublin/Sofia/Kraków'.

The version below has been edited to be non-specific, using terms such as 'our city' and the 'national language'. These edits are italicised below.

G1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.
G2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.
G3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in *our city*.
G4	African and Asian languages, when spoken as mother tongues, generally have lower status in *our city* than European languages.
G5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.
G6	Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication.
G7	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards.
G8	Educational institutions *here* should support and promote minority languages.
G9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of *our language/ our two languages*.
G10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.
G11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.
G12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.
G13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.
G14	English spells the doom of other languages.
G15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in *our city*.
G16	Having many languages in a city makes it difficult for some citizens to access social services.
G17	I don't need to speak any foreign languages in life.
G18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.
G19	I get worried about the number of different languages that are spoken here as it makes it difficult to have integrated communities.
G20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.
G21	The children of immigrants should speak *the national language* at home to make progress in learning the language.
G22	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors.
G23	It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage.
G24	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries.
G25	It is possible for *our city* to become too multilingual.
G26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.
G27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in *our city* could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.
G28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.
G29	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child.
G30	Migrant languages and lesser-spoken languages are not really seen as an asset in *our city*.

G31	More help from the government is necessary for minorities who seriously struggle with *the national language*.
G32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning *the national language* because they don't want to integrate.
G33	Non-Polish-speaking workers are seen as intruders in *our city*.
G34	People are treated strangely here when they can't articulate themselves in *the national language*.
G35	People who come here should learn the *national language* - it's a necessity to survive in *our city*.
G36	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak *English/some Irish as well as English*.
G37	People who don't speak *the national language* should lose their entitlement to state benefits.
G38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in our official languages.
G39	School children here should only speak *the national language* during their break time.
G40	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as *the national language/s*.
G41	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn *the national language*.
G42	*Our language* is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.
G43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in *our city* represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.
G44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.
G45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.
G46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for *our national language*.
G47	There is no point in English speakers learning another language.
G48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.
G49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.
G50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.
G51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning *the national language* properly.
G52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.
G53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.
G54	When we lose our *national language*, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.
G55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.
G56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.

Kaloyan Haralampiev

This choice of the form of the Q-matrix reflects the fact that each individual q-sort has to follow quasi-normal distribution (Bardov, 2005: 92), i.e. a discrete realization of the continuous normal distribution. That's why we consider the -5/+5 scores as midpoints of intervals. Therefore, the frequencies of the quasi-normal distribution are calculated in the following way:

Table 1. Calculation of the frequencies of the quasi-normal distribution

Scores	Intervals	Probabilities	Frequencies
-5	Up to -4.5	$F(-4.5)$	$64F(-4.5)$
-4	From -4.5 to -3.5	$F(-3.5) - F(-4.5)$	$64[F(-3.5) - F(-4.5)]$
-3	From -3.5 to -2.5	$F(-2.5) - F(-3.5)$	$64[F(-2.5) - F(-3.5)]$
-2	From -2.5 to -1.5	$F(-1.5) - F(-2.5)$	$64[F(-1.5) - F(-2.5)]$
-1	From -1.5 to -0.5	$F(-0.5) - F(-1.5)$	$64[F(-0.5) - F(-1.5)]$
0	From -0.5 to 0.5	$F(0.5) - F(-0.5)$	$64[F(0.5) - F(-0.5)]$
+1	From 0.5 to 1.5	$F(1.5) - F(0.5)$	$64[F(1.5) - F(0.5)]$
+2	From 1.5 to 2.5	$F(2.5) - F(1.5)$	$64[F(2.5) - F(1.5)]$
+3	From 2.5 to 3.5	$F(3.5) - F(2.5)$	$64[F(3.5) - F(2.5)]$
+4	From 3.5 to 4.5	$F(4.5) - F(3.5)$	$64[F(4.5) - F(3.5)]$
+5	Above 4.5	$1 - F(4.5)$	$64[1 - F(4.5)]$

Where $F(c_i)$ is the so-called cumulative probability distribution function (CPDF):

(1) $F(c_i) = P(x < c_i)$

Where P is a symbol for "probability" and c_i is the cutpoint between two intervals.

When we use normal distribution with mean μ and standard deviation σ, then:

(2) $c_i = \mu + z_i \sigma$

Where z_i is the so-called z-score.

In our case, due to the symmetry, $\mu = 0$. Therefore $F(c_i)$ depends only on the standard deviation.

For the determination of the standard deviation we use the first interval. We set the following constrain:

$$1 \leq 64F(-4.5) \leq 2$$

Hence:

$$\frac{1}{64} \leq F(-4.5) \leq \frac{2}{64}$$

On the other hand:

$$F(-4.5) = F(\mu + z_1\sigma) = P(x < \mu + z_1\sigma) = P(x - \mu < z_1\sigma) = P\left(\frac{x - \mu}{\sigma} < z_1\right) = \Phi(z_1)$$

Where $\Phi(z)$ is the CPDF of the standard normal distribution.

Therefore:

$$\frac{1}{64} \leq \Phi(z_1) \leq \frac{2}{64}$$

$$-2.15 \leq z_1 \leq -1.86$$

$$-2.15\sigma \leq z_1\sigma \leq -1.86\sigma$$

However:

$$-4.5 = \mu + z_1\sigma = 0 + z_1\sigma = z_1\sigma$$

Therefore:

$$-2.15\sigma \leq -4.5 \leq -1.86\sigma$$

$$2.15\sigma \geq 4.5 \geq 1.86\sigma$$

$$\frac{4.5}{2.15} \leq \sigma \leq \frac{4.5}{1.86}$$

$$2.09 \leq \sigma \leq 2.42$$

We tried four different values of the standard deviation (Table 2 and Fig. 1) and we chose $\sigma = 2.2$.

Table 2. Frequencies of the quasi-normal distribution[1]

Scores	$\sigma = 2.1$	$\sigma = 2.2$	$\sigma = 2.3$	$\sigma = 2.4$
-5	1	1	2	2
-4	2	2	2	3
-3	4	5	5	5
-2	8	8	8	8
-1	11	10	10	10-1
0	12	12	11-1	11-1
+1	11	10	10	10-1
+2	8	8	8	8
+3	4	5	5	5
+4	2	2	2	3
+5	1	1	2	2
Total	64	64	65-1	67-3

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[1] Since we round up to an integer, the sum of the frequencies may differ from 64. We compensate this difference by adding/subtracting to/from the frequency of the middle interval(s).

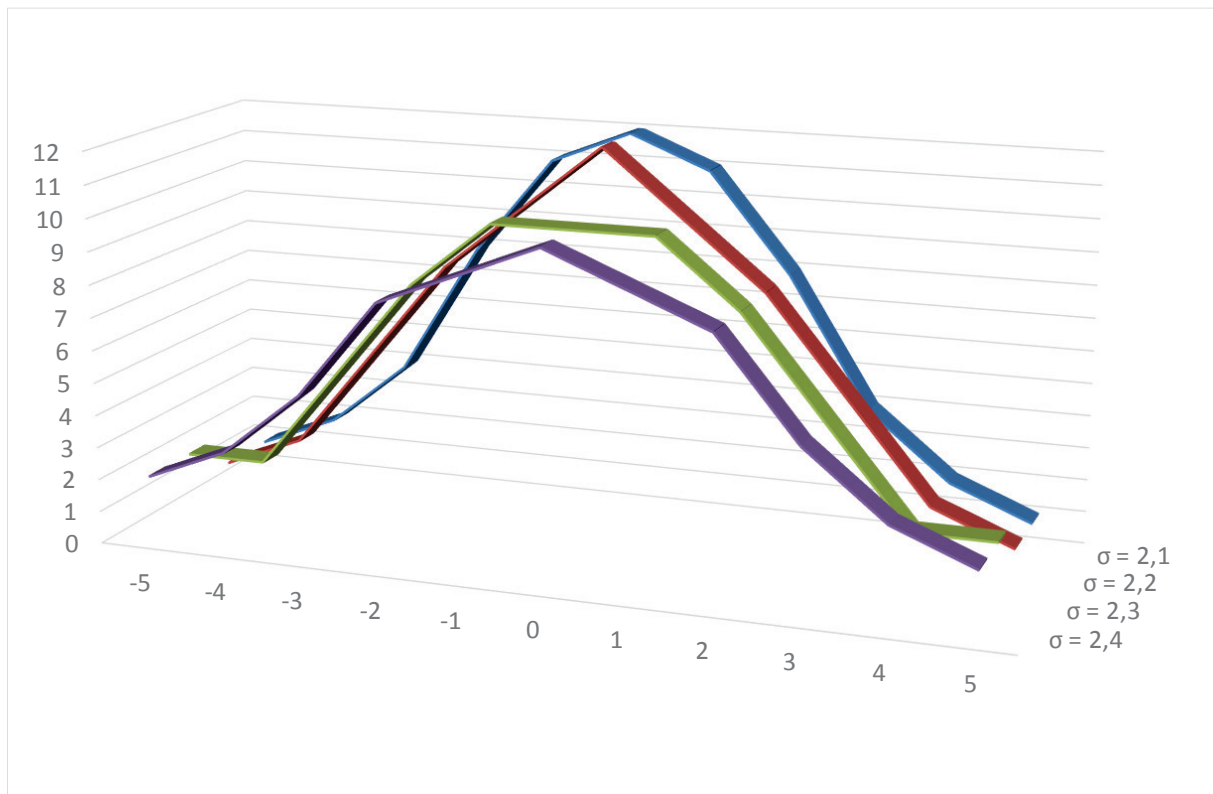Fig. 1. Frequencies of the quasi-normal distribution

References:

Bardov, I. 2005. Q-technique – Methodological Alternative in the Study of the Subjectivity? In: Proceedings of the IV National Congress of Psychology. Sofia, Sofi-R (in Bulgarian)

APPENDIX 3 Rounded Factor Scores for the Three Cities

Table 1. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Sofia[1]

In these tables:

–   if there is only one grey cell in the row, this means that the z-score behind the rounded factor score is statistically significantly different from the two others z-scores but between the two others z-scores there is no statistically significant difference;

–   if there are two grey cells in the row, this mean that there is a statistically significant difference between the two z-scores behind the rounded factor scores but there are no statistically significant differences between each of these two z-scores and the third;

–   if there are three grey cells in the row, this mean that there are statistically significant differences between each of the three z-scores behind the rounded factor scores.

No.	Statements	Discourse		
		1	2	3
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	1	1	4
4	African and Asian languages, when spoken as mother tongues, generally have lower status in Sofia than European languages.	-1	0	3
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	-2	3	-3
6	Anyone can easily pick up enough of a foreign language for basic communication.	2	1	4
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	-1	4	-3
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our Bulgarian language.	3	-2	-1
10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.	2	1	3
11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.	2	0	2
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	3	1	5
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	0	-1	1
14	English spells the doom of other languages.	-3	-2	-3
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Sofia.	0	0	-1
17	I don't need to speak any foreign languages in life.	-5	-3	-4
18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.	-2	-4	-1
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	0	0	3
21	The children of immigrants should speak Bulgarian at home to make progress in learning the language.	0	-2	0
23	It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage.	1	2	1
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	1	2	2
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Sofia could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	1	1	0
28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.	3	3	1
30	Migrant languages and lesser-spoken languages are not really seen as an asset in Sofia.	0	1	1
31	More help from the government is necessary for minorities who seriously struggle with Bulgarian here.	0	2	3
32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning Bulgarian because they don't want to integrate.	0	-2	0

Table 1. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Sofia continued

No.	Statements	Discourse		
		1	**2**	**3**
34	People are treated strangely here when they can't articulate themselves in Bulgarian.	-1	1	0
36	Officials who deal with the general public in Sofia really should be able to speak some English.	2	5	3
37	People who don't speak Bulgarian should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-2	-3	-2
38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Bulgarian language.	-1	-2	-5
39	School children here should only speak Bulgarian during their break time.	0	-4	-2
42	The Bulgarian language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.	3	-1	-4
45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.	2	4	1
47	There is no point in English speakers learning another language.	-2	-1	0
48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	1	1	2
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	1	0	-1
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	0	2	0
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning Bulgarian properly.	-1	-3	-2
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	0	-1	-3
53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.	-3	-2	-1
54	When we lose our Bulgarian, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	4	0	2
55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.	3	0	0
56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.	2	3	1
57	Radio programs in Turkish would disintegrate the Bulgarian nation.	-1	-2	-1
58	I don't feel good when somebody is speaking Roma/Turkish on a bus or train.	-1	-5	0
59	Bulgarian Cyrillic should be valued as our national cultural heritage, which has to be protected.	5	0	1
60	I feel proud because the Bulgarian language is the earliest documented Slavonic language.	4	0	0
61	The Roma language needs to be supported.	-3	1	-2
62	The Turkish language needs to be supported.	-4	1	-3
63	I don't see any problem having the news in Turkish on national media.	-4	2	-2
64	If the Turkish programs are removed it would be a great retreat from human rights in Bulgaria.	-2	0	-1

Table 2. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Dublin

No.	Statements	Discourse	
		1	2
1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.	4	1
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	2	1
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	2	0
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	3	1
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English.	-1	0
10	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.	2	3
11	English is a priority for all young people in European society.	0	2
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	1	4
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	-1	3
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Dublin.	0	-1
18	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.	-3	-2
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	1	3
21	The children of immigrants should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language.	-2	-1
25	It is possible for Dublin to become too multilingual.	-1	0
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	1	-1
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	2	1
35	People who come here should learn English - it's a necessity to survive in Dublin.	0	4
36	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English.	1	0
37	People who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-3	-2
40	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as English and Irish.	0	-3
43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Dublin represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.	0	-2
44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	2	1
45	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.	4	2
46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Irish.	-2	-3
48	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.	2	0
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	0	-1
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	0	0
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly.	-2	-1
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	-1	2

Table 2. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Dublin continued

No.	Statements	Discourse	
		1	**2**
53	When foreigners speak on the mobile phone in their language, they always seem to shout.	-1	-1
57	It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.	-2	-1
58	There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.	0	2
61	There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here.	1	0
62	It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.	2	3
63	Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.	0	-2
64	The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.	-1	0

Table 3. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Krakow

No.	Statements	Discourse	
		1	2
1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.	1	0
2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.	2	1
3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Krakow.	3	0
5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.	0	-1
7	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards.	4	2
8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.	1	0
9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our Polish language.	0	2
12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.	4	2
13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.	1	1
14	English spells the doom of other languages.	-4	-2
15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Krakow.	0	-1
19	I get worried about the number of different languages that are spoken here as it makes it difficult to have integrated communities.	-2	-2
20	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.	0	1
22	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors.	3	2
24	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries.	-1	0
25	It is possible for Krakow to become too multilingual.	0	1
26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.	2	1
27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Krakow could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.	1	0
28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.	3	4
29	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child.	-4	-2
32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning Polish because they don't want to integrate.	-1	0
33	Non-Polish-speaking workers are seen as intruders in Krakow.	-2	-3
35	People who come here should learn Polish - it's a necessity to survive in Krakow.	-1	1
37	People who don't speak Polish should lose their entitlement to state benefits.	-3	-2
38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Polish language.	-3	-1
40	Street signs should be provided in English as well as Polish.	1	-1
41	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Polish.	-3	-4
42	The Polish language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs.	0	3
43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Krakow represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.	0	-1
44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.	3	1
46	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Polish.	-2	-1

Table 3. Rounded factor scores of the distinguishing statements for Krakow continued

No.	Statements	Discourse	
		1	2
49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.	1	1
50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multiple languages, despite the costs involved.	1	0
51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning Polish properly.	-2	-1
52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.	0	2
54	When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins.	1	5
55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem.	1	3
56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market.	5	4
58	The definition of a Pole is a person who can speak good Polish	-1	-2
59	Speaking minority (np. German) or regional (Silesian, Górale, Kaszubian) languages opens up new horizons.	0	1
63	Radio programs in regional languages disintegrate the Polish nation.	-2	-3
64	Parents should not transmit regional languages to their children because they are useless	-2	-4

Table 1.   Complete distinguishing statements for Discourse 1.

No.	Statement	Q sort
G. 56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market. Młodzi ludzie powinni uczyć się obcych języków, nie tylko angielskiego, jeśli chcą być konkurencyjni na rynku pracy.	5
G. 7	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from kindergarten onwards. Dzieci powinny zaczynać naukę języków obcych od możliwie wczesnego wieku, najlepiej od przedszkola.	4
G. 12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must. Obecnie język angielski jest koniecznością, a jego znajomość jako drugiego języka jest już nie tylko dodatkowym atutem, ale koniecznością.	4
G. 3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Kraków. W krakowskich szkołach powinien być oferowany duży wybór kursów języków europejskiech i nieeuropejskich.	3
G. 22	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for resi-dents and visitors. Jest dobrą praktyką, by miasto udostępniało wielojęzyczne centra informacyjne dla jego mieszkańców i odwiedzających.	3
G. 28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking. Znajomość języków obcych otwiera nowe sposoby myślenia.	3
G. 44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment. Wielojęzyczne środowisko sprawia, że nasze miasto - Kraków - jest atrakcyjnym miejscem do inwestycji.	3
G. 2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens. Miasto wielojęzyczne to takie, które udostępnia usługi publicze w różnych językach, którymi mówią jego mieszkańcy.	2
G. 26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public ser-vices like health and education in the most common European languages. Obowiązkiem władz miasta Krakówa powinno być dostarczenie informacji o usługach publicznych, takich jak służba zdrowia i edukacja, w najczęściej uży-wanych językach europejskich.	2
G. 1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date. Idea miasta monojęzycznego jest przestarzała.	1
G. 8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages. Instytucje edukacyjne powinny w Krakówie podtrzymywać i promować języki mniejszościowe.	1
G. 13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe. W Europie język angielski powinien być wybierany jako pierwszy język obcy.	1
G. 27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Kraków could have the opportunity to learn very different languages. Dobrym pomysłem byłaby propozycja bezpłatnych i podstawowych kursów języków pochodzących z Azji, Afryki i Bliskiego Wschodu skierowana do mieszkańców Krakówa, którzy dzięki nim mieliby możliwość uczenia się bardzo różnorodnych języków.	1
G. 40	Street signs should be provided not only in Polish but also in English. Znaki informacyjne na ulicach powinny być dostępne nie tylko po polsku, ale również po angielsku.	1

G. 49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes. W telewizji programy we wszystkich językach obcych powinny posiadać napisy.	1
G. 50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multi-ple languages, despite the costs involved. By osiągnąć bardziej inkluzywne społeczeństwo, warto tłumaczyć oficjalne dokumenty na wiele języków, pomimo kosztów, jakie te tłumaczenia mogą gen-erować.	1
G. 54	When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins. Kiedy tracimy język polski, tracimy część naszej tożsamości, kultury i korzeni.	1
G. 55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem. Kiedy zachowujesz język ojczysty, to pomaga Ci on budować dobrą samoocenę.	1
G. 5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way. Wszystkie szkoły powinny zapewnić w jakiejś formie obecność języków mniejszościowych w środowisku szkolnym.	0
G. 9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our language, Polish. Instytucje edukacyjne powinny chronić czystości naszego języka - języka pol-skiego.	0
G. 15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Kraków. Edukacja publiczna w Krakówie powinna każdemu gwarantować prawo do edukacji w języku ojczystym, czyli w języku miejsca, z którego pochodzi.	0
G. 20	If immigrants don't learn Polish language, they will be isolated from society. Jeżeli imigranci nie nauczą się języka polskiego, to będą odizolowani społecznie.	0
G. 25	It is possible for Kraków to become too multilingual. Możliwym jest, by Kraków stał się zbyt wielojęzyczny.	0
G. 42	The Polish language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs. Język polski jest czymś w rodzaju "świętej tradycji" i powinnien być chroniony za wszelką cenę.	0
G. 43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Kraków represents a real chal-lenge for those who work in its administrative offices. Fakt, że w Krakówie mówi się wieloma językami jest prawdziwym wyzwaniem dla tych, którzy pracują w administracji.	0
G. 52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later. Powinniśmy uczyć się języków, gdy jesteśmy młodzi. Później to zbyt trudne.	0
K. 59	Speaking regional languages (e.g. Silesian, Podhale language) opens horizons. Znajmomość gwary regionalnej (np. śląskiej lub podhalańskiej) otwiera hory-zonty.	0
G. 24	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries. Nie jest obowiązkiem władz lokalnych dbałość o to, by w bibliotekach pulicznych był bezpłatny dostęp do prasy w językach obcych.	-1
G. 32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning Polish because they don't want to integrate. W Krakówie większość imigrantów nie jest zainteresowana uczeniem się języka polskiego, ponieważ nie chca się integrować.	-1
G. 35	People who come here should learn Polish. It's a necessity to survive in Kraków. Ludzie, którzy przybywają do Krakówa powinni uczyć się języka polskiego. Jest to konieczne, by tu przetrwać.	-1
K. 58	The definition of a Pole is a person who can speak good Polish Polak to ktoś, kto dobrze mówi po polsku.	-1

G. 19	I get worried about the number of different languages that are spoken here as it makes it difficult to have integrated communities. Obawiam się, że ilość języków, którymi mówi się w Krakówie jest problemem dla integracji społeczeństwa.	-2
G. 33	Non-English-speaking workers are seen as intruders in Kraków. Pracownicy, którzy nie mówią po polsku są postrzegani w Krakówie jako intruzi.	-2
G. 46	The use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Polish. Użycie języka angielskiego, szczególnie w mediach i reklamach, wyraża brak szacunku dla języka polskiego.	-2
G. 51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning Polish properly. Zgoda na nauczanie różnych przedmiotów szkolnych w różnych językach (tzw. nauczanie wielojęzyczne) byłaby przeszkodą, by dobrze nauczyć się języka pol-skiego.	-2
K. 63	Radio programs in minority languages (e.g. German) disintegrate the Polish na-tion. Programy radiowe prowadzone w językach mniejszości (np. w języku nie-mieckim) powodują dezintegrację narodu polskiego.	-2
K. 64	Parents should not transmit regional languages to their children because these languages are not useful. Rodzice nie powinni uczyć dzieci gwary, ponieważ jest ona bezużyteczna.	-2
G. 37	People who don't speak Polish should lose their entitlement to state benefits. Ludzie, którzy nie mówią po polsku powinni tracić prawo do pomocy państwa.	-3
G. 38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Polish. Usługi publiczne, dokumenty itd. powinny być dostępne wyłącznie w języku pol-skim.	-3
G. 41	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Polish. Nauczyciele powinni informować dzieci imigrantów, by zaprzestały w domu mówić w swoim rodzimym języku, ponieważ ma to negatywny wpływ na ich zdolności uczenia się języka polskiego.	-3
G. 14	English spells the doom of other languages. Język angielski zagraża istnieniu innych języków.	-4
G. 29	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child. Równoczesne uczenie się dwóch języków ma negatywny wpływ na dziecko.	-4

Table 2. Complete distinguishing statements for Discourse 2

No.	Statement	Q sort
G. 54	When we lose our Polish, we lose part of our identity, our culture and origins. Kiedy tracimy język polski, tracimy część naszej tożsamości, kultury i korzeni.	5
G. 56	Young people need to learn other languages, not just English, if they want to be competitive in the job market. Młodzi ludzie powinni uczyć się obcych języków, nie tylko angielskiego, jeśli chcą być konkurencyjni na rynku pracy.	4
G. 28	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking. Znajomość języków obcych otwiera nowe sposoby myślenia.	4
G. 55	When you maintain your mother tongue, it helps with your self-esteem. Kiedy zachowujesz język ojczysty, to pomaga Ci on budować dobrą samoocenę.	3
G. 42	The Polish language is a kind of 'sacred tradition' and should be protected at all costs. Język polski jest czymś w rodzaju "świętej tradycji" i powinnien być chroniony za wszelką cenę.	3
G. 7	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from kindergarten onwards. Dzieci powinny zaczynać naukę języków obcych od możliwie wczesnego wieku, najlepiej od przedszkola.	2
G. 12	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must. Obecnie język angielski jest koniecznością, a jego znajomość jako drugiego języka jest już nie tylko dodatkowym atutem, ale koniecznością.	2
G. 22	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for resi-dents and visitors. Jest dobrą praktyką, by miasto udostępniało wielojęzyczne centra informacyjne dla jego mieszkańców i odwiedzających.	2
G. 9	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our language, Polish. Instytucje edukacyjne powinny chronić czystości naszego języka - języka polskiego.	2
G. 52	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later. Powinniśmy uczyć się jezyków, gdy jesteśmy młodzi. Później to zbyt trudne.	2
G. 44	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment. Wielojęzyczne środowisko sprawia, że nasze miasto - Kraków - jest atrakcyjnym miejscem do inwestycji.	1
G. 2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens. Miasto wielojęzyczne to takie, które udostępnia usługi publicze w różnych językach, którymi mówią jego mieszkańcy.	1
G. 26	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public ser-vices like health and education in the most common European languages. Obowiązkiem władz miasta Krakówa powinno być dostarczenie informacji o usługach publicznych, takich jak służba zdrowia i edukacja, w najczęściej uży-wanych językach europejskich.	1
G. 13	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe. W Europie język angielski powinien być wybierany jako pierwszy język obcy.	1
G. 49	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes. W telewizji programy we wszystkich językach obcych powinny posiadać napisy.	1
G. 20	If immigrants don't learn Polish language, they will be isolated from society. Jeżeli imigranci nie nauczą się języka polskiego, to będą odizolowani społecznie.	1

G. 25	It is possible for Kraków to become too multilingual. Możliwym jest, by Kraków stał się zbyt wielojęzyczny.	1
K. 59	Speaking regional languages (e.g. Silesian, Podhale language) opens horizons. Znajmomość gwary regionalnej (np. śląskiej lub podhalańskiej) otwiera hory-zonty.	1
G. 35	People who come here should learn Polish. It's a necessity to survive in Kraków. Ludzie, którzy przybywają do Krakówa powinni uczyć się języka polskiego. Jest to konieczne, by tu przetrwać.	1
G. 3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Kraków. W krakowskich szkołach powinien być oferowany duży wybór kursów języków europejskiech i nieeuropejskich.	0
G. 1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date. Idea miasta monojęzycznego jest przestarzała.	0
G. 8	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages. Instytucje edukacyjne powinny w Krakówie podtrzymywać i promować języki mniejszościowe.	0
G. 27	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Kraków could have the opportunity to learn very different languages. Dobrym pomysłem byłaby propozycja bezpłatnych i podstawowych kursów języków pochodzących z Azji, Afryki i Bliskiego Wschodu skierowana do mieszkańców Krakówa, którzy dzięki nim mieliby możliwość uczenia się bardzo różnorodnych języków.	0
G. 50	For a more inclusive society, it is worth translating official documents into multi-ple languages, despite the costs involved. By osiągnąć bardziej inkluzywne społeczeństwo, warto tłumaczyć oficjalne dokumenty na wiele języków, pomimo kosztów, jakie te tłumaczenia mogą gen-erować.	0
G. 24	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries. Nie jest obowiązkiem władz lokalnych dbałość o to, by w bibliotekach pulicznych był bezpłatny dostęp do prasy w językach obcych.	0
G. 32	Most migrants here have no interest in learning Polish because they don't want to integrate. W Krakówie większość imigrantów nie jest zainteresowana uczeniem się języka polskiego, ponieważ nie chca się integrować.	0
G. 40	Street signs should be provided not only in Polish but also in English. Znaki informacyjne na ulicach powinny być dostępne nie tylko po polsku, ale również po angielsku.	-1
G. 5	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way. Wszystkie szkoły powinny zapewnić w jakiejś formie obecność języków mniejszościowych w środowisku szkolnym.	-1
G. 15	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Kraków. Edukacja publiczna w Krakowie powinna każdemu gwarantować prawo do edukacji w języku ojczystym, czyli w języku miejsca, z którego pochodzi.	-1
G. 43	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Kraków represents a real chal-lenge for those who work in its administrative offices. Fakt, że w Krakówie mówi się wieloma językami jest prawdziwym wyzwaniem dla tych, którzy pracują w administracji.	-1
G. 46	The use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Polish. Użycie języka angielskiego, szczególnie w mediach i reklamach, wyraża brak szacunku dla języka polskiego.	-1

G. 51	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning Polish properly. Zgoda na nauczanie różnych przedmiotów szkolnych w różnych językach (tzw. nauczanie wielojęzyczne) byłaby przeszkodą, by dobrze nauczyć się języka pol-skiego.	-1
G. 38	Public services, documents and so forth, should only be provided in Polish. Usługi publiczne, dokumenty itd. powinny być dostępne wyłącznie w języku polskim.	-1
K. 58	The definition of a Pole is a person who can speak good Polish. Polak to ktoś, kto dobrze mówi po polsku.	-2
G. 19	I get worried about the number of different languages that are spoken here as it makes it difficult to have integrated communities. Obawiam się, że ilość języków, którymi mówi się w Krakówie jest problemem dla integracji społeczeństwa.	-2
G. 37	People who don't speak Polish should lose their entitlement to state benefits. Ludzie, którzy nie mówią po polsku powinni tracić prawo do pomocy państwa.	-2
G. 14	English spells the doom of other languages. Język angielski zagraża istnieniu innych języków.	-2
G. 29	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child. Równoczesne uczenie się dwóch języków ma negatywny wpływ na dziecko.	-2
G. 33	Non-English-speaking workers are seen as intruders in Kraków. Pracownicy, którzy nie mówią po polsku są postrzegani w Krakówie jako intruzi.	-3
K. 63	Radio programs in minority languages (e.g. German) disintegrate the Polish na-tion. Programy radiowe prowadzone w językach mniejszości (np. w języku nie-mieckim) powodują dezintegrację narodu polskiego.	-3
K. 64	Parents should not transmit regional languages to their children because these languages are not useful. Rodzice nie powinni uczyć dzieci gwary, ponieważ jest ona bezużyteczna.	-4
G. 41	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn Polish. Nauczyciele powinni informować dzieci imigrantów, by zaprzestały w domu mówić w swoim rodzimym języku, ponieważ ma to negatywny wpływ na ich zdolności uczenia się języka polskiego.	-4

Discourse 1

Items ranked at +5 and +4

G1 +4	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.
G28 +5	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.
G45 +4	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understanding.

Items ranked at +5 and +4

G17 -5	I don't need to speak any foreign languages in life.
G29 -4	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child.
G41 -4	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn English.

Items ranked higher in Discourse 1 Array than Discourse 2

G2 +2	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.
G3 +3	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Dublin.
G5 +2	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.
G7 +3	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards.
G8 +3	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.
G15 0	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Dublin.
G22 +3	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors.
G23 +3	It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage.
G24 -1	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries.
G26 +1	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.
G27 +2	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.
G32 -2	Most migrants here have no interest in learning English because they don't want to integrate.
G36 +1	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English.
G39 -3	School children here should only speak English during their break time.
G40 0	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as English and Irish.
G43 0	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Dublin represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.
G44 +2	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.
G46 -2	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Irish.
G48 +2	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.
G49 0	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.
G52 -1	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.
D2 0	There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.
D5 +1	There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here.
D7 0	Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.

Items ranked lower in Discourse 1 than in Discourse 2

G9 -1	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English.
G10 +2	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.
G11 0	English is a priority for all young people in European society.
G12 1	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.
G13 -1	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.
G14 -3	English spells the doom of other languages.
G16 -2	Having many languages in a city makes it difficult for some citizens to access social services.
G18 -3	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.
G20 +1	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.
G21 -2	The children of immigrants should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language.
G30 -1	Migrant languages and lesser-spoken languages are not really seen as an asset in Dublin.
G35 0	People who come here should learn English - it's a necessity to survive in Dublin.
G37 -3	People who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits.
G51 -2	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly.
D1 -2	It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.
D6 +2	It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.
D8 -1	The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.

Discourse 2

Items ranked at +5 and +4

G1 +4	English is now a necessity: it is no longer just an advantage as a second language, but it is a must.
G28 +5	Knowing foreign languages opens us up to new ways of thinking.
G45 +4	People who come here should learn English - it's a necessity to survive in Dublin.

Items ranked at +5 and +4

G17 -5	I don't need to speak any foreign languages in life.
G29 -4	Learning two languages simultaneously has a negative impact on the child.
G41 -4	School children here should only speak English during their break time.

Items ranked higher in Discourse 2 Array than Discourse 1 Array

G7 +3	Children should start learning foreign languages from the earliest possible age, from Junior Infants onwards.
G9 0	Educational institutions should protect the linguistic purity of our two languages, Irish and English.
G10 +3	It's good to have English as a lingua franca, it facilitates international communication.
G11 +2	English is a priority for all young people in European society.
G13 +3	English should be the first choice as a foreign language in Europe.
G14 -2	English spells the doom of other languages.
G16 -1	Having many languages in a city makes it difficult for some citizens to access social services.
G18 -2	I feel uncomfortable when I hear people speaking languages that I don't understand in the street or on public transport.
G20 3	If immigrants don't learn the national language they will be isolated from society.
G21 -1	The children of immigrants should speak English at home to make progress in learning the language.
G25 0	It is possible for Dublin to become too multilingual.
G30 0	Migrant languages and lesser-spoken languages are not really seen as an asset in Dublin.
G37 -2	People who don't speak English should lose their entitlement to state benefits.
G41 -3	Teachers should tell the children of migrants to stop speaking their own language at home, as it has a negative impact on children's ability to learn English.
G51 -1	Allowing the use of different languages in classrooms to teach different subjects (e.g. multilingual teaching) would be an obstacle to learning English properly.
D1 -1	It's annoying to have to comply with Irish language legislation, like having to put up a sign in both Irish and English instead of just English.
D2 +2	There's a bit of artificiality around Irish, as most communication in Dublin is actually in English.
D6 +3	It is shameful that no foreign languages are included in our primary curriculum.
D8 0	The emphasis on Irish in primary schools takes away time that could be spent learning other languages.

Items ranked lower in Discourse 2 than in Discourse 1

G1 +1	The idea of a monolingual city is out of date.
G2 +1	A multilingual city is one that delivers its services in the various languages of its citizens.
G3 +2	A wide choice of languages, both European and non-European, should be offered in schools in Dublin.
G5 0	All schools must ensure that the languages of minorities are represented in the school's environment in some way.
G8 +1	Educational institutions here should support and promote minority languages.
G15 -1	Everyone should be entitled to first language education - the language of where they come from - in the public school system here in Dublin.
G22 +2	It is good practice for a city to provide multilingual information centres for residents and visitors.
G23 +2	It is important that teenagers from migrant backgrounds preserve their language skills and are not ashamed of their heritage.
G24 -2	It is not the responsibility of the local council to provide free foreign newspapers in public libraries.
G26 -1	It should be the duty of the city authorities to provide information on public services like health and education in the most common European languages.
G27 +1	It would be good to provide free introductory classes to Asian, African or Middle Eastern languages so people in Dublin could have the opportunity to learn very different languages.
G32 -3	Most migrants here have no interest in learning English because they don't want to integrate.
G36 0	Officials who deal with the general public really should be able to speak some Irish as well as English.
G40 -3	Street signs should be provided in other languages as well as English and Irish.
G43 -2	The fact that there are many languages spoken in Dublin represents a real challenge for those who work in its administrative offices.
G44 +1	The multilingual environment here turns our city into an attractive destination for investment.
G45 +2	The multiple languages in the EU are a source of richness, a bridge for greater solidarity and mutual understand-ing.
G46 -3	The extensive use of English, especially in the media and advertisements, shows disrespect for Irish.
G48 0	There should always be multiple language options in ticket vending machines for public transport and other self-service machines.
G49 -1	There should be subtitles on television for all foreign language programmes.
G52 +2	We should learn languages when we are young. It is too difficult later.
D5 0	There is a kind of elite multilingualism in Dublin where important European languages like French or German are valued more than the languages of the refugees who come here.
D7 -2	Travellers are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct culture and language that should be protected and promoted.