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1. Introduction

1.1. Aim and scope of this study

"If thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought"

George Orwell - Politics and the English Language- 1946

This study aims to provide a general overview of the enlargement terminology of the European Union and more specifically, the enlargement terminology regarding the Western Balkans. Its objective is to examine the development, alteration, and ‘maturing’ of the enlargement language, and to depict the directions and the manner in which the enlargement is being addressed, on one hand in official documents prepared by the European Union bodies and, on the other, in the local media, i.e. local newspapers. The study endeavors to identify the triggers that lead to minor or major shifts of the language itself, and attempts to detect the reasons behind these changes. Finally, it intends to evaluate, compare and interpret the ‘real life’ application of the terminology in a general pool of enlargement-related documents, country-specific papers and local newspapers.

All of the above is to be attained by exploring the enlargement terminology in its context of occurrence.

To achieve this, three specific corpora were created. The first one comprises 20 papers on the enlargement policy of the European Union, including the key articles, enlargement criteria documents resulting from the EU Councils, protocols on enlargement, enlargement strategies, treaties and enlargement roadmaps involved in the 1992 until 2009 period. The second corpus consists of 13 documents, all prepared by official European Union bodies, and all dealing exclusively either with the candidature of the Republic of Macedonia for EU membership and the decision made upon the candidature to grant the state candidate country status, or with the progress that Macedonia has made on this path. The second corpus covers a five-year period starting from the year Macedonia received its candidate status, i.e. from 2005 through 2009. The third, most specific one encompasses relevant articles from the two Macedonian daily newspapers. These are *Dnevnik*, represented with 75 articles, and *Utrinski vesnik* with 76 articles. The articles have been chosen manually, using the principle of input of key words that were drawn from findings from the previous two corpora and their sub-corpora respectively, in

the search engines of the two newspapers *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*, covering the period 2005 – 2009.

The development of the analysis conducted on the three corpora is similar, i.e. divided into two parts. The first part aims towards providing an overall study of the documents comprising the entire corpus, thus offering an overview of the general terminology applied in the corpus' documents through exploration of the key words, word clusters and their collocations. The analysis of the second part of each chapter investigates the chronological development, depicting the differences and similarities of the applied terminology over time, studying the contexts of occurrences of the key terminology, and illustrating the persistence or the alteration of the progress language. For this purpose, the documents have been grouped in sub-corpora depending on the year during which they were prepared or the year to which the findings belong.

This thesis is structured into nine sections. The first section introduces the aim of the dissertation, provides a brief overview of the scope and overall organization of the work, establishes the research questions, and gives a short depiction of the significance, i.e. the purpose of the study in reference to the manner in which the study contributes to the field. The second section presents the key notions and methodology of Corpus Linguistics, and informs about the tools that will be employed in the Corpus Analysis part of the thesis. The third section reviews previous Corpus Linguistics studies conducted in the area of mass media. The fourth part provides a brief outline of the enlargement history and the enlargement policy of the European Union. The core portions of this work, i.e. chapters five through seven, examine the key enlargement terminology in the three corpora and their respective sub-corpora. The fifth chapter analyses the enlargement language in the enlargement policy documents and papers. The sixth chapter looks at the Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia and related documents, and the seventh chapter explores the manner in which enlargement and the progress of the country is treated in the two Macedonian newspapers, *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*. Each of the core chapters ends with a summary of the findings and a conclusion about the examined corpus. The eighth chapter portrays and interprets the concluding results of the entire analysis. The ninth and final section of this dissertation offers a brief overview of the country's progress towards accession in the European Union in the period from 2009 to May 2016.

1.2 Research rationale

The process of enlargement has been one of the most significant focal issues for the European Union. Bearing in mind the beginnings and the design of the EU which we know to exist today, elaborated in-depth in the fourth section of this thesis, the enlargement of the Union, now encompassing 28 nations, is considered to be a success story. Joining the large family of European countries is perceived as an achievement for any state wishing to belong to the Union of prosperity. The accession process itself is long and difficult. The appeal of joining the Union is manifold and is being observed not only from a point of view of the governmental authorities of the aspiring countries, but by the people of these nations as well.

With the development from what was initially constructed to be a community of economic collaboration, to a Union of 28 member states from all of the European regions, it is natural that the terminological aspects, as well as the approaches towards further enlargements, have developed and ‘evolved’ as well. These alterations in the approach towards the new aspiring and candidate countries derive from differing motives such as political, economic, geo-strategic and other concerns. It is these conditions and situations which shape the enlargement momentum at a specific point of time. This is one of the issues which I am going to explore.

More specifically, I will investigate the development and growth of the enlargement rhetoric as devised by the European Union bodies, provide an overview of the specialist lexicon of the terminology on enlargement of the Union, identify the key concepts and terms and illustrate the changes in the terminology and application over time. I will examine the synchronic variation and the diachronic change of the corpus based terminology. In order to achieve this I will perform intra- and inter-corpus analyses.

I will analyse how the European Union communicates its enlargement objectives and activities. I will inspect whether this communication becomes incomprehensible in a circular recursive process from the intentions to exploitation methods, how the people are addressed and referenced in political talk and how the media portray it, from official to interpretational means like EU bodies, political organizations, and media.

This work begins with an application of various corpus linguistic analyses on major texts and official documents of the EU generally referring to the enlargement policy and enlargement criteria, furthermore inspecting the communication strategy for enlargement in the countries

from the Western Balkans and Turkey. Moreover, the implementation of the EU communication strategy and the progress made on its path towards the Union of a specific country, i.e. Republic of Macedonia from the EU's point of view will be analyzed in-depth.

Specifically, the investigations will go through the official communication language as it is expressed in the official documentation of major EU institutes, how *Copenhagen Criteria* (See European Union, 2015g) messages and politics are communicated to and interpreted by a candidate country. I shall focus on a comparison of selected political documents as well as their interpretation by the media. I look at how 'is', 'must' and 'how' are argued, from depictions (narratives) of the EU and the EU's change to prescriptions for policy, from substantial to fanciful. I also look at how documents are processed, structured and communicated by all actors in the EU, meaning EU institutions, (Commission, Council and Parliament), their counterparts and the local media, i.e. two newspapers in Macedonia.

When considering the tempo of enlargement of the Union, a trend of deceleration can be recognized. On one hand, this could be due to the fact that most of the European countries are already members of the EU, on the other hand, the slowdown could come as a result of the circumstances in the Union, on a global level or in the aspiring countries. Therefore, the need arises to examine the Union's enlargement tone, attitude and expression as formulated in the past and in more recent times, as well as to examine the on-going state affairs, upon the same issue, in a candidate country that has slowed its accession inclinations.

In order to discover the 'obvious' and the 'less obvious' stances of both sides, this study will embark upon answering the following research questions:

- What are the key enlargement policy concepts and terms? What are the contexts of their occurrences?
- How do they develop over time? Are there alterations? If yes, to what end?
- Are there similarities or differences among the key terms as observed from the point of view of the general and official EU enlargement policy stance, from their application in a country specific documents and reports, and from an aspect of local media in a specific country?
- What are the major shifts in the enlargement policy 'tones'? What are the causes behind them and what is the effect that they have on the key enlargement language?

- How do the local media understand, convey, shape or misshape the ‘enlargement reality’ as created and communicated by its architects, i.e. the official European Union institutions?
- And finally, what kind of information reaches the end users, i.e. the local readers?

Bearing in mind the above, this study aims to provide an exhaustive and detailed portrayal of the enlargement status over time, with a specific focus on a five-year period, thus rendering the stand-still or the accelerated change in the conditions or attitudes and the manner in which these changes are perceived and interpreted.

Furthermore, it intends to provide a better understanding of the enlargement policy of the European Union, starting with its intent, the manner in which this intent is being practiced and conveyed and the manner in which the intent is perceived by the final recipient, i.e. a candidate country. Its objective is to present the essential enlargement idea, the enlargement commitment and enlargement endeavours as opposed to possible political declarative expressions supported by a vague and possibly dubious language.

Finally, this dissertation is intended to deepen the understanding of this exhaustive, time-consuming process. The research approach could be used in examining many other policies both at an EU or global level.

2. Corpus Analysis

The study of language, corpus linguistics, is used for a variety of linguistic research via "a collection of naturally-occurring language text" (Sinclair, 1991:171) known as a corpus, i.e. "a body of written text or transcribed speech" (Kennedy, 1998:1) assembled "to be maximally representative of the language variety under consideration" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001a:32). As a method, corpora are also being used in grammar studies, lexicography, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, historical linguistics, social psychology, dialectology, translation studies, language learning (i.e. teaching, stylistics, and speech research), as well as in cultural studies (McEnery & Wilson, 2001b).

Hunston (2002:3) explains the possibilities of a software-accessed corpus and the new data one can acquire or could learn about the already known. McEnery and Wilson (2001:14) see corpus as a means to sustain a theory. The observations based on a corpus examination are more supportable than decisions based on personal perceptual experiences. They find the main advantages of corpora (McEnery & Wilson 2001a: 130) to be the possibility of sampling and quantification of data, eased access to a large amount of data, the possibility to access already enriched data (i.e. corpora with additional information), as well as the fact that the most easily accessible data come from real social interaction and contexts. Kennedy (1998:9) finds the corpus examination by means of linguistic research software to be pivotal in depicting aspects that have not even been considered previously, and that investigation is made easier by studying the context of the meaning in use.

Hardie and McEnery (2010:387) found that methods applied in corpus analysis have even been employed by researchers primarily in various other fields, and only secondarily in linguistic studies.

The applicability of corpus analysis in some other areas shall be explored in the chapters to follow.

2.1. Key Notions and Methodology

2.1.1. What is Corpus Linguistics?

The much-debated area of study of language known as “corpus linguistics” has driven plenty of fierce discussions from the middle of the 20th century onwards.

According to McEnery and Wilson (2001:1), the “marginalized approach” applied mostly in English grammar has widened its scope and has “undergone a remarkable renaissance in the recent years”. Following Geoffrey Leech's understanding of corpus linguistics as “computer corpus linguistics” (1992:106), Aarts (2002:1) locates its origin in the early 1960s. During the following two decades, through which it was highly disregarded as a serious approach, the methodology was neglected but not entirely abandoned. The term corpus linguistics came into use once it obtained “some respectability in the late seventies or early eighties” (Aarts 2002:1) and once the corpus was connected to computers, corpus linguistics “boomed” (McEnery & Wilson 2001a: 24). Today, corpus linguistics is considered to be the “default resource for almost anyone working in linguistics” (Teubert 2005:1) and is “taken seriously by the majority of linguists” (Aarts 2002:1).

McEnery and Hardie (2012:1) defined corpus linguistics as handling a collection of “machine-readable texts” considered to be a suitable basis for examining a “specific set of research questions”. In reference to what corpus linguistics is, they offered several generalizations that describe the most prominent aspects of this diverse area of study. The first generalization describes it as a collection of texts, i.e. a corpus, of a considerable size, which would make an analysis by hand or naked eye a time-consuming venture (McEnery & Hardie 2012:2). Kennedy (1998:1) defined corpus in language sciences as “a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description” used by linguists “to answer questions and solve problems” (Kennedy 1998:2). The second generalization about corpus linguistics, arising from the first one, is that the tools which are being employed when exploring the corpora allow for a fast and reliable search through the large amount of data, some of which enable the users to get an insight of the “words in context”, i.e. concordances and the frequency of data representing the qualitative and the quantitative aspect of analysis respectively (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 2). Finally, another factor that ought to be taken into consideration, and is of a significant importance once one commits to corpus linguistics, is the compilation of texts that create the corpus, i.e. their correspondence to the research question(s) (McEnery & Hardie 2012:2).

According to McEnery and Hardie (2012:1), corpus linguistics is an “area which focuses upon a set of procedures, or methods for studying language”, differing from most of the areas in linguistics as it does not study “any particular aspect of language”. McEnery and Wilson defined corpus linguistics as “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (2001:1). Leech (1992:107) found the “focus of study” to be on the “performance rather than competence” and on the “observation of language in use leading to theory rather than vice versa”.

Kennedy (1998:1) saw corpus linguistics as a “new scholarly enterprise” arising from “the compilation and analysis of corpora stored in computerized databases” during the previous three decades, and found it not to be “an end in itself” but a “source of evidence for improving descriptions of the structure and use of languages, and for various applications”. He found a corpus to be “a new kind of research domain involving new methodologies”, however he did not see the use of corpora to constitute a new or separate branch of linguistics, but rather saw corpus linguistics as “essentially descriptive linguistics aided by new technologies” (Kennedy 1998:268).

Unlike McEnery, Hardie, and Kennedy, who perceived corpus linguistics as a method, Teubert, in his version of what corpus linguistics constitutes, saw it as a theoretical approach to the study of language as opposed to what had previously been recognized as a set of methods developed primarily for lexicography and language teaching (Teubert 2005: 2).

Teubert offered 25 theses, several of which are presented here, on what he understood to be corpus linguistics at the time, i.e. an empirical study whose object is “real language data” (Teubert 2005:3). The linguist is the one to delineate both the object of research and the data subjected to analysis (Teubert 2005: 4). He pinpointed what he saw as the “focus of corpus linguistics”, i.e. meaning and the “social perspective” of a language (Teubert 2005: 2), perceived corpus linguistics as a study of the written, and believed that every text segment can be taken from both “the aspect of form and the aspect of meaning” which he proclaimed to be inseparable (Teubert 2005:3). Not only did he find the meaning to be in the discourse, i.e. once one embarks upon understanding a specific segment, the meaning arises either from the previous segments or is to be found in the contributions to follow, but he also found that when it comes to corpus linguistics, “the meaning of a text or of a text segment is independent of the intentions of its

speaker (its author)” (Teubert 2005:3). According to Teubert (2005:4), the diachronic dimension of the discourse can only be found if the corpus has been diachronically built. In his theories, he defined the lexical items to be “single words or complex units of meaning” (Teubert 2005:5) and apart from the frequency of occurrence he found the semantic relevance of the lexical items to be of importance when making general assertions about the discourse. Finally, he considered linguistics to be a science, which unlike the natural sciences, is attempting to make sense of the “human condition”, and argued that the corpus linguist’s duty is to present the community with her findings and argue for the acknowledgement of these findings (Teubert 2005:7).

His views on the lack of apprehension on the part of corpus linguistics towards the “psychological aspects of language” (Teubert 2005:3) have been explored by Hardie and McEnery (2010:386) in reference to the effects of the ‘corpus-as-method’ versus ‘corpus-as-theory’ distinction, which shall be further examined in the section to follow.

2.1.2. Corpus-based vs. corpus-driven traditions of corpus linguistics

Hardie and McEnery (2010:384) provided an overview of the two main traditions of corpus linguistics, which developed differently in different parts of Europe, i.e. British academic circles, due to historical reasons, and which persevere today. The first tradition emerged at the University College London in the 1950s, originating from the Survey of English Usage (SEU) (Hardie & McEnery 2010:384) produced during the period between 1955 and 1985. The other tradition, based on the work of one of the most prominent British linguists of the previous century, J.R. Firth, emerged at the University of Birmingham in the early 1970s resulting in the first COBUILD corpus (Hardie & McEnery 2010:384). John McHardy Sinclair is one of the principal characters of this tradition (Hardie & McEnery 2010:384).

Tognini-Bonelli (2001a:84-5) embarked upon providing a distinction between the two traditions, characterizing them as corpus-based versus corpus-driven approaches. However, even though the designation has been widely accepted, the two have not been thus universally marked, namely, McEnery and Hardie (2012:6) rejected both this “basic, binary distinction” and the notion which awards corpus with a theoretical status. They stated that if thus perceived, all corpus linguistics could be depicted as corpus-based (McEnery & Hardie 2012:6).

As regarding the corpus-driven approach to corpus linguistics, Tognini-Bonelli believed that the linguist's task is to use the corpus beyond the data it comprises either to "support a linguistics argument or to validate a theoretical statement" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001a:84). It aims towards depicting "linguistic categories systematically from the recurrent patterns and the frequency distributions" deriving from "language in context" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001a:87), i.e. the categories are to be described "in the presence of specific evidence from the corpus" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001b: 99). Furthermore, Tognini-Bonelli (2001a:84) found that the corpus itself should not be observed as a simple storage of data which serve to support already established theories, but rather as a source of hypothesis. The corpus-based approach on the other hand employs the data of the corpus and aims towards examining an already-established "theory or hypothesis, typically one established in the current literature, in order to validate it, refute it or refine it" (McEnery & Hardie 2012:6). Tognini-Bonelli (2001b:99) found corpus-based work to be employing the corpus data simply in order to support the already established "theoretical parameters" without association to the corpus evidence.

As per Hardie and McEnery (2010:385), based on the role of the corpus in linguistics, a further attempt has been made in distinguishing the two traditions. The one originating from the SEU views corpus linguistics as a method as opposed to the one "rooted in Sinclair's work" which views corpus linguistics as a "theoretical approach", or even as a "still young discipline" (Teubert 2005: 2), and has been assigned a "theoretical status" by Tognini-Bonelli (2001a:1). Therefore, Hardie and McEnery (2010:385) outlined the first tradition to be "methodologist" and the second "neo-Firthian", arising from Firth's concept of collocation, which shall be described in the section to follow. Hardie and McEnery declared themselves to be methodologists and see corpus linguistics primarily as a methodology (2010: 385).

In their article, they highlighted the remarkable accomplishments made by both of the traditions respectively. Namely, the methodologists have made notable progress in the areas of "standard, descriptive grammars of English, [...] manual and automatic corpus annotation, [...] diachronic examination of the historical development of English as well as recent change in modern English, [...]synchronic and dialectal variation", while the neo-Firthians, grounded the "lexicographical approaches to language", advanced language understanding through the "centrality of meaning across context" and "phenomenon of collocation"; one of the key

achievements of the linguists following the second tradition has been the connection of the “study of discourse to the study of lexis” (Hardie & McEnery 2010: 386).

The bottom line dissimilarity between the two traditions is in the ‘corpus-as-method’ versus ‘corpus-as-theory’ attitude. The first one perceives the “corpus techniques to be a method (or rather methodology) applicable in various language studies and “within different theoretical frameworks” (Hardie & McEnery 2010:386). On the other hand, the second one regards corpus linguistics as a “separate sub-field of linguistics” (Hardie & McEnery 2010: 386).

Unlike McEnery and Hardie’s “group of methods for studying language” approach, (2012:2), Teubert considered corpus linguistics not to be a method in itself but a variety of methods which are being employed in examining the corpus data (Teubert 2005:4). He found corpus linguistics to be simply working with existing discourse data compiled in a corpus (Teubert 2005:4). Furthermore, he disregarded the corpus-based approach by stating that a researcher ought to restrain himself from conducting research based on something already known, as our knowledge originates from a “pre-corpus study” (Teubert 2005:4). His statement that corpus linguistics views language from a “social perspective” and “is not concerned with the psychological aspects of the language” (Teubert 2005:2-3) is being strongly rebutted by Hardie and McEnery (2010:386-7) who considered, within the framework of the methodologists’ tradition, that the “corpus data and methods” are often used when one needs to find evidence which would further “support or disprove different theories”. On the contrary, one may employ various theories when “explaining corpus observations” utilizing the most suitable one(s) for the workload, regardless of the primary discipline to which they belong or derive from (Hardie & McEnery 2010:386-7).

The representatives of both of the traditions have long been arguing the pros of the one they stand for and the cons of the opposite one. Some lively debates have followed on which is the original tradition. Namely Teubert and Williams (see Teubert 2008, Williams 2008), stated that the neo-Firthian is the original. This statement has been contested by Hardie and McEnery (2010: 388), who find the methodologist tradition to be at least as long, and who find that the two traditions have separate roots.

Bearing in mind the openness of the methodologist tradition towards theories deriving from different areas, accepting theoretic notions from the neo-Firthian tradition where rendered useful

is not something that would be extraneous to the methodologists. Hardie and McEnery (2010:389) found that there is a significant overlap between the two traditions both at a performance and at a conceptual application level. Baker, Gabrielatos, McEnery and other researchers belonging to the methodologist tradition have utilized the neo-Firthian concept of semantic prosody (see below) in research conducted within Critical Discourse Analysis (see Chapter 3) (Hardie & McEnery 2010: 389). Furthermore, the concept of collocations and concordances (see below) has been used in the examination of metaphor using corpus data by Deignan (2005). On the other hand, the neo-Firthians are approaching other linguistic theories (Hardie & McEnery 2010:389). Thus the two traditions can, and, where needed, are being reconciled. In the conclusion of their paper on the two corpus linguistics traditions, Hardie and McEnery (2010:390) found this variety of different traditions to be highly useful and the corpus linguistics field “utterly refreshing”. The labeling of one approach as the right one is considered to be counterproductive (Hardie & McEnery 2010:390). Namely, they try to reconcile the two traditions and find that there is enough space for coexistence of them both. Furthermore, the intertwining of the concepts deriving from the two traditions as deemed appropriate and practical is not alien to many “self-identified corpus linguists” (Hardie & McEnery 2010:390).

Aarts (2002:14) in his answer to the question whether corpus linguistics is “a linguistic discipline in its own right” stated that one cannot contest the existence of a discipline which makes room for two actual methodological approaches. Aarts (2002:14) concludes that corpus linguistics deals with language in use, i.e. “with the way in which a given language system manifests itself in a particular context and cultural environment”. Finally, he confirms the existence of corpus linguistics and defines it as a discipline which provides home for two opposing methodologies, i.e. “corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches”, which would complement each other and would provide “a fuller picture of language in use” (Aarts 2002:14).

The corpora compiled for the purpose of this thesis, and the results of the analysis that derive thereof, do not recognize the clear cut between corpus-based versus corpus-driven dichotomy, i.e. the ‘corpus-as-method’ vs. ‘corpus-as-theory’ approach as defined by Hardie and McEnery (2010:386). Rather, the corpora accumulated for this research have come as a result of pre-corpus knowledge, in this case pre-understanding of the process called European Union enlargement, however leaving space for findings not primarily anticipated, deriving from the

corpora themselves. In this regard, this dissertation combines the two corpus linguistics traditions.

2.1.3. Types of corpora and linguistic data

In reference to the linguistic data, Aarts (2002:4) differentiated between the two major types, i.e. intuitive versus non-intuitive. He defined the first to reflect upon the speaker's knowledge or belief of language manifestation in specific circumstances (Aarts 2002:4). The latter are the data, which communicate the actual utterances and the written work of people (Aarts 2002:4). It is the written data, whether they come from written texts or transcriptions of what people say, that are being employed in corpus analysis. They are natural data, found in the everyday environment, their source is known i.e. they, the corpus data "reflect the way in which language is actually used", and they bear genuine indication of language in use (Aarts 2002:6). This is one of the major advantages of the corpus analysis. The data sampled for the purpose of this study derive from written texts, i.e. documents, papers and newspaper articles widely accessible for the broad public. Stubbs (2001:20) saw a corpus as a vast selection reflecting the way in which people use language. The corpus ought to give insight into the meanings that are hidden, and once one connects the dots the experimental methods that arise can be employed in discerning the meaning, as "words acquire meaning from their frequent co-occurrence with other words" (Stubbs 2001:20). This benefit of analyzing large amounts of data, and the insight that the corpus inspection provides in discerning words in their context and thus a depiction of their meaning in their environment, shall be utilized in the chapters to follow.

The collection of the data that are most suitable to correspond to the research question(s) i.e. the compilation of the corpus is one of the most significant aspects of corpus linguistics (McEnery & Hardie 2012:6). Sinclair (1991:24-26) offered the "monitor corpus" approach, to which the concept of Web as corpus approach (Kilgarriff & Grefenstette 2003) bears resemblance, envisioning an ever expanding corpus, containing different types of data, which through constant flux of new texts would avoid "skewness" of data. The second approach considers a balanced, also known as a sample corpus. This corpus is being compiled during a specific point of time, constructed based on a particular selection structure, representative and encompassing data deriving from a specific time framework (Biber 1993 and Leech 2007). As per McEnery and

Hardie (2012:9) the monitor corpora, which reflect a representative balance of the data within a particular frame, are known to be “snapshot corpora”. This study has strived towards sampling the corpora of the latter approach.

2.2. Corpora analysis

The three major corpora and the sub-corpora subjected to close examination in this study have been analyzed via the WordSmith Software Tools. Namely, WordSmith Tools is computer software designed to look at “how words behave in texts” (Publisher’s description, Scott:2007 – 2013). The general use of the tools is finding out the way words are being used in texts of a personal choice or texts chosen by others (Scott:2007–2013). The in-depth analysis of the texts is carried out through the programs offered by WordSmith, i.e. KeyWords, WordList and Concord.

2.2.1. Word list

For the purpose of identifying the key words in a corpus, a word list needs to be created. Principally, a word list is a listing of all the separate words in a corpus, demonstrating the number of times each word occurs. The words contained in the word lists are generated in alphabetical, as well as in frequency order, allowing for a possibility to generate a word index (Scott:2007–2013). Once the word list of a smaller, specialized corpus has been generated via the WordSmith WordList tool, the frequency of each word is compared to the frequency of the words in a reference corpus word list of a significantly bigger size and of a more general composition, which further lists the key words of the smaller corpus. In the analyses conducted for this study, the word lists of the first two corpora and their sub-corpora respectively have been compared to the *Guardian* 1998 – 2004 reference corpus word list in order to compare the key words. The *Guardian* 1998 – 2004 word list, offered by the WordSmith Tools (see Scott:2015a), has been considered suitable in size in reference to the corpora subjected to analysis. Due to lack of an appropriate word list which would serve as a reference corpus in order to establish the key words of the third corpus, i.e. the Macedonian newspaper articles, and its sub-corpora, a reference corpus has been generated by compiling random newspaper articles from the two newspapers, *Dnevnik* and *Untrinski vesnik* respectively. The process of compiling a reference corpus shall be explained in Chapter 7. Once generated, the key words list ought to be refined, i.e. the most frequent words appearing at the top of the list, in most of the cases prepositions,

articles, as well as terminologically irrelevant words, need to be excluded from the in-depth analysis. This process of filtering the key words relevant for examination from the ones that are not does not hinder the inspection procedure or the findings.

2.2.2. Keyness

Based on the WordSmith Tools Manual, version 3.0 (Scott 1999), “keyness, in corpus linguistics methodology, refers to the statistically higher/lower frequencies of particular words (termed keywords) in one corpus when compared to their frequency in another corpus” (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:10). Key words, named as “focal or pivotal words” and defined as “sociologically important” by Firth (1935:40, quoted in Stubbs 1996:165), are those “whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm” (Scott: 2007–2013). Scott (2007:1) found them to be significant in tackling the meaning in a given text, i.e. he saw them as key players in identifying what a text is all about and defined keyness as importance and “aboutness” (Scott 2007:3–4). The keyness provides solid pointers about the text along with indicators of style (Scott 2007:5). For Scott and Tribble (2006:55–56), keyness is a quality carried by words in text(s), implying their importance and bearing the essence of the text, i.e. what it is really about, by staying away from insignificances. Key words are considered by many researchers to be a constructive starting point when investigating a particular corpus (Hunston 2002:68). Scott (2007–2013) finds their usefulness in providing a way in which they distinguish a text, i.e. genre.

2.2.3. Word clusters

Once the key words that are going to be additionally analyzed have been established, they represent an important starting point in the further study, namely in the word clusters calculation. Word clusters represent “words which are found repeatedly together in each other’s company, in sequence” (Scott:2007–2013). The relationship between these words is tighter than the one in collocates, that is they are “more like multi-word units or groups of phrases” (Scott:2007–2013). According to Scott (2007–2013), they are termed “clusters” due to the fact that just because they have been found together does not mean that they are “true multi-word units”. This same group of words that occur repeatedly together within the same register have also been named “lexical bundles” by Biber, Conrad and Cortes (see Scott 2007–2013, as well as Hanel 2007 – 2015). As

Scott (2007–2013) points out, “language is phrasal and textual” ... “words keep company” and they tend to “cluster together with some others” thus forming different relationships. As per the options offered by WordSmith tools, the word clusters can be identified through the WordList or through Concord, both of which apply different methods (Scott 2007-2013). Namely, Concord only processes concordance lines, while WordList processes entire texts. In both of the cases one must decide upon the size of the cluster, between two and eight words, and a minimum frequency of occurrence in order to be visible in the results. Scott recommends that the clusters ought to be of two- to four-words size (Scott 2004 – 2007: 87), however, aiming towards a more extensive study, in this analysis, WordList has been used to generate two- to six-words clusters with a minimum frequency of five-time occurrence in the corpus. The minimum of five-time occurrence has been set due to the nature of the analyzed texts in the corpora and the assumption that this frequency of manifestation ought to be indicative of a further insight into their contexts of occurrence, which has proven to be appropriate in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The following step, once the word clusters have been generated, is to once more reexamine them and to separate the true multi-word units relevant to the analysis from the simple recurrent strings of words, i.e. to distinguish the “related” clusters which, as defined by Scott, are “those that overlap to some extent with others” (Scott 2004–2007: 89), that is, the ones that are terminologically relevant to the analysis and subject to further extensive examination.

Scott offered the example of the cluster *the cause of*. Once the cluster has been generated and sorted according to the pre-set number of words (in this case five words), the right column offers a set of “related” clusters, which once opened (double-clicked) allows for the most related clusters to be spotted, in this case the ones most related to the cluster *the cause of*. The “most-related clusters” option offers the possibility of detecting overlapping, i.e. in this case the cluster “*the cause of* overlaps with *devoted to the cause of*” (Scott 2004 – 2007: 89, printed 2007).

2.2.4. Terminological domains

In order to keep the large number of relevant word clusters at a manageable level, as well as to classify them under different “umbrellas” bearing typical characteristics, terminological domains (Kast-Aigner 2010:41) have been introduced. The term derives from Mahlberg’s (2007:198-199) term functional groups, established in “order to categorize concordances” (Kast-Aigner

2010:41). The terminological domains have been introduced in order to assort the multi-word units (Kast-Aigner 2010:41) and for the purpose of in-terminological and inter-terminological domain analysis, as well as for distinguishing between the varying terminological domains occurring in the three large corpora and their sub-corpora.

The practical application of the concept of terminological domains shall be illustrated in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 below.

2.2.5. Concordances

The third tool offered by WordSmith, Concord, has been defined by Scott (2004-2007: 2) as a possibility “to see any word or phrase in context – so that you can see what sort of company it keeps” related to the famous statement of Firth (1957:11): “You shall know a word by the company it keeps”. The concordances are usually being generated from the word lists or the key words lists (Scott:2004–2007:21). According to Scott (2007–2013), “the point of a concordance is to be able to see lots of examples of a word or phrase, in their contexts”. Once observing a given word in its context of occurrence, one can understand the use of the word much better and can acquire a better understanding of its use. The aim of a concordance is the examination of a text or series of texts resulting in a concordance (Scott:2007–2013). A researcher could observe a word in context to get a grip on the other words it is most often associated with.

2.2.6. Collocation

The neighbouring words of a searched word in the text(s), for instance a key word, are collocates. Stubbs (1996: 176) defined collocation as typical “co-occurrence of two (or more) words”. According to Scott (2007–2013), the point of collocation is to depict the specific lexical patterns through the words with which a specific word typically occurs. They aid the research process when dealing with a large number of concordances. The collocations make concordances more accessible with respect to depicting patterns of co-occurrence, which additionally assist in deciding which aspects are to be further inspected. Stubbs (2001:24) defined collocations as “a lexical relation between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur within a few words of each other in a running text”, i.e. “a relation between words in a linear string” (Stubbs 2001:30).

Within the framework of Sinclair's observations on the four types of relations of co-occurrence in extended lexico-semantic units (Sinclair 1991:111-12, 1996a) (see below) he defined collocation as a "node-collocate pair" and observed the relation as purely lexical, "non-directional and probabilistic, which ignores any syntactic relation between the words" (Stewart 2010:64). He defined the second relation, colligation, as "the relation between a pair of grammatical categories or, in a slightly wider sense, a pairing of lexis and grammar" or "grammatical choices" as explained by Stewart (2010:10). While the first one is exclusively lexical, the second one is a combination of lexis and grammar. The two relations shall be further illustrated below.

2.2.7. Consistent collocates (c-collocates) and constant clusters (c-clusters)

In their 2008 paper, Gabrielatos and Baker introduced a technique which they developed within their project, i.e. "the calculation of consistent collocates (c-collocates)" (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:11). Namely, the technique was introduced due to the nature of the corpus that Gabrielatos and Baker analyzed when examining the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers in UK press articles (see Chapter 3). The corpus encompassed newspaper articles deriving from a ten-year period, 1996 to 2005, thus allowing for the possibility for some collocates, calculated on the whole corpus, to be representative of the discourse of only a certain period (for e.g. 2000–2005), as well as the possibility for some collocates which are very frequent within one period but completely absent within another to be displayed as collocates across the whole corpus (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:11). Therefore, they developed c-collocates in order to focus the analysis towards those collocates which would indicate consistent aspects of the "linguistics means" which have been employed in constructing the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the corpus, which additionally added to the diachronic aspect of their investigation (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:11). To this end, the authors created annual sub-corpora and determined that "in order for a collocate to be deemed consistent" it had to occur in "at least seven out of the ten annual subcorpora" (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:12). It was most likely that the c-collocates would present a more precise picture of the actual semantic elements of the topic in question, as well as with the semantic prosodies (see below) with which they were associated (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:12). Owing to their presence within the entire corpus, c-collocates

could represent features of what Baker (2006:13) describes as “the incremental effect of discourse”.

Similarly to the establishment of consistent collocates by Gabrielatos and Baker, rendered necessary and useful for the research that they conducted, for the purpose of this analysis the concept of constant cluster (c-cluster) has been introduced. Namely those word clusters, which mark constant occurrence throughout the entire corpus (corpora) and their respective sub-corpora subjected to examination, have been deemed as c-clusters. This concept shall be exemplified in the chapters to follow (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

2.3. Semantic Prosody

According to Hunston (2007:249), the concept of semantic prosody ascends from corpus linguistics, more precisely from the “phraseological tradition” discerning the distinctive conduct of “individual lexical items” and their behavior via a “key word in context concordance lines” (Sinclair 2003). The term itself was introduced by Louw (1993) assigned to Sinclair (1991), who further advanced the notion in his 2004 work (Hunston 2007:249 and Hardie & McEnery 2010:389).

In their overview of the two traditions of corpus linguistics (see section above), Hardie and McEnery (2010:389) found semantic prosody to be a neo-Firthian (i.e. corpus-as-theory approach) concept, which has been adopted by some linguists of the methodologist tradition, and who have employed it in other linguistic theories, such as critical discourse analysis.

In the past 15 to 20 years the concept of semantic prosody has gained weight as one of the most significant notions in the area of corpus linguistics and has drawn the attention of many corpus linguists.

In his 2010 work on semantic prosody, Stewart (2010:1) explained his hardships in providing a single definition of the concept when asked to do so. Due to the fact that defining the notion seemed not to be as easily manageable as initially anticipated, he explained the concept via metaphorical terms: as he wrote, “semantic prosody seems to attract metaphors like a light bulb attracts moths” (Stewart 2010:1).

The concept of semantic prosody has been subjected to different understandings and approached from different angles. In the effort of explaining the concept, Stewart resorted to a description via an example. Namely, once inspecting the frequent co-occurrences of the word *cause* with other words that “share a given meaning or meanings” the word under examination, in this case *cause*, takes on some of the meaning(s) of its frequent ‘companion’ words (Stewart 2010:1). This acquired meaning is identified as semantic prosody (Stewart 2010:1). In order to provide an initial example serving to clarify the concept, Stewart presented the findings of a short analysis conducted on the ‘behaviour’ of the verb *break out*. When scrutinizing the environment of occurrence of the verb in the British National Corpus, what was inferred was that *break out* appears mostly in undesirable contexts (such as *war, conflict, infection, crisis*), i.e. has been colored with an “unfavourable semantic prosody” (Stewart 2010:3).

A short overview of the development of the concept is being conferred in order to illustrate why it is difficult to simply define the notion, namely that it has different approaches and varying descriptions.

The idea of semantic prosody was first introduced by Sinclair in 1987, although he did not use the term itself. The idea behind the concept of semantic prosody as understood today came upon Sinclair’s observation of the environment in which the items *happen* and *set in* occur, only to discover the unpleasant associations of the two in the data under examination, i.e. pre-1987, Cobuild corpus. As regarding the phrasal verb *set in* Sinclair (1987:155-56) found that it’s “most striking feature ... is the nature of its subjects”, i.e. their general reference to unpleasant state of affairs, mainly framed by undesirable or unattractive vocabulary such as *rot, decay, illness, decadence, impoverishment* etc. (Sinclair 1991:74-75). In 1991 he examined the surroundings of the item further by using a 7.3 million-word corpus and noted that “many uses of words and phrases show tendencies to occur in a certain semantic environment” (Sinclair 1991:112) and supported this observation with the associations of the word *happen* with “unpleasant things – accidents and the like”. These remarks on the unpleasant aura surrounding *happen* and *set in* were new and supported by vast amount of corpus data.

In 1993 Louw, drawing upon a parallel to Firth’s observations on the prosody in phonological terms, i.e. “phonological colouring” able to surpass segmental limits (Louw 1993:158), claimed that an expression such as *symptomatic of* prepares one for the production of what follows, and

in this case something undesirable (Louw 1993:170). Following the prosody in the word *Amen* in which the vowels are being affected by the proximity of the nasals *m* and *n*, Louw follows Sinclair's findings on the surroundings of the phrasal verb *set in* and stated that the frequent co-occurring words of the form *set in* are able to affect it, i.e. to color it (Louw 1993:159). Therefore, the form can no longer be observed as remote from its semantic prosody, as set by the semantic persistence of its subjects" (Louw, 1993:159). These realizations brought the definition of semantic prosody "a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (Louw 1993:157), based on the examples of *utterly*, *bent on* and *symptomatic of* for which he claimed negative prosodies (Louw 1993). Louw's hypothesis on the collocates 'imbuing' forms relies on diachronic assumptions, finding the supporting evidence in his statements that prosodies unquestionably come as a result of "a long period of refinement through historical change" (Louw 1993:164). Furthermore, (Louw 1993:159) claimed that the semantic prosodies, in terms of their strength and the possibilities they offer are basically a phenomenon which can only be discovered via computational means. He referred to propaganda, advertisement and promotional copy as part of the persuasion industry to which semantic prosodies will undoubtedly be of help (Louw 1993:174), as they are an influential element in "suasive writing", which can be detected in larger corpora (Louw 1993:163-4).

Louw's 1993 views on semantic prosody promoted the concept and instigated increased interest in the matter (Stewart 2010:9). Namely Bublitz (1996) assigned a particular 'halo' or profile to the words, which could be positive or negative, and which the nodes i.e. words acquire by its habitual co-occurrences, i.e. through pertaining number of collocates, frequently associated with its semantic prosody (Bublitz 1996: 9). He broadened the Firthian idea of a phenomenon that "stretches over several units", into "meaning that resides not in a single word but in several words" (Bublitz 1996:9). In his examinations of the settings of the words *cause*, *happen*, *commit*, *somewhat* and *prevail* Bublitz pointed out that the fundamental meaning of a word shall influence the prosodies. As a support to this statement, Bublitz (1996:17) addressed Sinclair's recognition of the negative prosody which frequently shadows *happen*, and stated that this is not the case in contexts such as "by-chance-meaning" as in "I happen to know his work". Another example provided by Bublitz refers to the verb *commit* whose abundant co-occurrence with unpleasant things such as *adultery*, *crime*, *offence*, *theft* etc. in the corpus that he used does not exclude the positive prosody of the notion *to commit someone/oneself to* (referenced in Stewart

2010: 9). Bublitz's account of semantic prosody is diachronically related. He calls upon lexical semantics to establish the fact that the constant application of a word in a certain context results in a change of its meaning at a certain point. When this happens the word assumes the "semantic features from an adjacent item" (Bublitz 1996:11). To this end, he finds that an observation of the word, for example *cause*, is in order in terms of its application in the past as compared to its use presently in order to determine whether the number of negative collocates has been increasing over time thus discerning its tendency for negativity (Bublitz 1996:12).

Stewart (2010:13) stated that the work on semantic prosody over the past decade revolves around Sinclair and Louw's view on the concept, thus pointing Hunston and Francis's (1999:137) observation that a word's co-occurrence with other words belonging to a specific group of words which share similar meaning may be said to "have a particular semantic prosody". Furthermore, he specified Hunston and Thompson's (1999:38) accentuation on the "subliminal element", a notion of significance to Louw's work (Stewart 2010:13). Namely, they express their opinion on the notion by stating that frequent co-occurring of a word or phrase in the environment with other words or phrases, a positive or negative association, usually the negative, can be taken on and this can additionally be used by the "speakers to express evaluative meaning covertly" (Hunston & Thompson 1999:38). Hunston (2002:141) went further in emphasizing that the taking over of connotation from the environment in which a word typically occurs is what the notion of semantic prosody is about, namely a result of the transfer of meaning.

In his 1996 work (1996a:87-88) Sinclair stated that once the semantic prosody has been spotted among the vast number of expressions its role in the connection of an item and its environment is principal. This is due to its attitudinal effect and to the fact that it belongs in the pragmatic realm in which the "normal semantic values of the words are not necessarily relevant" (Sinclair 1996a:87-88), thus allowing for the functional side of the item to be understood.

According to Stewart (2010:10) and Stubbs (2001:64-65), Sinclair (1991:111-112; 1996) proposed 4 types of co-occurrence relations in extended lexico-semantic units of meaning (see above): Collocation ("a node-collocate pair... a purely lexical relation" which does not account for the "syntactic connection between the words"), for example *applause* which can be *loud, thunderous, rapturous, spontaneous, polite, warm, enthusiastic*. "The node-collocate pair occurs as both ADJ-N (*thunderous applause*) and N-BE-ADJ (*the applause has been thunderous*)"

(Stubbs 2001:64). No matter that the term collocation bears no syntactic assertions, the principle of frequency of occurrence is significant to corpus linguistics (Stubbs 2001:64). Colligation (“relation between a pair of grammatical categories” (Stubbs 2001:65) i.e. grammatical choices) as in the recurrent manifestation of the “word-form *cases* with the grammatical category of quantifier as *in some, many, both, several cases* (Stubbs 2001:65). Semantic preference (the relation “between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words” i.e. the association of the form and the semantic field) and semantic/discourse prosody (bearing an attitudinal and pragmatic function, essential to the unit because it is the aspect that mostly carries the reason why the speaker uttered something, i.e. the expression of the speaker attitude). For instance, it is the semantic preference of the word *large* to frequently occur with “words for quantities or sizes” such as *number, scale, amount, quantity* and the semantic/discourse prosody of the word *cause* is to occur frequently with words “for unpleasant events” such as *problems, death, damage, trouble* (Stubbs 2001:64).

As per Stewart (2010:10), according to Sinclair (1998:15), the unit of meaning possesses the semantic prosody as an obligatory element together with the “core item” which is constant and bears the “evidence of the occurrence of the item as a whole”. The other elements are optional. To this end, Sinclair provided two examples. Namely, for the unit of meaning containing the “core item” *naked eye* Sinclair (1996a:84-91) postulated a “semantic preference of ‘visibility’ and a semantic prosody of ‘difficulty’” based on the recurrence of *naked eye* with *barely visible to, invisible to* in the corpus that he examined (Stewart 2010:10). For the unit of meaning bearing *true feelings* as a ‘core item’ he claimed semantic preference of ‘expression’ displayed via the words *show, reveal, share* and semantic prosody of ‘reluctance’ as in reluctance to express one’s true feelings evident from the frequent co-occurrence in *will never reveal, prevents me from expressing, less open about showing* (Sinclair 1996a:84-91).

Through these examinations Sinclair embarked upon a broader inspection of the unit of meaning aiming towards ascertaining conclusions within the syntactic process stepping away from the good vs. bad opposition (Stewart 2010:11). Tognini-Bonelli relies upon Sinclair’s extended units of meaning in stating that when a speaker or writer select a multi-word unit, the immediate grammatical and lexical limitations will follow this initial selection, however involving a distant

semantic preference which relates to the pragmatic part, i.e. semantic prosody (Tognini-Bonelli 2001a:111).

Stewart (2010:11) found Stubbs' contribution to the field of semantic prosody to be quite significant and not simply in his provision of plenty of examples but of "observations and insights" as well. One of these observations involves the negative connotations that saturate the word *cause*. Stubbs (1995:50) found the word *cause* to be almost at the point of bearing a negative meaning even when taken out of context and through his examination of the occurrences of the word he concluded that "it is easy to see" how the increased frequency of its use "can tip the balance and change the system". Stewart (2010:12) indicated that in reference to the semantic prosody Stubbs' work is synchronically oriented, accentuating the role of discourse, primarily in political i.e. ideological terms. In his 2001 work Stubbs (2001:10) defined meaning in use as a "complex set of ideas" and found the meaning of the words or phrases to vary depending on their application in different social or linguistic environments. Unlike Louw (1993) and Sinclair (1996a), Stubbs (2001:66) preferred the term "pragmatic prosody" to "semantic prosody" since this term offers a distinction between the features of meaning "independent of the speaker's (semantics)" and the ones which "concern the speaker's attitude (pragmatics)". Stubbs defined discourse prosody as "a feature which extends over more than one unit in a linear string" (Stubbs 2001:65), expressing the speaker's attitude.

In 2000, Louw veered his focus from his 1993 work. He neglected both the aura of meaning and the transfer of meaning over time (Stewart 2010:13) and claimed that semantic prosodies come as a result of "fractured contexts of situation", focusing on unfavorable prosodies.

He offered a working definition that assigned semantic prosodies with "a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates, often characterisable as positive or negative, and whose primary function is the expression of the attitude of its speaker or writer towards some pragmatic situation" (Louw 2000:57). Furthermore, he found that formation of irony via purposeful insertion of a form in discrepancy with the consistent collocates of the prosody is the secondary, however as equally important, "attitudinal function of semantic prosodies" (Louw 2000:57). Louw found that by means of Contextual Prosodic Theory (CPT) the degree to which the semantic prosodies coincide with "contexts of situation" can be determined (Louw 2000:57). According to Louw, "a Contextual Prosodic Theory (CPT) would

seek to elucidate through semantic prosodies the Firthian view that situational and linguistic contexts are co-extensive” (Louw 2000:48).

Louw found semantic prosodies to be “strongly collocational” as compared to the “schematic aspects of connotation” (Louw 2000:50). According to him, most semantic prosodies gain their strength within the framework of the “nine-word window of acknowledged collocational force” (Louw 2000:50), i.e. semantic prosodies are deducible by observing the recurrent appearance of a word in a corpus and connotations have more to do with the intuitive semantic links regardless of the co-occurrence of a word (Louw 2000:50).

As per Stewart (2010:14), the similarities and differences of semantic prosody and connotation were further examined by Partington in his 1998 work in which he further appraised whether dictionaries provide or fail to provide semantic prosodies. In his 2004 work Partington offered a definition on semantic prosody assigning it an evaluative meaning, which goes beyond a single word not easily detectable by “the naked eye” (Partington 2004:132). According to Hunston (2007:250), Partington argued that semantic prosody is gradable, i.e. that a word has approximately positive or negative prosody contingent on the context of occurrence which can be good, bad or neutral. Namely, according to Partington (2004:150) this is the role of semantic prosody, i.e. to assess the situation and to designate to the hearer “how a part of the utterance is to be interpreted functionally”, referring to Sinclair (1996a:88).

Hoey stated that collocations can be justified only if one can suppose that “every word is mentally primed for collocational use” (Hoey 2005:8). One of the postulates of his theory of priming is that since a “word is acquired through encounters with it in speech or writing”, it gets charged with the “contexts and co-texts” where it occurs, and furthermore our understanding of this word bears an understanding of its surrounding environments as well, which is also the case with word sequences getting charged “with the contexts and co-texts in which they occur” (Hoey 2005:8). According to Stewart (2010:15), Hoey differentiated between priming and semantic prosody in that priming goes beyond the rather limited framework of semantic prosody (Five to six words to the left or right of the code item), i.e. priming may relate to “longer stretches of text” (Stewart 2010:15). Furthermore, unlike semantic prosody, which accords to the word or unit of meaning, priming accords to the person rather than the word since words “are only primed for someone” (Hoey 2005:15). Bearing in mind that Hoey perceived semantic prosody to

be a difficult notion (2005:22-24), he decided to use the term semantic association instead of semantic preference in order to avoid confusion on the account of “both the user and the word having preferences” (Hoey 2005:24) when he argues that it is the user that holds the preference when it comes to priming.

Whitsitt (2005) was the first one to provide a critical perspective to the already established concept of semantic prosody. Namely, in the conclusion of his paper, Whitsitt (2005:300) explored the famous statement made by Firth (1957) “you shall know a word by the company it keeps”, tracing its origin in the Roman phrase “you can know a person by the company he keeps” (Whitsitt 2005:301). Whitsitt finds that one cannot transfer the same meaning to language without giving rise to problems (Whitsitt 2005:301), and believes that the same principle is to be applied to the concept of semantic prosody, i.e. “it should give us pause in our use of this term” (Whitsitt 2005: 302).

He traced problems with the concept on several levels. Namely, according to him, semantic prosody has been defined in “at least three, distinctly different ways” (Whitsitt 2005:283). According to him, the first definition of semantic prosody, in Louw 1993 and Bublitz 1996, had to do with the passing of meaning in the course of time, while the second one (Sinclair 1996a and Stubbs 2001) provided a pragmatic viewpoint and the third definition (Partington 1998, but also Stubbs 1996 and Cotterill 2001), provided a connotative view, i.e. treated “semantic prosody as if it were a synonym of connotation” (Whitsitt 2005:285).

In his paper, Whitsitt concentrated on Louw’s views (1993) on semantic prosody contesting what Louw saw as “new facts about language” (Louw 1993:173). He argued that the “new” in language is “only something used” (Whitsitt 2005:287). Hence, the new in the concept of semantic prosody are the two new things that the concept proposes, 1) to present the manner in which the signification and manifestation can actually “fuse” (Whitsitt 2005:287, Sinclair 1996b: 115) and 2) a manifestation of the union between meaning and expression, that is a new lexical item. Whitsitt took *set in* as an example to elaborate the second ‘new’. The verb *set in* has acquired negative meaning in time, which the verb did not previously have, due to a semantic transfer of which one was not aware, consequently becoming a new item which has mostly to do with the “now” and with disagreeable words (Whitsitt 2005:287).

Furthermore, Whitsitt closely examined three aspects of Louw's argument on semantic prosody from 1993. The first one was on the use of the metaphor *imbue* (see above) in his definition on semantic prosody (Whitsitt 2005:288-9). The question that Whitsitt posed, in regards to the imbuing i.e. transfer of meaning process, is why there are words that "are full and others are empty" and how does the "pouring" of meaning from a stronger to a weaker word actually occur (Whitsitt 2005:288-9). The second analogy which Whitsitt (2005:290) explored, employed by Louw in his definition "... with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (Louw 1993:157), was the use of the word "form" instead of "content". Whitsitt argued that the manner in which Louw used the term "collocates" is not in relation to the manner in which the term is "normally understood", i.e. according to the definitions provided by Sinclair (see above) or Hoey: "a young man and woman of good reputation 'keeping company'" (1997:4). Therefore, according to Whitsitt (2005: 290) one could interpret Louw's definition as implying that "collocates are being thought of as content without form, while the term to be imbued is form without content", entailed by Louw's referral to the form not simply as empty but as a "catch-all word" (Louw 1993: 161) which gets the meaning poured into by the content of its collocations. Louw's third analogy, analysed by Whitsitt has to do with Louw's "semantic colouring of words" (see above). Namely, as perceived by Louw, once the verb *set in* acquires negative meaning, not only will it always bear that *color* but will either always occur with words bearing negative meaning or will be the one to 'color' other words negatively, i.e. with "bad semantic prosody". Whitsitt found this argument to "simply not hold" (2005:291).

In his examination of Louw's definition on semantic prosody, and particularly in Louw's use of metaphor, Whitsitt wondered whether Louw was being ironic or even insincere, stating that Louw speaks of "one thing about language with language which says the opposite" (Whitsitt 2005:299).

According to Stewart (2010:16), in her 2007 paper, Hunston took on some of the Whitsitt's criticism on the different ways in which the concept of semantic prosody has been defined. She called for reevaluation of some of the "phenomena" hidden under the semantic prosody title and the many explanations of the concept, particularly the difference between Sinclair's views on semantic prosody (referring to the "word as a core of a longer sequence of co-occurring items comprising a unit of meaning") and Partington's understanding of the term as a "property of a

word” (Hunston 2007: 250). In this regard, she found the assignment of semantic prosody to a word to be “over-simplistic” (Hunston 2007:256) as well as the fact that semantic prosody is a property of the sequence rather than the word (Hunston 2007:257). Secondly, in reference to the distinction between positive versus negative attitudinal meaning, Hunston stated that the meaning of a word depends on its “immediate phraseology” and that the evaluation of the attitude as positive or negative has principally to do with “a point of view” (Hunston 2007:256). Finally, in terms of whether a semantic prosody “carries over” from one context to another, she argues that one cannot deny the possibility that an attitudinal meaning can be transferred from one context to another; however, the frequent occurrence of such transfers cannot be taken as granted or be confirmed as a fact (Hunston 2007:266).

What can be discerned from the different views on the relatively new concept of semantic prosody presented above is the fact that the notion has provoked a considerable debate among linguists. Aiming towards depiction of their behavior and the acquisition i.e. transfer of meaning, this study shall examine the constant co-occurrence of words that relate to major aspects of the European Union enlargement policy -- first in the official texts of EU bodies, as well as in their interpretations by the local media, in their contexts, in both synchronic and diachronic frames.

3. Existing corpus linguistics studies on mass media

This part of the analysis will provide an overview of existing literature in which corpus linguistics techniques have been applied in studies exploring different terminology used in mass media, and more specifically in printed media, i.e. newspapers.

The first part of the analysis is going to offer a short overview of the influence that media exert on public opinion, attitudes and behavior and shall inform about the manner in which the audience reacts to negative news, as opposed to positive or neutral news, as proven by some studies.

The second part shall present a brief insight into several studies in which corpus linguistic studies have been applied in other social spheres.

The third part of the analysis shall provide a more detailed examination of the applicability of corpus linguistics, in some cases in combination with other methodologies, in depicting the way in which specific lexical terms have been applied.

Finally, a description of the techniques shall be presented, i.e. the reason why corpus linguistics techniques are going to be employed for the purpose of the research to follow.

3.1. Media influence on public opinion

“The media present information about world events to masses of individuals” (Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery 2013a:3).

As it is impossible to paint an entirely unbiased and precise picture of an event, the media “offer representations of events” via spoken or written language or via still or moving images (Baker et al. 2013a:3) These representations are often affected by space or time restrictions, and it is not uncommon for the political stance of a particular newspaper or of the journalist in charge of the story to influence the outcome of the representation (Baker et al. 2013a:3).

In his 1991 book, van Dijk (1991:252) stated the considerably strong role that newspapers have in shaping, i.e. “manipulat[ing] public opinion”. In his investigation on the manner in which ethnic affairs are being covered by the press, van Dijk stated that the influence of the media is

essentially in the “formation or change of ‘attitudes’” (van Dijk 1991:252). Furthermore, in examining the social power that the media possess, a power which is not simply restricted to media influence on the public, but one entailing the role that media play in varying aspects of society (van Dijk 1995:9), van Dijk stated that the “persuasive power of the press” is particularly potent in cases when the reporting is in line with the “interests of most readers” (van Dijk 1995:17). In examining the effect of the media with respect to asylum seekers and immigrants at the time, more specifically the influence that the negative articles on asylum seekers had on the readership, Lido (2006) found that people tend to make instant negative judgments as opposed to a lack of positive or no judgments at all when presented with neutral or positive newspaper articles. Brescoll and LaFrance (2004:515) researched the “correlates and consequences of newspaper accounts of research on sex differences” and examined the people’s lack of criticism when presented with newspaper information about sex differences, accepting them as a scientific fact, and not taking into consideration the newspaper’s political views. They found that political ideology influences the way in which the popular press communicates the results of conducted studies on sex differences which consequently “affect reader’s beliefs and attitudes” (Brescoll & LaFrance 2004:515). As a result of various studies which have proven “selective media reporting about the mentally ill”, the majority of which concentrated on violent behavior and dangerousness, S. Dietrich, D. Heider, H. Matschinger, and M.C. Angermeyer (2006:318) conducted a study among students who were presented with negative or informative articles about people with mental illnesses. The results showed that the students more often than not perceived mentally ill people as hostile. Fairclough (1989:54) stated that the newspapers have the power to exert their opinion by applying repetitive patterns of reporting on specific events, using specific arrangements of the perspectives of the readers, and so on.

3.2. Corpus linguistics and social aspects

Corpus linguistics methods have been utilized in examining a variety of issues linking language and social aspects.

Renouf (2002:27) explored the “time dimension in modern English corpus linguistics”, i.e. the new developments in drawing morphological, lexical and semantic alterations in modern English over time, using the Web as a linguistic resource and harmonizing methodologies and resources in modern and historical corpus linguistics. Morrison and Love (1996:39) inspected the corpus of

the “Letters to the Editor” in two Zimbabwean magazines in 1990, investigating “discourse structure and lexico-grammatical features” via CDA and computer concordancing in order to determine the characteristics of the discourse that were alternative to the commemorative one offered by the daily press that was controlled by the government. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010:99) researched the social effects of the utilization of premodifications in tabloid press as opposed to in quality newspapers in Britain, consequently exploring the different ways in which people are being categorized in written media (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon 2010:124). Krishnamurty (1996) conducted a comparative analysis and examined the language of racism through three words carrying social weight, i.e. *racial*, *ethnic* and *tribal*. Flowerdew (1997), Piper (2000) and Partington (2003) used corpus linguistics methods to research ideological aspects in political texts. Hardt-Mautner (1995), Teubert (2000) and Mautner (2000) addressed varying European issues in Britain. Fairclough (2000) researched Tony Blair’s rhetoric within the framework of his capacity in the New Labour political party in Britain. Mautner (2005a) examined the capacity of Web-based corpora in investigative research and provided an in-depth analysis of a set of keywords, thus creating an image of the manner in which macro-social occurrences are reflected in the collocational manifestations of certain lexical items in reference to entrepreneurial university (Mautner 2005b). Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) employed corpus-based analysis in researching the representation of feminism in public and media discourse. Koller (2011) inspected the lesbian identity in discourse, while Baker (2005) scrutinized the public discourses of gay men.

3.3. Utilization of corpus linguistics

As per Baker et al. (2013a:3) the British press is known to be less objective and more ideological in presenting reality, with the aim of convincing the readership that certain occurrences are good or bad. According Baker et al. (2013a) this phenomenon urged Richardson (2004:227) to label journalism as an “argumentative discourse genre”.

The major method of Baker et al. (2013a) in their attempt to inspect the portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the British national press was by studying the language used. More specifically, in the 143 million words corpus, deriving from 200,037 newspaper articles produced within a 12-year period from 1998 to 2009 in 12 British newspapers, they tried to examine whether there have been changes in the representation over time, whether different newspapers offer different

depictions of the notion, and which methods the newspapers use when vindicating a more or less provocative representation (Baker et al. 2013a:3).

In their description, Baker et al. (2013a:4) portrayed the ongoing circumstances in the British national press and provided a picture of the types of newspapers that the readership could choose from. The relationship between the two was found to be complex and the effect exerted was found to move in both directions, i.e. the newspapers influence the society and in order for a newspaper to endure, it must shape itself to suit the needs of its readers (Baker et al. 2013a:6). The basic distinctions made by Baker et al. in terms of British newspapers' classification were according to their style and format, political affiliation, general position on religion and the type of news they cover, i.e. more important social and political events or gossip, human interest stories and the like. Their motives for choosing newspapers rather than television, radio broadcasts or social networks, feeds and blogs were varying. Some given reasons were the fact that the availability of newspaper data in an electronic form allowed for a large dataset to be compiled; the fact that British newspapers do not hide their political affiliations and are open with regard to their efforts to influence the broad public; and the availability of annual readership survey data.

In the examination of the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press, Baker et al. applied two methodologies. According to the authors, the first one, critical discourse analysis (CDA), perceives language as a social practice examining the manner in which “ideologies and power relations are expressed in language” (Baker et al. 2013a:20) via close inspection of language in texts (through linguistics phenomena) and in contexts. Furthermore, according to critical discourse analysis, the occurrences of texts are not accidental, i.e. they are being written by certain people in certain circumstances for certain purposes. One of the key issues in reference to CDA is the momentum of bias, which the authors tried to overcome by applying the methodological principle of self-awareness, as well as by presenting their work at varying conferences and workshops thus asking for feedback from their different audiences (Baker et al. 2013a:22-24). The second approach, corpus linguistics (CL), was described as a “study of language based on examples of real life language use” (McEnery & Wilson 1996:1). Namely, corpus linguists investigate or discern linguistic theories by examining a balanced corpus of language compiled for a specific purpose, comprising a selection of texts on the issue that ought

to be analyzed (Baker et al. 2013a:25). The benefits of conducting a CL analysis are multiple. The approach allows for a large amount of data to be analyzed, while relying on computer software, making the results more reliable (Baker et al. 2013a:25). Moreover, the attained frequencies of occurrences can be further observed in their contexts thus opening the possibility for discerning a specific phenomenon (Baker et al. 2013a:25). Apart from revealing the frequent manifestations of a specific approach to the matter, the CL methods additionally allow for minor linguistic patterns, which might otherwise be overlooked, to be revealed—thus the data contained in the corpus itself could lead the researcher to unanticipated discoveries (Baker et al. 2013a:26). The authors expressed their wish to combine quantitative, i.e. “corpus-driven forms of analysis” with qualitative, i.e. CDA analytical tools, moving back and forth between the two approaches within a recurring and possibly infinite framework (Baker et al. 2013a:27). Furthermore, they illustrated one example about the manner in which the first would aid the second approach (Baker et al. 2013a:28). For instance, specific words or phrases that appear more frequently in the analyzed corpus helped determine which texts were to be subjected to a more detailed CDA examination, thus uniting the two methodologies.

The analysis of the newspaper articles was not initiated with intent to support set hypotheses, but rather the hypotheses were developed as a result of the corpus-driven analysis (Baker et al. 2013a:264) about the representation of Muslims and Islam in the selected British newspapers. Thus the analysis began as quantitative and became qualitative. The high-frequency key words and concordances further led the researchers to more closely inspect their contexts of occurrence. The findings additionally led them to address the issue of the manner in which different newspapers covered a certain event, or even how a certain newspaper would criticize the coverage by another one.

The main findings of the analysis show that the overall representation of Muslims and Islam in the British press, in the analyzed corpus, is negative. However, regardless of some Islamophobic representations, deriving mostly from right-leaning tabloids, and several statements made by individual journalists, the authors did not detect explicit evidence of exceptionally negative stereotypes about Islam. Furthermore, most of the newspapers were cautious in making any such statements, hence the picture which derived was more indecisive, and allowed for negative stereotypes to be formed (Baker et al. 2013a:264-5). Additionally, the authors elaborated on

some ‘problematic terms’ that they encountered during the analysis. They stated that it was not the words themselves that were the problem but the context of their occurrence. For instance, the terms *Islamic community/world/country* are more likely to gather negative connotations. In this regard, the journalists should decide whether they absolutely necessary need to use the word *Islamic* especially with other possibilities for paraphrasing (Baker et al. 2013a:262). Finally, the findings of the research allowed the question of “who would not benefit” as opposed to “who would benefit” from the negative representations of Muslims and the Islam in the British press to be answered. Namely, Baker et al. (2013a:269) pointed towards two beneficiaries, the newspapers on one hand and the extremists.

In another, smaller scale study about the representation of Muslims and Islam in the British newspapers, Baker (2010:333) stated that “[i]t is the role of the newspapers to report news”. Due to the tendency of the news reporting to linger on the more dramatic and disturbing aspects of events, some representations, and in the case of the research conducted by Baker, the contexts of occurrence of representations of Muslims tended to be negative (Baker 2010:333).

Namely, Baker applied a comparative analysis, on the subject of Islam and Muslims (Baker 2010:310), on an 87 million word corpus, deriving from articles published in tabloids and broadsheet newspapers written during the years immediately preceding and following the 9/11 attacks on the United States of America. The language used most suggestively in the tabloid articles was compared to that used in the broadsheets and vice versa. Previous research on the topic indicated a negative bias in news reporting (Baker 2010:310). For that reason, the examination that Baker conducted, by applying corpus linguistics methodology to a large corpus, was able to locate specific types of bias in different newspapers. The understanding of the linguistic patterns associated with the representation of Muslims and Islam in the press, discovered by applying computational techniques, was to aid the researcher in decreasing or limiting his bias (Baker 2010:313). Baker found that the large amount of data available was able to assist in this attempt and the corpus techniques were to uncover patterns of newspaper discourse (Baker 2010:313). The main question the research tried to answer was whether there could be differences discerned in the manner in which the Muslims were portrayed in different parts of the corpus.

The corpus encompassed 32,303 articles from 12 daily newspapers and their Sunday counterparts, all of which were written and published within the period of January 1998 through August 2005, and collected via LexisNexis, an online collection of newspaper articles from British newspapers that is searchable by input of a query (Baker 2010: 314-5). The newspapers were chosen to cover not only different political positions, but also encompassed tabloid and broadsheet news outlets (Baker 2010:314-5).

The entry point into the research was the distinction between the way in which tabloids as opposed to broadsheets address the issue of Muslims and Islam (Baker 2010:316). For the purpose of contrast between the tabloids and broadsheets, a keyword analysis was primarily utilized, using the computer analysis tools WordSmith 4, comparing the frequencies of occurrence of all words in all of the sub-sections deriving from both types of newspapers. Furthermore, a concordance analysis was employed to determine the occurrence of a certain word as key, which was their most common application, allowing for correspondences i.e. dissimilarities in the sub-corpora to be discerned (Baker 2010:317). The following step involved grouping the words according to their meaning, further resulting in qualitative analysis of specific keywords and their concordances (Baker 2010:324).

Based on the results of his research, Baker reached several conclusions. Both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers repeatedly describe Islam as a religion that is strongly defined by the limitations that it imposes on its people (Baker 2010:331). The tabloids are inclined towards a more emotional form when reporting about the Muslims terrorists, fanatics as opposed to the broadsheets, which tend to report about terrorism in relation to Islam as a religion and are more careful about using negative-connotation words when writing about Muslims (Baker 2010:332). Unlike the tabloids who are more concerned about Islam in the UK, the broadsheets treat Islam in a wider, more global framework (Baker 2010:332).

Baker found that the same approach he used to compare keywords in broadsheet newspapers with tabloids, and to analyze their differences, could also be used to compare terminology in newspapers representing, for example, opposing political stances (Baker 2010:334). The quantitative analysis could further facilitate the qualitative analysis on the same issue among the selected newspapers (Baker 2010:334).

A different approach, one in which it was not the assertion of linguistic patterns that was the focus of the research, but the disclosure of significant contextual elements, such as events or actions, was being taken by Gabrielatos, McEnery, Diggle and Baker (2012:151).

In this regard, the contextual headed the linguistic analysis in that it was the one being employed to ascertain relevant contextual elements (for e.g. events which trigger larger numbers of newspaper articles on a specific subject) (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:152). Generally, the technique seeks to recognize “statistically significant peaks and troughs” (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:151) in the documents of the compiled sub-corpora, which had been generated according to an established time frame, and which would induce further linguistic examination. The second issue under examination was the result that a fusion of qualitative and quantitative methods could achieve something (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:151).

For this purpose, a corpus of 143 million words on the topic of representation of Islam in the UK press, previously comprised for project purposes, was used as a case study. The articles were derived from 200,037 newspaper articles from 12 national UK newspapers. The newspaper articles had been written within a 12-year period, i.e. 1998 – 2009, and had been selected based on query terms (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:155-156) resulting from a previous knowledge of the manner in which the issues of Islam/Muslims had been reported in British newspapers. In order to simplify the examination process, the corpus had been divided into sub-corpora according to the time the articles were written, as well as according to newspapers. The diachronic progress of the complete number of articles, divided in sub-corpora, was inspected in order to determine the time points and connect the potential peaks in reporting to eventual “trigger events” (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:159). Gabrielatos et al. found that this approach, in which the contextual examination pinpointed information that would otherwise be difficult to establish, would aid the linguistics analysis (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:164).

In the conclusion of the paper, the authors point out the increased availability of texts in electronic form, which has led to the improved accessibility of data sampling. In this regard, they stressed the necessity of new techniques that would facilitate the research process for the analyst and find that the technique that they propose, namely “identifying diachronic trends” (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:151) and a combination of quantitative along with qualitative approaches, to meet these new challenges (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:171). Furthermore, they

believed that the outcome of establishing this new technique for handling a large amount of data, via corpus-based methods, will further aid linguists who would additionally use this approach in studying a smaller number of texts, i.e. a productive interaction between quantitative and qualitative techniques (Gabrielatos et al. 2012:171).

In his individual paper on the same topic, Baker instigated an analysis about the way in which corpus linguistics methodologies could advance the objectivity of critical discourse analysis in order to achieve more genuine results (Baker 2012:247). To that end, Baker used a corpus of newspaper articles, derived from British newspapers, covering the topic of Islam and/or Muslims (Baker 2012:248). The corpus entailed 143 million words, i.e. over 200,000 articles, published in the British press in the period 1998 to 2009 (Baker 2012:249).

There had been previous studies conducted on the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press, performed via CDA and quantitative analysis, but on a much smaller scale. All of them reported negative bias on the part of the British press (Baker 2012:248). Therefore, Baker embarked upon examining a large corpus with the objective of providing more reliable results. The final aim was to inspect whether this would be the case with a corpus of a considerable size and whether a fuller picture of the actual situation could be discerned (Baker 2012:248).

Baker tried to avoid approaching the matter with a pre-acquired knowledge about the results from previous studies that found negative bias (Baker 2012:248). His entry into the research of the corpus was the depiction of repetitive linguistic patterns and their immediate surroundings, taking the corpus as a whole, in order to distinguish the negative or the positive (Baker 2012:248).

In his examination of whether the British press is actually biased when it comes to the representation of Islam and Muslims, as he initially stated when writing the conclusion to another study on media representation of Islam (Baker 2012: 252), he returned to the statement and imagined the possible reactions to it, hence offering several views. He primarily found that even in the findings that demonstrated the most negative bias, such as in the newspaper *The People*, the word Muslim was linked to an extremist word in only one out of eight cases thus allowing for the argument that in seven out of eight occurrences this is not the case. However, the second position, bearing a completely opposite view on the matter, would argue that a

statement linking Muslims to an extremist word should not occur ever, hence the whole British press could be perceived as negatively biased. A third view might opt for comparison of newspaper reporting on the issue and might occupy the stance that it is impossible to avoid negative bias in the British press overall. A fourth view might move towards the other end and argue that there is not enough reporting on the extremist Muslims. Faced with the possible views, Baker stated that one ought to be cautious when making final statements on bias, present the findings and grant the readers the right to decide for themselves. Furthermore, in regards to determining whether a group is going to be considered problematic or not, Baker took several factors into account: overall frequency of negative representation, proportional frequency of negative representation, social stance of a particular group, strength of negativity and context of representation (Baker 2012:253-255).

He found that corpus methodologies could enrich critical discourse analysis, and could equip the researcher with a bigger picture of the subject matter, grounded on quantitative linguistic patterns which in turn would make the issues about evaluation and interpretation more relevant (Baker 2012:255).

Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery offered another angle, in which the issue of representation of Muslims in the British press could be examined. Namely, in their 2013 paper on the representation of the word *Muslim*, more specifically the noun collocates of the word Muslim in the British press, Baker et al. used corpus linguistics methods, as well as critical discourse analysis methods (2013b:255). The analysis was conducted on a 143 million words corpus. The 200,037 newspaper articles had been selected based on query terms entered in the Nexis UK online database (Baker et al. 2013b:259) published within the period 1998 to 2009 (Baker et al. 2013b:259).

The analysis conducted for the purpose of this paper was solely centered on the representations of the word Muslim in the British press during the period under examination (Baker et al. 2013b: 256).

Baker et al. 2013b:258 found the corpus linguistics approach beneficial, in that the combination of large pools of data with computer software would offer an initial overview of the information at hand, give larger credibility to generalizations made and counter the general notion that CDA

researchers take on only suitable or desirable texts which would further maintain their pre-set theories or hypothesis (supported by Mautner 2009:34).

The aim of this article was to adopt those methodologies applied in corpus linguistics that would attain the same goals as the ones set by CDA (Baker et al. 2013b:258). They applied both corpus-based and corpus-driven methodologies which derived from corpus linguistics, i.e. they generated keywords and frequency lists, and they based their queries on previously established subjects by other researchers examining the same issue (Baker et al. 2013b:260). They tried to answer the general question: “What does a collocational analysis of the word *Muslim* reveal about the construction of this group?” (Baker et al. 2013b:260).

According to Baker et al. (2013b: 260), the entry point of the study involved the collocations of the word *Muslim* via the online analysis interface Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004). The collocations were further categorized manually into thematic groups (Baker et al. 2013b:262) and the frequency of the separate words was taken into consideration (Baker et al. 2013b:265), further revealing lexical patterns (Baker et al. 2013b:266). Additionally, an in-depth analysis of the two most frequent contexts of the word *Muslim* was conducted, i.e. the immediate right-hand noun collocates *community* and *world*. In order to establish whether there were additional perspectives offered to the representation of the Muslims in the newspaper articles under scrutiny, Baker et al. applied a more qualitative analysis in examining whole texts rather than simply the concordance lines (Baker et al. 2013b:260).

In regard to the bias or lack thereof with which the authors approached the examination of the topic of the representation of the word *Muslim* in the British press, Baker et al. primarily stated that one cannot claim a complete lack of bias and acknowledged that, to a certain extent, they had been led by aspects of their own identity (being non-Muslims), as well as the subjective biases of humans when interpreting the findings, and secondly, they cannot predict the manner in which the readers would personalize the associations presented in the newspapers (Baker et al. 2013b:274-5).

The quantitative analysis of this research led to the observation that Muslims were often represented as belonging to a group and associated to conflicts (Baker et al. 2013b:275). The same results were reflected in the findings of the qualitative analysis. Namely the findings

showed that the *Muslim community* and *Muslim world* were repeatedly distinguished as entities which would be in a position to act rashly, possess dangerous radical elements, are in tension with the UK and the West, instead of being integrated (Baker et al. 2013b:275).

The qualitative analysis examined letters written by readers and columnists and published by the newspapers. These letters represented Muslims in a negative light, thus raising the question of whether the newspapers would justify their own negative portrayals of Muslims by choosing to publish these personal views on the issue (Baker et al. 2013b:275).

Another set of papers have been published on yet another ‘popular’ topic in the British press, by analyzing large amount of data, using corpus linguistics.

In examining the representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM) in the British press within a ten years period, Baker et al. (2008) employed a synergy of methods “traditionally associated with Corpus Linguistics and with Critical Discourse Analysis” (Baker et al. 2008:273) in which neither CDA nor CL were rendered superior or inferior to the other (Baker et al. 2008:274).

On one hand, Baker et al. researched the topic in question by conducting both synchronic and diachronic analysis on articles from tabloids and broadsheets, as well as regional and national newspapers (Baker et al. 2008:276). On the other hand, they aimed towards assessing the effectiveness that the two methodological approaches, when combined, could generate.

The analyses had been applied on a 140 million words corpus, designed to suit the objectives of the research, containing articles associated to RASIM in the selection of twelve national and three regional newspapers including their Sunday editions, written between 1996 and 2005. For research purposes, the corpus were divided into sub-corpora based on the type of newspaper in question, as well as the year of publication of the articles. This approach opened the possibility for the patterns of occurrence among different newspapers and different types of newspapers to be compared. In their ‘corpus-driven’ approach (see Chapter 2), Baker et al. acceded to the examination of the key words/clusters and their collocations, i.e. the significant lexical patterns further supplemented with the examination of their concordances. This approach additionally allowed for the co-text and the context of occurrence of the concordances to be discerned. The CDA analysis was conducted on a sample of texts from the corpus, selected with the intention of

aiding the correlation of the findings deriving from the two approaches. In this regard, the approach that Baker et al. adopted “focused on the macro-structural categories and text-inherent categories” (Baker et al. 2008:281).

The outcome of the analysis provided several observations (Baker et al. 2008:386-389): the discourses of RASIM in the UK press involve a restricted number of topics (*refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants*) which employ a restricted number of topoi mostly indicating negative attitudes, as opposed to *migrants* which shares a small number of topoi, however generally used in more positive contexts as confirmed by both CL and CDA analysis; there is an overlap of categories which surpass the predictions based on the common definitions of the terms. This overlap indicates undesirability of the issues at hand, i.e. RASIM; in reference to the CDA analysis, the combination of collocation/concordance combination showed that some c-collocates (see Chapter 2) belonged to more than one topoi/topic at the same time (for e.g. *allowed* indexed the topoi of entry, residence, economic burden, economic threat and return at the same time).

The results of the conducted analysis indicated that the two methodological approaches complimented each other. Corpus linguistics provided an overall “pattern map of the data” (Baker et al. 2008:295) which further assisted in identifying texts deriving from a specific period, as well as rather rare articles of positive application of RASIM which would otherwise not be rendered visible, suitable for critical discourse analysis. Furthermore, the examination of the data via both methods bridged the qualitative versus quantitative approach boundaries. Additionally, the corpus-based approach allowed for the “what has actually been written” as opposed to “what could have been written or implied” to be discernable.

The research that Baker and McEnery conducted on the discourse about refugees and asylum seekers in British newspapers and texts prepared by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), once again combined the two methodological approaches, i.e. corpus-based analysis and critical discourse analysis (Baker & McEnery 2005: 197). The data originated from articles and texts written in 2003 respectively.

Baker and McEnery primarily intended to examine the concordances of the terms *refugee(s)* and *asylum seeker(s)* that would further indicate patterns suitable for discourse analysis (Baker & McEnery 2005:197). The aim of the research was to establish a way in which corpus linguistics

methodologies could contribute to critical discourse analysis by depicting repeating patterns of naturally occurring language as well as low frequency patterns which could also invoke additional research and would otherwise be easily indiscernible (Baker & McEnery 2005:198). In reference to the CDA approach, the goal was to inspect the discourses adjacent to the issues of refugees and asylum seekers in the two corpora (Baker & McEnery 2005:198).

The corpus that one decides to use strongly affects the results of the research (Baker & McEnery 2005:199). On one hand, the News Corpus contained newspaper articles written by variety of journalists, representing different political stances depending on the newspaper of origin (Baker & McEnery 2005: 221). On the other hand, the UNHCR Corpus enclosed texts prepared by the specialized organization allowing for a higher homogeneity in the discourses of the topics at hand (Baker & McEnery 2005:221). Furthermore, the two-corpora approach opened the possibility for the topic(s) under examination to be observed from different perspectives (Baker & McEnery 2005:200). The first corpus comprised British newspaper articles written in 2003 and contained 76,205 words (Baker & McEnery 2005:199). The articles were collected from the Newsbank online archive based on the research terms (Baker & McEnery 2005:201). The second corpus encompassed texts on refugees and asylum seekers published by UNHCR in 2003 (Baker & McEnery 2005:199) and were selected from the official Internet site of the organization (Baker & McEnery 2005:201). Baker and McEnery found both of the corpus sources to be highly influential in that the newspapers are known to have an effect on or reflect public opinion, while the official position that UNHCR holds has international influence (Baker & McEnery 2005:200).

The analysis of the two corpora resulted in differing outcomes. The major concern of the UNHCR was the return of the refugees to their countries of origin. Regardless of some of the hardships they faced, the UNHCR corpus did not present findings which would present the refugees as victims. The manner in which the refugees had been treated by the UNHCR was global and one of the major focuses of the organization was on its own activities in regards to helping the refugees (Baker & McEnery 2005:221). On the other hand, the focus of the news corpus was on the impact that the refugees have on the UK. The representation of refugees varied from tragic victims to potential invaders. Some of the applications of the word *refugee* involved metaphoric use, thus “revealing the negative connotation embedded into the world”

(Baker & McEnery 2005:221). No matter the negative connotation surrounding the term *refugees*, in comparison to the term *asylum seekers*, it was in a better position (Baker & McEnery 2005:221). However, the corpora bore far fewer stereotypes and one could discern the increased sensitivity awareness at the time in regards to the problems that refugees and asylum seekers face.

The blending of the two approaches of analysis was beneficial on several levels. The corpus linguistics methodologies allowed for a larger amount of data to be analyzed and gave a more rounded picture of the representations of refugees and asylum seekers in the two corpora. Furthermore, it was useful in that it provided different perspectives when discussing the topic(s) at hand. This aided the qualitative analysis, as not only frequent extreme cases but also frequent neutral ones were identified, both of which were suitable for a critical discourse analysis and both of which potentially delivered interesting results (Baker & McEnery 2005:223).

The discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers, as well as immigrants and migrants to a lesser degree, in the UK press was once again explored and presented by Gabrielatos and Baker in their 2008 paper (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:5). The corpus contained 140 million words deriving from 175,139 newspaper articles written and published in 19 UK newspapers, including tabloids, broadsheets, their Sunday editions and regional newspapers, within the period 1996-2005 (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:9).

The corpus-based analysis employed the keyness and collocation notions, the latter of which associated with the concepts of semantic/discourse prosody and semantic preference (see Chapter 2), additionally strengthened by several CDA notions in the part of the analysis which involved grouping of the keywords/collocates based on the semantic prosody/preference they conveyed (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:10). The examination of the data, via the computer software WordSmith Tools (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:33), was conducted not only taking the corpus as a whole, but the keywords and their collocations were examined both synchronically and diachronically (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:5). The study went further into examining the keywords deriving from broadsheets as opposed to ones deriving from tabloids (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:28) and the expressions which designate direct negative bias characterized by the authors as nonsensical terms (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:30). The analysis had been finalized with a discussion about the extent to which corpus linguistics could aid critical discourse

analysis, i.e. the manner in which the quantitative could enhance the qualitative analysis (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:33-34). Namely, the analysis of the concordances was where the two methodological approaches, i.e. corpus linguistics and CDA, would intersect (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:15). The repetitive linguistic patterns obtained through corpus linguistics methodologies led to an identification of smaller samples of texts suitable for CDA analysis. Both of the approaches produced a set of shared results (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:8).

One additional technique, developed for the purposes of this project, was the introduction of “consistent collocates” i.e. “c-collocates” (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:11). The concept of c-collocates (see Chapter 2) was introduced in order to distinguish the ones that are consistent throughout the corpus from those which are “seasonal”. Apart from assisting the synchronic analysis, the introduction of the c-collocates technique was beneficial for the diachronic examination, in that the consistent notions throughout the corpus aided the diachronic portion as well. Consequently, the corpus had been divided into ten sub-corpora, each one containing articles written within a year time period. In order for a collocate to be considered constant, it had to be present in at least seven out of the ten sub-corpora. Based on the limited number of c-collocates and the significantly larger number of seasonal collocates it had been determined that the seasonal ones were centered on a specific event, (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:11).

The conducted research provided several interesting results Gabrielatos and Baker (2008:17) In terms of the diachronic change, the authors detected an increase in the number of articles written between 1996 and 2005 on the topic of RASIM, as well as some sharp rises or falls in reporting which may further indicate a surged attention at a specific point. The c-collocates of *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *immigrants* and *migrants* designated a position adopted by the newspaper, mostly indicating negative attitudes (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:20). There is a significant overlap in the use of both of the terms *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *immigrants* and *migrants* and in their content c-collocates (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:25-6). When observing the keywords, the analysis further indicated a differing stance between the tabloid and the broadsheet newspapers. The keywords deriving from the tabloid newspapers belonged to categories which bear negative stance towards RASIM, while the connotations in which the keywords were used in the broadsheet newspapers were more positive or neutral (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:28-30).

Furthermore, a number of nonsensical terms and expressions pointed towards an unconcealed negative bias (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008:30).

In reference to the application of corpus linguistic methodologies to explore various issues, Mautner (2007) used a large, computerized corpus in order to inspect the use of the term *elderly*. According to Mautner, large dictionaries of English language, Internet, associations, as well as politically correct language experts, offer many opposing and often contradicting definitions of the term *elderly* (Mautner 2007:51). For this reason, Mautner believed that an investigation of large reference corpora could facilitate the understanding of why the term *elderly* is often being understood as ‘ageist’, as well as which activities are most often associated to older people (Mautner 2007:52).

On one hand, she intended to assemble a collocational profile of the expression *elderly* thus adding to the considerable research on the topic already conducted. On the other hand, she found that sizeable reference corpora contain substantial social information suitable for sociolinguistics and discourse analysis (Mautner 2007:52).

For that purpose a 57-million word online spin-off corpus, called Wordbanks online, consisting of 12 sub-corpora dating from the early to mid 1990s, was used (Mautner 2007:55). The corpus comprised British daily newspapers such as: the *Times*, *The Sun* and *Today*, British books, magazines, flyers, catalogues, unscripted spoken British English, BBC radio, US books, US ephemera, National Public Radio Broadcasts and Australian newspapers (Mautner 2007: 55).

The analysis was conducted via the Wordbanks online software which calculates the keyword in context concordances, indicating both the frequency of occurrence of collocates, as well as lexical patterns relatively low in frequency, however indicating higher probability to collocate with the node word. The high in frequency patterns served as a good starting point in the analysis of the data (Mautner 2007:55). Mautner acknowledged the advantage of the keyword in context concordances approach as the accuracy in the data attained would further serve as a solid base for qualitative analysis, i.e. the qualitative analysis would benefit from the quantitative findings (Mautner 2007:56). In order for the social domains affiliated to the lexical items, or the societal weight they carry, to be taken into account, both semantic preference and semantic prosody had been a focus of the study along the concordance lines (Mautner 2007:56).

The quantitative findings led to the conclusion that the term *elderly* was strongly connected with lexical items which “relate to disability, care, victimhood and vulnerable social groups” (Mautner 2007:59). The qualitative evidence led to the conclusion that the negative divergence was particularly accentuated in cases when the adjective was used as a collective expression (*the elderly*) (Mautner 2007:63). Furthermore, she found that *the elderly* had been envisaged as dependent and vulnerable (Mautner 2007:63). Based on the evidence deriving from the corpus, Mautner depicted that the people who are perceived as being old and fit, old and wealthy or old and powerful are less likely to be characterized as elderly and she advised against the use of the term overall (Mautner 2007:64).

In reference to the methodology, she found that using large corpora allows for a representativeness to be achieved, further making the researcher more confident about the final conclusions of his study. She saw the negative side of corpus linguistics approach in the link between the linguistic patterns and their contextual framework due to the nature of the data contained in the corpus. Additionally, Mautner pointed to the necessity for the corpus-acquired data to be supported by an in-depth qualitative analysis. She accentuated the possibility for the analysis to move in two directions, i.e. quantitative to qualitative and vice versa, and found the keyword in-context concordances approach to offer a connection between the elements of frequency and their elucidation, thus opening a possibility for the researcher to observe behind the obvious computational results (Mautner 2007:66).

As can be discerned from the above presented examples, some studies combined corpus linguistics methodologies with critical discourse analysis and gave justifications for such an approach in managing the data at hand.

The analysis that is to follow relies entirely on the corpus linguistics techniques. The reasons for that are manifold. Primarily, two out of the total of three corpora that are to follow, and subjected to close inspection, represent a rather homogenous and coherent mass of texts produced and published by the official European bodies and open to the public. Therefore, the language style used is official and evenly spread all over the corpora. The third corpus is consisted of newspaper articles, deriving from two largest newspapers in the Republic of Macedonia, representing central left and central right political stances, thus the reporting language is relatively constant. Secondly, corpus linguistics, as illustrated in the previous chapter (see

Chapter 2), does not embrace a simple set of computer-assisted techniques but employs the human factor on a very large scale. Therefore, it is the computer-generated results that provide an overall picture of the state of affairs in the respective corpus at hand, however the human engineering is the one that plays the most important role in handling the large amount of data. It allows for the researcher to select data, identify whether word clusters are high in frequency or rather low in occurrence, and decide whether these are relevant for the imminent analysis and would provide support for the pre-established hypothesis or would lead the researcher to examine additional, unanticipated aspects. Thirdly, the keywords are not “set in stone” but when observed along with their collocates and in their contexts of occurrence, could reveal much more in depicting the lexical patterns of manifestations. Finally, the background information and pre-knowledge of the events, and in the case of this study the enlargement policy and the factors influencing the enlargement of the European Union during specific points of time, should suffice in validating the interpretation of the findings.

The large amount of data allow for impartiality in the analysis, and make room for the researcher to confirm the preconceived thoughts on the matter or take him to the unforeseen, entailing additional in-depth examination to be carried out.

4. The European Union

What started as a purely economic partnership among six European countries, aiming towards strong economic ties which would further hinder any possibility for a conflict among the states, grew into a distinctive economic and political union of 28 European states sharing common policies and core values, i.e. human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights (see European Union, 2015a).

4.1. History of the European Union

„Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.“ – Declaration of Robert Schuman, 1950 (see European Union, 2015b).

The European Union of today derives from the governmental proposal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France at the time, Robert Schuman, who on 9 May 1950, called for the creation of a new form of organization of States in Europe (see European Union, 2015b). The proposal led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) by six founding states, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands, and further gave an initiative for unification of the European countries after the neighbourly wars which culminated with the Second World War and was followed by the Cold War between the East and the West in the 1950s. The ECSC was the first supranational European community aiming towards unifying the countries of Europe both economically and politically, thus preventing future wars and securing lasting peace (see European Union, 2015c).

The founding countries of ECSC, in 1957 signed the Treaties which established the European Economic Community (EEC) or the ‘Common Market’, and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), today referred to as the Treaties of Rome (see European Union, 2015c). The main alterations from the previous Treaty lay in the „extension of the European integration to include general economic cooperation“ (see European Union, 2015d) thus further uniting the signatory countries „in a community whose aim is to achieve integration via trade with a view to economic expansion“ (see European Union, 2015e).

During the first enlargement in 1973, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland joined the Union thus raising the number of EU members to nine. The period 1970 – 1979 marked changes in EU regional policy in transferring large sums in order to boost the poorer areas. The European Parliament increased its influence in EU affairs and in 1979 all citizens could, for the first time, elect their members directly (see European Union, 2015c).

Greece became the EU's 10th member state in 1981. Five years later, in 1986, Spain and Portugal joined the Union as well, „bringing membership to twelve“ (see European Union, 2015c). Another significant event marked 1986 as the Single European Act, i.e. a six-year program intended to overcome the differences in national trade regulations and a completion of a ‘Single Market’ was adopted. This Act served as an impetus towards further integration (see European Union, 2015e).

The following decade was marked by many significant changes and events. Communism across Central and Eastern Europe fell. In 1993, the Single Market offering “four freedoms of movement of goods, services, people and money“ (see European Union, 2015c) was established. In 1993 the Treaty of Maastricht was signed, expanding European cooperation beyond economic parameters, “a new stage in European integration since it opens the way to political integration” (see European Union, 2015e). This treaty, known as the Treaty on European Union, was the major milestone of the Union and marked the day when the European Community officially became the European Union. 1995 was significant for two reasons. Not only did Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU, but also the Schengen Agreement allowing for a passport-free travel took effect. The Treaty of Amsterdam was signed in 1997. This Treaty set out the plans to reform the EU institutions, to give Europe a more significant role in the world, and gave emphasis to employment and the rights of citizens (see European Union, 2015e).

The EU's original plan for a single currency dating from 1970, initially carried out in 1999 with introduction of the euro in 11 EU countries for commercial and financial purposes, was finally realized in 2002 in the form of euro coins and notes in 12 European countries. Over the course of 2001 to 2003, the EU joined the USA in their fight against international terrorism and strengthened its endeavours in peace-keeping operations by agreeing to establish an „area of freedom, security and justice for all citizens by 2010“ (see European Union, 2015c). During what is known as the biggest EU enlargement, eight countries from Central and Eastern Europe

(the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, as well as Cyprus and Malta) joined the Union in 2004. This was enabled by the signing of the Nice Treaty in 2001, reforming the structures of the Union. The trend of enlargement continued in 2007 with the entry of Bulgaria and Romania.

The Treaty signed by 27 Member States in 2007, and entering into force in 2009, i.e. the Lisbon Treaty, reformed the previous ones. The intent of the Treaty „makes it possible to adapt the European institutions and their working methods, strengthen democratic legitimacy and consolidate the Union's core values“ (see European Union, 2015e). September 2008 marked the beginning of a new era in economic relations with the major financial crisis which impacted world economy.

The ongoing decade began with a severe economic crisis. The last country to enter the Union was Croatia in July 2013. Today, the EU is home to 28 Member States and a prospective home to six European candidate countries, namely Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, Turkey and Albania, as well as to the potential candidates Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

4.2. European Union's Enlargement Policy

„Enlargement is the process whereby countries join the EU“ (see European Union, 2015f).

According to the Treaty of the European Union, „any European country may apply for membership if it respects the EU's democratic values and is committed to promoting them“ (see European Commission, 2015).

According to the conditions for membership, a new member is admitted only when the country can demonstrate its ability to take on all of the responsibilities of full membership, i.e. that the country can fulfill the Union's standards and rules, that all of the institutions and the members of the EU give their approval, and that the citizens of the Member States give their consent via the national parliaments of the countries or via referendum (see European Commission, 2015). More specifically, a country can join the Union only if it meets all of the key accession criteria, i.e. the country must have “stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competition and market forces in the EU” and “the ability to take on and implement

effectively the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union” (see European Commission, 2015).

In reference to the countries of the Western Balkans, additional conditions for membership, principally regarding regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations, are being set under the Stabilisation and Association Process (see European Commission, 2015). The process has 3 aims, i.e. political stabilization of the countries and smooth transition to market economy, promotion of regional cooperation and eventual membership to the EU. “A country is offered the prospect of membership (it becomes a potential candidate). This means it should be offered official candidate status when it is ready” (see European Commission, 2015).

Furthermore, integration capacity, previously known as the absorption capacity of the Union, was introduced because, “[w]hile the acceding countries must be ready and able to fully assume the obligations of membership, the Union must be able to function effectively and to develop” (see European Commission, 2015).

The process of enlargement has three stages. Primarily a country needs to be offered a membership prospect, secondly it needs to become an official candidate for membership in order to officially begin the official membership negotiations, i.e. adoption, implementation and enforcement of the EU rules (“*acquis*”). The membership negotiations can start only after the EU governments agree in a form of unanimous decision reached by the EU Council, (see European Commission, 2015). The elements of the negotiations involve screening, i.e. detailed examination of each *acquis* chapter (35 chapters, i.e. policy fields in total) upon which the Commission presents its findings in the form of a screening report. The conclusions of this report either recommend direct opening of the negotiations or require that additional conditions or opening benchmarks be met first (see European Commission, 2015). Before the formal opening of the negotiations, each candidate country must submit its position and the Union has to adopt a common position (see European Commission, 2015). The duration of the negotiations cannot be set in advance and it varies from one country to another (see European Commission, 2015). The negotiations process is being closely monitored by the European Commission, additionally providing the candidate country with guidance. The Commission informs the European Union Council and the European Parliament about the progress that the country has made via reports and strategy papers. Once the Accession Treaty, a document that firmly establishes the country’s

membership to the EU, has been signed the country becomes an acceding country (see European Commission, 2015). Finally, upon completion of the negotiation and adoption of the necessary reforms and subsequent to receiving consent from the EU countries, the country can join the Union (see European Commission, 2015).

Some additional explanations about the functioning of the EU institutions have been given in the core chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis in order to offer further clarification about the enlargement process of the European Union.

5. Enlargement of the European Union – Policy, Documents and Papers

5.1. Introduction

The analysis in this chapter has been divided into two parts. The first part is of an illustrative nature, and aims towards inspection and overall review of the key words, word clusters, and provides a short examination of some of the constant clusters, collocations, and concordances, thus providing a primary glimpse of the whole first corpus's overall enlargement terminology. The second part deals with the chronological development and alteration of some of the key terminology on enlargement over time, depicting transformations and modifications in the enlargement notion and the introduction of new word clusters on the account of loss of some of the existing ones.

5.1.1. European Union enlargement papers

As interest in joining the Community (which officially became the European Union in 1993) increased, and especially with the addition of countries in Eastern and Central Europe, the need arose to establish rules for accession, which are popularly referred to as criteria.

The following enlargement policy documents and papers comprise the first corpus that was subjected to analysis:

1. Article 6, Paragraph 1, EU Treaty, July 1992 (see EUR-Lex, 2015)¹
2. Article 49, EU Treaty, July 1992 (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
3. Europe and the Challenge of Enlargement, 24 June 1992, Prepared for the European Council in Lisbon, 26-27 June 1992 (see Archive of European Integration (AEI), 2015)
4. European Council in Copenhagen, Conclusions of the Presidency_21-22 June 1993 (see European Parliament, 2015)
5. The Presidency Conclusions of the Madrid European Council, including the Annexes on Enlargement and the Declaration on former Yugoslavia, 15-16 December 1995 (see European Parliament, 2015)

¹ For reasons of space and clarity I consistently refer to the home pages of the websites. In some cases the referenced material is to be found in the subpages of the websites.

6. European Commission, Zagreb Summit, Final Declaration, 24 November 2000 (see European Stability Initiative, 2015)
7. Protocols: Protocol Annexed to the Treaty on European Union and to the Treaties Establishing the European Communities: Protocol on the enlargement of the European Union, 10 March 2001 (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
8. The Communication Strategy for Enlargement, adopted in May 2000, updated 31 July 2002 (see European Commission, 2015)
9. The Thessaloniki Agenda for the Western Balkans: Western Balkans - Council Conclusions, 16 June 2003 (see European Union External Action. European External Action Service (EEAS), 2015)
10. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and the Candidate Countries, 29 June 2005 (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
11. Enlargement process: Consolidation, Conditions, Communication. Roadmap for the Western Balkans, 9 November 2005, general provisions and summary (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
12. Communication from the Commission, 2005 Enlargement Strategy Paper, 9 November 2005 - general provisions and roadmaps (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
13. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006_2007 Including Annexed Special Report on the EU's Capacity to Integrate New Members, 8 November 2006 - general provisions and roadmaps (see European Commission, 2015)
14. Enlargement strategy 2006 – 2007: challenges and integration capacity, 8 November 2006 – general provisions and summary (see European Commission, 2015)
15. The accession process for a new Member State, last updated 28 February 2007 (see European Union, 2015e)
16. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007 – 2008, 6 November 2007 - general provisions and roadmaps (see European Commission, 2015)

17. Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007, 17 December 2007 (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
18. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Western Balkans: Enhancing the European Perspective, 5 March 2008 (see European Commission, 2015)
19. Consolidated Versions of the European Union Treaty and the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union-9 May 2008 (see EUR-Lex, 2015)
20. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2008 – 2009, 5 November 2008 - general provisions and roadmaps (see European Commission, 2015)

The entire first corpus comprises 119,385 words.

5.1.2. Key words

When comparing the word list (see Chapter 2) of the entire first corpus, generated by applying the WordSmith software tool, with a reference word list, i.e. with the Guardian Word List 1998 – 2004, the total number of key words (see Chapter 2) exceeds 500. Upon removing the irrelevant and the terminologically unrelated words, the key words list has been reduced to 379 words. The below table (Table Nr. 1) includes the first 60 key words that are relevant for this analysis. The RC Freq. column in all of the key words tables displays the keyword's frequency in the reference corpus (see Scott:2015b).

Table 1: Key words of the entire First Corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998 – 2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EUROPEAN	876	82,150	3,886. 20	31	INSTITUTIONS	141	13,630	616. 57
2	COUNTRIES	653	48,101	3,197. 62	32	REFORM/S	133	7,605	715. 64
3	EU	648	32,882	3,639.0 7	33	POLICY/IES	131	64,728	192. 68
4	COMMISSION	616	39,077	3,193.4 7	34	FINANCIAL	123	58,244	189. 12
5	COUNCIL	599	59,268	2,594. 88	35	STABILITY	121	5,768	693. 65
6	ENLARGEMENT	364	1,481	3,789. 58	36	TREATY	120	5,481	697. 85
7	STATES	351	36,925	1,470. 00	37	ASSISTANCE	119	4,745	723. 38

8	MEMBER	351	35,973	1,496.40	38	MEMBERS	115	59,287	161.57
9	ACCESSION	348	925	3,881.07	39	MEMBERSHIP	114	9,239	536.87
10	UNION	339	57,009	1,130.47	40	ENSURE	113	23,386	333.75
11	COMMUNITY	323	45,669	1,181.09	41	ACTIVITIES	112	14,983	420.96
12	ECONOMIC	286	39,097	1,063.74	42	INTEGRATION	112	3,279	747.97
13	WESTERN	263	25,993	1,139.21	43	PARTICULAR	110	27,398	288.34
14	PROCESS	241	41,279	795.34	44	FRAMEWORK	110	4,089	683.63
15	PROGRESS	215	20,400	947.91	45	CONDITIONS	109	23,754	311.76
16	SUPPORT	214	76,555	427.03	46	IMPLEMENTATION	109	2,172	809.20
17	COOPERATION	213	4,636	1,545.09	47	KEY	107	47,007	177.29
18	DEVELOPMENT	201	40,629	602.38	48	TRADE	106	46,864	174.55
19	NEGOTIATIONS	200	11,246	1,082.74	49	SOCIAL	105	66,543	115.23
20	DIALOGUE	188	6,499	1,195.00	50	NECESSARY	104	18,885	331.95
21	CANDIDATE	183	13,181	903.33	51	SECURITY	103	54,327	141.10
22	POLITICAL	182	86,968	277.29	52	CAPACITY	103	13,227	395.03
23	CIVIL	179	26,482	633.79	53	ASSOCIATION	101	38,718	189.82
24	EUROPE	176	62,227	354.63	54	STRATEGY	101	22,555	284.63
25	REGIONAL	170	16,371	744.65	55	EFFORTS	99	16,495	331.66
26	BALKAN/S	169	2,290	1,380.27	56	PROGRAMMES	97	20,961	278.91
27	REGION	157	15,576	678.80	57	MEASURES	93	14,630	312.44
28	COUNTRY	156	102,076	164.11	58	CHALLENGES	90	6,584	441.51
29	SOCIETY	154	62,414	275.36	59	COMMUNICATION	86	6,958	405.26
30	AGREEMENT/S	145	23,730	490.61	60	PARLIAMENT	82	25,055	185.58

Taking into consideration the topic under examination it comes of no surprise that the key words *enlargement* and *accession*, representing the enlargement process elements, further strengthened by the words *negotiations*, *candidate* and *integration*, should occur amongst the key words highest in frequency. Many of the words listed above refer to the parties or actors involved in the enlargement process such as: *countries*, *country*, *members*, *states*, *region*, as well as the countries, particular parties and regions such as: *EU*, *Europe*, *European*, *Union*, *Western* and *Balkan*. Some of the key words refer to the institutions directly involved in the enlargement process, for example *Commission*, *Parliament*, *Council*, and *institutions*. Some of the key words

are related to the terms of becoming an EU member state: *conditions, reforms, implementation, progress, ensure*, while other words are related to the gains and benefits, such as *development and security*. Additionally, there are compliances that need to be practiced and represented by the key words *policies, economic, political*, additionally strengthened by the communicational aspects: *dialogue, communication* as well as the notion of conditionality: *capacity, challenges, necessary, measures*.

5.1.3. Word clusters and terminological domains

Taking into account the large number of entries in the word list of the first corpus (119,385) and the vast number of key words (over 500), only the key words presented in the above table have been taken into consideration while generating the word clusters. The calculation, based on two- to six-word clusters that repeat with the minimum frequency of five times (see Chapter 2), led to the occurrence of a rather large number of word clusters. After removing the reoccurring and unrelated clusters as well as the word strings, the remaining clusters were divided into 11 terminological domains presented below:

Terminological domains of the First Corpus

Domain

1. Parties or actors involved
2. Countries or regions involved
3. Institutions involved in the process
4. Enlargement and elements of the process/Instruments of accession
5. Terms and compliances
6. Gains/benefits from becoming a member
7. Cooperation types and elements
8. Communicational aspect
9. Conditionality
10. Documents and papers
11. Other

The first domain comprises the parties i.e. actors involved in the process of enlargement.

1st Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 88
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY – 55
CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 50
POTENTIAL CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 36
ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES – 34
COUNTRIES OF THE REGION – 24
APPLICANT COUNTRIES – 21
NEW MEMBER STATES – 19
APPLICANT COUNTRY – 17
EU MEMBER STATES – 17
ENLARGEMENT COUNTRIES – 13
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY – 9
CANDIDATE COUNTRY – 8
REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES – 7
THE BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES – 5
DELEGATIONS IN THE COUNTRIES – 5
DELEGATIONS IN THE CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 5
MEMBER STATES AND APPLICANT COUNTRIES – 5

Within the first domain, the most frequent word cluster is *member states*, and in most cases it is collocating in the cluster *Community and its member states*, in the contexts of the decision-making process, as well as implementation of obligations taken upon by the countries in general affairs and in the enlargement process in particular.

The word cluster *member states and the applicant countries* appears in these contexts as well. Namely, each member state has a crucial role in the process of ratification and accession of a candidate country in that, upon the completion of the negotiations process, the results are to be incorporated into a draft Accession Treaty that needs to be separately assented to and ratified by the Community's institutions and each of the member countries (see European Union, 2015e).

The word cluster *enlargement countries* is a newer phenomenon. Namely it was first introduced in 2006 in the documents subjected to this analysis.

5.1 Table of concordances: Enlargement countries

- a. *In accordance with the 2005 road-map for the Western Balkans. The **enlargement countries** still face major challenges. It is crucial to maintain*
- b. *civil society and of dialogue between the citizens of EU Member States and the **enlargement countries**. Since 2005, the Commission has granted financial support*
- c. *be continued, especially local ownership of initiatives in this area. In all **enlargement countries**, the EU will continue to make full use of its pre-accession*

- d. participation of civil society organizations in the reforms undertaken in the **enlargement countries** is a strong determinant for the pace and quality of the*
- e. offer further participation possibilities, including observer status for all **enlargement countries** in the meeting of the management boards or expert groups.*
- f. Promoting public debate about EU enlargement, both in the member states and the **enlargement countries**, carrying out communication activities for civil society*

The above examples (see 5.1 Table of concordances) illustrate some of the uses of the word cluster that have obviously grown to mean countries aspiring to full EU membership. This cluster has taken over some of the use of the cluster *applicant countries*, especially after the period 2006 – 2007. The word cluster *potential candidate countries* also makes a later entry into the corpus. This later manifestation of some word clusters shall be examined further in the chronological analysis of the development of the official EU enlargement terminology.

None of the word clusters in the first domain, nor their frequency or evolution over time, come as a surprise, because they are all part of a very well established terminology on enlargement (see European Union, 2015g, i.e. the EU Glossary of terms related to European integration and the institutions and activities of the EU).

2. Countries or regions involved

EU – 648
 WESTERN BALKANS – 162
 EUROPEAN UNION – 104
 WESTERN BALKAN – 93
 WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES – 82
 COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN BALKAN – 46
 SOUTH EAST EUROPE – 30
 CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 23
 COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 16
 SAP COUNTRIES – 16
 BALKAN COUNTRIES – 9
 REGION AS A WHOLE – 7
 EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES – 8
 ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 6
 THE WESTERN BALKANS – 5

Taking into account the historical development and expansion of the European Union, the second terminological domain i.e. countries or regions involved, gives evidence of the focus of the enlargement process of the Union on one region within a certain time framework.

The word clusters *European Union* and the abbreviation *EU* occur far more often than any other in this domain for an obvious reason.

As for the word clusters *Central and Eastern Europe* and *South East Europe*, they have been dominant in the enlargement policy notion since the sudden fall of the communist regime in the region in the beginning of the 1990s and through their accession in 2004 (see European Union, 2015e). Thus, out of total of 30 occurrences within the whole corpus, the word clusters *Central and Eastern Europe* or *Countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CCEE)* occur 25 times within the period 1992 – 1995 and only five times after 2005, in reference to the case of the CCEE countries which are implementable in the Western Balkan region as illustrated in some of the examples some of which represented in the 5.2 Table of concordances below:

5.2 Table of concordances: Central and Eastern Europe

- a. of the EU's most powerful policy tools. The pull of the EU has helped transform **Central and Eastern Europe** from communist regimes to modern, well-functioning de*
- b. framework conducive to trade and investments in the Balkans, as was the case in **Central and Eastern Europe** in the 1990s. Several countries have ambitious plans*

The uneven distribution of occurrences further shows that the geographic focus of enlargement changed over time.

The accession of eight “first-wave” Central and Eastern European Countries in 2004 opened space for the *Western Balkan Countries* and *Countries of the Western Balkan* to become a focus of EU enlargement in 2003 with the statement: “The future of the Balkans is within the European Union” (see European Union External Action. European External Action Service (EEAS), 2015). This statement is additionally supported by the fact that the word clusters *Western Balkan* and *Western* appear in the corpora with increasing frequency after their first occurrences in 2003. The contexts in which the above clusters appear shall be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

The word cluster *SAP countries* stands for the Stabilisation and Association Process initiated in May 1999 by the European Union for the countries from the Western Balkan (see European Union, 2015e). This terminological development of the process and its subsequent agreements shall be further explored in the chronological analysis of the documents.

3. Institutions involved in the process

EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 318

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 64

EIB (abbreviation for EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK) – 21

(OTHER) INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (IFI) – 17

EU INSTITUTIONS – 15

EBRD (abbreviation for EUROPEAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT) – 12

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE – 11

EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 11

EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK (EIB) – 8

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE – 8

REGIONAL COOPERATION COUNCIL – 7

EU COUNTERPARTS – 6

NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES – 5

REGIONAL SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 6

EUROPE DEVELOPMENT BANK – 5

EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR RECONSTRUCTION – 5

The third terminological domain is comprised of the institutions of the enlargement process. In this regard, the highest frequency in occurrence of the word cluster *European Council* is justified by its important role in the enlargement process, as it is the Council that receives the membership application from a country wishing to join the EU (see European Commission, 2015). This word cluster occurs constantly throughout the whole corpus, thus illustrating the continuous role of this institution in the process. It can therefore be marked as a constant cluster (henceforth c-cluster).

The work of the Council is closely connected to the work of the *European Commission* in that it is the Commission that assesses the applicant's ability to meet the conditions of membership. Some of the responsibilities of the Commission within the enlargement process include carrying out the screening process and the negotiations with the applicant states, as well as preparing the draft negotiating positions for the Member States (see European Parliament, 2015). Additionally, the European Commission monitors the progress of each candidate country and prepares annual progress reports on the pace and manner in which each country fulfills the accession criteria (see Chapter 6).

The word cluster with the second-highest frequency is *European Parliament*, indicating that institution's key role. The Parliament is involved in assessing the final terms of accession before

the Treaties are ratified. It monitors accession negotiations at all stages and plays a key role in the financial aspects of accession.

In a similar vein, the word clusters *International Financial Institutions (IFI)*, *European Investment Bank*, *Europe Development Bank*, *European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)* and *European Agency for Reconstruction* occur frequently, and are related to financial aid in the form of financial assistance, donations, lending or co-financing for development projects in the Western Balkans (see European Agency for Reconstruction, 2008).

4. Enlargement and elements of the process / instruments of accession

ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS	– 76
ENLARGEMENT PROCESS	– 46
ACCESSION PROCESS	– 35
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	– 31
FIFTH ENLARGEMENT	– 25
COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES	– 22
PRE-ACCESSION ASSISTANCE	– 17
PRE -ACCESSION STRATEGY	– 15
STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS	– 23
ENLARGEMENT AGENDA	– 16
THE PROCESS OF ACCESSION	– 14
THE PROCESS OF ENLARGEMENT	– 13
INSTRUMENT FOR PRE ACCESSION (IPA)	– 11
EU ENLARGEMENT	– 11
ACCESSION PARTNERSHIPS	– 11
ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION	– 9
ACCESSION TREATY	– 8
STAGE OF THE PRE ACCESSION	– 5
PRE-ACCESSION FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE	– 5
COPENHAGEN EUROPEAN COUNCIL	– 5
KEY STAGES	– 5

This terminological domain contains word clusters representing the terminology and the elements of the European Union enlargement process. Most of the clusters listed under this domain first appear later in the corpus.

The word cluster *accession negotiations* is by far the most frequently occurring within the corpus. It refers to the process after a country, aspiring to achieve EU membership, has received candidate status. The accession negotiation process should enable candidate countries “to prepare to be able to meet their obligations as Member States once they join the EU” (see European

Union, 2015e). This cluster is recurrent throughout the corpus as negotiations are a key part of the accession process.

The word cluster *enlargement process* does not enter the corpus until 2001, though it occurs very frequently after that. It collocates most frequently with the word *quality*, as in *the quality of the enlargement process*, a phenomenon that first appears even later, from 2007 to 2009. The reasons for the development of this word cluster shall be explored later on in this chapter's analysis of the chronological development of the terminology.

Most of the later period documents (i.e. 2006 – 2009) make reference to the *Fifth Enlargement*. This word cluster, which is rather high in occurrence, refers to the “historical and unprecedented Enlargement in the history of the European Union” (see European Union, 2015e), and is by far the largest enlargement of the Union acceding eight Central and Eastern European Countries and two Mediterranean countries that officially joined the Union on 1 May 2004 (see Chapter 4). Many of the contexts of the cluster make reference to the lessons that have been learned during the process of the fifth enlargement or as a result of the fifth enlargement, as illustrated in the 5.3 Table of concordances here:

5.3 Table of concordances: Fifth enlargement

*a. new tool introduced on the basis of the lessons drawn from the **fifth enlargement** in particular on the basis of lessons drawn from the **fifth enlargement***

*b. Lessons learned in the course of the **fifth enlargement** will assist the Union an approach to draw lessons from the **fifth enlargement**, to support countries*

These references and their occurrences shall be examined later in this chapter, when the chronological development of terminology is reviewed in detail.

Many of the word clusters *accession partnership*, *accession treaty*, *pre-accession strategy*, *instruments for pre-accession* etc., shall be treated later on in the chapter.

5. Terms and compliance

OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP – 15

ECONOMIC REFORM – 15

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ENLARGEMENT – 11

ECONOMIC REFORMS – 11

COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY – 11

COMMON POLICIES – 11

IMPLEMENTATION (IMPLEMENTING) OF ACQUIS – 9
 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORMS – 9
 ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION – 9
 PROGRESS TOWARDS THE EU – 9
 ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL REFORM/S – 8
 DEVELOPMENT AND DIALOGUE – 8
 QUALITY OF ENLARGEMENT – 8
 PRE ACCESSION PROCESS – 8
 QUALITY OF THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS – 7
 IMPACT OF ENLARGEMENT – 7
 RENEWED CONSENSUS ON ENLARGEMENT – 7
 MOMENTUM OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION – 7
 TOWARDS EU MEMBERSHIP – 7
 ECONOMIC POLICY – 7
 POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS – 6
 REGIONAL FREE TRADE – 6
 FED INTO THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS – 5
 APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 5
 NECESSARY REFORMS – 5
 INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS – 5
 STRUCTURAL REFORMS – 5
 JUDICIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS – 5
 ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM – 5
 BUILDING LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 5
 IMPLEMENTING REFORMS – 5
 IMPLEMENTING OBLIGATIONS – 5
 ECONOMIC INTEGRATION – 5
 EU LAWS AND POLICIES – 5
 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS – 5

The fifth terminological domain, which contains the longest list of word clusters, is comprised of phrases relating to the terms and conditions as well as compliances of EU membership. Although these two notions are similar, some distinctions can be drawn.

Namely, the first word cluster under this domain, *obligations of membership*, is a c-cluster throughout the corpus. It collocates mostly with a *country's ability, in a position to take on, able to assume, position to accept the obligations of membership*, as can be seen from the several examples presented in the 5.4 Table of concordances:

5.4 Table of concordances: Obligations of membership

*a. the ability to take on the **obligations of membership**, including adherence to the aims of political*

- b. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the **obligations of membership** including adherence to the aims of political, economic*
- c. accession will take place as soon as an associated country is able to assume the **obligations of membership** by satisfying the economic and political conditions*
- d. However, the countries which are not yet in a position to accept the **obligations of membership** have political needs which go beyond*
- e. potential applicants, some are relatively well-placed to take on the **obligations of membership**, while 'others are manifestly not in a position to*

Generally, this word cluster appears in connection to applicants' ability to fulfill their obligations. The collocation of this word cluster in a later period, i.e. after 2005 as compared to its earlier occurrences, i.e. 1992 – 2003, shall be explored later in this chapter.

The key word *reform* or *reforms*, which occurs over 200 times in the corpus, collocates mostly with *administrative and judicial, public administration, institutional, structural, administrative, implementing* etc., i.e. in connection with focal areas that the applicant countries need to attend to. In a related vein is the word cluster *economic reform*, which is a c-cluster that usually collocates with the word *political*, as in the cluster *Political and Economic Reform*. The plural form, *economic reforms*, doesn't appear until 2006. The following two examples (see 5.5 Table of concordances) derive from two different documents on Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007 – 2008 and the same type of document for 2008 – 2009 (see documents and papers that comprise the First corpus above), are identical. This might mean that the pace of EU accession is directly proportionate to the reforms that the candidate country conducts. Or the replication of the same statement after a period of one year simply derives from the lack of results delivered by the candidate countries, or lack of expectations on the part of the Union in terms of the effects that are to be achieved within this one year period on the other.

5.5 Table of concordances: Political and economic reforms

- a. potential candidate approaches the EU reflects the pace of its **political and economic reforms** as well as its capacity to fully assume the rights and obligations*
- b. potential candidate approaches the EU reflects the pace of its **political and economic reforms** as well as its capacity to assume the rights and obligations*

The above two clusters would fall under the notion of both terms and compliance.

The word cluster *implementation of acquis* (and its occurrence in other forms: *to implement the acquis, implementing the acquis* etc.) is a constant word cluster throughout the first corpus. It is

in relation to the *acquis communautaire*, also called *EU acquis* or shortened to *acquis*, defined as: “the body of common rights and obligations that is binding on all the EU Member States” (see European Commission, 2015), accumulating the directives, regulations, decisions, international agreements and other acts of the European Union Law (see European Union, 2015d). The word *acquis* alone appears over 40 times in the corpus, thus marking the importance of the implementation of this legislation.

The word cluster *pre-accession process* is part of two domains, that relating to the enlargement process (4th domain) and that relating to terms and compliance (5th domain). This cross-domain association of certain word clusters shall be consistent throughout the analysis. The word cluster in this form cannot be found on the official website of the European Union. The pre-accession process referred to on the site refers to the Accession Partnerships, which are a portion of the Pre-Accession Strategy Instrument (see European Union, 2015e) for determining the needs of the candidate countries in order to target pre-accession assistance. The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) is additionally an instrument for financial assistance.

Another cluster that has been developed in later times or more precisely since 2007 and onwards is the word cluster *quality of the enlargement process*, addressing the need of the EU and the Commission to improve the process in the following areas:

5.6 Table of concordances: Quality of the enlargement process

*a. The Commission is improving the **quality of the enlargement process** by tackling public administration and judicial*

*b. The EU has taken steps to improve the **quality of the enlargement process**. Based on the analysis set out in the 2007 e*

*c. Continued efforts were made to improve the **quality of the enlargement process**, including by laying down rigorous benchmark*

*d. The EU has taken steps to improve the **quality of the enlargement process**, considering in particular the lessons learned from previous enlargements*

As can be gleaned from the several examples illustrated in the 5.6 Table of concordances above, the improvement is to be set in early exploration of certain aspects of the progress of a country, in line with lessons learned from previous enlargements.

6. Gains/benefits from becoming a member

REGIONAL COOPERATION – 50

CIVIL SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT – 18
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT – 10
PEACE AND STABILITY – 8
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – 7
TRADE AND INVESTMENT – 7
DEVELOPMENT AND INTEGRATION – 7
STABILITY AND PROSPERITY – 6
EUROPEAN FREE TRADE – 6
REGIONAL FREE TRADE – 6
EUROPE DEVELOPMENT – 5
STABILITY IN EUROPE – 5
STABILITY IN THE REGION – 5
MODERNISATION AND DEVELOPMENT – 5
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – 5
ECONOMIC GROWTH – 5
PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY – 5

The terminological domain including the benefits of membership has the word cluster *regional cooperation* at its prime. This word cluster is again a c-cluster and a cross-domain cluster additionally fitting the terms domain, as well as the cooperation types and element domain (see below) illustrated through the following examples:

5.7 Table of concordances: Regional cooperation

- a. **Regional cooperation** brings concrete benefits to the peoples of the Western Balkans
- b. Further development of **regional cooperation** is an integral part of the Western Balkans' European agenda
- c. a crucial role to play in ensuring stability, good neighbourly relations and **regional cooperation** in the Western Balkans.
- d. countries of South East Europe to build up their capacity and to enhance **regional cooperation** in the field of civil protection and disaster prevention.
- e. a network aiming to boost **regional cooperation** in the field of public administration
- f. substantial assistance to regional projects related to JLS issues, including **regional cooperation** between prosecutors, cross-border cooperation between police
- g. Moving closer towards the EU and enhancing **regional cooperation**. Moving closer towards the EU implies meeting the criteria and conditions

As 5.7 Table of concordances shows, the *Regional cooperation* is to enhance mutual support among the countries and thus contribute to prosperity in the region on one hand (see examples a., d., e., f.) and on the other, the concept of regional collaboration, especially in certain areas, has become a compulsory component of accession (see examples b., c., g.). Even though this is a constant word cluster, the occurrences after 2005 have greatly increased and the contexts in

which the cluster has been set have encompassed more diverse meanings. This shift shall be additionally explored in this chapter.

The word cluster *civil society development* additionally pertains to the communicational aspect domain because it frequently collocates with the word *dialogue*. The contexts in which it occurs suggest benefit on both sides, i.e. on the side of the aspiring country and on the side of the member states themselves. Its appearance comes rather later in the corpus, beginning in 2005, reflecting a perceived need for *civil society dialogue* to enhance understanding and communicate the benefits of the enlargement of the Union on both ends. The commencement and development of this word cluster, as well as of the concept and role of the *civil society* shall be further analyzed later in this chapter, in the section on the chronological development of the enlargement terminology.

The word clusters *peace and stability* and *stability and prosperity* refer to the role of the EU and the benefits for the regions intending to accede the Union:

5.8 Table of concordances: Peace and stability/Stability and prosperity

- a. new relations, beneficial to all of them, for the stability in the region and **peace and stability** on the European continent. They give new impetus to*
- b. fulfil the necessary conditions. The European perspective has contributed to **peace and stability**, and enabled partners to cope with major challenge*
- c. EU is seeking to achieve its goal of being a space of unity in diversity and a promoter of **stability and prosperity** and is bringing together countries which share a common*

Both of the clusters are c-clusters, implying that the two notions have been pivotal and beneficial in the enlargement concept of the Union (as presented in 5.8 Table of concordances above). However, they both occur more frequently in the later period thus emphasizing the benefit of the European perspective.

7. Cooperation types and elements

STABILITY PACT – 30
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE – 18
EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIPS – 16
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE – 15
FINANCIAL SUPPORT – 15
FULL COOPERATION – 13
CROSS BORDER COOPERATION – 10

ECONOMIC COOPERATION – 7
COOPERATION IN THE FIELD – 7
IPA SUPPORT – 6
FULL COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY) – 5
ACCESSION FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE – 5

In order for the enlargement process to be conducted as smoothly as possible, the EU bodies have introduced several types of cooperation, which is reflected in the word clusters of the seventh terminological domain.

The word cluster *Stability Pact* is a cross-domain cluster, which can be additionally classified under the domain of the institutions involved in the enlargement process, as it refers to an institution founded in 1999 aiming towards a “comprehensive, long-term conflict prevention strategy” (see *Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe*, 2008). The Stability Pact aimed towards strengthening the SEE countries “in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights and economic prosperity in order to achieve stability in the whole region”. This word cluster belongs under this domain as the Stability Pact is an instrument for cooperation between the EU and the SEE countries. Its role was overtaken by the Regional Cooperation Council in 2008 for its more “regionally owned and led framework” (see *Regional Cooperation Council*, 2015) (see also terminological domain 3).

Some of the word clusters listed in the cooperation domain are c-clusters, such as: *economic cooperation*, *cooperation in the field of*, while others appeared more recently in the corpus: *Cross border cooperation* and *Full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)*.

This development makes sense in light of events in the countries of the Former Yugoslavia. The shaping of the word clusters listed under cooperation types shall be more closely examined further on.

The word cluster *European Partnerships* is again a cross-domain cluster. The European Commission’s Enlargement Glossary defines these types of partnerships as “instruments of the stabilisation and association process“ that “lay down the principles, priorities and conditions of the relations between the European Union and Western Balkan countries” (see *European Commission*, 2015) thus setting up a “framework of priority action and a financial structure to improve the stability and prosperity of the region, with a view to greater integration with the EU”

(see European Union, 2015e). They serve as a basis for preparation of each Western Balkan country on its way to the European Union. Therefore, they can also be categorized under the Enlargement elements domain, as they are obligatory for every country's integration process. The analysis of this domain shall be concluded with the word clusters *technical assistance* and *financial assistance*. The first cluster is constant throughout the corpus while the second one (somewhat exemplified in 5.9 Table of concordances below) makes an appearance only in the later documents, and is in most cases connected to the Pre-Accession Assistance Instrument.

5.9 Table of concordances: Financial assistance

- a. of 'political and cultural dialogue' in the planning document for pre-accession **financial assistance**. It can be tentatively anticipated that*
- b. These priorities will be reflected in programming **financial assistance** under the new Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)*
- c. make a financial contribution, part of which may be funded by the pre-accession **financial assistance**. However, the applicant countries only have the status of*

8. Communicational aspect

CIVIL SOCIETY DIALOGUE – 44
DIALOGUE WITH (the countries 4) – 34
POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 18
SOCIAL PARTNERS – 17
DIALOGUE BETWEEN (the EU) – 17
COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL – 12
BETTER COMMUNICATION – 10
CIVIL SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT AND DIALOGUE – 8
PRESENT COMMUNICATION – 7
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIALOGUES – 6
POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH – 5
COMMUNICATION WITH THE PUBLIC – 5
PROMOTE CIVIL SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT AND DIALOGUE – 5
CIVIL SOCIETY DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EU AND CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 5

The two key words *dialogue* and *communication* are both among the first 60 key words (see Table 1 above) and occur frequently, which demonstrates the importance of communicational aspects within the enlargement process. The communicational element is an important constituent of accession in all of the documents subjected to this analysis. However, its development, the rate of occurrence as well as the context of occurrence has greatly shifted since

2005. The progress and alteration of the communicational aspect shall be further explored in the chronological analysis of the texts.

This domain's highest frequency word cluster, *civil society dialogue*, marks its first occurrence in the documents of 2005 and ceased to appear after 2007. As it never occurred before or after, this turned to be an unusual phenomenon that will be elaborated in more detail further on in this chapter.

The word clusters *dialogue with* and *dialogue between* are c-clusters and collocate with different words in different contexts:

5.10 Table of concordances: Dialogue with/Dialogue between

- a. *The Commission will prepare the **dialogue with** Member States and report back to them in the relevant Council*
- b. *Henceforth, the results of **dialogue with** the countries on their economic reform will also be fed into*
- c. *The Commission is starting a **dialogue with** all concerned countries in the region to establish*
- d. *the Commission announced its intention to start a **dialogue with** each country with a view to establishing road-maps*
- e. *The EU supports the Commission's proposal to hold regular economic **dialogue with** each SAP country. Having in mind the importance of trade*
- f. *the Commission and other EU institutions will also engage in direct **dialogue with** the general public.*
- g. *sets out a policy framework as regards the development of a civil society **dialogue between** the EU and candidate countries. It will first focus on strengthening*
- h. *A regular bilateral economic **dialogue between** the Commission and the respective countries is held.*
- i. *These cover proper implementation of all commitments undertaken under the SAA, **dialogue between** political parties, implementation of the law on police and anti*
- j. *enlargement of the EU needs to be supported by a strong, deep and sustained **dialogue between** the societies of the candidate countries and in the EU member*

It comes obvious from the above examples that the launched dialogues have been set in many different directions and concern different parties. The dialogues established with or between the member states, the candidate states, the SAP states, the general public, the societies, directly with some of the candidate countries or any other relevant factors in the enlargement process are in reference to economic, political, reformatory and other aspects (see 5.10 Table of concordances, examples a. through j.). The established dialogues seem to involve more parties and are set on more versatile levels in later periods. However this development shall be additionally explored in the chronological analysis of the terminology of this chapter.

On a more specific type of communication, the word cluster *political dialogue with*, occurring in this form only five times in the entire corpus in the documents of 1992, 1995 and 2005 (see documents list above), addresses a direct dialogue with various entities as presented below:

5.11 Table of concordances: Political dialogue with

- a. the Political Committee adopted new guidelines for strengthening the **political dialogue with** the Associated Countries of Central and Eastern Europe,*
- b. The enhanced **political dialogue with** the Associated Countries of Central and Eastern Europe,*
- c. The agreements provide for a **political dialogue with** the Community, which has already been launched jointly*
- d. facilitate their eventual integration into the Community. The deepening of the **political dialogue with** them should also be pursued. The applicant countries*
- e. sectors of civil society in the member States and Candidate countries; A **political dialogue with** Turkey takes place in the framework of the regular monitoring of the political criteria*

The first four of the above examples (5.11 Table of concordances, examples a. through d.) occur in earlier documents and concern the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which were the focus of the enlargement process at the time. The fifth example (example e. above) concerns a particular country (Turkey) and touches upon the *political criteria*. *Political criteria* is another word cluster falling under the umbrella of the domain of Conditionality (see below) and shall be explored in more detail later.

The word cluster *social partners* is a constant and a cross-domain cluster. It is being used in the 1993 Copenhagen criteria document and its occurrence intensifies after the 2005. The emergence can be categorized under the communicational aspect domain, mostly as part of the communicational strategy between all relevant partners in the enlargement process, due to the involvement of the social partners in the dialogue practice as seen from the examples presented in 5.12 Table of concordances here:

5.12 Table of concordances: Social partners a.

- a. The civil society dialogue will also extensively involve the business community, professional organisations and **social partners** from both sides.*
- b. on the EU's fundamental values. To this end, contacts between economic and **social partners**, NGOs, professional and business organisations and the media in*
- c. Social dialogue is an integral part of the EU acquis in the social area and **social partners** have a privileged role in the legislative process at EU level*

However, the *social partners* also belong to the domain of the institutions involved in the process of enlargement (see terminological domain 3 above) though rather as a concept than a specific institution as shown in 5.13 Table of concordances:

5.13 Table of concordances: Social partners b.

*a. agreements which can be implemented through Council Directives. Moreover, **social partners** and civil society organisations are also key actors in the co-ordination*

*b. Social dialogue is an integral part of the EU acquis in the social area and **social partners** have a privileged role in the legislative process at EU level*

*c. **Social partners** and social NGOs play a key role in the elaboration and implementation of EU legislation*

9. Conditionality

NECESSARY CONDITIONS – 23

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 18

EU'S CAPACITY – 16

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS – 16

POLITICAL CRITERIA – 12

EU'S CAPACITY TO INTEGRATE NEW MEMBERS – 11

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT – 10

EU'S INTEGRATION CAPACITY – 9

NECESSARY REFORMS – 9

EU LEGISLATION – 9

FULFIL THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS – 8

ONCE THEY FULFILL THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS – 7

FAIR AND RIGOROUS CONDITIONALITY – 6

TRADE RELATED PROVISIONS – 6

Upon a more consistent analysis of the word clusters under the domain of conditionality, it can be perceived that most of the word clusters listed under this domain occur for the first time after the year 2003. This manifestation is indicative of the development of the notion of conditionality further supported by the growth of the Union, the different experiences drawn by each of the enlargements as well as the economic and financial situation within the Union, within the European continent and on a global level as well (see Chapter 4). Taking this into consideration, most of the word clusters shall be examined in full later on in this chapter.

However, the word cluster *economic and social development* is one of the few in this domain to be a constant cluster. It is a cross-domain cluster as well, also falling under the domain of

cooperation types and elements, the domain of gains/benefits as well as terms and compliance, as illustrated in the following examples:

5.14 Table of concordances: Economic and social development

- a. may also benefit from EC macro-financial assistance. Cooperation with IFIs for **economic and social development** The Commission is committed to closer coordination*
- b. with IFIs and other donors to address the basic needs of the region in terms of **economic and social development**. Support to economic stabilisation and reforms*
- c. for developing civil society and for enhancing the region's **economic and social development**. The Communication also provides a succinct analysis of the situation*
- d. in particular its various forms of bilateral agreements, to promote their **economic and social development** in such a way as to facilitate their eventual*
- e. This increases the leverage of IPA support in the area of **economic and social development**. An Infrastructure Projects Facility has been*

The most frequent word cluster, *necessary conditions*, collocates with the word *fulfil* to form other word clusters that appear in the terminological domain for conditionality: *Fulfil the necessary conditions* and *Once they fulfil the necessary conditions*. The terminological domain *Once they have met the necessary conditions* is low in frequency but shall also be subjected to analysis due to the significance in the conditionality notion. The word clusters *necessary conditions* and *fulfil the necessary conditions* are c-clusters throughout the corpus. However, the last one of this group marks only later occurrences. The growth of these clusters through time, as well as the holding or lack of explanatory note to the conditions themselves, shall be further elaborated later in this chapter.

The word cluster *administrative capacity* enters the corpus late. The importance of the administrative capacity's *enhancing, strengthening or establishing* as presented below entered the enlargement requirements focus as of 2003 and onwards. Some occurrences of the cluster have been illustrated in 5.15 Table of concordances below; however, its development and contexts of occurrences shall be additionally explored later in this Chapter:

5.15 Table of concordances: Administrative capacity

- a. especially the fight against corruption and organised crime, enhancing **administrative capacity** and broadening the consensus on state-building*
- b. boost regional cooperation in the field of public administration, to strengthen **administrative capacity** and to develop human resources in this field*

c. Continuing administrative reform and strengthening **administrative capacity** will be a key challenge

d. Countries and concrete steps to make the necessary reforms, to establish adequate **administrative capacity** and to co-operate amongst themselves.

10. Documents and papers

TREATY ESTABLISHING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY – 14

TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION – 19

EUROPE AGREEMENTS – 17

MAASTRICHT TREATY – 14

STABILITY AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS – 12

ENLARGEMENT STRATEGY PAPER – 8

CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT – 5

FACILITATION AND READMISSION AGREEMENTS – 5

The tenth terminological domain includes the important enlargement process documents referenced in the first corpus.

The first word cluster, which occurs most frequently, refers to the 1957 Treaty of Rome (see European Union, 2015e) called the *Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community* (EEC Treaty). This document was renamed the *Treaty Establishing the European Community* upon entry into force of the Treaty of Maastricht, i.e. the second word cluster *Treaty on European Union* in 1993 (see European Union, 2015e). The word cluster *Europe Agreements* refers to the agreements constituting the legal framework for the relations between the EU and CEE countries in the context of accession process (see European Commission, 2015).

Due to the more technical nature of the above documents, their occurrence in the corpus shall not be analyzed in depth unless it becomes necessary to do so during the chronological examination of the enlargement terminology further in this Chapter.

11. Other

CIVIL PROTECTION – 17

EU SUPPORTS – 8

KEY ROLE – 8

PERSPECTIVE OF BECOMING EU MEMBERS – 6

EFFORTS ARE NEEDED – 6

EU NEEDS TO – 6

CIVIL SOCIETY FACILITY – 5

INFORMATION ON ENLARGEMENT – 5

ARTICLE 49 OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION – 7

PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES – 5

The above word clusters have been listed as “other” since they do not specifically fall under any terminological domain. Where necessary, a few will be explored in greater depth.

As mentioned, the second part of this chapter will analyze the development of terminology over time within the corpus. For that reason, most of the listed documents and papers comprising the first corpus shall be examined in depth separately either as single documents or in the form of a smaller corpus.

5.2.1. Commission report, Europe and the Challenge of Enlargement, 24 June 1992

The document “Europe and the Challenge of Enlargement”, (see Archive of European Integration (AEI), 2015), is the first of the documents comprising the first corpus that will be subjected to a more exhaustive examination in the second part of the analysis in this chapter.

The document was prepared by the European Commission in June 1992, submitted to the Lisbon European Council and annexed to the Conclusions of the Presidency. The abstract of this document is found in the digital library of the CVCE. The research infrastructure on European Integration states that the above EC report “lists the conditions for accession to the European Union” for the applicant countries, and “warns about conditions which must be fulfilled to safeguard the effectiveness of an enlarged Union” (see Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l’Europe (CVCE), 2015). According to its introduction, the Maastricht European Council of December 1991 noted that the EU Treaty agreed upon by Heads of State and Government provides that “any European State whose system of Government is founded on the principle of democracy may apply to become a member of the Union” (see European Union, 2015d). Additionally, the report aims to summarize the questions and clarify the debate of the Community institutions on the “submitted applications or announced intentions” to seek EU membership on the part of “a number of European countries”. Furthermore, the Community, “having grown from six to twelve members again faces the challenge of enlargement” (see Archive of European Integration (AEI), 2015).

The analysis of this document shall go through some of the collocations and concordances occurring in the above statements of the report, and additionally review some of the key words and word clusters employed in the text.

Some of the key words of the enlargement process, namely *accession criteria*, *accession negotiations*, and *accession to the European Union*, shall receive special attention in the following examination.

The “Challenges of Enlargement” document’s word list contains 5,072 words and when compared to the Guardian Word List 1998 – 2004 it generated a total of 81 key words. After removing the noise and key words unrelated to the analysis, a total of 53 key words remain. These are listed in order of frequency of occurrence in the table below.

Table 2: Key words of the Europe and the Challenges of Enlargement Document (1992) as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EUROPEAN	63	82,150	344.55	28	COMMON	8	28,786	28.13
2	COMMUNITY	61	45,669	399.99	29	ENSURE	8	23,386	31.25
3	UNION	38	57,009	197.27	30	COOPERATION	8	4,636	56.42
4	COUNCIL	28	59,268	126.68	31	INTEGRATION	8	3,279	61.90
5	COUNTRIES	28	48,101	137.95	32	PARLIAMENT	7	25,055	24.68
6	EUROPE	24	62,227	99.26	33	PRINCIPLE	7	9,651	37.45
7	MEMBERS	24	59,287	101.47	34	DIALOGUE	7	6,499	42.86
8	ACCESSION	20	925	241.42	35	PREPARATION	7	5,357	45.52
9	ECONOMIC	19	39,097	86.96	36	LANGUAGES	7	5,264	45.77
10	COMMISSION	19	39,077	86.98	37	FRAMEWORK	7	4,089	29.26
11	ENLARGEMENT	19	1,481	209.70	38	OBLIGATIONS	7	2,485	56.16
12	TREATY	18	5,481	149.93	39	ACQUIS	7	11	128.24
13	NUMBER	17	94,814	46.16	40	PROSPECT	6	14,461	25.43
14	POLITICAL	16	86,968	44.18	41	LISBON	5	2,049	38.69
15	MEMBER	16	35,973	70.51	42	STRENGTHENING	5	1,488	41.86
16	AGREEMENTS	15	3,595	132.07	43	CONCLUSIONS	5	3,228	43.19
17	STATES	14	36,925	57.42	44	CONTEXT	5	8,541	24.67
18	NEGOTIATIONS	14	11,246	89.73	45	INSTITUTIONAL	5	4,354	31.24
19	MEMBERSHIP	14	9,239	95.16	46	LUXEMBOURG	4	2,095	29.01
20	MAASTRICHT	14	762	164.47	47	FULFIL	4	3,103	25.90
21	FUTURE	10	66,607	24.00	48	FUNCTIONING	4	1,376	32.34
22	DEVELOPMENT	9	40,629	27.87	49	ENLARGED	4	1,165	33.66

23	CHALLENGE	9	30,712	32.53	50	TREATIES	3	904	25.04
24	DECISIONS	9	14,866	44.99	51	FRONTIERS	3	798	25.78
25	INSTITUTIONS	9	13,630	46.51	52	DEEPENING	3	759	26.08
26	APPROPRIATE	9	11,143	50.04	53	RATIFIED	3	758	26.09
27	APPLICANT	9	882	95.22					

Some of the key words relate to the parties or actors involved in the enlargement process such as *countries, member(s), states*, while others relate to the institutions directly involved: *Council, Commission, institutions*. The words *enlarged, enlargement, negotiations, integration,* and *applicant* are related to the enlargement process itself. Some of the key words such as *treaties, agreements, ratified, Lisbon, Maastricht, treaty* (referring to the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and the “birth” of the European Union) are clearly connected to former and present documents and papers while others like *Europe, European, Union, frontiers, deepening, future, strengthening,* and *functioning* relate to the new level of cooperation within the Union: not only its economic existence but political collaboration as well, as reflected in the key words *economic* and *political*. Several of the words, namely *obligations* and *acquis*, are references to the requirements of accession.

One of the key words, also used in the title of this Commission report, is the word *challenge*, which appears nine times out of which five times in titles, subtitles or in reference to the report itself (as presented in 5.16 Table of concordances, examples a., c., g., h. and i.) The other four times (examples b., d., e. and f. below) refer to what the *enlargement* and the *challenge* itself represent for the Community and the historic importance of the concept of wider united Europe.

5.16 Table of concordances: Challenge

- a. *The Commission presented its report ' Europe and the **challenge** of enlargement'*
- b. *development, is not only in their interest, but also in ours. 41. To this **challenge** we must respond with a strategy that is inspired not only by practical consideration*
- c. *The **challenge** of the wider Europe*
- d. *Enlargement is a **challenge** which the Community cannot refuse.*
- e. *now refuse the historic **challenge** to assume its continental responsibilities and contribute to the development*
- f. *The European Community, having grown from six to 12 members again faces the **challenge** of enlargement. Seven countries have applied for membership*
- g. *Europe and the **challenge** of enlargement*
- h. *Europe and the **challenge** of enlargement Introduction Conditions for new members Common*

The word *obligations* occurs seven times in the text (all of which presented are in 5.17 Table of concordances below), and in one case makes reference to the word *criteria* (see example g.) which occurs total of three times.

5.17 Table of concordances: Obligations

- a. However, the countries which are not yet in a position to accept the **obligations** of membership have political needs which go beyond the possibilities*
- b. country would experience serious difficulties in taking on the **obligations** resulting from the Community s economic and social policies*
- c. with regard to their political commitment and legal capacity to fulfil their **obligations***
- d. Applicant countries and potential applicants, some are relatively well-placed to take on the **obligations** of membership, while 'others are manifestly not in a position to*
- e. The assumption of these rights and **obligations** by a new member may be subject to such technical adaptations*
- f. Membership implies the acceptance of the rights and the **obligations** actual and potential, of the community system and its institutional framework*
- g. As the Community legal, economic, and political framework has developed, the **obligations** of membership have become progressively more difficult to fulfil.*

The word *obligations* often collocates with the word *membership*, thus forming the word cluster *obligations of membership*, which does not refer to a specific obligation but rather to the broad requirements of membership in the Union.

Article 5 of the above report reads as follows: “However, it is evident that, among the applicant countries and potential applicants, some are relatively well-placed to take on the obligations of membership, while others are manifestly not in a position to adopt them in the near future.” This statement again does not cite any specific obligations of membership.

The following examples, presented in 5.18 Table of concordances, illustrate the use of the word *criteria* in the text. The word *criteria* has been used once as a subchapter title (example c.), once in collocation to the economic convergence (example a.) and once in reference to the community system (example b.):

5.18 Table of concordances: Criteria

- a. final stage will depend on the number of States including new members -who fulfil the **criteria** of economic convergence.*

- b. identity, democratic status, and respect of human rights. Another set of **criteria** relate to the applicant State's acceptance of the Community system*
- c. Conditions and **criteria**.*

The word *conditions* occurs six times in the text as presented in the 5.19 Table of concordances below:

5.19 Table of concordances: Conditions

- a. agreements can offer the possibility of improving their economic and social **conditions**, developing their economic integration, and strengthening their*
- b. Future accessions will take place in **conditions** different from the past*
- c. A State which applies for membership must therefore satisfy the three basic **conditions** of European identity, democratic status, and respect of human rights*
- d. **Conditions** and criteria*
- e. **Conditions** for new members. The limits of Europe*
- f. **Conditions** for new members*

The last part of Article 7 of this report (lines 7 – 9) reads as follows: “The Commission believes that it is neither possible nor opportune to establish now the frontiers of the European Union whose contours will be shaped over many years to come”. This statement reflects the enlargement momentum at the time. The “Challenge of Enlargement” document of 1992 speaks of *obligations*, *criteria* and *conditions* for accession. In fact, these three words intertwine throughout the whole text referring to what needs to be fulfilled or taken on by an interested country in order to reach its final objective, without elaborating on the specific terms.

What is interesting to note is that even though the official explanation of the document states that the “Europe and Challenges of Enlargement” document lists the conditions of accession, the words *criteria*, *obligations* and *conditions* occur in a rather limited number. Furthermore, the key words listed in the abstract referenced above have low emergence (such as the cluster *accession negotiations*) in the document or none at all (such as *accession criteria* and *accession to the European Union*). The following are two examples of the word cluster *accession negotiations* for illustrational purposes (see 5.20 Table of concordances) which demonstrate the position of the Union or Commission in 1992, when interest in membership arose:

5.20 Table of concordances: Accession negotiations

a. The Commission considers that **accession negotiations** should be conducted separately, on their own merits, with each of the countries concerned

b. second package of financial and structural measures have to be completed. The **accession negotiations**, which can then commence, must be conducted in such a way as to contribute to the strengthening of the Union

The size of the document does not allow for large numbers of word clusters to be generated (considering the minimum frequency of five occurrences). The word clusters that do occur in a fairly frequent manner refer to:

1. Institutions involved in the enlargement process:

EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 21
COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS – 5

2. Countries or regions involved:

EUROPEAN UNION – 14
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES – 7
MEMBER STATES – 7

3. Documents and papers

EUROPEAN TREATY – 5
MAASTRICH TREATY – 9
EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN LISBON – 5

4. Other

POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 6
COMMUNITY SYSTEM – 6
NUMBERS OF MEMBERS – 6
NEGOTIATIONS ON ACCESSION – 5

The occurrence of the above terminological domains is fairly expected due to the topic under examination. However, the word cluster *negotiations on/for accession* also appearing in the form of *accession negotiations* (illustrated above) occurs 14 times and is in reference to the process through which every country must undergo and this in reference to the adoption and implementation of the acquis. Additionally, “Accession negotiations also enable the European Union to solve any issues regarding absorption capacity” (see European Commission, 2015). Namely, the word *capacity* occurs three times in the document, once in relation to the Community’s capacity and effectiveness:

5.21 Table of concordances: Capacity

*Safeguarding the Community's effectiveness 18. The impact of future enlargement on the **capacity** of the community to take decisions merits the most careful reflection and evaluation.*

The other two occurrences are in compliance with the applicant countries' capacity to take on the membership obligations. The issue of absorption capacity of the Union shall be further examined in the documents to follow.

The notion of communication is proven to be quite of importance as can be discerned from the overall analysis of the first corpus (see above), and represented in this report by the key word *dialogue*, collocating six times out of total of seven occurrences (all of which are illustrated in 5.22 Table of concordances below) with the word political in the word cluster *political dialogue*:

5.22 Table of concordances: Political dialogue

- a. The **political dialogue** will be intensified and extended to include meetings at the highest political level*
- b. and their application for membership and by developing the **political dialogue**. As regards relations with Central and Eastern Europe, the European C*
- c. laid down in the association agreement of 1964 including a **political dialogue** at the highest level. The European Council asks the Commission and t*
- d. field of the free movement of workers. The agreements provide for a **political dialogue** with the Community, which has already been launched jointly with*
- e. desire the reassurance that they will be treated as equal partners in the **dialogue** concerning Europe's future. They wish to increase their security by*
- f. to resume financial cooperation, and to raise the level of **political dialogue**. Events have highlighted Turkey's geopolitical importance and the*
- g. their eventual integration into the Community. The deepening of the **political dialogue** with them should also be pursued. The applicant countries*

As shown in 5.22 Table above, this document references *dialogue* with respect to political leadership meetings of parties on both ends, i.e. European Union representatives and candidate countries representatives, and calls for an intensified or deepened dialogue among them.

The word *communication* appears once in this document, and bears a more technical meaning in terms of the languages that ought to be used during the meetings, i.e. all languages of the member states, but does not bear an enlargement communication meaning:

5.23 Table of concordances: Communication

translated into the official languages of all Member States. To ensure effective communication in meetings, pragmatic solutions will have to be found by each

5.2.2. European Council in Copenhagen, Conclusions of the Presidency, 21 – 22 June 1993

The “European Council in Copenhagen, Conclusions of the Presidency, 21 – 22 June 1993” document (see European Parliament, 2015), hereinafter referred as the Copenhagen Criteria document, contains 9,395 words. When compared to the reference list it generated a total of 159 key words, out of which the first 66 are relevant to this analysis (ordered in terms of frequency of occurrence) are presented in the table below.

Table 3: Key words of the Copenhagen Criteria document as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998-2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EUROPEAN	137	82,150	792.40	34	INTEREST	14	61,235	28.87
2	COUNCIL	130	59,268	821.71	35	IMPLEMENTATION	13	2,172	107.80
3	COMMUNITY	111	45,669	723.81	36	AGREEMENTS	13	3,595	94.83
4	STATES	67	36,925	398.11	37	PROPOSALS	13	14,544	59.29
5	MEMBER	65	35,973	385.68	38	PARTICULAR	13	27,398	43.73
6	COUNTRIES	51	48,101	249.58	39	CONTINUE	13	31,902	40.09
7	COMMISSION	35	39,077	159.85	40	SECURITY	13	54,327	27.82
8	ECONOMIC	35	39,097	159.81	41	POLICY	13	64,728	23.99
9	EUROPE	34	62,227	123.37	42	SITUATION	12	27,544	38.47
10	WELCOMED	24	8,758	161.96	43	TOWARDS	12	43,890	28.44
11	MARKET	22	104,828	42.21	44	MEETING	12	48,883	26.20
12	ASSOCIATED	21	10,612	128.25	45	ORDER	12	54,449	23.98
13	AGREEMENT	21	23,730	95.39	46	CONCLUSIONS	11	3,228	78.95
14	CENTRAL	21	40,226	74.39	47	MEDIUM	11	8,880	57.10
15	UNION	21	57,009	60.91	48	NEGOTIATIONS	11	11,246	52.08

16	AGREED	20	31,170	78.59	49	EDINBURGH	11	18,023	42.18
17	DEVELOPMENT	20	40,629	68.65	50	ENSURE	11	23,386	36.82
18	PROCESS	20	41,279	68.06	51	ECONOMY	11	33,308	29.74
19	SUPPORT	20	76,555	45.82	52	FORCE	11	44,276	24.24
20	INVITED	19	10,883	111.3 7	53	ECU	10	94	139.40
21	PEACE	19	30,786	73.26	54	UNDERLINED	10	2,961	71.59
22	COOPERATION	18	4,636	133.8 4	55	PROMOTE	10	8,833	50.17
23	IMPORTANCE	17	10,898	95.90	56	EXPRESSED	10	11,411	45.23
24	PROGRESS	17	20,400	75.26	57	INSTITUTIONS	10	13,630	41.83
25	EASTERN	16	12,526	84.02	58	DEMOCRACY	10	13,822	41.56
26	EFFORTS	16	16,495	75.50	59	PARTIES	10	21,312	33.43
27	INTERNATIONAL	16	89,287	26.55	60	MINISTERS	10	35,155	24.39
28	INCLUDING	16	90,840	26.11	61	PHARE	9	8	161.20
29	GROWTH	15	34,449	48.08	62	ANNEX	9	188	111.59
30	FURTHER	15	78,922	26.32	63	COMPETITIVENESS	9	1,545	74.14
31	TREATY	14	5,481	92.52	64	CONDITIONS	9	23,754	26.56
32	MEASURES	14	14,630	65.69	65	SATISFACTION	9	4,517	55.08
33	RIGHTS	14	52,176	32.72	66	ASSISTANCE	9	4,745	54.21

According to the EU Glossary of terms (see European Union, 2015g), “Any country seeking membership of the European Union (EU) must conform to the conditions set out by Article 49 and the principles laid down in Article 6(1) of the Treaty on European Union. Relevant criteria were established by the Copenhagen European Council in 1993 and strengthened by the Madrid European Council in 1995”. In 1993, at the Copenhagen European Council, the Union took a decisive step towards the fifth enlargement, agreeing that “the associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union” (see EUR-Lex, 2015). Thus, enlargement was no longer a question of ‘if’, but ‘when’.

Concerning the timing, the European Council stated: “Accession will take place as soon as an associated country is able to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and political conditions required” (see European Parliament, 2015). At the same time, it defined the membership criteria, which are often referred to as the Copenhagen criteria (see European Commission, 2015). “Copenhagen criteria refers to the overall criteria which applicant countries

(to the European Union) have to meet as a prerequisite for becoming members of the European Union as defined in general terms by the Copenhagen European Council in June 1993” (see OECD, 2013).

When comparing the key words of the two documents produced on the same topic and in just one year apart, in June 1992 and June 1993 respectively, it comes of no surprise that the highest-frequency key words of these two documents should be entirely identical. However, looking further into the tables, most of the other key words listed according to their rate of occurrence, are entirely different. And while the first document of 1992 focuses on *challenges, obligations, integration, enlargement* etc., in the second one, largely advertised to be the milestone of the enlargement process and the document to refer to for the states wishing to join the Union, the words *enlargement, criteria, applicant, membership, prospect integration* do not occur among the first 66 words at all.

There is a similarity between some of the key words in the Copenhagen Criteria document of 1993 and the 1992 “Europe and the Challenge of Enlargement” document’s key words. As anticipated, some of the key words relate to the parties or actors involved in the enlargement process such as *European Union, countries, member, states, community* and though none of key words from the 1992 document refer to particular parties or regions, in the Copenhagen criteria document the words *Central and Eastern* occur, collocating with *Europe* and *countries* in the word cluster *Central and Eastern Europe/European countries*, clearly marking the objective of the following expected enlargement focus. Some of the key words refer to the institutions directly involved in the enlargement process: *Commission and Council*. The document obviously concentrates a great deal on the economic relations among the members: *market, growth, economy, economic, interest, ECU* (abbreviation for European currency unit), *competitiveness*. The abbreviation *PHARE* refers to the Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies program, created in 1989 as one of the pre-accession instruments financed by the European Union to assist the applicant countries from CEE (Central and Eastern Europe), (see European Union, 2015e). The words *negotiations* and *associated* are the only two in the above key words table directly connected to the enlargement elements and especially as compared to the key words table of the previous document. The words *treaty, Edinburgh, agreement, agreements* are referring to past and current documents and papers both on and off the topic of enlargement. Namely, the word *agreements*, out of seven occurrences collocates seven times

with the word *Europe* thus forming the word cluster *Europe agreements*, i.e. documents drafted and adapted to the conditions of each state of Central and Eastern Europe, setting the common “political, economic and commercial objectives”, hence forming the “framework for implementation of the accession process” (see European Union, 2015e).

Taking into consideration the above citations on the Copenhagen criteria document (see European Parliament, 2015 and OECD, 2013), some of the aspects of the decisive factors such as the words *enlargement*, *criteria*, *obligations*, *conditions* have been susceptible to deeper exploration.

Namely, the word *criteria* occurs only once in the Copenhagen criteria document (illustrated in 5.24 Table of concordances below) and not in relation to the enlargement but in reference to the subsidiarity principles of the Union:

5.24 Table of concordances: Criteria

*submitting proposals only when it considers that they fulfil the subsidiarity **criteria**, and welcomed in general the substantial reduction in the volume of*

The word *enlargement* is used four times in total and of that, once as a chapter title (see 5.25 Table below, example c.) and three times (examples a., b. and d.) collocating with negotiations, first enlargement, and enlargement with EFTA countries (European Free Trade Association founded in 1960):

5.25 Table of concordances: Enlargement

*a. The European Council considered that its guidelines with regard to **enlargement** with the EFTA countries shall be without prejudice to the situation*

*b. European Council is determined that the objective of the first **enlargement** of the European Union in accordance with the guidelines*

*c. 4. **Enlargement***

*d. The European Council took note of progress in the **enlargement** negotiations with Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway.*

The word *conditions* is used nine times, of which six times in reference to the accession process, though none specifically referring to a specific state that ought to be reached other than “to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and political conditions required” (see European Parliament, 2015), illustrated in 5.26 Table of concordances:

5.26 Table of concordances: Conditions

a. *abuse of dominant positions and public aid which distort or threaten to distort **conditions** of competition. In addition, it is particularly important, from the p*

b. *currency would: consolidate the single market and create the necessary **conditions** for fair and productive competition*

c. *to conclude Europe Agreements with the Baltic states as soon as the necessary **conditions** have been met. 8. Pact on stability in Europe*

d. *to follow closely progress in each associated country towards fulfilling the **conditions** of accession to the Union and draw the appropriate conclusions.*

e. *to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and political **conditions** required. Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved*

f. *Council agreed on the overriding importance of creating the budgetary and economic **conditions** for rapidly bringing interest rates in Europe down, thereby narrowing*

As shown in 5.26 Table of concordances above (examples a., b., e., f.), four out of six examples of the occurrence of the word *conditions* are referring to the significance of complying with the postulates of the monetary Union and on strengthening the economic markets, thus accentuating the economic note as stressed above. Other than the one occurrence of the word *obligations* in the citation above, the second one is in reference again to the taking on the membership obligations: “Including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union” (see European Parliament, 2015).

One very important aspect of the enlargement process entails the *accession negotiations*. The Copenhagen criteria document comprises the word *negotiations* 11 times, and of those five times in reference to the *negotiations* with the acceding countries of that time, asking for a quicker pace or constructive and expeditious process. A phrase that reoccurs in both of the documents of 1992 and 1993 states that: “negotiations (with the candidate countries) will, to the extent possible, be conducted in parallel, while dealing with each candidate on its own merit” (see European Union, 2015h). None of the occurrences collocate with the words *accession*, a word not among the first 66 key words. The word *accession* marked an occurrence of 20 times in the first document while in the 1993 document the word occurs six times in total in the circumstances exemplified in 5.27 Table of concordances below, and each time in reference to the accession process of a country as soon as the associated countries are able to assume the obligations of membership or have the prospect of accession:

5.27 Table of concordances: Accession

- a. Preparations for **accession** will also be helped if officials from the associated countries receive
- b. In addition, it is particularly important, from the point of view of **accession**, that progress should be made in the other areas covered by the Euro
- c. With a view to **accession** and the relevant preparations -and alongside the bilateral structure
- d. regard to distortion of competition and, in addition, -in the perspective of **accession** -to protection of workers, the environment and consumers.
- e. closely progress in each associated country towards fulfilling the conditions of **accession** to the Union and draw the appropriate conclusions.
- f. and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union. **Accession** will take place as soon as an associated country is able to assume the

Another striking difference between these two documents is the lack of occurrence of the word *associated* in the first document, although it occurs 21 times in the second, collocating with *countries* 19 times. This word cluster *associated countries* refers to the relations between the Community and the CEE countries “with which the Community has concluded or plans to conclude Europe agreements (“associated countries”) (see European Union, 2015h).

The word *challenge(s)* occurs once in this document and is in reference to the *challenges* that the Union faces on an internal and external level.

Finally, the communicational aspect existing in this document through the seven occurrences of the word *dialogue*, out of which six times in regard to the accession process but not forming any specific recurrent word clusters, again is to be associated not only with the acceding countries but with other countries and institutions of the Union as well.

Some of the key words, when explored in their contexts, produce similar or identical terminological domains with the ones from the First Corpus. However, there are new word clusters introduced in this document for the first time. The word clusters formed from the Copenhagen criteria document, with a minimum frequency of five occurrences, can be categorized under the following terminological domains:

1. Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 63

COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBERS STATES – 49

ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES – 17

2. Countries or regions involved

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 11
COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 8
EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES - 5
EUROPEAN UNION – 5

3. Institutions/representatives involved in the enlargement process

EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 95
COUNCIL (ECO/FIN) - 8
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 6

4. Economic aspects

SINGLE MARKET - 7
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL – 5
MEDIUM SIZED ENTERPRISES – 5
MARKET ECONOMY – 5

5. Documents, papers and agreements

EUROPE AGREEMENTS – 7
MAASTRICHT TREATY – 5
EDINBURGH EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 5
ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT – 5

6. Humanitarian aspects

HUMAN RIGHTS – 12
PEACE PROCESS – 5

The domains of the Copenhagen criteria document generated a slightly bigger number of terminological domains and consequently a bigger number of word clusters.

The institutions involved in the enlargement process remain essentially identical or related and are constant throughout the corpus. Other than the word cluster *European Council*, being highest in frequency by the farthest, the word cluster *European Parliament* (see its role in the enlargement process above) and the word cluster *Council ECO/FIN* are newly introduced to this domain. The second one constituting one of the oldest Council's configurations refers to the Economic and Financial Council, composed of the Ministers of Finance and Economy of the member states, engaging in the EU economic policy as well as other economic, financial, monetary and budgetary affairs (see European Council, 2015).

The second terminological domain of counties and regions involved, i.e. the CEE states, is freshly established and depicts the region of enlargement progress during the period. Surprisingly, the recurrence of the word cluster *European Union* is rather limited.

As stated above, the economic aspect seems to have occupied a rather important position in the document as represented by the presence of clusters from the fourth terminological domain. The text deals with *Single Market*, *market economy*, i.e. clusters that either did not occur or marked low occurrence in the “Challenges of Enlargement” report.

The part of the paper dealing with the *associated countries* includes the following statement: “The Union's capacity to absorb new members, while maintaining the momentum of European integration, is also an important consideration in the general interest of both the Union and the candidate countries” (see European Parliament, 2015). The second time the word *capacity* has been employed it was in reference to the possibility of a country taking on the obligations and obtaining a competitive market as illustrated in 5.28 Table of concordances below:

5.28 Table of concordances: Capacity

*the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the **capacity** to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union.*

The capacity of the Union and the contexts of occurrence of this word shall be further exploited in the documents to come.

Both of the clusters listed under the humanitarian aspect terminological domain refer to countries from the Middle East, Africa and other unstable regions at the time, accentuating the necessity for enhancing the *Peace process* and expressing a concern for the *human rights* of the citizens in these regions respectively.

5.2.3. Madrid European Council, Presidency Conclusions, including the annexes on enlargement and the declaration on former Yugoslavia - 15 and 16 December 1995

In 1995, the European Council in Madrid reached several pivotal decisions on: “employment, the single currency, the Intergovernmental Conference and enlargement to bring in countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean” (see European Parliament, 2015). The Council addressed the European Commission for an evaluation of the applications for

membership on the part of the candidate countries, as well an opinion on the impact of the enlargement on the Union (see European Commission, 2015). The document, related to the fifth enlargement, additionally includes the Annex on Enlargement.

The “Madrid European Council, Presidency Conclusions” of 1995 document (see European Parliament, 2015) consists of 11,480 words and generated a list of 206 key words. The table below includes the 66 words highest in frequency in this document, upon removing the terminologically unrelated words and noise.

Table 3: Key words of the Madrid European Council Presidency Conclusions (1995) document as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998 – 2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EUROPEAN	239	82,150	1,550.77	34	TREATY	19	5,480	129.49
2	COUNCIL	214	59,268	1,479.19	35	FINANCIAL	18	58,244	40.23
3	UNION	82	57,009	418.01	36	COMMUNITY	18	45,669	47.91
4	COMMISSION	47	39,077	233.29	37	DEVELOPMENT	18	40,629	51.69
5	ECONOMIC	41	39,097	183.87	38	ASSOCIATION	18	38,718	53.26
6	STATES	40	36,925	181.88	39	COMMON	18	28,786	63.08
7	COUNTRIES	39	48,101	155.77	40	EMPLOYMENT	18	17,013	81.00
8	EUROPE	37	62,227	126.25	41	ADOPTED	18	8,181	106.58
9	CONFERENCE	36	31,134	168.19	42	CONTINUE	17	31,902	54.54
10	AGREEMENT	36	23,730	187.10	43	CURRENCY	17	12,140	85.69
11	REPORT	34	86,923	90.07	44	AGREEMENTS	17	3,595	126.28
12	MEMBER	31	35,973	127.38	45	ANNEX	17	188	224.90
13	WELCOMES	31	1,376	326.11	46	SOCIAL	16	66,543	28.98
14	COOPERATION	28	4,636	221.57	47	CENTRAL	16	40,226	42.84
15	MEASURES	25	14,630	135.70	48	STRATEGY	16	22,555	59.84
16	ASSOCIATED	25	10,612	151.39	49	CONVENTION	16	8,462	89.99
17	MEETING	23	48,883	68.56	50	ENLARGEMENT	16	1,481	145.03
18	EURO	22	28,747	85.44	51	BASIS	15	18,972	59.17
19	RELATIONS	22	16,444	108.95	52	IMPORTANCE	15	10,898	75.10
20	POLITICAL	21	86,968	38.19	53	CONCLUSIONS	15	3,228	110.90
21	PROCESS	21	41,279	65.59	54	URGES	15	2,053	124.34
22	SATISFACTION	21	4,517	155.29	55	ACCESSION	15	925	148.03

23	ACTION	20	59,064	47.87	56	SINGLE	14	49,412	29.20
24	POSSIBLE	20	55,892	49.81	57	VIEW	14	44,803	31.55
25	SECURITY	20	54,327	50.81	58	ENSURE	14	23,386	47.92
26	NOTE	20	15,844	96.80	59	POLICIES	14	18,342	54.29
27	DIALOGUE	20	6,499	131.61	60	NEGOTIATIONS	14	11,246	67.38
28	PEACE	19	30,786	66.12	61	INTERNAL	14	11,004	67.96
29	CALLS	19	29,768	67.31	62	FRAMEWORK	14	4,089	95.06
30	MARKET	19	49,412	26.20	63	ADOPTION	14	3,439	99.84
31	AFFAIRS	19	20,805	80.15	64	MINISTERS	13	35,155	33.12
32	PROGRESS	19	20,400	80.86	65	STABILITY	13	5,768	77.58
33	NECCESARY	19	18,885	83.67	66	EASTERN	12	12,526	51.71

As has been the case with the previous documents, the key words: *European, Union, countries, states, member, community* are in reference to the parties or actors of the enlargement process. Once more the words *Central, Europe, Eastern*, thus forming the word cluster *Countries of Central and Eastern Europe*, produce evidence of the region central to the enlargement intentions at the time. In this same regard is the word *associated*, collocating with *countries* and forming the word cluster *associated countries* with a somewhat frequent recurrence of 20 times (see above). The key words referring to the institutions directly involved in the enlargement process: *Commission and Council*, are present in this document as well. Bearing in mind that the Madrid European Council, among others, adopted the changeover to the single currency, as well as the name of the currency, euro, the quite large number of key words of the economic and financial sphere were anticipated: *market, single, currency, Euro, economic, financial, employment, internal*. Unlike the Copenhagen Criteria document of 1993, poor in key words representing the enlargement elements, the document from 1995 under analysis is fairly richer: *negotiations, enlargement, accession*. Again, the key words *agreement, report, treaty, adopted, agreements, adoption* connect to documents and papers both on and off the topic of enlargement. The key word *political*, appearing in 1992 document but not appearing among the first 66 key words of the 1993 document, reemerges in this document's key words.

The decreased use of the word *enlargement* in the Copenhagen Criteria document is not the case in the 1995 document. *Enlargement* occurs 16 times out of which 12 times related to the concept

of enlargement of the Union. Following 5.29 Table of concordances contains some examples of the use of the word in several contexts:

5.29 Table of concordances: Enlargement

- a. **ENLARGEMENT RELATIONS WITH THE ASSOCIATED CCEE**
- b. *in line with the timetable and conditions set; — prepare for and carry out the **enlargement** negotiations with the associated countries of Central, Eastern*
- c. *having regard to the prospect of **enlargement**. Following the conclusion of the*
- d. *to embark upon preparation of a composite paper on **enlargement**. This procedure will ensure that the applicant countries are treated*
- e. *Council calls upon the Commission to take its evaluation of the effects of **enlargement** on Community policies further*
- f. *The European Council also confirms the need to make sound preparation for **enlargement** on the basis of the criteria established in Copenhagen and in the co*
- g. *the European Council took note of the Commission reports on the effects of **enlargement** on the policies of the European Union, on alternative strategies in*
- h. *members of the Union new prospects for economic growth and general well-being.*
- Enlargement** *must serve to strengthen the building of Europe*
- i. A. **ENLARGEMENT Enlargement** *is both a political necessity and a historic opportunity for Europe.*
- j. *European Union to present and future needs, particularly with a view to the next **enlargement**. It is essential that the Conference achieve results sufficient to*
- k. *the Intergovernmental Conference and **enlargement** to bring in countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the*

Two of the above examples (examples a. and i.) are titles of subchapters, four deal with the anticipated enlargement of the CCEE countries (examples a., b., j. and k.), the examples c., e., g. and h. portray the concern about the effect that the enlargement is going to have on the Union, its policies and its future. One stresses the necessity and sees the enlargement as a historical opportunity for Europe (example i.) and one refers to the criteria established in Copenhagen (example f.).

Going back to the concept of *criteria*, the word occurs a total of four times in the text and only once in the context of enlargement as illustrated in the above example (see 5.29 Table of concordances, example f.), reflecting the need for “sound preparation for enlargement” based on the Copenhagen criteria.

The detailed analysis of the word *conditions* in the document once again reaffirms the strong significance of the introduction of the single currency, i.e. the economic aspects of this text. Out of 11 uses in the text, only two times the word is employed in the context of enlargement, again

reflecting on an economic succession and on institutional and political adjustment as can be discerned from the examples in 5.30 Table below:

5.30 Table of concordances: Conditions

a. conditions for the gradual, harmonious integration of those States, particularly through the development of the market economy, the adjustment of their administrative structures and the creation of a stable economic and monetary environment

b. establish the political and institutional conditions for adapting the European Union to present and future needs, particularly with a view to the next enlargement

The word *obligations* marks one occurrence and not related to enlargement, as does the word *capacity* with only one use in nuclear terms. The word *challenges* occurs three times and twice in relation to the challenges with which the Union faces on many fields among which enlargement. The examination of the collocations of key words revealed nine terminological domains to be generated in the Madrid European Council document.

1. Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 30

ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES – 21

PARTICIPATING MEMBER STATES - 5

2. Countries or regions involved

EUROPEAN UNION – 52

COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 8

ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE – 5

3. Institutions/representatives involved in the enlargement process

EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 140

SECURITY COUNCIL - 5

4. Economic aspects

INTERNAL MARKET – 12

SINGLE CURRENCY – 11

ECONOMIC AND MONETARY - 5

5. Enlargement elements

PRE ACCESSION STRATEGY - 6

6. Documents, papers and agreements

EUROPE AGREEMENTS – 6
COMMISSION REPORT – 5
PEACE AGREEMENT – 5

7. Communicational aspect

STRUCTURED DIALOGUE – 6
POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 5

8. Cooperation elements

JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS - 5

9. Government relations

INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE – 13

As can be discerned from the domains list above, many of them are identical to the domains produced by the previous two documents, and this is especially the case in terms of the parties, countries or institutions involved. The newly introduced word cluster under the domain of economic aspects, i.e. *single currency* is a reflection of the introduction of the euro as a newly launched currency of the European Union (see also Chapter 4).

However, this document for the first time introduced the word cluster *pre-accession strategy*. The importance of this newly commenced cluster is intensified by the word *strategy*, which can be perceived as a firstly postulated policy of the enlargement process. The *pre-accession strategy* presents a framework for the accession process of each candidate country. It contains the “procedures and priorities” and “lays down the instruments on which the process is based” (see European Commission, 2015). The European Parliament Briefing Nr. 24 states that the Strategy has been shaped starting from the Copenhagen European Council of 1993 until today (see European Parliament, 2015).

5.31 Table of concordances: Pre-accession strategy

*The European Council also confirms the need to make sound preparation for enlargement on the basis of the criteria established in Copenhagen and in the context of the **pre-accession strategy***

The further development of the Strategy shall be explored in the documents to follow.

Another novelty is the domain consisted of the communicational aspect word clusters. Namely, the minimum recurrence of the word clusters *structured dialogue* and *political dialogue* allowed

for the terminological domain on communication to be included. Out of five occurrences, the cluster *political dialogue* appears in the context of enlargement twice, both of which collocating with the *associated countries* and presented in 5.32 Table of concordances below:

5.32 Table of concordances: Political dialogue

*meeting, the Political Committee adopted new guidelines for strengthening the **political dialogue** with the Associated Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, The enhanced **political dialogue** with the Associated Countries of Central and Eastern Europe*

The word cluster *structured dialogue* occurs six times, always in relation to *associated countries*, including one subchapter title. This cluster refers to the multilateral debates and meetings, aiming towards increased effectiveness of all parties in the EC development cooperation (see European Commission, 2015).

The cooperation elements terminological domain, introduced in this document for the first time as well, entailing only one word cluster, shall further be explored in the documents to come as its role in the enlargement process is expected to increase.

The government relations terminological domain is yet another novelty. The one word cluster residing under this domain, *intergovernmental conference*, refers to the Conference intended for launch in 1996 which was to establish political, financial and institutional environment aiming towards adjusting the Union according to the requirements at the time and the ones to follow (see European Union, 2015g).

5.2.4 Zagreb Summit – Final Declaration (European Commission), 24 November 2000

The “Zagreb Summit Final Declaration” document (see European Stability Initiative, 2015) is the smallest of all the documents subjected to the in-depth analysis in this part of the chapter. However, its placement in the first corpus is vital due to the importance of the Declaration for the new region to enter the focus of the future enlargement of the Union, namely the Western Balkan region.

The Council Report described the Zagreb Summit to have “set the seal of the Stabilisation and Association Process” by receiving “the region’s agreement to its objectives and conditions” (see

European Council, 2015). Furthermore, the countries of the region have agreed to bear the “conditionality” of the EU through the Stabilisation and Association Process, “as the means to begin to prepare themselves for the demands of becoming candidates for EU membership some time in the future“, based on the Treaty of the European Union, the Copenhagen Criteria of 1993, stating that "conditionality, as a policy addressing the region as a whole, is the cement of the Stabilisation and Association process“ (see European Council, 2015).

The “Zagreb Summit Final Declaration” document numbers 1,400 words in total and the key words analysis produced a list of 32 words. Upon inspection and elimination of the noise, the remaining 29 key words, the last of which are rather low in frequency, are listed in the table below.

Table 5: Key words of the Zagreb Summit, Final Declaration (2000) document as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	UNION	20	75,009	129.25	16	RESPECT	5	17,532	30.22
2	COUNTRIES	20	48,101	135.95	17	STABILITY	5	5,768	41.22
3	EUROPEAN	18	82,150	99.67	18	BOSNIA	5	3,660	45.74
4	STABILIZATION	14	1	333.41	19	HERZEGOVINA	5	208	74.27
5	ASSOCIATION	13	38,718	82.82	20	REPRESENTATIVE	4	6,030	30.84
6	REGIONAL	11	16,371	85.16	21	CROATIA	4	2,889	36.70
7	COOPERATION	10	4,636	100.61	22	ALBANIA	4	2,140	30.09
8	CONCERNED	9	25,621	58.12	23	ZAGREB	4	783	47.10
9	PROCESS	8	41,279	42.33	24	AGREEMENTS	3	3,595	24.50
10	REFORMS	8	7,605	69.04	25	YUGOSLAV	3	3,399	24.83
11	COMMISSION	6	39,077	29.03	26	PACT	3	2,800	25.99
12	AGREEMENT	6	23,730	34.86	27	MACEDONIA	3	2,545	26.56
13	REGION	6	15,576	39.82	28	RECONCILIATION	3	2,163	27.53
14	REPUBLIC	6	10,657	44.32	29	FEASIBILITY	3	539	35.84
15	CONTINUE	5	31,902	24.39					

By making a comparison with the key words of the previously analysed documents, it can be seen that other than the words highest in frequency, the others are entirely dissimilar to any of the words in the documents analyzed so far.

Some of the key words obtained once more relate to the parties or actors in the enlargement process: *Union, European, countries*. This text generated key words not only referring to a

specific region, but to specific countries in question such as: *region, Republic, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Yugoslav, Macedonia* and a reference has been made to the city where the Summit was held, i.e. *Zagreb*. The listing of separate countries among the key words is due to the fact that the document includes an Annex on Stabilization and Association Process on an Individual Basis with each of the countries in question. The constancy of the institutions throughout the corpus is again being upheld in this document by the word: *Commission*. The enlargement elements momentum is quite firmly represented with *Stabilisation, Association, Process* amplified in this document by the words *regional and cooperation*. The reference to the agreements is reflected in the word cluster *Stabilisation and Association Agreements* to which most of the word clusters listed below refer to.

Going back to the declarations of the EC portal as allocated above, the word *objectives* does not mark any occurrences in the text. The word *conditions* appears twice:

5.33 Table of concordances: Conditions a.

*a. made, to enable Bosnia and Herzegovina to fulfil by the middle of 2001 all the **conditions** laid down in the "road map" drawn up last spring, so that the Commission*

*b. takes account of the situation of each country and is based on respect for the **conditions** defined by the Council on 29 April 1997 concerning democratic, economic and institutional reforms*

Both of the occurrences make reference to the conditions described by the General Affairs Council on 29 April 1997, compliant with the political and economic conditions established in the “Communication from the Commission to the Council on operational conclusions - EU Stabilisation and Association process” document for the South Eastern European countries (SEE countries): Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (at that time constituted by Serbia and Montenegro which are now separate countries), Macedonia and Albania and their involvement, starting officially from 1999, in the Stabilisation and Association Process (see EUR-Lex, 2015). The *conditions* that were to be satisfied on the part of the five countries were in the direction of bilateral relations in the areas of “trade, financial assistance and economic cooperation, as well as of contractual relations” (see EUR-Lex, 2015).

Upon detailed inspection, the word *conditions* appears nine times in the referenced document as follows:

5.34 Table of concordances: Conditions b.

- a. or the Stabilisation and Association process once it complies with the relevant **conditions**. In the meanwhile, political dialogue is being stepped up with repres*
- b. autonomous trade preferences. Again, given the non-fulfilment of the relevant **conditions**, it is not appropriate to discuss the eligibility of the FRY for PHARE*
- c. ing failure of the federal authorities to make any moves to fulfil the relevant **conditions**, the FRY obviously remains ineligible for the autonomous trade prefer*
- d. on Staff Working Paper on compliance, by the five countries concerned, with the **conditions** set out in the Council Conclusions of 29 April 1997 and 21 June 1999*
- e. reached on the basis of a factual report which reviews compliance with these **conditions** by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*
- f. with Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. - Fulfilment of the **conditions** set out in the Council Conclusions of 29 April 1997 (i.e. as assessed*
- g. The EU Stabilisation and Association process foresees that the **conditions** for the opening of negotiations are those laid down in the Council Conclusions of 29 April 1997*
- h. Stabilisation and Association process [3]. This process did not a priori change the **conditions** applying to the development of bilateral relations in the field of*
- i. countries of South-Eastern Europe [1], the Council established political and economic **conditions** [2] to be fulfilled by these countries, as the basis for a coherent a*

As illustrated in the table above, the *conditions* in the above document are set in direct relations to specific countries (FRY, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia etc.), without specifying any conditions other than economic and political in six of the occurrences (examples a. through f.). In the last three instances (examples g. through i.) they refer to the opening of the negotiations for approaching the Stabilisation and Association process. The word *enlargement* does not occur. In the same document, the word *capacity* occurs once, collocating with *institutional* in the word cluster *institutional capacity building*. The word *criteria* occurs once as well, not related to accession criteria, in:

5.35 Table of concordances: Criteria a.

*Although no specific **criteria** were ever developed, in that context for the further development of the existing contractual relations with Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.*

Reverting back to the Zagreb Declaration document of 2000 and the given explanations, neither the word *objectives* nor the word *conditionality* appear in the text. The word *accession* is being used once collocating with the word *prospect*:

5.36 Table of concordances: Accession

*The prospect of **accession** is offered on the basis of the provision of the Treaty on European Union*

As shown in 5.37 Table of concordances below, the word *criteria* is used twice making reference to the Copenhagen criteria, i.e. conditions as defined by the 1997 Council in the following contexts:

5.37 Table of concordances: Criteria b.

*on the basis of the provision of the Treaty on European Union, respect for the **criteria** defined at the Copenhagen European Council in June 1993 and the progress conditions defined by the Council on 29 April 1997 concerning democratic, economic and institutional reforms. On the basis of these **criteria**, the Union proposes an individualized approach to each of these countries*

The word *negotiations* in terms of *accession negotiations* is not used in the Zagreb Declaration. It is used once in the context of negotiations for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement and once in terms of weapons control.

The communicational aspect, i.e. *dialogue* in the Declaration is presented through one occurrence, collocating with *political*:

5.38 Table of concordances: Dialogue

*their countries regional cooperation conventions providing for a political **dialogue**, a regional free trade area and close cooperation in the field of justice*

The words *capacity* and *challenge* were not used in this document.

The Declaration of 2000 states: “This stabilisation and association process is at the heart of the Union's policy towards the five countries concerned” (see European Stability Initiative, 2015). In the spirit of the above declaration, the fairly small number of word clusters generated in this document are categorized under the following three terminological domains:

1. Countries or regions involved:

EUROPEAN UNION – 10

FIVE COUNTRIES - 5

FIVE COUNTRIES CONCERNED – 5

2. Elements of enlargement:

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION – 13

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS – 6

REGIONAL COOPERATION – 4

3. Documents and papers

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 5

5.2.5. Protocol on the Enlargement of the European Union, 10 March 2001

The “Protocol on the Enlargement of the European Union” of 2001 is annexed to the Treaty on European Union and to the Treaties establishing the European Communities, i.e. to the Treaty of Nice signed on 26 February 2001 (see EUR-Lex, 2015). The Nice Treaty resulted from negotiations that were carried through most of the year 2000 at an intergovernmental conference level. The governments of the member states strived towards mutual ground and means in the European integration process, as well as towards preparing themselves for the upcoming enlargement, which was to integrate ten new members (see Civitas, 2014). The objectives of the Treaty of Nice, bearing in mind the mandate of preparing the EU for enlargement, focused on revising four key areas of previous Treaties, i.e. “size and composition of the Commission, the weighting of votes in the Council, the extension of qualified-majority voting, as well as any other institutional adjustments...” (see European Union, 2015e). Because only some parts of the Nice Treaty are related to the enlargement process, analysis is limited to the the Annex - Protocol on the Enlargement of the European Union.

This document consists of 2,989 words and generated a list of 84 key words. The table below is comprised of the 53 most frequent key words with a minimum of five occurrences in the text.

Table 6: Key words of the Protocol on the Enlargement (2001) document as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EUROPEAN	58	82,150	368.34	28	ADOPTION	7	3,439	59.01
2	MEMBER	35	35,973	244.15	29	TREATIES	7	904	77.62
3	TREATY	35	5,481	374.99	30	GERMANY	6	28,370	23.98

4	ARTICLE	34	21,974	368.4 0	31	PARLIAMENT	6	25,055	25.40
5	UNION	33	57,009	196.4 3	32	ITALY	6	20,005	27.99
6	COUNCIL	32	59,268	186.1 0	33	FAVOUR	6	19,255	28.43
7	STATES	28	36,925	181.4 8	34	CAST	6	17,984	29.22
8	ESTABLISHING	26	3,170	291.4 4	35	SPAIN	6	16,956	29.90
9	COMMUNITY	24	45,669	138.2 4	36	CANDIDATE	6	13,181	32.84
10	MEMBERS	23	59,287	118.8 6	37	REPLACED	6	12,497	33.46
11	COMMISSION	18	39,077	99.01	38	ACTS	6	9,720	36.42
12	NUMBER	17	94,814	62.71	39	REQUIRE	6	9,597	36.57
13	CONFERENCE	16	31,134	91.42	40	SWEDEN	6	6,758	40.71
14	MAJORITY	16	24,282	99.22	41	GREECE	6	6,563	41.06
15	VOTES	16	10,594	125.4 4	42	PORTUGAL	6	6,224	41.69
16	DECLARATION	15	4,168	143.9 9	43	BELGIUM	6	5,418	43.33
17	LEAST	14	86,103	49.07	44	AUSTRIA	6	4,728	44.95
18	FOLLOWING	14	47,432	64.91	45	NETHERLANDS	6	4,644	45.16
19	ADOPTED	14	8,181	113.2 3	46	DENMARK	6	4,646	45.42
20	QUALIFIED	14	7,738	114.7 7	47	KINGDOM	6	4,295	46.09
21	DECISION	13	59,987	52.59	48	FINLAND	6	2,807	51.16
22	TOTAL	12	31,976	61.20	49	PROTOCOL	6	2,182	54.17
23	REPRESENTATIVES	11	6,787	87.77	50	THRESHOLD	6	2,097	54.64
24	ACCESSION	11	925	131.3 7	51	LUXEMBOURGH	6	2,095	54.65
25	ENLARGEMENT	9	1,481	95.46	52	INSTITUTIONS	5	13,630	25.27
26	ENERGY	8	27,431	36.89	53	CONDITION	5	12,347	26.23
27	ATOMIC	8	2,677	73.55					

The top frequency words in this key words table do not come as a surprise. To be more precise, the key words relating to the parties or actors of the enlargement process, *European, Union, member, states, members, community* remain constant in this document as do the institutions involved: *Council, Parliament, institutions* and *Commission*. The words related to the enlargement process *accession and enlargement* are being additionally strengthened by the word *candidate* occurring for the first time as a key word in this part of the Chapter's analysis. The referral to preparations, particulars or specific documents is widely present and manifested in *Treaty, article, conference, declaration, adopted, decision, treaties, adoption and acts*. The fact that the Protocol on Enlargement deals with certain aspects of the structuring of the European Union is reflected in the words *majority, votes, number, threshold, qualified, total, cast* and

favour. The rest of the key words refer to a specific member country mentioned in the text, thus highlighting the importance of their involvement in the enlargement process: *Germany, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Austria* etc.

When comparing the overall landscape of this key words table to the ones from the previous documents, it can be depicted that other than the constant key words that have occurred in all of the analysed documents so far, in terms of the parties, institutions and the basic terms of the enlargement process this time reinforced by the word *candidate*, a vast majority of the rest of the key words differs. Words relating to the voting system of the Union, as well as specific member states, have never reached the status of key words so far. Key words that are “weightier” in an enlargement context, such as *negotiations, integration, applicant, enlarged, dialogue, political, economic, criteria, reforms* and many others appear infrequently or not at all.

Some member state names were introduced as a result of the new voting system.

The expectation that the key word *condition* is to be connected to the enlargement process or enlargement prerequisites is not entirely justified. On the contrary, as shown in 5.39 Table of concordances below, the word is used in entirely identical sentences and in reference to the voting system in four out of a total of five occurrences (examples b. through e.). The one occurrence (example a.) in a different setting is related to the Member States Conference:

5.39 Table of concordances: Condition

- a. the Conference of Member States shall not constitute any form of obstacle or pre-**condition** to the enlargement process. Moreover, those candidate States which have*
- b. majority represent at least 62 % of the total population of the Union. If that **condition** is shown not to have been met, the decision in question shall not be a*
- c. majority represent at least 62 % of the total population of the Union. If that **condition** is shown not to have been met, the decision in question shall not be a*
- d. majority represent at least 62 % of the total population of the Union. If that **condition** is shown not to have been met, the decision in question shall not be a*
- e. majority represent at least 62 % of the total population of the Union. If that **condition** is shown not to have been met, the decision in question shall not be a*

The word *conditions* is used once, unrelated to the enlargement development:

5.40 Table of concordances: Conditions

*Court of Auditors and the national audit institutions to improve the framework and **conditions** for cooperation between them, while maintaining the autonomy of each.*

The word *obligation(s)* marks no occurrences. The word *criteria* is applied once in reference to the rules of presidency rotation system rather than principles of enlargement:

5.41 Table of concordances: Criteria

*arrangements for a rotation system based on the principle of equality containing all the **criteria** and rules necessary for determining the composition of successive*

In this document there is no reference to the *Copenhagen criteria*.

On the other hand, the use of the word *accession* is more deeply associated to the process itself as can be seen in the examples illustrated in 42. Table of concordances:

5.42 Table of concordances: Accession

*a. Those candidate States which have not concluded their **accession** negotiations will be invited as observers.*

*b. Moreover, those candidate States which have concluded **accession** negotiations with the Union will be invited to participate in the Conference*

*c. European Union will have completed the institutional changes necessary for the **accession** of new Member States.*

*d. in this declaration take account only of those candidate countries with which **accession** negotiations have actually started.*

*e. The common position to be adopted by the Member States at the **accession** conferences, as regards the distribution of seats at the European Parliament*

*f. Any State which accedes to the Union shall be entitled, at the time of its **accession**, to have one of its nationals as a Member of the Commission until*

*g. The Council, acting unanimously after signing the treaty of **accession** of the twenty-seventh Member State of the Union, shall adopt*

*h. shall apply as from the date on which the first Commission following the date of **accession** of the twenty-seventh Member State of the Union takes up its duties.*

*i. At the time of each **accession**, the threshold referred to in the second subparagraph of Article*

*j. European Atomic Energy Community, in the event of the entry into force of **accession** treaties after the adoption of the Council decision provided for in*

*k. plus the number of representatives of the new Member States resulting from the **accession** treaties signed by 1 January 2004 at the latest.*

From the contexts of the word *accession*, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Namely, the Protocol on Enlargement is of a more technical nature, postulating the structures of the institutions and shaping the path towards future enlargements and the techniques on the manner

in which future conferences shall be positioned and conducted are being set. Furthermore, the word *accession* is not used in its expected enlargement element mode. In three of the above examples (a., b. and d.) the word collocates with *negotiations*, referencing what should apply for countries that have started, are in the process of or have concluded the negotiations in a form of more general conclusions structuring.

As illustrated in three of the above examples, the newly introduced key word *candidate* reflects upon the ten countries that were to enter the Union and no additional enlargement meaning has been allocated to the word i.e. word cluster *candidate states*. The other three appearances of the cluster refer to the Union's voting system upon their full integration.

The more procedural approach towards the structures of enlargement of the Union can be depicted from the applications of the word *enlargement* as well, presented in the 5.43 Table of concordances:

5.43 Table of concordances: Enlargement

*a. Member States shall not constitute any form of obstacle or pre-condition to the **enlargement** process.*

*b. Having thus opened the way to **enlargement**, the Conference calls for a deeper and wider debate about the future of the European Union.*

*c. of Representatives of the Governments of the Member States opens the way for **enlargement** of the European Union and underlines that, with ratification of the*

*d. qualified majority threshold resulting from the table given in the Declaration on **enlargement** of the European Union will be automatically adjusted accordingly.*

*e. Union Insofar as all the candidate countries listed in the Declaration on the **enlargement** of the European Union have not yet acceded to the Union when the new*

*f. Declaration on the **enlargement** of the European Union*

*g. does not exceed the threshold resulting from the table in the Declaration on the **enlargement** of the European Union, included in the Final Act of the Conference*

*h. The Protocol on the institutions with the prospect of **enlargement** of the European Union, annexed to the Treaty on European Union*

*i. Protocol on the **enlargement** of the European Union*

Upon detailed examination of the above two references to the declaration on the enlargement of the European Union included in the Final Act of the conference adopting the Treaty of Nice (see EUR-Lex, 2015) what can be concluded is that the process of enlargement, i.e. how does a country accede the Union, was not discussed in the referenced Declaration. What was being addressed was the distribution of seats in the European Parliament, votes in the Council and composition of the diverse Committees. Other than this usage of the word, *enlargement* occurs as

part of titles in the Protocol on Enlargement document, in reference to the voting system, as part of the future of the European Union etc. None of the occurrences relate to the ‘steps’ on the way to succession in the enlargement process itself.

As per the communicational aspects that have been explored in the documents so far, the words *communication* and *dialogue* do not appear. Neither do the words *challenge* and *capacity* for that matter.

The technical side of the document is reflected in the compiled terminological domains and the word clusters. Moreover, the introduction of new key words from the previous documents is reflected in the terminological domains below.

1. Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 25

2. Countries or regions involved

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY - 14

EUROPEAN UNION – 11

3. Institutions/representatives involved in the enlargement process

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION – 8

NUMBER OF MEMBERS – 6

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT - 6

EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 5

4. Aspects and objectives of the Treaty

QUALIFIED MAJORITY – 7

VOTES IN FAVOUR – 6

FOR THEIR ADOPTION – 6

NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES – 6

COUNCIL SHALL REQUIRE (at least/adoption) – 5

ACTS OF THE COUNCIL – 5

ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL – 5

5. Enlargement elements

ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION – 7

6. Documents, papers and agreements

TREATY ESTABLISHING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY – 14

TREATY ESTABLISHING THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY – 8

TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION – 5

The above terminological domains are short in some of the domains incorporating the economic aspects, the communicational aspects or the cooperation elements. A new terminological domain involving the objectives of the Treaty in question has been introduced, again reflecting on the scope of the document.

The word cluster *enlargement of the European Union*, apart from referring in most of the cases to the Declaration on enlargement, is also used in the sense that once the representatives of the Governments of the member states have reached a conclusion, the way towards enlargement of the Union has been opened.

The technicalities of the enlarged Union's voting system, i.e. their relevance in the enlargement process in the documents to come, shall be further explored.

5.2.6 Communications Strategy for Enlargement (2002) - adopted in May 2000

In May 2000, the European Commission adopted the "Communication Strategy for Enlargement" (see European Commission, 2015). Before its adoption, the enlargement preparations were based on the "pre-accession strategy (the reform process in the candidate countries) and the accession negotiations" (see European Commission, 2015). The Communication Strategy for Enlargement was introduced as a "third track in the preparations" for the fifth enlargement (see European Commission, 2015). At the official website of the European Commission (2015), in the Communication Strategy Archives, it is stated that: "Our aim is to explain to the public in the current and future member states why the Union is about to undertake its largest and most ambitious enlargement so far, and what the consequences of this step are likely to be".

In October the same year, in the resolution on the enlargement of the European Union (COM(1999) 500 - C5-0341/2000 - 2000/2171 (COS)) the European Parliament called the member and the candidate countries to "do everything in their power" in order to secure the European Parliament's assent "to the first accessions before the European Parliament elections in 2004" (see European Parliament, 2015). The Strategy proposed by the Commission and the road map for negotiations were approved by the Nice European Council of December 2000. The Göteborg European Council of June 2001 reiterated the support and confirmed that "the road map should make it possible to complete negotiations by the end of 2002 for those candidates

that are ready” (see European Council, 2015) aiming towards their participation as member states in the 2004 European Parliament elections.

The Communications Strategy for Enlargement document can be perceived as a novelty in the approach towards the fifth and the future enlargements to come. This is a new type of access in which the delegations and representations respond to the necessity of “informing the citizens of the current and future member states” about EU enlargement (see European Commission, 2015). The introduction of the Communications Strategy as the third ‘pillar’ of each country’s accession preparation process has amplified the importance of the communicational aspect in the course of the enlargement. This newly attained facet shall be further explored in this document, and those to follow, in the chronological examination of the development of enlargement terminology in its contexts.

The document subject to analysis here consists of 2,376 words. The key words list contains 51 words after removing noise and prepositions, out of which the last not too frequent in appearance in this document, are listed in the below table.

Table 7: Key words of the Communication Strategy for Enlargement (2000) document as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	ENLARGEMENT	45	1,481	642.31	27	DIALOGUE	7	6,499	53.36
2	COMMISSION	42	39,077	320.60	28	ISSUES	6	32,581	25.02
3	INFORMATION	36	61,713	231.22	29	LEADERS	6	28,873	26.41
4	COUNTRIES	22	48,101	130.65	30	NECESSARY	6	18,885	31.32
5	PUBLIC	10	146,245	72.27	31	NEGOTIATIONS	6	11,246	37.41
6	STRATEGY	20	22,555	144.86	32	OBJECTIVES	6	2,972	53.22
7	CANDIDATE	19	13,181	155.92	33	REPRESENTATIONS	6	944	66.92
8	COMMUNICATIONS	18	11,639	150.22	34	REGULAR	5	17,297	25.18
9	MEMBER	15	35,973	86.32	35	DEVELOP	5	15,906	26.00
10	MESSAGES	15	7,497	132.85	36	UNDERSTANDING	5	13,034	27.94
11	STAGES	13	36,925	70.50	37	PARTNERS	5	11,871	28.85
12	OPINION	13	19,051	87.39	38	PRIORITY	5	8,365	32.29
13	ACTIVITIES	13	14,983	93.56	39	FLOW	5	6,733	34.43
14	OFFICES	12	11,250	91.27	40	OBJECTIVE	5	4,570	38.27
15	EU	11	32,882	58.55	41	DG	5	470	60.89
16	DELEGATIONS	11	335	158.5	42	NOTABLY	4	6,132	26.52

				3					
17	EUROPEAN	9	82,150	28.78	43	SECTORS	4	4,729	28.57
18	SERVICES	9	73,685	30.69	44	INSTRUMENTS	4	4,130	29.64
19	PARLIAMENT	9	25,055	49.15	45	SURVEYS	4	3,202	31.66
20	MEDIA	8	79,647	24.31	46	GOVERNMENTAL	4	1,491	37.74
21	KEY	8	47,007	32.17	47	ACCESSION	4	925	41.54
22	PROCESS	8	41,279	34.15	48	EUROBAROMETER	4	93	59.76
23	ENSURE	8	23,386	42.92	49	ORDINATION	3	871	29.80
24	INSTITUTIONS	8	13,630	51.39	50	DECENTRALISED	3	196	38.70
25	ADAPTED	8	3,275	74.00	51	PHARE	3	8	56.93
26	PROVIDE	7	37,488	29.38					

This new attitude towards the communicational side of the enlargement is reflected in the above listed key words. For the first time in the chronologically examined documents, the word *enlargement* exceeds the other words in its frequency of occurrence in the text. It leads the enlargement elements notion followed by the key words: *accession, negotiations and DG* (abbreviation for Directorate General). Evidently, the key words representing the parties and actors involved in the process are present in this document as well: *countries, member, candidate, European, EU* (marking the first introduction of the abbreviation of the European Union among the key words). The institutions already involved: *Commission, Parliament and institutions*, remain constant however reinforced by the newly initiated: *delegations, services, offices and representations*. The significance of maintaining communication on both ends is represented by: *communications, media, communication, dialogue*. The many ‘fresh’ key words of the above table cross-reference the above categories and their collocations shall be further developed in the analysis of this document.

With 45 occurrences, the word *enlargement* is by far the most exploited in this text. It collocates with the word *process* eight times, thus forming the word cluster *Enlargement process*. The use of the clusters is varied, ranging from financial aspects, informational rationale about the process itself, comprehension of the process up to its effect on the citizens as illustrated in the several examples in the 5.44 table of concordances:

5.44 Table of concordances: Enlargement process

*a. Financial Statement are indicative and may need to be adapted to the pace of the **enlargement process**. The proposed schedule of commitment appropriations*

*b.. Commission in Brussels through the provision of up-to-date information about the **enlargement process**. This will be done principally through DG Enlargement’s*

- c. *The information flow and key messages will be adjusted as the **enlargement process** progresses. Existing instruments will be mobilised to meet t*
- d. *The **enlargement process** (negotiations, preparations in the EU and in the candidate countries)*
- e. *The outcome should be improved understanding of the **enlargement process**, which in turn should assuage apprehensions about its impact*
- f. *with a broad section of public opinion and dispel misapprehensions about the **enlargement process**. It should help ensure that the negotiations are concluded*
- g. *Objectives Enlargement is a top priority for the European Union. The **enlargement process** will bring about major changes, which will affect the citizens*

This was not the case in the previously analyzed documents, in most of which the word *enlargement* had obtained a more generic meaning rather than any distinct notion. Based on the document analysis, and as illustrated in the above example, *enlargement* became a priority of the European Union in 2000 as was never the case before.

The words *criteria*, *conditions*, *obligations*, *capacity* and *challenge* do not appear in this document at all. The occurrence of the word *challenges* bears the following meanings:

5.45 Table of concordances: Challenges

- a. *the reasons for enlargement to the public including its likely impact and the **challenges** it poses. The outcome should be improved understanding of the enlarge*
- b. *the reasons for enlargement, as well as the benefits it will bring and the **challenges** it poses. The demand for information about enlargement is growing*

In both of the above examples, the challenges are closely linked to the informative process i.e. the communicational momentum and the importance of conveying information on the process and its impact on many of the spheres of social living, including the citizens on both ends. This view shall be further exploited by analysis of some of the key words marking their first occurrences.

The key word *messages* appears 15 times either collocating with *deliver* or with *key* in most of the cases, some of which presented in 5.46 Table here:

5.46 Table of concordances: Messages

- a. *will have a key role in working with local partners to develop and **deliver messages** adapted to the particular interests and concerns of the public in each*
- b. *the main task of **delivering messages** related to enlargement falls to opinion leaders in and from the member*

*c. enlargement issues to enable the provision of information and the **delivery of messages** to be adapted as necessary.*

*d. will assist the communications strategy by measuring the extent to which **key messages** are 'trickling down' to the general public.*

*e. communication, i.e. the presentation of objective information in the form of **key messages** adapted to particular audiences. Where necessary, new instruments will*

*f. The information flow and **key messages** will be adjusted as the enlargement process progresses.*

The delivery of the *messages*, the cores of the *messages* or the keyness of the *messages* are closely associated to the new key word *public* and its collocation with the new key word *opinion*, and the forming of the word cluster *public opinion*, in five cases. The word *public* occurs 20 times in the text and some of the contexts of use are being listed below in the 5.47 Table of concordances:

5.47 Table of concordances: Public opinion

*a. be essential in developing the communications strategy in light of changes in **public opinion**.*

7. Co-ordination and Implementation

*b. measuring the extent to which key messages are 'trickling down' to the general **public**. The analysis of opinion in the candidate countries should continue on a*

*c. The Commission's Eurobarometer surveys have been analysing general **public opinion** since 1973. The surveys ask questions to representative samples o*

*d. need to be developed and adapted in light of the interests and preoccupations of **public opinion**. The Commission's Eurobarometer surveys have been analysing gen*

*e. communication strategy can draw on several means of assessing the evolution of **public opinion**. Its priorities should be adapted accordingly. · Eurobaromet*

*f. the media at all times. Dialogue will be promoted with opinion leaders and **public** speakers, building on the experience with the Dialogue on Europe.*

The communicational aspect of the Strategy combines many of the key words and moves in different directions. From one perspective the necessity of forming the public opinion arises, from another the mechanisms of evaluating and monitoring the public or general opinion are at work, from another the means for assessing the evolution of the public opinion need to be employed, and from yet another an enhanced dialogue between the opinion leaders and public speakers, as well as representatives of the Commission, must be conducted in order to convey key enlargement messages. The EU official bodies tasked with improving and conveying the messages and conducting communication include the Commission representations, EP offices and Commission delegations. The key words *representations*, *offices* and *delegations* have been categorized under the umbrella of the newly introduced institutions involved in the enlargement

process, to which the key word *services* agrees as well, reflecting their roles as informational activities providers.

For the realization of some of the above aspects the *Eurobarometer* was introduced. The key word in fact represents an instrument employed for over 20 years by the European Commission's Public Analysis Sector. The *Eurobarometer* has been engaged in the field of monitoring the evolution of the public opinion in the member states (see European Commission, 2015). This process additionally assists the Commission's work in preparing texts, in the process of decision making and the evaluation of its work.

The already highlighted significance of the communication process has been furthermore strengthened with the occurrence of the word *dialogue* as presented below:

5.48 Table of concordances: Dialogue

- a. with opinion leaders and public speakers, building on the experience with the **Dialogue** on Europe. The Commission's representation offices and EP offices in*
- b. representatives and spokespeople should be available to the media at all times. · **Dialogue** will be promoted with opinion leaders and public speakers, building on*
- c. The **Dialogue** on Europe is preparing the way for a broader and more sustained communication*
- d. EU institutions will also engage in direct **dialogue** with the general public. The **Dialogue** on Europe which was recently launched by the Commission to stimulate de*
- e. the Commission and other EU institutions will also engage in direct **dialogue** with the general public. The **Dialogue** on Europe which was recently launched*
- f. which in turn should assuage apprehensions about its impact; to promote **dialogue** at all levels of society between policy-makers and the public on issues*
- g. communications strategy is needed to meet this demand. It should also generate **dialogue** with a broad section of public opinion and dispel misapprehensions about*

The contexts in which the word *dialogue* is applied, and as illustrated in the 5.48 Table of concordances above, progress in several directions as well, similar to the use of the word *opinion*, i.e. the word cluster *public opinion*. The word *dialogue* further forms another new word cluster, *Dialogue on Europe*, representing the Commission's launched initiative which was to stimulate public debates on several issues including the progress of enlargement, and to prepare the way for a continuous enlargement strategy (see European Commission 2015).

The applications of the two key words *instruments* and *objectives* are related in that the existing instruments are to be put to use and new ones are to be invented where needed in order to

achieve the objectives on communicating the ongoing and future enlargements of the Union to the public, as can be recognized in several examples illustrated here:

5.49 Table of concordances: Instruments/Objectives

- a. Existing **instruments** will be mobilised to meet the **objectives** set out above.*
- b. realistic public expectations; In the member states there are three key **objectives**. Enlargement is a top priority for the European Union.*
- c. key messages will be adjusted as the enlargement process progresses. Existing **instruments** will be mobilised to meet the **objectives** set out above.*

Taking into consideration the flow of communication in the analyzed document, the new key word *media* additionally serves the information and communication cause. The eight occurrences of the word mark both the use of media in conveying the enlargement process messages and the use of media on assessing the enlargement estimation to further serve information purposes, as seen from several examples in 5.50 Table of concordances below:

5.50 Table of concordances: Media

- a. countries should carry out **media** analysis. They should systematically monitor media coverage of enlargement issues to enable the provision of information and*
- b. states and Commission's delegations in the candidate countries should carry out **media** analysis. They should systematically monitor media coverage of enlargement*
- c. Fast and easy access by the **media** to Commission and other EU institution sources is therefore essential.*
- d. The **media**, in particular TV and radio, are of crucial importance in conveying key messages*
- e. Electronic **media** will become the essential means for transmitting information.*

Upon the examination of this document as a whole, and because communication was stipulated as a new priority of the Union, it can be perceived that conveying public messages concerning the enlargement, forming public opinion about the future of the European Union and promoting general understanding became a necessity. Why the European Union needed to expand further, what the benefits and challenges for members would be, and who the the candidate states were needed to be clarified to the public.

The above results of the conveyed analysis of the key words is applicable in terms of the terminological domains and their word clusters as presented below.

1. Parties or actors involved

CANDIDATE COUNTRIES - 19

MEMBER STATES - 13

MEMBER STATES AND COMMISSION – 5

MEMBER STATES AND THE CANDIDATE COUNTRIES - 5

2. Countries or regions involved

EU – 11

3. Institutions/representatives involved in the enlargement process

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 6

4. Enlargement elements

ENLARGEMENT PROCESS - 7

5. Communicational aspect

COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY - 10

PUBLIC OPINION – 5

KEY MESSAGES – 5

OPINION LEADERS - 5

Most of the terminological domains and their word clusters reoccur in this, as was the case with previous documents. Evidently, the newly involved domain encapsulating the communicational aspect is deeply rooted in the structure and content of the document.

5.2.7 The Thessaloniki Agenda for the Western Balkans, 16 June 2003; and the EU Western Balkans Summit Declaration, 21 June 2003 - Annexed to the Presidency Conclusions of the Thessaloniki European Council, 19 and 20 June 2003

“The European Council and the EU-Western Balkans Summit of Thessaloniki held on 19-20 June and 21 June, respectively, will mark an important step in the deepening relationship between the EU and the Western Balkan countries” (see European Union, 2015h). The EU Commissioner for External Relations holding this position during the period 2000-2004, Chris Patten, announced that: “Thessaloniki will send two important messages to the Western Balkans: The prospect of membership of the EU is real, and we will not regard the map of the Union as complete until you have joined us”, stressing that the European Commission shall undertake all

measures necessary to help the countries on this path. However, “membership must be earned” and the rate of progress was to depend on the countries themselves (see European Union, 2015h). This subchapter undertakes an in-depth analysis of two documents: the “Thessaloniki Agenda for the Western Balkans” and the “EU Western Balkans Summit Declaration, annexed to the Presidency Conclusions of the Thessaloniki European Council”, which will be treated as one single document.

The Presidency Conclusions announced the Thessaloniki Agenda to be aiming towards strengthening the “privileged relations between the EU and the Western Balkans” relying also on previous enlargement experiences, and thus the Stabilisation and Association process (enriched with “elements drawn from the recent successful enlargement process” (see European Union, 2015h) and accounting for the high frequency of the key words SAP, Stabilisation and Association Process below) was to remain the framework for the Western Balkan countries towards EU. The Declaration, adopted together with the Thessaloniki Agenda, were to provide a “sound basis for directing the reform efforts of the Western Balkan countries in coming closer to the Union, and the enhanced EU support for their endeavours” (see European Union, 2015h). The Thessaloniki Summit was a follow up of the Zagreb Summit of 2000. The portion of the official EC site on the enlargement process states that “The EU will outline the concrete ways in which it is willing to support the countries of the Western Balkans as they move towards European Integration”, as set in the Thessaloniki Agenda (see European Union, 2015h).

If the Copenhagen Council of 1993 is to be considered as a milestone for the enlargement criteria, then the EU-Western Balkans Summit of Thessaloniki of 2003 is considered to be the milestone for the European Union’s relations with the countries from the Western Balkans.

The compiled document consisted of the Thessaloniki Agenda for the Western Balkans (henceforth Thessaloniki Agenda) and the EU Western Balkans Summit Declaration (henceforth Western Balkans Declaration) of 7,240 words generated a key words list of 154 words. The below table represents the 66 key words ordered according to their frequency of occurrence in the piled corpus of two documents which is going to be referred to as one single document henceforth.

Table 8: Key words of the Thessaloniki Agenda and Western Balkans Declaration (2003) document as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	COUNTRIES	111	48,101	769.94	34	STABILISATION	14	410	171.62
2	EU	108	32,882	824.49	35	POLICY	13	64,728	29.73
3	WESTERN	61	25,993	424.73	36	TRADE	13	46,864	37.16
4	EUROPEAN	52	82,150	229.03	37	MEASURES	13	14,630	65.69
5	REGION	52	15,576	398.26	38	PRIORITY	13	8,365	79.88
6	SAP	46	514	650.27	39	COMMIT	13	4,791	94.14
7	OPERATION	42	25,199	264.01	40	SECURITY	12	54,327	29.43
8	REGIONAL	34	16,371	228.41	41	CRIME	12	32,367	40.61
9	BALKANS	34	2,290	360.98	42	ENERGY	12	27,431	44.38
10	BALKAN	33	1,241	388.39	43	AFFAIRS	12	20,805	50.66
11	SUPPORT	30	76,555	104.85	44	EFFORTS	12	16,495	56.00
12	COMMISSION	30	39,077	143.17	45	FULLY	12	16,493	56.00
13	DEVELOPMENT	28	40,629	127.80	46	AGENDA	12	13,438	60.75
14	STABILITY	27	5,768	224.79	47	REFORMS	12	7,605	74.09
15	COUNCIL	24	59,268	85.33	48	ASSISTANCE	12	4,745	85.25
16	PROCESS	22	41,279	89.60	49	OBJECTIVES	12	2,972	96.36
17	INTERNATIONAL	21	89,287	53.85	50	PARTICULAR	11	27,398	38.92
18	FRAMEWORK	20	4,089	168.23	51	BASIS	11	18,972	46.55
19	THESSALONIKI	20	66	327.64	52	NECESSARY	11	18,885	46.64
20	EUROPE	19	62,227	57.64	53	SUMMIT	11	10,760	58.58
21	UNION	19	57,009	60.68	54	INITIATIVES	11	5,063	74.84
22	PROGRESS	18	20,400	90.72	55	DEMOCRATIC	10	16,830	42.78
23	IMPLEMENTATION	17	2,172	158.85	56	ACTIVITIES	10	14,983	45.01
24	ECONOMIC	16	39,097	57.19	57	BORDER	10	14,251	45.97
25	ISSUES	16	32,581	62.67	58	APPROPRIATE	10	11,143	50.72
26	AGREEMENTS	16	3,595	131.58	59	IMPORTANCE	10	10,898	51.15
27	PACT	15	2,800	128.87	60	PROMOTING	10	5,632	64.06
28	FINANCIAL	14	58,244	36.43	61	MINISTERS	9	35,155	24.43
29	COMMUNITY	14	45,669	42.56	62	CONFERENCE	9	31,134	26.40
30	ASSOCIATION	14	38,718	46.81	63	PROGRAMMES	9	20,961	32.97
31	AREAS	14	36,060	48.66	64	RESPECT	9	17,532	36.00
32	ESSENTIAL	14	13,397	75.16	65	CANDIDATE	9	13,181	40.90
33	ORGANISED	14	12,165	77.79	66	ENCOURAGE	9	12,576	41.71

The first striking difference between this document and the previously analyzed document on the Communication Strategy for Enlargement is that the word *enlargement* is not among the first in the key words table, and indeed it did not make the list of the first 66 words highest in frequency. The second striking difference is the introduction of the words *Western, Balkan* and *Balkans* as key words among the highest in occurrence in the text under examination, which was not the case in any of the previously analyzed documents in the chronological development portion of this Chapter.

Nevertheless, starting with the obvious repetition of the key words related to the parties or actors involved in the process of enlargement, *European, Union, countries, EU, and candidate*, another noticeable difference is the lack of the words *member* and *states* among the first 66 key words. As per the particular parties or regions, as discerned above the words *Western, Balkan, Balkans*, and *region* appear for the first time, thus revealing the new region in the focus of the enlargement i.e. the *Western Balkans* region, the *Western Balkans countries*, or the *countries of the Western Balkan*. In reference to the enlargement elements, the key words represented above are quite infrequent in direct relation to this notion represented by *SAP, Stabilisation, Association, process, and Stability Pact*, but lacking in words used in most of the previous documents such as *negotiations, accession, enlargement* etc. The institutions involved in the process are naturally represented among the key words: *Commission* and *Council*, strengthened by *ministers*. The key words table presented above provides a list of areas that the regional countries should attend to: *crime, energy, security, border, agenda, affairs* etc.

Other than the occurrence of the word *reform* in the Zagreb Summit Final Declaration of 2000, collocating mostly with *economic* and *institutional*, the word *reforms* occurs in the document under analysis as a frequent key word that collocates with the word *implementing* and providing a slightly vague notion of an necessity for reforms on one hand, and a more structured approach collocating with the word *major, structural* or *necessary* in the areas encompassing the rule of law, combating organized crime, enhancing administrative capacity etc. on the other, as illustrated in some of the examples in 5.51 Table of concordances below:

5.51 Table of concordances: Reforms

- a. We recognise that progress is dependent on implementing **major reforms** in areas such as the strengthening of the rule of law, combating organised crime
- b. to accelerate the momentum of **structural reforms**, especially in the areas of tax policy and administration
- c. is a slow process, requiring persistent efforts over a wide front of **structural reforms**. The transition from centrally planned to functioning market economies
- d. Meanwhile, progress is dependent on these countries implementing **major reforms** in areas such as the strengthening of the rule of law, combating organised crime
- e. In the framework of efforts to support the implementation of **necessary reforms** in the field of public administration, the Commission is invited to examine
- f. of the Western Balkan countries and concrete steps to make the **necessary reforms**, to establish adequate administrative capacity and to co-operate amongst
- g. critical element of democratic reform. Legislative and administrative **reforms** on arms sales compatible with the «European code of conduct» should be put
- h. their own hands and will depend on each country's performance in implementing **reforms**, thus respecting the criteria set by the Copenhagen European Council of

With its five appearances, the word *enlargement* is not among the first 66 key words. All of the uses of the word have been set in the context of the ongoing enlargement process at the time, i.e. the fifth enlargement, in most of the cases drawing on the experiences of the enlargement or the inspirations that the ongoing enlargement was to present for the Western Balkans countries:

5.52 Table of concordances: Enlargement

- a. policy towards the region and to enrich it with elements from the experience of **enlargement**. They welcome in particular the launching of the European Partnerships
- b. countries. The future of the Balkans is within the European Union. The ongoing **enlargement** and the signing of the Treaty of Athens in April 2003 inspire and encourage
- c. possible support to the region, drawing from the experience of the present **enlargement** process and aiming at sustainable development. In case of special needs
- d. It now needs to be strengthened and enriched with elements from the **enlargement** process, so that it can better meet the new challenges, as the countries
- e. The Balkans will be an integral part of a unified Europe. The ongoing **enlargement** and the signature of the Treaty of Athens in April 2003 should inspire

The word *criteria* occurs twice in the document both times accentuating the individual progress of every country in meeting the criteria set in Copenhagen as seen from the examples below:

5.53 Table of concordances: Criteria

- a. country towards the EU will depend on its own merits in meeting the Copenhagen **criteria** and the conditions set for the SAP and confirmed in the final declaration

*b. depend on each country's performance in implementing reforms, thus respecting the **criteria** set by the Copenhagen European Council of 1993 (2) and the SAP conditions*

Additionally, in both cases, the word *criteria* collocates with the word *conditions*, which occurs three times, and other than in the case of the Copenhagen criteria, refer to the economic and security conditions. All of the occurrences of the *conditions* have been exemplified in 5.54 Table of concordances below:

5.54 Table of concordances: Conditions

*a. the EU will depend on its own merits in meeting the Copenhagen criteria and the **conditions** set for the SAP and confirmed in the final declaration*

*b. corruption, keeping in mind the importance of all these aspects for improving **conditions** for investment and economic growth in the region.*

*c. in employment, especially in public institutions; to provide adequate security **conditions**, non-discriminatory education and all other basic social services*

The word *obligations* occurs once, collocating with the word *membership* in that the candidate countries ought to be able to assume obligations of membership once in the Union:

5.55 Table of concordances: Obligations

*pressure and market forces within the Union, and the ability to take on the **obligations** of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic*

The word *capacity* makes seven appearances (all of which have been presented in the 5.56 Table of concordances below), of which six times it collocates with *administrative* (and *judicial*) in the word cluster *administrative capacity* and in reference to building capacity (by the countries of the Western Balkans) necessary to cope with pressure or build policies etc. In none of the contexts does the word occur in reference to the absorption capacity or capacity of the Union.

5.56 Table of concordances: Capacity

*a. crime, corruption and illegal migration, and strengthening administrative **capacity** in border control and security of documents.*

*b. protection of minorities; the existence of a functioning market economy; the **capacity** to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union*

- c. with all relevant community policies and dependent on their administrative **capacity**. * To consider taking appropriate measures to allow SAP countries*
- d. crime, corruption and illegal migration, and strengthening their administrative **capacity** in border control and security of documents. The Council welcomes*
- e. documents necessary in this combat, including improved administrative and judicial **capacity**. Continuous political support in each country is equally essential. In*
- f. and the necessary administrative **capacity**. Enhanced Community Financial Support Efforts by Western Balkan count*
- g. concrete steps to make the necessary reforms, to establish adequate administrative **capacity** and to co-operate amongst themselves. Building fully functioning states*

The words *challenge* or *challenges* occur four times together, and as shown in 5.57 Table, the occurrences are in reference to the challenges that the Western Balkans countries individually or as a region face, either with respect to their citizens or to the Union:

5.57 Table of concordances: Challenge(s)

- a. into the European Union, through adoption of European standards, is now the big **challenge** ahead.*
- b. states capable of providing for the needs of their citizens remains a major **challenge** for the whole region. The fight against organised crime and corruption*
- c. reflects accurately both progress achieved and remaining problems, as well as **challenges** ahead for each of the Western Balkan countries. Its recommendations,*
- d. with elements from the enlargement process, so that it can better meet the new **challenges**, as the countries move from stabilisation and reconstruction*

The previously analyzed document, 5.2.6., focused on the communicational aspect of the enlargement process. In this spirit, the document under analysis here was inspected in terms of its communicational features through the words *dialogue* and *communication*. The word *dialogue* with its 6 occurrences did not enter the highest key words table and collocates with *political* or *economic* in 5 of its occurrences:

5.58 Table of concordances: Dialogue

- a. Energy Market to the region as a whole and to establish a regular economic **dialogue** with each country of the region. Considering that small and medium-sized*
- b. as well as the decisions for enhanced co-operation in the areas of political **dialogue** and the Common Foreign and Security Policy, parliamentary co-operation,*
- c. The EU supports the Commission's proposal to hold regular economic **dialogue** with each SAP country. Having in mind the importance of trade for*
- d. Bilateral political **dialogue** at ministerial level between the EU on the one part, and Albania, Croatia*

*e. and will take forward its conclusions and recommendations. Promoting political **dialogue** and co-operation in the area of Common Foreign and Security Policy The*

*f. priority for the EU. The Balkans will continue to be on the agenda of the EU **dialogue** with Russia, as well as with other relevant countries, in recognition o*

The word *communication* appears twice in the analyzed document. As presented in 5.59 Table of concordances, *communication* collocates once with technology and once in reference to the European Commission's document on communication:

5.59 Table of concordances: Communication

*a. regional initiatives in the areas of science and technology, information and **communication** technology, and statistics. The EU calls for the adoption, at the*

*b. Stabilisation and Association Process. The Council welcomes the Commission's **communication** 'The Western Balkans and European Integration' and will take*

The change in some of the most frequent key words, as presented in the Table above, caused a shift in some of the terminological domains as illustrated here.

1. Parties or actors involved

CANDIDATE COUNTRIES - 9

2. Countries or regions involved

WESTERN BALKAN – 30

WESTERN BALKANS - 30

WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES – 29

SAP COUNTRIES - 28

COUNTRIES OF THE REGION – 20

EUROPEAN UNION 10

COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN BALKANS – 8

SOUTH-EAST EUROPE – 5

3. Cooperation and reforms elements

REGIONAL CO OPERATION – 14

ORGANISED CRIME – 12

JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS – 7

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT - 6

4. Elements of enlargement

STABILITY PACT - 15

5. Other

THESSALONIKI SUMMIT - 7

Namely, the first terminological domain, i.e. parties or actors involved, is rather low in word clusters and the lack of one word cluster that has been present throughout most of the corpus, *member states*, is particularly striking. One possibility for such an occurrence might be the focus on the candidate countries of the SAP and Stability Pact, actually the Western Balkan region, as represented in the second domain and additionally strengthened by the larger number of clusters entailed. The third terminological domain contains the cooperation and reform elements, which are reinforced by the key words presented in the table above, and that introduce some of the issues that the countries of the Western Balkan are to face on their path towards accession. These questions shall be further elaborated and explored in the last part of this Chapter, which deals only and directly with the Western Balkans, as will the word clusters *EU urges* (the Western Balkan countries) with five appearances in the text and in different contexts as well as *commit themselves* with eight occurrences, becoming visible for the first time in this text.

5.2.8. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and European Council, Enlargement Strategies, Enlargement Process, Roadmaps for the Western Balkans, 2005-2009

The last subchapter of the second portion of this Chapter's analysis shall examine nine documents, produced by the official institutions of the European Union and intended to assist the region left for accession into the Union, the Western Balkans and Turkey.

The analysis to follow is applied to the following documents:

1. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Candidate Countries, 2005 (see (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (consisted of 7,168 words);
2. Enlargement process: Consolidation, Conditions, Communication. Roadmap for the Western Balkans, 2005 (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (enclosing 1,351 words);

3. Communication from the Commission, 2005 Enlargement Strategy Paper (see (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (listing 3,144 words);
4. Enlargement strategy 2006-2007: challenges and integration capacity, 2006 (see European Commission, 2015) (total number of words 2,039 words);
5. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006 – 2007, Including annexed special report on the EU's capacity to integrate new members (see European Commission, 2015) (entailing 8,645 words);
6. The accession process for a new Member State, 2007 (see European Union, 2015e) (enclosing 2,476);
7. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008 (see European Commission, 2015) (containing a word list of 8,047);
8. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Western Balkans: Enhancing the European perspective, 2008 (see European Commission, 2015) (containing a word list of 10,441 words);
9. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2008-2009 (see European Commission, 2015) (with a total of 5,009 words).

Unlike the previously analyzed documents, which dealt with the enlargement process in a more general manner, additionally bearing in mind that the European Union had only the Western Balkans region and Turkey to integrate during the period from which the above documents originate (currently this status is subject to different opinions and attitudes towards what lies in the future of the Union), and apart from the Thessaloniki Agenda document, the following texts, documents and reports are more case-specific in that they have been prepared to attend to the aspirations of the Western Balkans countries and Turkey to join the Union directly. This is one of the reasons why the documents have been examined in-depth as a whole, as one corpus. The second reason would be the closeness of the language used, i.e. the content of the documents. The third reason would be the inspection in terms of similarities, or differences for that matter, in the language used in the documents aimed for the Western Balkan countries as compared to the

documents prepared for the enlargement process in general or documents produced to serve other enlargements.

The “Communication Strategy for Enlargement” document (see above) was the first document analyzed to characterize the importance of enlargement for the Union as a “top priority” and to indicate that due to the changes that the enlargement is to bring, and its effects on the citizens at different levels, the demand for information about enlargement is becoming pivotal. The document further set objectives for the member and the candidate states in informing their citizens on the reasons, benefits and challenges of enlargement. The Thessaloniki Agenda i.e. Western Balkans Declaration documents were the ones to put the Western Balkans countries in the enlargement spotlight and to put forth the objectives for these countries.

The documents analyzed here (henceforth communication enlargement strategy corpus) aimed towards meeting these objectives. The official institutions of the Union were set to inform on the new developments and the progress of the region in light of enlargement, as well as to bring the enlargement strategy and enlargement policies closer to the Western Balkans countries and Turkey.

The communication enlargement strategy corpus, consisting of nine documents, covering the period 2005 until 2009, generated a word list of 48,320 words. As has been pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, some of the documents constituting this corpus have not been analyzed fully, but only the general provisions and the roadmaps have been subjected to examination. This is due to the general enlargement policy pertinent for the region in question, i.e. the Western Balkans and Turkey, and for the purpose of maintaining this broad enlargement notion for the whole region, without going into particulars concerning only a specific country. The key words list numbered over 500 words. Upon removing the terminologically unrelated words and the noise, the first 66 key words most frequently occurring in the corpus are presented in the table below.

Table 9: Key words of the Communication and Enlargement Strategies documents 2005_2008/9 as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EU	544	32,882	3,840.69	34	CAPACITY	90	13,227	478.32
2	COMMISSION	413	39,077	2,552.05	35	COMMUNITY	87	45,669	253.09
3	COUNTRIES	395	48,101	2,246.09	36	INTEGRATION	85	3,279	674.21

4	EUROPEAN	306	82,150	1,273.07	37	MEMBERSHIP	82	9,239	478.19
5	ACCESSION	286	925	3,610.81	38	CHALLENGES	81	6,584	524.06
6	ENLARGEMENT	268	1,481	3,126.18	39	NEED	80	122,324	90.60
7	WESTERN	214	25,993	1,217.17	40	FUTURE	80	66,607	167.81
8	MEMBER	173	35,973	803.77	41	POLICY	80	64,728	171.71
9	STATES	167	36,925	756.19	42	FINANCIAL	76	58,244	170.19
10	PROCESS	164	41,279	701.98	43	CONDITIONS	76	23,754	293.99
11	CIVIL	163	26,482	834.84	44	ACTIVITIES	76	14,983	360.74
12	COUNCIL	155	59,268	541.28	45	COMMUNICATION	73	6,958	449.54
13	PROGRESS	155	20,400	857.20	46	STABILITY	73	5,768	476.34
14	SUPPORT	154	76,555	463.39	47	AGREEMENT	72	23,730	271.32
15	NEGOTIATIONS	149	11,246	985.86	48	BALKAN	72	1,241	684.28
16	SOCIETY	146	62,414	479.66	49	EU'S	70	3,167	533.32
17	CANDIDATE	146	13,181	914.80	50	PROGRAMMES	69	20,961	270.61
18	BALKANS	144	2,290	1,391.23	51	PARTICULAR	68	27,498	230.75
19	ECONOMIC	143	39,097	589.54	52	AREAS	67	36,060	191.86
20	DIALOGUE	142	6,499	1,078.88	53	TRADE	66	46,864	156.52
21	COOPERATION	137	4,636	1,121.98	54	POLICIES	65	18,342	263.98
22	DEVELOPMENT	127	40,629	485.82	55	IMPLEMENTATION	65	2,171	533.84
23	COUNTRY	126	102,076	270.25	56	ENSURE	64	23,386	228.80
24	POLITICAL	118	86,968	272.29	57	ISSUES	63	32,581	184.95
25	REGIONAL	112	16,371	596.47	58	FRAMEWORK	62	4,089	426.51
26	UNION	111	57,009	327.34	59	EUROPE	61	62,227	107.28
27	REFORMS	109	7,605	727.91	60	LAW	60	58,744	109.56
28	REGION	104	15,576	548.94	61	STRATEGY	57	22,555	195.32
29	PUBLIC	103	146,245	127.90	62	EFFORTS	56	16,495	228.87
30	REFORM	103	19,861	493.35	63	CITIZENS	56	11,021	265.98
31	KEY	92	47,007	272.14	64	AGREEMENTS	55	3,595	379.32
32	ASSISTANCE	92	4,745	677.33	65	ASSOCIATION	54	38,718	127.14
33	INSTITUTIONS	90	13,630	473.08	66	NECESSARY	53	18,885	191.96

Never has the key words carrying the enlargement elements notion been as fully represented as is the case with the key words table of the last analyzed corpus: *accession*, *enlargement*,

negotiations, assistance, integration, membership etc. Furthermore, the conditionality factor is present in the above table more richly than in any of the previously examined documents through the words: *reforms, necessary, reform, key, capacity, challenges, need, conditions, ensure, stability* and the contexts of their occurrences. The key words referring to the parties or actors involved in the process of enlargement are once again present: *Europe, European, countries, EU, Union, member, states, candidate* and *country*. Bearing in mind the countries for which the documents are intended, the particular parties or regions, as represented by the key words *Western, Balkan, Balkans, region*, do not come as a surprise, nor do the words marking the involved institutions *Commission* and *Council*, however intensified by the newly introduced *citizens, civil* and *society*. The strong communicational aspect is represented by the key words *communication* and *dialogue*.

Other than the first part of this Chapter, i.e. the overall analysis of the entire first corpus, the communication enlargement strategy corpus entailing documents from the period 2005-2009 generated the largest number of terminological domains and word clusters under their auspices. This final analysis of the second part of the chapter shall go over the terminological domains and their word clusters, depicting on the similarities and differences in the terminological development of the enlargement notion.

1. Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES - 153
CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 95
POTENTIAL CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 32
APPLICANT COUNTRIES – 20
NEW MEMBER STATES – 18
CANDIDATE AND POTENTIAL CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 17
EU MEMBER STATES – 15
CANDIDATE COUNTRY - 14
ENLARGEMENT COUNTRIES – 13
COUNTRIES CONCERNED – 9
EU AND CANDIDATE COUNTRIES – 7
BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES – 6

The first terminological domain of this corpus again deals with the parties and actors involved in the enlargement process. Some of the above word clusters, such as *member states*, are constant clusters and reoccur throughout the whole corpus. Others, such as *candidate countries*, mark

very low or no occurrence before the year 2000 and the Communication strategy for enlargement document, however their presence intensifies in the 2005 – 2009 corpus. As pointed out in the first portion of analysis (see above), the word cluster *enlargement countries*, appears only after 2006 and the word cluster *potential candidate countries* only after 2005, thus implying new terminology in terms of how countries other than member states, are being referred to. The word cluster *beneficiary countries* is newly introduced in this part of the examination. Its occurrence is related to financial and other types of assistance for the countries in question, and other than the one occurrence in the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993, when the beneficiary countries are the Central and Eastern European Countries, the other five occurrences refer to the countries of the Western Balkans as presented in the 5.60 Table of concordances below:

5.60 Table of concordances: Beneficiary countries

- a. with Member States' embassies, local offices of IFIs and non-EU donors in the **beneficiary countries**. This coordination will be continued and intensified*
- b. It places more focus on ownership of implementation by the **beneficiary countries**, on support for cross-border cooperation, and on "learning*
- c. trade unions and other social partners and professional organisations in the **beneficiary countries** and their counterparts in the EU to promote transfers*
- d. while also facilitating the integration of the **beneficiary countries** into the EU. This is particularly relevant in a region with*
- e. distributes financial aid depending on the progress made by the **beneficiary countries** and their needs, as indicated by the annual assessments an*
- f. are jointly financed by EIB and/or international financial institutions and **beneficiary countries**, – which cannot be privately financed*

2. Countries or regions involved

WESTERN BALKANS – 140
WESTERN BALKAN – 71
WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES – 61
EUROPEAN UNION – 33
SOUTH EAST EUROPE – 24
WESTERN BALKANS AND TURKEY – 12
COUNTRIES IN THE REGION – 12
COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN BALKANS – 10
ALL WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES – 5

The second terminological domain of the countries and regions involved once again highlights the enlargement focus of the Union within the analyzed period, integrating the only remaining

region i.e. the Western Balkan countries and Turkey. This notion has been intensified by the new introduction of the word cluster *All Western Balkan countries* referring either to the support of the Union in financial areas on their course towards the Union, or to problems common for all the countries of the region:

5.61 Table of concordances: All Western Balkan countries

- a. are eligible for assistance from the EU Solidarity Fund. In case of a disaster, **all Western Balkan countries** may receive assistance also under Humanitarian Aid.*
- b. fulfilled, the Stabilisation and Association Agreements can be completed with **all Western Balkan countries** in 2008, with agreements either signed or in force*
- c. The Commission continues to support **all Western Balkan countries** on their European course, as they make progress*
- d. **All Western Balkan countries** are further restructuring and opening up their economies*
- e. Corruption remains widespread and is deeply rooted in society. In **all Western Balkan countries**, measures taken are not commensurate with the magnitude*

The word cluster *South East Europe* mostly refers to the region as a good example of well-established collaboration among the countries in question benefiting from their memberships as represented in the 5.62 Table of concordances below:

5.62 Table of concordances: South East Europe

- a. as well as a single instrument for SME development: the European Fund for **South East Europe**. This benefits tens of thousands of small businesses across*
- b. from the Stability Pact, strengthening ownership of regional cooperation in **South East Europe** by the countries directly concerned. Still, the Western Balkans are*
- c. areas such as energy, transport, and economic co-operation. The countries of **South-East Europe** launched in April 2006 negotiations for a regional free trade*
- d. Co-operation Council will be established, bringing together representatives of **South East Europe** with those of the international community. The Commission*
- e. agreed to establish a new framework, with greater ownership, based around the **South East Europe** Co-operation Process. A Regional Co-operation Council will be*
- f. economic development and reconciliation in the Western Balkans. The countries of **South-East Europe** this year agreed to establish a new framework, with greater*

3. Institutions involved in the process

EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 47

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 30

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS – 15

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS - 11

EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 7
REGIONAL COOPERATION COUNCIL RCC – 7
REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES – 6
EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK – 6
REGIONAL SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 6
POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS - 6
EU COUNTERPARTS – 5
EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR RECONSTRUCTION – 5
CIVIL SOCIETY FACILITY – 5
COUNCIL OF EUROPE DEVELOPMENT BANK – 5
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE - 5

Most of the word clusters under the umbrella of the institutions involved in the process of enlargement domain are c-clusters in terms of *European Council*, *European Parliament*, *European Commission* etc. Still, the word clusters *Civil Society Organisations*, *Regional Cooperation Council (RCC)*, *Regional School of Public Administration*, *European Agency for Reconstruction* etc. appear only in this corpus and have no previous occurrences. The RCC (see above) have taken over the role of the Stability Pact in 2008 and its later occurrence is rather justified. This was also the case with the Regional School of Public Administration (ReSPA), a project financed by the EU. The school aims towards improving regional cooperation in the field of public administration in the countries of the Western Balkans “on their way to EU accession” (see Regional School of Public Administration, 2012). The first appearance of this cluster in 2007 comes as a result of the establishment of the School, commencing with its Phase 1 in November 2006.

On the other hand, the word cluster *Civil Society Organisations* appears for the first time in the document prepared by the Commission in 2005 titled: “Why a civil society dialogue between the EU and Candidate countries?” (see EUR-Lex, 2015). The document elaborated on this importance by stressing the unpreparedness of the EU member states’ citizens and insufficient information on the last enlargement at the time (referring to the biggest enlargement to ten new states in May 2004). The document further developed the necessity for a support “by a strong, deep and sustained dialogue between the societies of the candidate countries and in the EU member states” based on the lesson drawn from the enlargement (see EUR-Lex, 2015). The use of this word cluster intensifies as of 2005 in the entire corpus, as does the involvement of the *civil society organisations* receiving different roles and as illustrated in some of the examples in the 5.63 Table of concordances below:

5.63 Table of concordances: Civil society organisations

- a. support for building partnerships and developing networks between the **civil society organisations**, businesses, trade unions and other social partners*
- b. Balkans strengthens democracy and reconciliation. Despite some positive steps, **civil society organisations** remain weak and need training to adapt to present*
- c. Moreover, social partners and **civil society organisations** are also key actors in the co-ordination of policies*
- d. always paid great attention to developing contacts with social partners and **civil society organisations** involved in social fields*
- e. The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) defines **civil society organisations** as "all organisational structures whose members have objectives and responsibilities that are of general interest*
- f. society bodies and their role in the political process, enhance the capacity of **civil society organisations** to develop cross-border projects and networks, and f*

Related to the civil society organizations cluster, the word cluster *Civil Society Facility* appears even later, as of 2007 onwards, and refers to the new facility established by the Commission aiming towards promoting the civil society development:

5.64 Table of concordances: Civil society facility

- a. Civil society development and dialogue – A new **civil society facility**. Civil society is an essential element of democratic public life*
- b. Under the Commission's new **civil society facility**, measures will be taken to support networking and exchange*
- c. Implementation of the new **Civil Society Facility** will continue in 2009. Greater participation by partner*
- d. capacity building and networking projects will be funded as part of the **new Civil Society Facility**, including the 'People 2 people' visitor programme, the*
- e. under IPA to promote civil society development and dialogue. Support under the **Civil Society Facility** for 2008 amounts to some ^30 million, geared towards cap*

Other than the word clusters classified in 5.64 Table above, additional clusters occur in rather visible number in that the *Commission: will continue* (15 times), *supports* (12 times), *considers* (9 times), *intends to* (8 times) *will provide* (6 times), *will encourage* (6 times) etc. mostly referring to the financial or any other form of support for the countries of the Western Balkans on their path towards the Union.

4. Enlargement and elements of the process/Instruments of accession

ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS – 69

ENLARGEMENT PROCESS - 36
 ACCESSION PROCESS – 29
 EUROPEAN INTEGRATION – 27
 ENLARGEMENT STRATEGY – 26
 EU MEMBERSHIP – 25
 FIFTH ENLARGEMENT – 25
 COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES – 22
 ENLARGEMENT POLICY – 19
 PRE ACCESSION ASSISTANCE – 19
 ENLARGEMENT AGENDA – 16
 STABILITY PACT - 15
 STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS - 13
 INSTRUMENT FOR PRE ACCESSION ASSISTANCE (IPA) – 11
 EU ENLARGEMENT - 11
 PRE ACCESSION STRATEGY – 9
 ECONOMIC INTEGRATION - 8
 PRESENT ENLARGEMENT AGENDA – 7
 NEGOTIATION PROCESS – 7
 PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES - 5
 PRE ACCESSION FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE – 5
 APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP - 5

Most of the word clusters of the fourth terminological domain on the elements of enlargement and the instruments of accession are constant clusters and are part of the well-established enlargement ‘language’. However, the distribution of some of the most common word clusters is uneven. The cluster *accession negotiations* has been used 76 times throughout the entire corpus, out of which 69 times in the last analyzed corpus of 2005 –2009, mostly referring to the opened negotiations with Turkey and Croatia or to the importance of the negotiation process in acquiring European legislation and principles. The cluster *Enlargement process* is comparable in that out of 46 total employments of the word cluster, 36 fall in the last corpus.

On the other hand, there is an introduction of a fairly noticeable number of new word clusters that had not appeared in the previously analyzed documents. The first one would be the cluster *Enlargement strategy*, with 26 occurrences in the corpus of 2005 – 2009 alone. The word cluster appears for the first time in the 2005 Enlargement strategy paper with only one occurrence, in the title of the document. That document once again reiterates the importance of enlargement for the Union and reconfirms the perspective of the Western Balkans countries in the Union (see EUR-Lex, 2015) and calls upon the *Enlargement policy*, another newly introduced word cluster. The

whole use of the cluster enlargement policy has been presented below in 5.65 Table of concordances for illustrational purposes:

5.65 Table of concordances: Enlargement policy

- a. the Union must make every effort to obtain wide public support for its **enlargement policy**. It needs to improve its communication about the objectives,*
- b. An improvement in the way **enlargement policy** is being communicated: the Union must make every effort to obtain*
- c. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS (1) The Commission's **enlargement policy** is based on consolidation, conditionality and communication.*
- d. effort by using a wide variety of routes to communicate its **enlargement policy** and counter misconceptions with evidence. It will seek to eng*
- e. Broad public support is essential to sustain the **enlargement policy**. The Commission is aware of the concerns of EU citizens about*
- f. Communicating **enlargement policy** Broad public support is essential to sustain the enlargement*
- g. **Enlargement policy** is defined by Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union, which*
- h. The Western Balkans is a particular challenge for the EU. **Enlargement policy** needs to demonstrate its power of transformation in a region*
- i. THE EU'S **ENLARGEMENT POLICY** Enlargement is one of the EU's most powerful policy tools.*
- j. The Commission will complement these efforts by communicating the EU's **enlargement policy**, including pre-accession support. It will tackle myths by pr*
- k. It outlines an approach to adjust the **enlargement policy** instruments and ensure a tighter focus on areas in urgent ne*
- l. The Commission is adjusting pre-accession policy tools to current challenges of **enlargement policy**. Since January 2007, it is using a new financial instrument,*
- m. will continue to further improve the quality of the enlargement process. **Enlargement policy** will put more emphasis on the fundamental issues of state-bui*
- n. Ensuring public support remains a crucial goal for the EU **enlargement policy**.*
- o. In addition, better communication is an essential part of EU's **enlargement policy**. Previous enlargements have generally garnered support from p*
- p. The EU's **enlargement policy** continues to be based on the three principles of consolidation, conditionality, and communication*
- q. in everyday language for the general public and for specialised users on **enlargement policy** issues, notably through targeted web-sites.*
- r. candidate and potential candidate countries to communicate more effectively on **enlargement policy**. – The Commission will develop user-friendly information in*
- s. 3. THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS EU **enlargement policy** is today based on three basic principles: consolidation*

In seven of the 19 occurrences, the *Enlargement policy* word cluster has been used to convey the importance of communicating the enlargement policy (as illustrated in the examples b., d., f., j., o., q. and r. above) additionally three times to convey the importance of wide public support for the policy (see examples a., e., n.), and three other times giving an overview of the postulates of

the enlargement policy i.e. consolidation, conditionality, and communication (examples c., p. and s.). As can be perceived from the example g. above, the cluster has been used once to refer to Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union in which neither the cluster *Enlargement policy* nor *strategy*, nor the word *enlargement* occurs at all. This Article shall be additionally analyzed further in this subchapter.

As per the word cluster *public support*, and in the 2005 Enlargement document case *broad public support* reflecting upon what has been set by the European Council in Copenhagen:

5.66 Table of concordances: Broad public support

*a. As set out by the European Council at Copenhagen in June 1993. Communicating enlargement policy: **Broad public support** is essential to sustain the enlargement policy*

in the Copenhagen Council Conclusions document neither the word clusters: *enlargement policy*, *broad public support*, nor the word *enlargement* occur at all. However, the closest statement of the Copenhagen council read as follows:

5.67 Table of concordances: Public support

*a. It recognizes that only by proving that the Community is instrumental in contributing to the security and well-being of all the citizens can the Community count on continued **public support** for the construction of Europe.*

Did the phrase “continued public support for the construction of Europe” develop into “broad public support for the enlargement policy”? Or did this phrase leave space for diverse interpretations? All the other 23 times the word *support(ing)* has been used in the Copenhagen document refer to economic development or to specific support to individual countries.

Going back to the word cluster *Enlargement strategy*, in several of the applications of the cluster in the 2005 –2009 corpus the documents refer to the 2007 Enlargement strategy paper as shown in the 5.68 Table of concordances:

5.68 Table of concordances: Enlargement strategy paper

*a. Good governance The Commission 2007 **enlargement strategy paper** placed a high priority on basic governance issues, in*

- b. In its **enlargement strategy paper of November 2007**, the Commission announced its intent*
- c. in line with the Commission's **November 2007 enlargement strategy paper**. It sets out new initiatives for promoting people-to*
- d. Based on the analysis set out in the **2007 enlargement strategy paper**, greater focus is being given at an early stage to t*
- e. attention has been given to people-to-people contacts in line with the **2007 enlargement strategy document**. Visa facilitation and readmission agreements ente*
- f. governance, the rule of law, and civil society development, based on the **2007 enlargement strategy document**. This has already yielded significant results. C*

In the document in question, the cluster *Enlargement strategy* occurs four times in total out of which twice as a title, once as a subchapter title, and once in reference to communication as a cornerstone of the EU's enlargement strategy. Basically, in 26 applications of the cluster *Enlargement strategy*, 20 refer to enlargement strategy documents, while the other 6 occurrences have been listed in the 5.69 Table below, illustrating the principles upon which the strategy is based, conditionality as one of the pillars of the strategy etc.

5.69 Table of concordances: Enlargement strategy

- a. to candidate and potential candidate countries. **ENLARGEMENT PROCESS** The **enlargement strategy** is based on three principles identified by the 2005 strategy paper*
- b. **SUMMARY** The current **enlargement strategy** outlines a renewed consensus on enlargement with a view to*
- c. **enlargement strategy 2006-2007: challenges and integration capacity** The current **enlargement strategy** outlines a renewed consensus on enlargement designed to*
- d. **ensuring public support for enlargement** Communication is a cornerstone of the EU's **enlargement strategy**.*
- e. **Conditionality is one of the pillars of the Commission's enlargement strategy**. Good preparation by candidate countries facilitates their*
- f. **process depends on the pace of reforms in the candidate country**. 2. The current **enlargement strategy**, combined with ways and means to ensure the EU's capacity*

The word cluster *Present enlargement agenda* has been introduced even later in the corpus subjected to examination here, namely after 2006, and as 5.60 Table of concordances shows, in 6 out of its 7 appearances it refers to the Western Balkans and Turkey as covered by the agenda and once referring to the principles of the strategy in documents covering the period 2006 – 2009:

5.70 Table of concordances: Present enlargement agenda

- a. The **present enlargement agenda** covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have be
- b. In the countries engaged in the **present enlargement agenda** – the Western Balkans and Turkey, the pull of the EU
- c. The **present enlargement agenda** covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have been given the perspective
- d. The **present enlargement agenda** covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have been given the perspective
- e. The **present enlargement agenda** covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have been given the perspective
- f. The **present enlargement agenda** is based on a strategy consisting of three basic principles: consolidation, conditionality and communication
- g. The **present enlargement agenda** covers the countries of the Western Balkans and Turkey

The EU's *Enlargement agenda* word cluster reflects, in the 2005 enlargement strategy paper and in its other employments, upon the necessity of the Union to maintain its momentum parallel to pursuing future enlargements and challenges:

5.71 Table of concordances: Enlargement agenda

- a. ensure that it can maintain and deepen its own development while pursuing its **enlargement agenda**. Institutional reform is needed to improve the effectiveness
- b. its own development, in terms of policies and institutions, while pursuing an **enlargement agenda** with major challenges in the world today.
- c. ensure that it can maintain and deepen its own development while pursuing its **enlargement agenda**. Institutional reform is needed to improve the effectiveness
- d. that the EU retains its capacity to function effectively while pursuing an **enlargement agenda** which is designed to meet the challenges of the years ahead.
- e. are making progress towards fulfilling their European perspective. The EU **enlargement agenda** faces a number of major challenges in 2006-2007. These challenges

The newly introduced word cluster *Fifth enlargement*, marking its first occurrence in the analyzed documents from 2006 and onwards, and especially its rather high frequency, does come as a surprise bearing in mind that the enlargement for whose purpose these documents were prepared was directed towards the Western Balkans and Turkey, and the fifth enlargement is used to refer to the enlargement of 2004. Upon a closer observation of the contexts of appearances, the word cluster is mostly used in terms of the impact that the enlargement has on the EU's economy and the integration and benefits for the newly acquired members, except in the cases of lessons learned from the enlargement illustrated in 5.72 Table below:

5.72 Table of concordances: Lessons drawn from the fifth enlargement

- a. constitute a new tool introduced on the basis of the **lessons drawn from the fifth enlargement**. They aim to encourage the candidate countries to undertake re*
- b. on the way to membership, in particular on the basis of **lessons drawn from the fifth enlargement**. The consensus also proposes the means to strengthen public*
- c. the present paper outlines an approach to draw **lessons from the fifth enlargement**, to support countries on their way to membership,*
- d. Benchmarks are a new tool introduced as a result of **lessons learnt from the fifth enlargement**. Their purpose is to improve the quality of the negotiations,*

As can be perceived from the above clusters, the fourth terminological domain has brought many new word clusters including the first application of the cluster *EU enlargement* as such, collocating with *agenda, policy, strategy, process* and once as a historical project and a vision of a united Europe:

5.73 Table of concordances: EU enlargement

*a. priorities identified in the Accession Partnerships and European Partnerships. **EU enlargement** is an historical project based on a vision of a united Europe and*

5. Terms and compliances

RULE OF LAW - 44
 JUDICIAL REFORM - 18
 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - 17
 PROGRESS TOWARDS THE EU – 9
 ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL REFORM - 7
 TOWARDS EU MEMBERSHIP – 7
 QUALITY OF THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS – 7
 ECONOMIC REFORM - 12
 ECONOMIC REFORMS - 11
 ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL – 7
 STRENGTHENING THE RULE OF LAW - 7
 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM - 6
 IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS - 5
 EU LAWS AND POLICIES – 5
 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS – 6
 TRADE RELATED PROVISIONS - 6

The word clusters under the fifth terminological domain pertain to the terms and compliances a country needs to meet in order to acquire full membership to the Union. Many of them are c – clusters bearing a higher or lower appearance throughout the entire first corpus. Nonetheless, the

word cluster *quality of the enlargement process*, whose occurrences have been illustrated in the 5.74 Table of concordances below, surfaces in the limited period from 2007 until 2009:

5.74 Table of concordances: Quality of the enlargement process

- a. they fulfil the conditions. 3) The Commission has taken steps to improve the **quality of the enlargement process**. Difficult reform issues are now being addressed*
- b. Improvements in the **quality of the enlargement process**, decided at the December 2006 European Council*
- c. The Commission will continue to further improve the **quality of the enlargement process**. Enlargement policy will put more emphasis on fundamental issues*
- d. the rights and obligations of membership. The Commission is improving the **quality of the enlargement process** by tackling public administration and judici*
- e. The EU has taken steps to improve the **quality of the enlargement process**. Based on the analysis set out in the 2007*
- f. Continued efforts were made to improve the **quality of the enlargement process**, including by laying down rigorous benchmark*
- g. EU's capacity to integrate new members. The EU has taken steps to **improve the quality of the enlargement process**, considering in particular the lessons learned from previous enlargements*

Never before did the *quality of the enlargement process* come into question. Based on the above statements, the Commission has concluded that the quality of the enlargement process needs to be improved by addressing reforms, emphasizing fundamental issues, tackling public administration and judicial reforms, and all based on the enlargement processes that have passed. The term represented by the word cluster *public administration*, out of 19 manifestations in the entire first corpus, appears 17 times in the 2005 – 2009 Western Balkans – Turkey corpus, thus highlighting the importance of the public administration reforms, strengthening of the public administration in the region and on the Regional School of Public Administration. In this regard the cluster *administrative and judicial reform* makes an appearance only in the last corpus under analysis here, as does the word cluster *judicial reform* that ought to be intensified and tackled upon.

The word cluster *towards EU membership* makes its way into the enlargement terminology in the period 2007 – 2009. Due to the contexts of use this is a cross-domain cluster as it can fall under the auspices of the conditionality domain as well, and especially due to the keyness of the conditions and requirements that ought to be met:

5.75 Table of concordances: Towards EU membership

- a. *Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation remain key in advancing **towards EU membership**. The Commission supports the efforts of the Western Balkans*
- b. *European Council, ensure that the progress of candidates and potential candidates **towards EU membership** is determined by their success in addressing key requirements*
- c. *The progress of the Western Balkan countries **towards EU membership** can be accelerated, provided they meet the necessary conditions*
- d. *Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation remain key in advancing **towards EU membership** and as such constitute a central element of the*
- e. *Accelerating the course of the Western Balkans **towards EU membership** The June 2008 European Council reaffirmed its full support*
- f. *reconciliation among peoples as well as progress on the path **towards EU membership**. Better communication with the public is a key principle*
- g. *The progress of the Western Balkan countries **towards EU membership** can be accelerated, provided they meet the necessary*

6. Gains/benefits from becoming a member

CIVIL SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT – 18
 DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY – 7
 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT – 7
 TRADE AND INVESTMENT - 7
 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – 6
 PEACE AND STABILITY - 6
 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – 5
 MODERNISATION AND DEVELOPMENT - 5

The sixth terminological domain's word clusters pertain to the gains and benefits from becoming a member state of the Union. The most frequent word cluster of this domain, *civil society development*, is freshly introduced in this form as of 2005, vanishes in 2006 and reappears in the period 2007 – 2009. In 9 out of the 18 cases, the cluster collocates with the word *dialogue*. This aspect of occurrence shall be explored in the communicational domain below. The other nine occurrences of the cluster center on the *civil society development*, as illustrated in 5.76 Table below, as one of the key reform priorities for the Western Balkans on one hand and as a key challenge on the other.

5.76 Table of concordances: Civil society development

- a. *corruption and organised crime, reconciliation, socioeconomic development, and **civil society development**, are key reform priorities for the Western Balkans.*
- b. *In this framework, for example, a **civil society development** centre (CSDC) was set up to provide support and assist*

- c. *social and political centres of influence. Since 2001, the EU has implemented a **Civil Society Development Programme**, a sizeable component of which is aimed at s*
- d. *beneficiary projects will be programmed in a coordinated manner to stimulate **civil society development** in each country. The goal will be to strengthen civil*
- e. *made efforts to adopt legislation and strategies that are more favourable to **civil society development**. Some first steps have been taken towards more*
- f. *with International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and **civil society development**. People-to-people contacts need to be promoted;*
- g. *against corruption and organised crime, administrative and judicial reforms, and **civil society development**. 4. Good neighbourly relations and regional*
- h. *The Commission organised a major conference on **civil society development** in Southeast Europe in April. The conference stimulat*
- i. *the key challenges of state building, good governance, the rule of law, and **civil society development**, based on the 2007 enlargement strategy document. Thi*

The establishment of a civil society development centre (CSDC) refers to Turkey. The above examples illustrate the importance of civil society development that has arisen as of 2005 and onwards. Bearing in mind some of the contexts of its occurrence, this cluster can be easily classified as cross-domain cluster as it can be further categorized under the domain of conditionality below, due to the rather obvious role played by civil society in the later stages of the enlargement process.

In reference to the word cluster *civil society*, upon a more in-depth analysis it can be perceived that it is generally a c-cluster present throughout the whole corpus. However, out of 143 total occurrences, 134 fall within the last corpus of 2005 – 2009, thus implying the development of this cluster and the growing importance of the civil society in the enlargement process as opposite to its previous uses in context unrelated to the Union’s enlargement overall.

The emergence of the second word cluster, *development of civil society*, can be traced back with the Madrid document of 1995 and is unrelated to the enlargement notion whatsoever. The applications that do relate to the Union’s growth (see 5.77 Table of concordances) bear the same or similar meaning as the most frequent word cluster of this domain, *civil society development*, and additionally fits the conditionality impression:

5.77 Table of concordances: Development of civil society

- a. *the rule of law, good governance, judicial and administrative reform and the **development of civil society**. In December 2007, the European Council reaffirmed*
- b. *EU will continue to make the strengthening of freedom of association and the **development of civil society** a priority in the future programming exercises. For*

c. of civil society In the past few years, Turkey has experienced an impressive **development of civil society**. NGOs covering a broad range of issues have grown

d. EU-Funded ongoing activities 2.2.3.1. **Development of civil society**. In the past few years, Turkey has experienced

e. Mutual knowledge and understanding require further **development of civil society** and of dialogue between the citizens of EU Member

f. socation, to put in place regulatory frameworks and public incentives for the **development of civil society** organisations. Overall, economic growth has remai

g. It will introduce a facility to further the **development of civil society**, notably through capacity-building and exchange pro

The word cluster *modernisation and development* is another example of a newly introduced cluster within the period 2006 – 2008. In all of its five occurrences the cluster relates to financial support, loans and grants for modernization, and development of the region.

7. Cooperation types and elements

REGIONAL COOPERATION – 44

EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIPS – 14

CROSS BORDER COOPERATION - 10

ACCESSION PARTNERSHIPS – 9

EUROPEAN COMMON AVIATION AREA – 6

FULL COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY) - 5

The seventh terminological domain and its word clusters relate to the cooperation types and elements. The *regional cooperation* cluster is a c-cluster throughout the corpus. Nonetheless, its frequency arises in the 2005 – 2009 corpus with 44 occurrences out of 50 in total of the entire first corpus. In most of cases it collocates with *council* in the cluster *Regional Cooperation Council (RCC)* whose role is explained in the overall analysis of the entire first corpus and whose classification falls under the institutions domain. In other cases it collocates with the word cluster *good neighbourly relations*, categorized under the conditionality domain, also pertaining to be a c-cluster. Out of its 18 occurrences in total, 15 times the *good neighbourly relations* cluster appears within the 2005 – 2009 corpus. The contexts of occurrence of the two clusters (exemplified in the 5.78 Table of concordances) convey the importance of the regional cooperation and the building of good neighbourly relations, i.e. the element of collaboration on the path of the countries towards membership in the European Union.

5.78 Table of concordances: Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations

- a. of the positive impact this will have on the region. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** are more important than ever for enabling
- b. the fight against corruption and economic reform. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** are also key, as is finding solutions to outstanding
- c. in all candidate and potential candidate countries. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** remain key to European integration. Progress in these
- d. crime, administrative and judicial reforms, and civil society development. 4. **Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation** remain key. The peaceful se
- e. **Good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation** remain key in advancing towards EU membership
- f. the Stabilisation and Association process, including on **regional cooperation, good neighbourly relations** and full cooperation with the International Criminal

8. Communicational aspect

CIVIL SOCIETY DIALOGUE – 44

CIVIL SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT AND DIALOGUE – 8

PRESENT COMMUNICATION - 7

ECONOMIC DIALOGUES – 6

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIALOGUES – 6

COMMUNICATION WITH THE PUBLIC - 5

The strong presence of the communicational aspect throughout the entire corpus and especially its increased significance with the Communication strategy for enlargement additionally strengthened in the 2005 – 2009 corpus can be discerned in the eight terminological domain and the clusters entailed as presented here.

The *civil society dialogue* word cluster, in all of its 44 occurrences, comes into view only in the documents prepared within the period 2005 – 2007. As 5.79 Table shows, the accession process for a new member state document clarifies the importance of the *civil society dialogue*:

5.79 Table of concordances: Civil society dialogue

Civil society dialogue is intended to involve civil society in the EU and the applicant countries in the accession process and has assumed a higher profile with the need for

The *civil society development and dialogue* as referred to above, marks eight occurrences presented below and in only three analyzed documents prepared within the 2007 – 2008 period:

5.80 Table of concordances: Civil society development and dialogue

- a. Commission support to **civil society development and dialogue** will increase substantially. A new financial
- b. the Commission announced that it will establish a new facility to promote **civil society development and dialogue**. Cooperation will embrace sectors 10
- c. conditions conducive to further growth of their activities. EU assistance for **civil society development and dialogue** in the Western Balkans has been provided
- d. **Civil society development and dialogue** – A new civil society facility Civil so
- e. The Commission's new facility to promote **civil society development and dialogue** will also contribute to this effort. Mem
- f. The Commission will establish a new financing facility under IPA to promote **civil society development and dialogue**. National and multi-beneficiary projects
- g. The Commission will now take additional measures to promote **civil society development and dialogue** using the Instrument for Pre-Accession A
- h. The Commission set up a new financing facility under IPA to promote **civil society development and dialogue**. Support under the Civil Society Facilit

The EU has established facilities and has provided for financial support in order to enhance civil society dialogue and development, all in order to inform the general public about the EU member states and candidate countries, which arose as a necessity after the previous enlargement, and was implemented after 2005.

Another of a rather abundant number of newly introduced word clusters would be the cluster *present communication*, which was never used before 2005 in the analyzed documents and reports.

5.81 Table of concordances: Present communication

- a. This proposal is included in a package adopted in parallel with the **present Communication**. The Commission also encourages the potential candidates
- b. It expressed its readiness to further discuss this issue, based on the **present Communication**, with a view to defining detailed roadmaps setting clear
- c. the way forward for an enhanced progress of the region towards the EU. The **present Communication** follows up on the Thessaloniki agenda and
- d. The **present Communication** is only a first step on the way to strengthening a dialogue
- e. Building on the EU's existing strategy, the **present communication** analyses the key challenges on the road towards EU integration
- f. in adopting the necessary reforms. The Commission is proposing in the **present communication** an indicative roadmap for concluding the technical negotiations
- g. The **present communication** sets out the progress made and the key challenges faced by the countries engaged in the enlargement process.

As can be discerned from the examples in the 5.81 Table of concordances above, the *present communication* word cluster is being set in an environment aiming towards communicating

messages, roadmaps or emphasizing the importance of dialogue in the enlargement process, and also conveys the possibility of altering needs and objectives over time. Following on the wider context of the word cluster, the 2005 document explaining the need for a dialogue between the EU and the candidate countries further elaborates that: “As the dialogue will proceed in parallel with accession negotiations, the needs and objectives will evolve over time, and may require re-orientation” (EUR-Lex, 2015).

The 2006 – 2008 documents further introduce a new form of communication, i.e. the *political and economic dialogue*:

5.82 Table of concordances: Political and economic dialogues

- a. and association agreements for the Western Balkan States. **Political and economic dialogues** on political criteria and economic and convergence criteria t*
- b. be suspended or a provisionally closed chapter may be re-opened. **Political and economic dialogues** also take place between the EU and the candidate countries to*
- c. Feedback is ensured between the **political and economic dialogues** and the enlargement process. In the accession negotiations,*
- d. The Union is engaged in intense **political and economic dialogues**, the results of which are fed into the negotiation process. I*
- e. Greater emphasis will be placed on such difficult issues, in particular in the context of the **political and economic dialogues**. More cooperation is needed between Western Balkan countries*
- f. re-opening negotiations on individual chapters. The results of **political and economic dialogues** will be fed into the negotiation process. Difficult issues,*

The fourth and the sixth example (see example d. and f. in the 82. Table of concordances above), which show that the results of the political and economic dialogues shall feed into the negotiation process, occur in the Enlargement strategy and main challenges documents of 2006 – 2007 and of 2007 – 2008.

The communicational aspect domain here shall be concluded with the analysis of yet another new word cluster, appearing only in the 2006 – 2009 analyzed documents, *communication with the public*. Its five occurrences have been illustrated in the 5.83 Table to follow and its collocations are *better* and *intensified* communication with the public:

5.83 Table of concordances: Communication with the public

- a. of consolidation of commitments, fair and rigorous conditionality and better **communication with the public**, combined with the EU's capacity to integrate new*

- b. of consolidation of commitments, fair and rigorous conditionality and better **communication with the public**, combined with the EU's capacity to integrate new*
- c. on among peoples as well as progress on the path towards EU membership. Better **communication with the public** is a key principle of the renewed consensus on en*
- d. of consolidation of commitments, fair and rigorous conditionality and better **communication with the public**, combined with the EU's capacity to integrate new*
- e. in the process, applying fair and rigorous conditionality, and intensifying **communication with the public** on enlargement. The EU has taken the concerns on*

The three identical occurrences (examples a., b. and d.) of the word cluster refer to the necessity of a better communication with the public and have been used in the Enlargement strategy and main challenges documents of 2007 -- 2008 and of 2008 – 2009. Moreover, the *fair and rigorous conditionality* word cluster that occurs in four of the above examples, strengthened by the following two concordances, clearly belongs to the Conditionality domain. This cluster occurs in five of the documents from the 2005 – 2009 corpus, stressing the application of this conditionality in fulfillment of the accession criteria and the rigorousness of the Union in these demands:

5.84 Table of concordances: Fair and rigorous conditionality

- a. the standards, to ensure the smooth absorption of new members. * Applying **fair and rigorous conditionality**: the Union has to demand fulfilment of the acce*
- b. Enlargement has proved to be a successful instrument in this process. Applying **fair and rigorous conditionality** The EU must remain rigorous in demanding fulfil*

The word *rigorous* occurs 25 times in the 2005 – 2009 corpus and once in the Challenge of enlargement of 1992 document presented in the 5.85 Table of concordances below:

5.85 Table of concordances: Rigorous

*The prospect of enlargement reinforces the need for a more **rigorous** application by each of the institutions of the principle of subsidiarity, as defined in Article G of*

9. Conditionality

NECESSARY CONDITIONS - 19

CIVIL PROTECTION – 17

EU'S CAPACITY – 16

GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS – 15

THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 1st time ever – 12

EU'S CAPACITY TO INTEGRATE NEW MEMBERS - 11
 THE EU'S INTEGRATION CAPACITY – 9
 OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP - 9
 EU LEGISLATION – 9 (ONLY HERE)
 ONCE THEY FULFIL THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS - 7
 PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ENLARGEMENT – 7
 RENEWED CONSENSUS ON ENLARGEMENT - 7
 MEET THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS - 6
 EU NEEDS - 6
 BECOMING EU MEMBERS – 6
 IMPACT OF ENLARGEMENT - 6
 GIVEN THE PERSPECTIVE OF BECOMING EU MEMBERS – 5
 OBLIGATIONS AS MEMBER STATES – 5
 ABSORPTION CAPACITY – 5

The ninth terminological domain, dealing with the conditionality notion, is yet another domain rather rich in new word clusters arising from the 2005 – 2009 Western Balkans and Turkey corpus.

The most frequent cluster refers to the *necessary conditions*. Upon a more thorough examination of its contexts and occurrences, it could be stated that to a certain extent the cluster is constant throughout the corpus with total of 23 uses. It has been used in the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993 twice to refer to the single market, and to the Europe Agreements with the Baltic States, in terms of strengthening the trade and commercial links among them and the Community. The second document of occurrence of the *necessary conditions* word cluster is the Madrid presidency conclusions of 1995 document in which the cluster appears twice, once referring to the single currency and once in terms of the media programme. The remaining 19 times, the cluster has been used in the Western Balkan and Turkey corpus of 2005 – 2009.

The *necessary conditions* word cluster further collocates with *once they fulfil* in the cluster *once they fulfil the necessary conditions* seven times, i.e. three times with *fulfilling* or *fulfilled*, stating the accession of the countries once upon fulfillment of the necessary conditions as illustrated in the two examples below:

5.86 Table of concordances: Once they fulfil the necessary conditions

- a. have been given the perspective of becoming EU members **once they fulfil the necessary conditions**. The European perspective has contributed to peace and*
*b. Council the clear perspective of becoming EU members **once they fulfil the necessary conditions**. The EU honours existing commitments towards countries*

The other seven collocations of the necessary conditions form another cluster, *meet(ing) the necessary conditions*, bearing the conditionality clause and providing perspective for the Western Balkans countries upon completion of the necessary conditions, as illustrated via several examples in 5.87 Table of concordances:

5.87 Table of concordances: Meet the necessary conditions

*a. provided they pursue the path of reform and reconciliation, and **meet the necessary conditions**. The EU will assist them in this endeavour.*

*b. accession preparations with all countries of the region, provided they **meet the necessary conditions**. The progress of each country towards the EU is performance*

*c. Balkan countries towards EU membership can be accelerated, provided they **meet the necessary conditions**. For the potential candidates, this could result in candid*

On the other hand, the word *conditions* has been used 76 times in the Western Balkan and Turkey communication and strategy corpus in all of the documents comprising this corpus. Out of these 76 times, the word *conditions* collocates 19 times with *necessary* as illustrated above; 11 times in the cluster *the conditions for* and in contexts for visa facilitation, signing of the SAA agreements, progress, accession or chapter negotiations preceded by the notion of once fulfilled conditions; 9 times with *once they fulfil*; 6 times in the cluster *once they meet the necessary conditions*; 4 times in the cluster *rigorous conditions* etc.

Furthermore, 2005 Enlargement strategy paper accentuates that the countries shall proceed to the following stages or shall join the Union only after they have met the conditions and the criteria:

5.88 Table of concordances: Once they have met the conditions

*a. Aspirant countries can only proceed from one stage of the process to the next **once they have met the conditions** for that stage. Moreover, the Commission is pr*

*b. But it is equally clear that these countries can join **only once they have met the criteria in full**. Enlargement policy is defined by Artic*

The documents prepared within the 2006 – 2009 period introduce a new cluster, *EU's capacity*, with 16 occurrences, all of which are illustrated below in the 5.89 Table of concordances, i.e. *EU's capacity to integrate new members*, with 11 occurrences:

5.89 Table of concordances: EU's capacity

- a. three key elements for which the Commission defines an evaluation method: The **EU's capacity** to maintain the momentum of European integration.
- b. The functional concept of integration capacity means the **EU's capacity** to continue deepening as it widens. It concerns "whether the EU ca
- c. the special report considers the **EU's capacity to integrate new members** in the medium and long term. As highlight
- d. Including annexed special report on the **EU's capacity to integrate new members"**
- e. conditionality and better communication with the public, combined with the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**. The present enlargement agenda covers t
- f. conditionality and better communication with the public, combined with the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**. The pace at which a candidate or potent
- g. conditionality and better communication with the public, combined with the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**. The EU has taken steps to improve the
- h. Parliament and the weighting of votes in the Council are clearly central to the **EU's capacity** to take decisions. Therefore, before any further enlargement, the
- i. This section presents an approach for assessing the **EU's capacity** for future enlargements, building on past experience. Ensuring
- j. meeting of June 2006, it focuses on medium to long term issues concerning the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**. It puts forward an approach for ensuring
- k. Special report on the **EU's capacity** to integrate new members
- l. the momentum to reinforce and deepen European integration by ensuring the **EU's capacity** to function. This is in the interest of both present and future E
- m. forms the basis for a renewed consensus on enlargement. 3. The **EU's capacity to integrate new members** is determined by two factors
- n. The current enlargement strategy, combined with ways and means to ensure the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**, forms the basis for a renewed consensus
- o. Including annexed special report on the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**
- p. Including annexed special report on the **EU's capacity to integrate new members**

The fifth, sixth and seventh identical examples above (i.e. examples e., f. and g.) arise from two documents prepared in 2007 – 2008 and 2008 – 2009. Three of the examples (k., o. and p. above) refer to a novelty document prepared on the topic of the EU's capacity for new members, "Special report on the EU's capacity to integrate new members," annexed to the Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006 – 2007. The other uses highlight the need for the Union to deepen together with the momentum of widening while maintaining the Union's momentum. The newly introduced integration capacity concept is additionally sustained by the *EU's integration capacity* word cluster of the three documents prepared in the 2006 – 2008 period:

5.90 Table of concordances: EU's integration capacity

- a. new members must be well prepared for their new status as Member States. The **EU's integration capacity** also requires enlargement to be supported by public opinion
- b. Full attention is paid to the **EU's integration capacity** at key stages of the accession process.
- Improvements
- c. conditionality is essential to safeguard this support. So is confidence about the **EU's integration capacity**. In addition, better communication is an essential part
- d. in public opinion with regard to enlargement. These need to be addressed. **THE EU'S INTEGRATION CAPACITY TODAY** The Union needs to ensure it can maintain
- e European Union is defined first and foremost by its values. **A SHORT HISTORY OF THE EU'S INTEGRATION CAPACITY** The Union has assessed its capacity to integrate new
- f. European Council, the pace of enlargement must take into consideration the **EU's integration capacity**. The EU must ensure that it can maintain and deepen
- g. Conditionality is essential to safeguard this support. So is confidence about the **EU's integration capacity**. We also need to communicate enlargement better.
- h. is assessed by the Commission on the basis of strict conditionality. 4. The **EU's integration capacity** will be reviewed at all key stages of the accession process
- i. further enlargement, to address the enlargement challenges, and to ensure the **EU's integration capacity**. This is the basis for building a renewed consensus on

The examples c. and g. above arise from the 2006 – 2007 document. Additionally, all of the above examples stress the necessity for the Union to explore its capacity for further enlargements.

The word *capacity* itself is constant throughout the whole corpus, with 104 occurrences. Its use has been analyzed throughout the second portion of this Chapter's examination of the key words and word clusters. However, the *absorption capacity* of the Union finds its position solely in the enlargement terminology in the last analyzed corpus as a key element for future enlargements and as can be discerned from the examples presented in 5.91 Table of concordances:

5.91 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity

- a. could join. Moreover, the EU itself had to make preparations in terms of its **absorption capacity** in order to be able to accommodate them. This is why the enlargement
- b. will base its scrutiny of any application for accession. Moreover, the EU's **absorption capacity** is another key element in any new enlargement. The union's a
- c. the EU's integration or **absorption capacity** must be considered for each enlargement in order to ensure s
- d. The pace of enlargement has to take into consideration the EU's **absorption capacity**. Enlargement is about sharing a project based on common
- e. common policies that function well and achieve their objectives. The EU's **absorption capacity**, or rather integration capacity, is determined by the

Other than the integration capacity perception, another enlargement ‘factor’ comes into view with the introduction of one more word cluster introduced in later period, 2006 – 2009, *public support for enlargement*. This conditionality element became crucial in light of future expansion of the EU as presented in several examples here. As elaborated above, this momentum is rather close to the communicational elements:

5.92 Table of concordances: Public support for enlargement

- a. **Public support for enlargement** is essential. It depends on better communication
- b. It remains essential to ensure **public support for enlargement**. It is important to listen to citizens and to re
- c. Ensuring **public support for enlargement** Communication is a cornerstone of the EU's enlargement strategy
- d. a study on the impact of the fifth enlargement on the EU's economy. **Public support for enlargement** is crucial. It is important for authorities in

The word cluster introduced in the Communication strategy for enlargement document, *Impact of enlargement*, was used in that document once in the objectives defining the need for the member states to explain the impact of enlargement to the general public. The other six uses of the cluster in the 2006 – 2007 documents communicate its effect on the policies, EU budget, institutions and member states:

5.93 Table of concordances: Impact of enlargement

- a. The **impact of enlargement** on policies such as the common agricultural policy and the
- b. The **impact of enlargement** on the EU budget will be carefully assessed throughout the
- c. An assessment of the **impact of enlargement** on EU institutions will be included in Commission opinion
- d. The Commission proposed measures to address the **impact of enlargement** on the existing Member States in particular policy areas.

This terminological domain of conditionality shall be concluded with the examination of the *obligations as Member States* cluster of the 2006 – 2007 period. The contexts of use of the cluster stipulate the obligations that the countries need to undertake as of the moment they reach full membership in the Union. Some of the applications of the cluster have been illustrated below:

*a. so that they would be capable of meeting their **obligations as Member States** at the moment of their accession. In keeping with*

*b. Commission assesses how ready the applicant countries are to assume their **obligations as Member States**. The reports are all structured in a similar fashion*

*c. They are intended to help them to prepare to be able to meet their **obligations as Member States** once they join the EU. The negotiations are conducted*

10. Documents, papers and articles

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 15

COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO – 12

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS – 11

INTERIM AGREEMENT - 9

ENLARGEMENT STRATEGY PAPER - 8

ACCESSION TREATY – 8

ENLARGEMENT STRATEGY AND MAIN CHALLENGES – 7

ARTICLE 49 (AND 6) OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION – 6

CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT CEFTA - 5

EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT – 5

VISA FACILITATION AND READMISSION AGREEMENTS - 5

The tenth terminological domain includes the word clusters pertaining to the documents, papers, agreements and articles relevant to the enlargement process. The two newly introduced word clusters to the corpus of 2005 – 2009, *Communication from the Commission to, Enlargement strategy paper* and *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges* relate to the lately established communication papers on the enlargement process.

The word cluster *Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union* refers to the following passage:

Article 49

Any European State which respects the principles set out in Article 6(1) may apply to become a member of the Union. It shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after consulting the Commission and after receiving the assent of the European Parliament, which shall act by an absolute majority of its component members.

The conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the Union is founded, which such admission entails, shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. This agreement shall be submitted for ratification by all the contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements (see European Parliament, 2015).

The total number of occurrences of this word cluster in the entire first corpus is six times, out of which in all six times the above Article, pertaining to the Treaty on European Union from 1992, is referenced in the corpus containing enlargement documents on the Western Balkan and Turkey, and in the contexts shown in the 5.95 Table of concordances:

5.95 Table of concordances: Article 49

*a. respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. Under **Article 49** of the TEU, any European country wishing to join the EU shall apply to*

*b. Legal basis According to **Article 49** of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), which constitutes the legal basis for any accession*

*c. transform the European continent into an area of peace, stability and prosperity. **Article 49** of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) sets out the conditions*

*d. only once they have met the criteria in full. Enlargement policy is defined by **Article 49** of the Treaty on European Union, which states that any European State*

*e. The legal basis for enlargement is **Article 49** of the Treaty on European Union¹, which reads: "any European State w*

*f. The legal basis of the enlargement is **Article 49** of the Treaty on European Union, which states that "Any European State*

The Article 49 has not been appealed to until the year 2005.

The contexts in which the cluster occurs stipulate that the Article contains the legal basis for enlargement or for any future accession, the conditions for any country wishing to become an EU member, or the definition of the Enlargement policy. When reading the text of the Article, it can be perceived that it simply provides a basic overview of the procedure of application of any European state, and further postulates that the conditions of admission shall be subject to an agreement between the member states and the applicant state. The provisions of Article 49 stipulate that any European State respecting the principles set in Article 6 (1) may apply for membership.

Article 6

1. The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States.

Article 6 (1) is called upon four times in the entire corpus, out of which all four times occur in the 2005 – 2009 corpus and in the following circumstances:

5.96 Table of concordances: Article 6(1)

- a. in order to join the EU, the applicant country must adhere to the principles of Article 6(1) TEU which all the Member States subscribe to and on which the EU is*
- b. community, 1 A new treaty was agreed in the October 2007 European Council. 2 Article 6(1) reads "The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy*
- c. which reads: "any European State which respects the principles referred to in Article 6(1) may apply to become a member of the Union (...)"2. The December 200*
- d. which states that "Any European State which respects the principles set out in Article 6(1) may apply to become a member of the Union". However, this treaty p*

This Article is not referred to in the documents before 2005. The above contexts place Article 6(1) twice as part of the provisions of Article 49, once quoting the provisions of Article 6(1) and once calling upon the principles common for the member states of the Union.

The rest of the word clusters of this terminological domain address different types of agreements covering different areas of collaboration.

11. Other

EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE – 21

PACE OF REFORMS - 7

PERSPECTIVE OF BECOMING EU MEMBERS – 6

MOMENTUM OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION – 6

FUTURE OF THE WESTERN BALKANS - 6

EU WILL CONTINUE – 6

EU MUST - 6

KEY ROLE – 6

KEY STAGES – 5

FED INTO THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS – 6

SMOOTH INTEGRATION - 6

CHALLENGES OF GLOBALISATION – 6

THE EU'S WEIGHT IN THE WORLD – 6 – INTERESTING

TO LISTEN TO CITIZENS - 5

The word clusters listed under the last terminological domain have been classified as Other due to the versatile approaches or notions that they hold. Most of them appear only in the Western Balkan and Turkey corpus of 2005 – 2009, or mark rather low frequency of occurrence before this period.

The word cluster *European perspective* appears 25 times in the entire first corpus. The first occurrence is in the Zagreb Summit document of 2000, which states that the EU reaffirms the

European perspective of the countries participating in the Stabilisation and Association Process. The following two occurrences of the cluster are in the Thessaloniki Agenda and Declaration document of 2003, in both cases confirming or reiterating support for the Western Balkans moving closer to the European Union. The rest of the occurrences, i.e. 22 times, the cluster has been used in the 2005 – 2009 corpus and 11 times reflecting upon the European perspective for the region Western Balkans, or for the individual countries in the region. In some cases the cluster emerges in contexts emphasizing the benefits to and the progress made by the countries given the European perspective as shown in 5.97 Table of concordances:

5.97 Table of concordances: European perspective a.

*a. according to the decisions of the EU's heads of state and government. The **European perspective** has driven the significant progress achieved by these count*

*b. perspective of becoming EU members once they fulfil the necessary conditions. The **European perspective** has contributed to peace and stability, and enabled partner*

In other cases the contexts highlight the tangibility of the perspective for the citizens of the countries aspiring towards the Union, as can be seen from the examples in 5.98 Table of concordances:

5.98 Table of concordances: European perspective b.

*a. with established procedures. 13. The Commission is taking measures to make the **European perspective** tangible for citizens in the Western Balkans. Provided tha*

*b. for investigations on domestic war crimes. People-to-people contacts make the **European perspective** tangible for citizens. The Commission will continue to clo*

Overall, the *European perspective* cluster has become visible in the last analyzed corpus as well as in the two above referenced documents dealing with the Western Balkans and Turkey.

The *European perspective* cluster is closely associated to the *Perspective of becoming EU member state* word cluster, appearing six times in the 2006 -- 2009 period documents alone. The illustrated examples below come from the Enlargement strategy and main challenges documents for 2006 – 2007, 2007 – 2008, and 2008 – 2009. Their uses in all these three documents are identical and collocate with the word cluster that has been analyzed above, i.e. *Once they fulfil the established/necessary conditions:*

5.99 Table of concordances: Perspective of becoming EU members

- a. The countries of the Western Balkans and Turkey have been given the **perspective of becoming EU members** once they fulfil the established conditions.*
- b. gement agenda covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have been given the **perspective of becoming EU members** once they fulfil the necessary conditions.*
- c. gement agenda covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have been given the **perspective of becoming EU members** once they fulfil the necessary conditions.*
- d. gement agenda covers the Western Balkans and Turkey, which have been given the **perspective of becoming EU members** once they fulfil the necessary conditions. Th*
- e. ards the EU. These countries have been given by the European Council the clear **perspective of becoming EU members** once they fulfil the necessary conditions.*
- f. untries of the Western Balkans and Turkey. These countries have been given the **perspective of becoming EU members** once they fulfil the necessary conditions.*

The second word cluster of this terminological domain, *pace of reforms*, is similar to the first. Namely, seven out of its eight total occurrences fall within the last corpus (see 5.100 Table of concordances below). The one time the cluster was previously used was in the Thessaloniki Agenda and Declaration document, and referred to the commitment of the Western Balkan countries, which were aware of the hard work to follow, to intensify the pace of reforms.

5.100 Table of concordances: Pace of reforms

- a. Republic of Macedonia was granted candidate status in December 2005. While the **pace of reforms** has, on the whole, been slow during the past two years, there ha*
- b. Republic of Macedonia has made progress but it still needs to accelerate the **pace of reforms** in key areas. Albania and Montenegro have made progress in a nu*
- c. People need to see that progress towards the EU depends on the **pace of reforms** in each country. The faster and more effective the reform*
- d. accession negotiations with Turkey need to continue, at a pace that reflects the **pace of reforms** in the country itself as well as Turkey's fulfilment of the*
- e. so as to permit the normal functioning of institutions and accelerate the **pace of reforms**. The Commission will closely monitor the*
- f. The pace of the accession process depends on the **pace of reforms** in the candidate country. 2. The current enlargement strategy,*
- g. agreed unanimously by the Council. The pace of negotiations depends on the **pace of reforms** on the ground. During the accession negotiations arrangements a*

This word cluster could easily be classified under the Conditionality domain as well, considering the fact that the *pace of negotiations* refer to the correlation between the pace of negotiations and pace of reforms. The cluster appears only in the period 2006 – 2009 of the analyzed documents.

The *momentum of European integration* word cluster has been used once in the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993, reflecting the importance of its maintenance in light of its capacity to absorb new members:

5.101 Table of concordances: Momentum of European integration a.

*The Union's capacity to absorb new members, while maintaining the **momentum of European integration**, is also an important consideration in the gene*

This word cluster disappeared after the document of 1993 until its reappearance in the three documents prepared in the period 2005 – 2007, in which all of the other six applications fall, in identical sentences and contexts, stressing the maintenance of momentum:

5.102 Table of concordances: Momentum of European interation b.

*a. the Commission defines an evaluation method: The EU's capacity to maintain the **momentum of European integration**. For effective functioning of the EU, instituti*

*b. The Union's capacity to absorb new members, while maintaining the **momentum of European integration**, is an important consideration in the general i*

*c. the momentum of European integration The capacity of the Union to maintain the **momentum of European integration** as it enlarges has three main components: inst*

*d. Ensuring the EU's capacity to maintain the **momentum of European integration** The capacity of the Union to maintain the mome*

*e. ensuring the EU's capacity to maintain the **momentum of European integration**; – ensuring candidate countries fulfil the rig*

*f. that "the Union's capacity to absorb new members, while maintaining the **momentum of European integration**, is an important consideration in the general*

As shown in 5.103 Table of concordances, the *Future of the Western Balkans* word cluster collocates in all of its seven occurrences with *lies in the EU*:

5.103 Table of concordances: Future of the Western Balkans lies in the EU

*a. and Parliament are invited to take note of the following conclusions. • The **future of the Western Balkans lies in the EU**. The EU stresses the importance of*

*b. In December 2007, the European Council reaffirmed that "**the future of the Western Balkans lies within the European Union**". It declared its w*

*c. The European Council in March 2003 reiterated that the **future of the Western Balkans is within the European Union** and pledged the Union*

*d. The EU, which reiterated in Salzburg in 2006 that the **future of the Western Balkans lay within the EU**, called on them to improve regio*

- e. *the Thessalonica European Council in June 2003, the EU has emphasised that **the future of the Western Balkans lies in the European Union**. Depending on each coun*
- f. *cate better the objectives and the challenges of the accession process. **The future of the Western Balkans lies in the EU**. The Western Balkan countries are*
- g. *the Western Balkan countries share a perspective of eventual EU membership. **The future of the Western Balkans is within the European Union**. The Stabilisation a*

The above cluster marks one appearance in the Thessaloniki documents of 2003 (see example e.). In the 2003 document, the *future of the Western Balkans* has been used in identical manner with the other six occurrences, as can be perceived from the examples illustrated above. The remaining six occurrences fall within the five documents analyzed, and prepared in the period 2005 – 2008, i.e. under the auspices of the Western Balkans and Turkey corpus covering the period 2005 – 2009.

The word cluster *fed into the negotiation(s) process* and its six appearances is yet another example of a later manifestation of a cluster, i.e. in the documents of the period 2006 – 2008, as is the case of the word clusters *smooth integration*, which occurs six times in only two documents from the 2006 -- 2007 period, as illustrated below:

5.104 Table of concordances: Smooth integration

- a. *absorption capacity must be considered for each enlargement in order to ensure **smooth integration**. The Commission will carry out impact studies at all stages o*
- b. *Good preparation by candidate countries facilitates their **smooth integration** into the EU. Further improvement in the quality of preparati*
- c. *frameworks for Croatia and Turkey envisage a set of measures to enable their **smooth integration** in EU policies. They also lay down measures to ensure the pro*
- d. *at sound preparations by the candidate countries themselves, facilitated their **smooth integration** into the EU. Two years after their accession, the ten new Me*
- e. *The ten Member States which joined in 2004 have continued their **smooth integration** into EU institutions and policies. The new Member States' de*
- f. *Member States in May 2004. Rigorous preparations have paved the way for their **smooth integration** into EU institutions and policies. The ten new Member States*

In three of the above examples the cluster refers to the instances of smooth integration of the ten countries that entered the Union in 2004, which was enabled by the countries themselves (see examples d., e. and f.). One refers to the absorption capacity in order to provide for smooth integration (example a.) and one reflects upon the well preparedness of the countries for smooth integration (see example b. above).

The final examinations of this Chapter shall go through words and word clusters that have marked the enlargement process terminology or failed to be present in the corpus although one would anticipate their presence among the key words, clusters, and domains.

The word cluster *public opinion*, tackled above, occurs a total of 15 times. Its first occurrence was detected in the Communication strategy for enlargement of 2000 (see above) in whose five occurrences of the cluster was linked to the instrument for assessing public opinion, i.e. the Eurobarometer. The second occurrence of the cluster is in the Protocol of enlargement document of 2001, with only one appearance, and in the context of the debate about the future of the European Union. The last nine times, the cluster has been used in and throughout six documents of the Western Balkan/Turkey corpus:

5.105 Table of concordances: Public opinion

- a. **Public opinion** in the Western Balkans is largely favourable to EU integration.*
- b. The EU's integration capacity also requires enlargement to be supported by **public opinion** both in the Member States and the applicant states.*
- c. Within the EU, **public opinion** is divided on the issue, with differences of opinion within and b*
- d. regarding society and political issues on both sides is particularly necessary. **Public opinion** in Turkey is strongly supportive of EU membership, but*
- e. and challenges of enlargement need to be better communicated to the public. EU **public opinion** on future enlargement is influenced by perceptions of past enlar*
- f. factual information and encouraging debate among key opinion formers. *** EU **public opinion** on future enlargement is influenced by perception of past enlarge*
- g. Previous enlargements have generally garnered support from **public opinion**, but have also led to doubts and misapprehensions. Citizens need*
- h. much is at stake and certain anxieties and misapprehensions remain present in **public opinion** with regard to enlargement. These need to be addressed.*
- i. education, research and culture. – The Commission will continue to monitor **public opinion** on enlargement and to listen to concerns of the public. It will*

The development of this cluster, as shown in the 5.105 Table of concordances above, highlights the growing importance of public opinion on the enlargement process. This was reflected in the experiences drawn from past enlargements, and in several cases to Turkey, which have divided the public opinion on future enlargements, thus underlining the significance of public opinion, and adding this aspect as yet another key factor in the process. This can be further supported by the eight illustrated examples above, in which the statement about the anxieties of the peoples of the member states opens room for diverse interpretations.

The word cluster *administrative capacity* (to some extent investigated above) has been used 19 times in the first corpus. The first occurrence is in the Thessaloniki documents of 2003, in which the cluster has been applied in reference to the need for the strengthened administrative capacity of the Western Balkans countries and reforms in administration, especially in the field of border control policies. The remaining 14 times are in the corpus of 2005 – 2009 period, again calling for an enhanced and strengthened administrative capacity. One of the examples reads as follows:

5.106 Table of concordances: Administrative capacity

Administrative capacity is a crucial aspect in fulfilling the Copenhagen membership criterion on the ability to take on the obligations of membership, as was stated by the European Council in Madrid in 1995.

Upon close inspection of the Copenhagen criteria document, neither the word *criterion* nor the cluster *administrative capacity* occur. As per the *obligations of membership*, and as explored above, the word *obligations* occurs twice. This is in reference to economic and political conditions as well as in the context of adherence to the political, economic and monetary union, thus leaving no space for misunderstanding in administrative capacity terms. In the Madrid European Council document, the word *criterion* is used once in an employment promotion context. The word *criteria* is used four times, only once in reference to the enlargement context and in no way connected to the administrative capacity, while the *obligations of membership* cluster does not occur at all.

Two word clusters that first occur in the 2005 – 2009, *efforts are needed* and *EU needs to*, make reference to what the interested countries ought to do or accomplish as per the first cluster:

5.107 Table of concordances: Efforts are needed

*a. of different communities and, in some cases, constitutional reform. Further **efforts are needed** to achieve consensus on such issues, to avoid harmful display*

*b. now needs to renew the momentum of its political reforms. Significant further **efforts are needed** without delay in particular on freedom of expression (articl*

*c. remains weak and affects implementation of reform and EU alignment; additional **efforts are needed** in this respect. Stronger commitment is needed in each count*

*d. human trafficking, as well as for drug smuggling. Considerable and sustained **efforts are needed** in this area. EN 7 EN Administrative capacity is a crucial*

*e. and urges all partners to address bilateral issues as a priority. Significant **efforts are needed** to enhance judicial cooperation on criminal matters, includi*

*f. understanding and develop ownership of the common European project. Sustained **efforts are needed** over many years. The Civil Society Dialogue established with*

From the below examples, shown in the 5.108 Table of concordances, it can be discerned that the EU should make sure the citizens of its member states are well prepared and informed, as well as agree on the future enlargements and, in one case, support the countries on the journey to membership even if the accession lies many years ahead:

5.108 Table of concordances: EU needs to

*a. were not sufficiently informed nor prepared. Any future enlargement of the **EU needs to be supported by a strong, deep and sustained dialogue between the so***

*b. citizens about European integration in general, and enlargement in particular. The **EU needs to communicate better the objectives and challenges of the accession pr***

*c. will be their progress on the road to membership and all its benefits. The **EU needs to support the governments of these countries in their efforts to expl***

*d. listen to citizens, address their concerns, and provide further information. The **EU needs to present further factual information about enlargement so that the p***

*e. Citizens need to be better prepared for future enlargements. The **EU needs to communicate better the advantages and the challenges of enlargement.***

*f. if accession is many years away. As this journey involves many challenges, the **EU needs to remain engaged throughout the process. The pre-accession strategy a***

This chapter analysis shall be finalized with an in-depth exploration of the word *criteria*. What is striking about this word is that despite its rather frequent occurrence overall in the corpus, i.e. 63 times in total, in 16 of the documents subjected to analysis marking it as a constant word, *criteria* had never reached a key word position even though that would be expected in an analysis of EU documents about the enlargement process.

In the overall corpus analysis, the word collocates with *Copenhagen* in the word cluster *The Copenhagen criteria* or related to the Copenhagen Council of 1993 document over 16 times and with the political criteria over ten times. Out of the 63 times of total occurrence of the word, 49 times fall on the Western Balkan/Turkey corpus of 2005 – 2009 out of which 16 times collocating or referring to the *Copenhagen criteria*, additionally referenced as membership or accession criteria in the corpus as well, and over eight times with *political criteria*. The collocations of the word *criteria* with the word *Copenhagen* in the 2005 – 2009 corpus have been listed below in 5.109 Table:

5.109 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria

- a. all structured in a similar fashion and comprise a detailed assessment of the **Copenhagen criteria** including a chapter-by-chapter evaluation of the adoption an
- b. priority areas (in the form of short-and medium-term priorities) based on the **Copenhagen criteria** in respect of which they must strengthen their institutions
- c. all countries wishing to join the EU must abide by the accession criteria or the **Copenhagen criteria**, on which the Commission's opinion on any application for ac
- d. Croatia and Turkey have begun accession negotiations and overall they meet the **Copenhagen criteria**. Both countries have undertaken reforms, although the pace i
- e. candidate country needs to reach a sufficient degree of general compliance with the **Copenhagen criteria** before accession negotiations can be opened. The Commission
- f. Progress made The Commission sums up the progress made in relation to the **Copenhagen criteria**: * Political criteria: the political transition started in
- g. Depending on each country's progress in complying with the **Copenhagen criteria** and the conditionality of the stabilisation and association
- h. the country needs to reach a sufficient degree of general compliance with the **Copenhagen criteria**. The political criteria must be met
- i. towards the European Union depends on its individual efforts to comply with the **Copenhagen criteria** and, for the Western Balkans, with the conditionality of th
- j. to assume the rights and obligations of membership in accordance with the **Copenhagen criteria**. The year ahead will be a crucial one in addressing challen

The above examples have been drawn from seven documents prepared in the period 2005 – 2009 and apply to the Western Balkans countries and Turkey. As was noted in the detailed examination of the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993 (see above), the word *criteria* appears there once, unrelated to the enlargement process but referring to the subsidiarity criteria. Its synonym *conditions* occurred six times in relation to the accession process but without any notion of conditionality and without establishing a level that ought to be reached for a country to achieve its goal, EU membership.

Some of the other cases when the documents call upon the *Copenhagen criteria* have been illustrated in the Table below, and in these examples the *Copenhagen criteria* have additionally been given economic, membership, and political weight:

5.110 Table of concordances: Copenhagen economic criteria

- a. Western Balkan countries continue work towards fulfilling the **Copenhagen economic criteria**, which require the existence of a functioning market economy and capaci
- b. criteria and conditions for each stage. These relate to the **Copenhagen membership criteria** and the Stabilisation and Association process, including on regional

c. which the Commission's opinion on any application for accession is based. These **criteria** were laid down at the **European Council meeting in Copenhagen** in 1993

d. follow up of Turkey's progress towards compliance with the **Copenhagen political criteria** related to democracy and the rule of law, respect for human rights and

In order to locate the background for the above statements, the Copenhagen criteria document has been further scrutinized in search of the words *membership*, *economic* and *political*:

5.111 Table of concordances: Membership

a. **COOPERATION WITH THE ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES GEARED TO THE OBJECTIVE OF MEMBERSHIP**

b. cooperation with the associated countries shall be geared to the objective of **membership** which has now been established. In this context the European Council

c. **Membership** presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary u

d. capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. **Membership** presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of mem

e. of **membership** by satisfying the economic and political conditions required. **Membership** requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institu

f. place as soon as an associated country is able to assume the obligations of **membership** by satisfying the economic and political conditions required. Membe

g. which have applied to join the Union. The Union will consider each of these **membership** applications on its own merits. The European Council welcomed the C

As per the above illustrated examples, it is needless to say that the word *membership* has been set mostly in the context of association or acquisition of the membership obligations.

The word *economic* does not occur as a collocation for *criteria* and the one collocation of *economic* and *conditions* in the below example has no enlargement notion meaning whatsoever:

5.112 Table of concordances: Economic conditions

*European Council agreed on the overriding importance of creating the budgetary and **economic conditions** for rapidly bringing interest rates in Europe down, thereby*

As for the word *political*, the 12 uses of the *political criteria* cluster in the last corpus, present throughout the 2005 – 2009 period and never used in any of the documents analyzed before 2005, make reference to the *political criteria* for accession that ought to be met or to the *Copenhagen political criteria* as shown in 5.113 Table of concordances below:

5.113 Table of concordances: Political criteria

- a. agreements for the Western Balkan States. Political and economic dialogues on **political criteria** and economic and convergence criteria take place between the*
- b. to at the European Council meeting in Madrid in 1995. They are as follows: * **political criteria**: stability of the institutions safeguarding democracy*
- c. better into the work of all public authorities. On the whole, Croatia meets the **political criteria** for accession. However, more needs to be done to reform its*
- d. Commission sums up the progress made in relation to the Copenhagen criteria: * **Political criteria**: the political transition started in Turkey has slowed down*
- e. permanent follow up of Turkey's progress towards compliance with the Copenhagen **political criteria** related to democracy and the rule of law, respect for*
- f. dialogue with Turkey takes place in the framework of the regular monitoring of the **political criteria**, consisting in the permanent follow up of Turkey's progress*
- g. key to the consolidation of human rights and democracy, in line with the **political criteria** for accession. In short, the objectives of the civil*
- h. a sufficient degree of general compliance with the Copenhagen criteria. The **political criteria** must be met, including full cooperation with the ICTY*
- i. Macedonia in its progress towards the EU will be possible, once the Copenhagen **political criteria** are met and the key priorities of the accession partnership*
- j. The results of dialogue with the countries on their progress in meeting the **political criteria** for membership will be fed directly into the negotiation proc*
- k. of dialogue with the countries on their success in addressing issues under the **political criteria** will be fed into the negotiation process. The Commission*
- l. The Union expects negotiating countries to comply with the **political criteria** and to work towards higher standards throughout the*

On the other hand, out of its 15 occurrences in the Copenhagen document of 1993, the only context in which *political criteria* is used reiterates the obligations of membership that ought to be taken over by a country. It makes a vague reference to the economic and political conditions required without stating what those are:

5.114 Table of concordances: Political conditions

- a. able to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and **political conditions** required. Membership requires that the candidate country*

Furthermore, the word cluster *Copenhagen European Council* first appears in the Zagreb Summit Final Declaration document of 2000 and reoccurs occasionally throughout the period 2003 – 2007. The below are several examples of the contexts of its appearance:

5.115 Table of concordances: Copenhagen European Council

- a. of the Treaty on European Union, respect for the criteria defined at the **Copenhagen European Council** in June 1993 and the progress made in implementing
- b. performance in implementing reforms, thus respecting the criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** of 1993 (2) and the SAP conditionality.
- c. an enlargement agenda with major challenges in the world today. In 1993 the **Copenhagen European Council** concluded that "the Union's capacity to absorb new
- d. As highlighted at the 1993 **Copenhagen European Council**, the EU's integration or absorption capacity must be considered for each enlargement in order to ensure s

Taking into consideration all of the above analyzed uses of the word *criteria*, and the documents in which they appear, as well as the time frame in which the documents were prepared, one could wonder what criteria were set for the countries that acceded to the EU before the Western Balkan and Turkey.

5.3. Summary and Conclusions of Chapter Five

The table containing the key words of the entire first corpus depicts the general terminology of the enlargement process of the European Union, which primarily entails the enlargement process elements, the parties or actors, the institutions involved in the process, as well as the benefits of and requirements for entering the Union, and finally the 'how' of joining the Union, i.e. the element of conditionality.

The analysis shows constant clusters that refer to the institutions involved in the process, for instance *European Council*, appear throughout the text, while others, such as *Enlargement countries*, or *potential candidate countries*, appear only later. The reasons for such a development are manifold. On one hand, the constant presence of the European Union institutions, as well as the *member states* is due to the pivotal role which most of them play within different stages of the accession process itself. The repetitive referral to the *Implementation of the Acquis* comes as a result of the necessity for its adoption and implementation as part of the accession process. The consistent occurrence of many clusters, for instance the *obligations of membership*, *economic reform*, and *necessary conditions*, results from the most pronounced aspects of the enlargement process itself, while others such as *peace and*

stability, or *stability and prosperity* mark some of the most significant gains deriving from membership in the European family. On the other hand, many inconsistencies can be discerned. For instance the word cluster *Enlargement process*, which occurs only after 2001 even though it was expected to be a constant and fairly frequent cluster bearing in mind the topic at hand. Furthermore, the *quality of the enlargement process* cluster appears even later in the corpus, i.e. after 2007, which implies it was a later focus.

When exploring the key enlargement terminology in chronological terms, several observations can be made. Namely, the accession ‘language’ bears a note of indistinctness when it comes to the specific *criteria, conditions, or obligations* which need to be fulfilled.

As the results of the conducted analysis show, most of the documents refer to the Copenhagen criteria of 1993 as the milestone of the enlargement process and the criteria which ought to be brought to completion if a country wants to become a member of the European Union. However, the document shows an absence or low density of expected terminology, or an ambiguous use of some of the key terminology.

As stipulated by the European Commission (see Chapter Four), some added conditions have been introduced in reference to the accession of the Western Balkan countries. Some of these additional conditions include *regional cooperation* and *good neighbourly relations*: although these are constant clusters most of their occurrences fall within the final sub-corpus.

Key enlargement terms appear with similar frequency and in similar contexts in most of the documents, but become very different in the sub-corpus referring to the Western Balkans and Turkey.

In particular, the key terminology on enlargement elements and the notion of conditionality were most pronounced in the last sub-chapter. Furthermore, the last sub-chapter is plentiful in newly introduced word clusters. This is the case with the clusters *potential candidate countries*, *enlargement countries*, and *beneficiary countries*, all of which appear after 2005 for the first time, marking a change in the manner in which the countries aspiring towards European Union membership are being addressed.

The word cluster *enlargement strategy* appears for the first time as a title of a document in 2005, referring to the *enlargement policy*, and for the first time seems to indicate that wide public support for the policy is necessary.

One of the most distinct changes in the chronological development portion of the analysis is the introduction of the word *public*, which reached a key word position in the Communication Strategy for Enlargement document of 2000, forming the word cluster *public opinion* thus implying that future enlargements of the Union hinge on public perceptions. This requirement becomes more important over time and reaches its peak in the Western Balkans sub-corpus 2005 – 2009.

One additional novelty, providing yet another proof of the ‘evolution’ of the enlargement process, is the introduction of the word cluster *EU’s capacity*, forming the supplementary *EU’s capacity to integrate new members* and *EU’s integration capacity* clusters in the Western Balkans/Turkey sub-corpus. This new concern about the capacity of the Union to integrate new members, while maintaining the Union’s momentum, is further underscored by the special document prepared in 2006 (see analysis above). Finally, it is not only the capacity of the Union to enlarge that is brought to attention, but the *public support for enlargement* as well.

In the 2005 Enlargement document, the necessity for a *broad public support* again reflects the stipulations in the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993. However, upon an inspection of the Copenhagen document, the closest reference allows for a wide range of possible interpretations. This indicates ambiguity in the language, permitting for various understandings at various points of time, designed to suit the needs of the one who is interpreting the statements.

From the first portion of the analysis, i.e. the analysis conducted on the first corpus both as a whole, as well as exploring the chronological change over time, and bearing in mind the historical development of the European Union, the following conclusions can be drawn: The Community which was established primarily for economic reasons and to maintain peace grew rapidly and became more appealing to European countries over time for various reasons. The largest enlargement in the history of the EU, i.e. the fifth enlargement and the accession of ten countries at once, made it necessary to reevaluate some aspects both of the enlargement process and of the vision of the Union’s future. With the breakup of former Yugoslavia, many new countries appeared on the European map. All were eager to become part of the European family. By that time, and burdened not only with the new countries but with the economic situation on a global level as well, it became necessary to add or adapt criteria, hence the increased emphasis on the *EU’s capacity to integrate*, the *quality of enlargement process*, and the need for *broad public support*. Furthermore, the late occurrences of the *Enlargement strategy* and the

Enlargement policy could be observed as elements of the enlargement process developed specifically for countries from the Western Balkan, Turkey and any further potential EU members.

As can be discerned from the findings, the enlargement language is rather indistinct in its application and allows for various interpretations. The next two chapters will examine how terms from the first corpus are used in two further corpora, while also examining additional features.

6. Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia and related documents

The European Commission adopts and publishes annually a set of documents popularly termed the “enlargement package” that is meant to provide insight and elaborate on the European Union’s enlargement policy (see European Commission, 2015). The enlargement package consists of an annual strategy document providing an overview of the policy, objectives and prospects of the enlargement and an evaluation of the developments in each candidate and potential candidate country over the past twelve months. Furthermore, progress reports are published on each country, individually measuring and assessing in detail their achievements, and providing additional guidelines on the areas in which further efforts are required. These reports are published in Autumn every year. A “Multi-annual Indicative Financial Framework (MIFF) for the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)” (see European Commission, 2015) is attached to the enlargement package. On irregular bases, i.e. in specific years, proposals of the European Council of Ministers are included to revisit the European and Accession partnerships for each candidate and potential candidate country and provide the European Commission’s inputs and priorities (see European Commission, 2015).

The Council’s Decision of 18 February 2008 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and repealing Decision 2006/57/EC, (2008/212/EC), states that the Thessaloniki European Council of June 2003 ratified the introduction of the European Partnerships with each candidate and potential candidate country and is to serve as the “means to materialize the European perspective of the Western Balkans countries” (see EUR-Lex 2015). According to the (EC) No. 533/2004 Regulation, the European Council is the body to decide on the “principles, priorities and conditions to be contained in the partnerships, as well as any subsequent adjustments” (see EUR-Lex, 2015). The Regulation furthermore establishes the annual progress reports as mechanisms which examine the implementation of the Accession Partnerships under the Stabilisation and Association Process (see European Commission, 2015).

6.1. Introduction

Similarly to the analysis conducted in Chapter 5, this chapter has been divided into two parts, which together assess the Progress Reports and other documents related to the advancement of the Republic of Macedonia on its path towards a full membership in the European Union. The first section undertakes an overall study of the documents comprising the entire second corpus, thus offering an outline of the general terminology applied in the corpus' documents through exploration of the key words, word clusters and their collocations within a five year period, i.e. 2005 – 2009. The second part of this chapter analyzes the chronological development, showing the changes in applied terminology over time, studying the contexts of occurrences, and illustrating the persistence or the alteration of language about progress. Due to the large number of word clusters listed under some of the terminological domains, an effort has been made to further categorize them under a specific 'umbrella' of common meaning.

6.1.1. Documents constituting the second corpus

The second corpus subjected to analysis comprises the following documents and papers:

1. Analytical Report for the Opinion on the Application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for EU Membership, 9. November 2005 (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (entailing total of 75,712 words)
2. Communication from the Commission, Commission Opinion on the Application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for membership of the European Union, 9. November 2005 (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (consisted of 2,737 words)
3. Brussels European Council, Presidency Conclusions, 15-16 December 2005, only the provisions concerning the granting a candidate status to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia upon the application of the country for EU membership (see European Council, 2015) (total number of words 261)
4. Council Decision of 30 January 2006 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the European Partnership with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and repealing Decision 2004/518/EC, (2006/57/EC) (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (listing 326 words)

5. Commission staff working document, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2006 Progress Report, 8. November 2006 (see European Commission, 2015) (containing 31,336 words)
6. 2006 Progress Report on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, European Parliament resolution of 12 July 2007 on the 2006 Progress Report on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (see European Parliament, 2015) (2006/2289(INI)) (with a total of 3,390 words)
7. Commission staff working document, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2007 Progress Report, accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008, 6. November 2007 (see European Commission, 2015) (containing 34,902 words)
8. 2007 Progress Report on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, European Parliament resolution of 23 April 2008 on the 2007 Progress Report on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2007/2268(INI)) (see European Parliament, 2015) (containing a word list of 3,815 words)
9. Council Decision of 18 February 2008 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and repealing Decision 2006/57/EC (see EUR-Lex, 2015) (enclosing 5,365 words)
10. Commission staff working document, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2008 Progress Report, accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2008-2009, 5. November 2008 (see European Commission, 2015) (listing 41,729 words)
11. Key findings in the Progress Report 2008, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 2008 (see European Commission, 2015) (with a total of 444 words)
12. Commission staff working document, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2009 Progress Report, accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and Council Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010, 14. October 2009 (see European Commission, 2015) (enclosing 42,548 words)
13. Conclusions on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, (extract from the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament "Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010), 14 October 2009 (see European Commission, 2015) (consisted of 3,256 words)

In a Referendum held on 8 September 1991, 95.5% of the people of the Republic of Macedonia declared their decision for independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Following this declaration, a dispute with neighbouring Greece arose over the use of the name “Macedonia,” to which Greece argues it has cultural and historic claims, not least because there is a region in the Republic of Greece also called Macedonia. In this regard, upon the Resolution 817 (S/Res/817 (1993) from 7 April 1993) of the Security Council of the United Nations (see United Nations, 2015), the Republic of Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations in 1993 under its provisional name “Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, and this name was to be used for “all purposes within the United Nations”, while “pending settlement of the difference that had arisen over the name of the State” (see United Nations, 2015). On the same issue, Resolution 845 (S/Res/845 (1993) from 18 June 1993) complements the Resolution 817, in which the Security Council of the United Nations “urges the two parties to continue their efforts under the auspices of the Secretary General to arrive at a speedy settlement of the remaining issues between them” (see NATO, 2015). The name issue between the two States has not yet been resolved. As regarding the application for membership and accession of the country to the European Union, in all of the official documents and official correspondence the country is being referred to as the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In this chapter, the State shall be referred to under its constitutional name, i.e. Republic of Macedonia.

6.1.2. Key words

The second corpus’s word list consists of a total of 245,821 words. When comparing the word list of the entire second corpus with a reference word list, i.e. with the Guardian Word List 1998-2004 (see chapter 2), by applying the WordSmith software tool, the total number of the key words exceeds 500 (as preset by the WordSmith software). The table below (Table Nr. 1) lists the first 60 key words that are highest in frequency and relevant for this analysis.

Bearing in mind the topic under examination and the official reference to the Republic of Macedonia, the words *former*, *Yugoslav*, and *Republic*, which occurred among the first 10 content words highest in frequency, have been intentionally omitted from the key words table

below in order to allow for other key words reflecting the progress terminology to be represented and analyzed in depth here.

Table 1: Key words of the entire Second Corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	LAW	1,188	58,744	5,070.49	31	LEGAL	319	40,848	803.16
2	PROGRESS	983	20,400	5,823.47	32	AGREEMENT	316	23,730	1,100.58
3	AREA	872	47,745	3,553.12	33	INTERNATIONAL	315	89,287	383.26
4	PUBLIC	806	146,245	1,549.05	34	SOCIAL	315	66,543	526.55
5	LEGISLATION	713	13,849	4,313.57	35	MINISTRY	308	12,632	1,422.77
6	COUNTRY	680	102,076	1,524.81	36	LEVEL	300	55,863	563.24
7	EU	678	32,882	2,917.33	37	CONTROL	300	49,206	626.99
8	CAPACITY	655	13,227	3,913.74	38	TRAINING	299	44,021	680.11
9	MACEDONIA	641	2,545	5,778.14	39	PARTICULAR	295	27,398	912.38
10	ACQUIS	612	11	8,455.97	40	ECONOMIC	294	39,097	720.70
11	ADOPTED	579	8,181	3,854.75	41	GDP	294	2,927	2,152.37
12	ADMINISTRATIVE	571	3,136	4,812.93	42	MEASURES	290	14,630	1,225.81
13	POLICY	555	64,728	1,489.49	43	STRATEGY	287	22,555	975.45
14	IMPLEMENTATION	522	2,172	4,661.62	44	COOPERATION	286	4,636	1,828.75
15	NATIONAL	513	120,895	768.70	45	POLITICAL	285	86,968	316.07
16	EUROPEAN	499	82,150	1,040.06	46	EDUCATION	284	101,217	253.51
17	SYSTEM	499	74,955	1,119.25	47	SERVICES	278	73,685	366.12
18	FINANCIAL	466	58,244	1,193.36	48	MANAGEMENT	277	46,537	567.67
19	GOVERNMENT	450	198,659	279.36	49	POLICE	274	112,169	195.26
20	MARKET	436	104,828	639.60	50	CORRUPTION	270	8,706	1,371.00
21	PROTECTION	429	17,181	2,001.31	51	ESTABLISHED	265	18,064	970.51
22	SECTOR	422	37,923	1,330.68	52	ENERGY	261	27,431	748.80
23	RIGHTS	413	52,176	1,049.76	53	NEEDS	258	45,090	511.60
24	YET	392	111,723	473.84	54	PARLIAMENT	254	25,055	757.77
25	FRAMEWORK	381	4,089	2,735.35	55	HUMAN	250	59,303	371.88
26	BETWEEN	355	175,800	173.72	56	EMPLOYMENT	250	17,013	916.34
27	PREPARATIONS	355	2,873	2,737.27	57	ENFORCEMENT	250	2,962	1,747.85

28	COUNCIL	353	59,268	723.8 7	58	TRADE	248	46,864	459.55
29	DEVELOPMENT	353	40,629	955.4 4	59	STANDARDS	244	26,509	685.48
30	EFFORTS	345	16,495	1,493. 36	60	REGIONAL	244	16,371	900.78

The topic under examination in this chapter is once more related to the enlargement process of the European Union. However, taking into consideration the fact that the documents listed above, prepared by the official European Union bodies and institutions, do explore the progress of a particular country, i.e. the Republic of Macedonia, differences in the terminology would be rather expected.

Law, the most frequent key word in the entire second corpus, as listed in the key words table above, together with the words *legislation*, *implementation*, *enforcement*, *adopted*, and *legal* are in reference to the legislative and legal aspects of the accession process and the *Acquis*, *administrative*, *rights*, *capacity*, *standards* bear the notion of conditionality, compliances and requirements that ought to be fulfilled in order for the country to reach its final destination, i.e. full membership in the European Union. The above key words, strengthened by: *education*, *policy*, *particular*, *services*, *corruption*, *energy*, *police* and *employment* make reference to the particular areas i.e. chapters of the Community Acquis which are being scrutinized and assessed. Some similarities with the key words from the first corpus analyzed in the previous chapter can be detected in terms of the institutions and bodies involved in both the process of accession and of evaluation: *Council* and *Parliament*, strengthened by the key word *Ministry*, as well as the countries or regions involved, namely *EU*, *Macedonia* and *European*. The economic aspect is strongly present among the most frequent key words: *trade*, *economic*, *GDP*, *financial*, *market*.

6.1.3. Word clusters and terminological domains

The second corpus generated over 500 key words, as was the case with the first corpus examined. In order for the data to be held at a manageable level, only the word clusters generated by the 60 key words, presented in the table above, have been taken into consideration for an in depth analysis. The calculation principle remains the same, i.e. two- to six-word clusters that repeat with the minimum frequency of 5 times. The 11 terminological domains represented

below include the fairly abundant number of word clusters remaining upon the removal of the recurrent, unrelated clusters and word strings.

Terminological domains of the 2nd corpus

Domain

1. Parties or actors involved
2. Countries or regions involved
3. Institutions or bodies involved
4. Enlargement and elements of the process
5. Conditionality, requirements and compliances
6. Particular areas
7. Legislative and legal aspects
8. Economic aspects
9. Qualifying evaluations
10. Documents, papers and agreements
11. Other

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

PUBLIC SECTOR – 59

EU MEMBER STATES - 25

NATIONAL AUTHORITIES – 16

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY - 11

GENERAL PUBLIC – 10

GOVERNMENT COALITION - 9

EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES – 9

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN (EU) INTEGRATION – 7

The first domain of the second corpus encompasses the parties or the actors involved in the accession process of the country. In this domain, comprising a rather limited number of word clusters, the most frequent cluster *Public sector* occurs regularly in a financial or rather economic context throughout the entire second corpus. In six of its occurrences, the word cluster collocates in *financing of the public sector*. This is illustrated by the identical examples in Table 6.1 of concordances below, which marks occurrences in the Progress Reports within the period 2005—2009:

6.1 Table of concordances: Public sector a.

a. such as the full independence of the central bank, the prohibition of monetary financing of the public sector and the prohibition of preferential access

- b. notably as regards full central bank independence, the prohibition of monetary financing of the **public sector**, the prohibition of privileged access of the public*
- c. There are still some legal provisions that do not preclude monetary financing of the **public sector** or that give rise to privileged access of public*
- d. There are still some legal provisions that do not preclude monetary financing of the **public sector** or that give rise to privileged access of public*
- e. As regards the prohibition of direct financing of the **public sector** by the central bank, the Law explicitly prohibits*
- f. the independence of central banks in Member States, prohibiting direct financing of the **public sector** by the central banks and prohibiting privileged*

The other appearances of this word cluster collocate with the words *corruption, internal audit, employment, and participation of ethnic minorities* (in the public sector of the country):

6.2 Table of concordances: Public sector b.

- a. Some progress was made on implementing the strategy for equitable representation of ethnic communities in the **public sector**. The law on civil servants establishes an obligation on*
- b. There has been some progress towards implementing the strategy for equitable representation of ethnic communities in the **public sector**, in particular as regards the Albanian community.*
- c. on the part of minorities. Improving participation by minorities in the **public sector** is an effort which has to be sustained in the medium term.*

The first two identical examples above (a. and b.) originate from the 2009 and the 2008 Progress Report. The third example originates from the 2005 analytical report concerning the same topic, namely involvement of ethnic communities or minorities.

The word cluster *public sector* does not occur in the first corpus analysis explored in Chapter 5.

The word cluster *general public* appeared in the enlargement documents analyzed in Chapter 5, in which the cluster occurred in a communicational setting, emphasizing the importance of dialogue and communication with the general public on ongoing and future enlargements; however the equivalent word cluster in the Progress reports analysis does not bear the same meaning as represented in some of the examples illustrated in Table 6.3 of concordances here:

6.3 Table of concordances: General public

- a. Increase awareness among government institutions, business and the **general public**. Chapter 9: Financial services*
- b. Guidelines were developed to help officials and the **general public** identify potential conflicts of interest.*

*c. legislation and regulatory impact assessment forms were not available to the **general public** for review. There is no systematic and transparent mechanism*

*d. needed to increase awareness of the benefits of competition policy among the **general public**, and understanding of the state aid control system among state*

*e. of State aid regulations among government institutions, business and the **general public** has somewhat increased, but remains inadequate.*

*f. There is still little awareness among government institutions and the **general public**, including the business sector, of the notification process and*

*g. There is still low awareness among government institutions and the **general public**, including the business sector, of the notification process and*

The *general public*, in most cases appears is related to the lack of knowledge, or the necessity of increasing awareness of the functioning of the state aid control system, as illustrated in the two identical examples (see examples f. and g. above) from the 2006 Progress Report and the 2005 Analytical Report. Additionally, it is related to the competition process and the implementation of the strategy for cooperation with the civil society. However, in neither of its uses is the general public involved in the enlargement process communication.

In this corpus, the word cluster *EU member states* once again carries a different sense than its use in the enlargement documents corpus. In this second corpus, the meaning of the member states of the European Union has been reduced to a more technical reference to the agreements signed or the process of the visa liberalization, as well as border control and technical and financial aid to the country.

The development of some of the word clusters listed under this domain, of which most are present throughout the entire corpus, i.e. constant clusters (henceforth c-clusters) shall be further explored in the chronological analysis of this chapter.

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

EU – 678

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 629

THE COUNTRY – 628

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 610

EUROPEAN UNION – 47

SOUTH EAST EUROPE – 22

EU AND THE (FYR) MACEDONIA – 18

EU AND THE COUNTRY - 7

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AND GREECE – 5

GOVERNMENT COMMISSION – 5

As regarding the word clusters listed under the terminological domain countries or regions involved, no surprises can be detected. The presence of the most frequent cluster *EU* (abbreviation for the European Union), the *European Union* and the country in question i.e. *(Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia*, throughout the entire second corpus subjected to analysis here, is completely justified. If the manifestation of the word cluster *South East Europe* in Chapter 5 had to do with the enlargement of the Union towards the region, as well as with the benefits for the region from the accession, in this chapter the cluster has been used in reference to the involvement of the Republic of Macedonia in the South East Europe cooperation and development scenery, SEE Transport Observatory and SEE Core Regional Transport Network, Stability Pact for South East Europe, as well as to the opening of the South East European University in Tetovo (see OSCE, 2015 and South East European University, 2015), thus obtaining a more ‘technical’ weight as part of a title or a process rather than an extensive meaning of the region in question as presented in some of the examples in the 6.4 Table of concordances below:

6.4 Table of concordances: South East Europe

- a. the active participation of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the **South East Europe** Cooperation Process and its contribution to the establishment*
- b. **South East Europe** Core Regional Transport Network and strengthen cooperation with the **South East Europe** Transport Observatory. - Pursue alignment with the road*
- c. implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding on the Development of the **South East Europe** Core Regional Transport Network and strengthen cooperation*
- d. The country is continuing to participate actively in the **South-East Europe** Transport Observatory. Preparations in this area are advanced.*
- e. trans-European networks. The country continues to participate actively in the **South-East Europe** Transport Observatory. The sizeable financial resources needed*
- f. Addendum to the Memorandum of Understanding on the Development of the **South East Europe** Core Regional Transport Network for a South-East European Rail*
- g. participate in the development of the Core Regional Transport Network and in the **South East Europe** Transport Observatory (SEETO) and has approved the second*
- h. These include the Prime Minister's address to students at the **South-East Europe** University in Tetovo, the authorisation to erect a statue of*
- i. participating in the development of the Core Regional Transport Network and in the **South East Europe** Transport Observatory (SEETO), in particular by approving*
- j. been decided in accordance with the 2005-2015 education action plan. In the **South East Europe** University, 72% of the 4800 students are from minorities.*
- k. infrastructure network is described in the Memorandum of Understanding of the **South-East Europe** Core Regional Transport Network, which was signed in June 2004*
- l. the SEE Core Transport Network and the establishment of an Energy Community for **South-East Europe**. It is also participating in activities under the Adriatic-Ion*

The word cluster *Republic of Macedonia and Greece*, derives from the Analytical Report of 2005 and the EU Parliament Resolutions on the 2006 and on the 2007 Report documents, and its appearance has to do with the name issue dispute between the two countries (see above). In four of the five appearances of the word cluster in the above-stated documents, the European Parliament calls upon a dialogue between the two countries to bridge their differences and urges them to find an appropriate solution under the UN auspices. In one other case the reference is to an oil pipe-line between the two countries.

Additionally, upon further in depth examination of the aforementioned disagreement, the word cluster *name issue* arose with 15 occurrences most of which listed below:

6.5 Table of concordances: Name issue

- a. *takes the view that, pursuant to the provisions of the Interim Accord of 1995, the **name issue** is not an obstacle to the opening of negotiations for EU accession*
- b. *constructive approach to find a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution to the **name issue** with Greece, in the framework of UN Security Council Resolutions*
- c. *neighbourly relations, including a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution to the **name issue**, under the auspices of the UN, remains essential. The economy*
- d. *neighbourly relations, including a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution to the **name issue**, under the auspices of the UN, remains essential. Relations*
- e. *neighbourly relations, including a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution to the **name issue**, under the auspices of the UN, remains essential. Relations*
- f. *there has been disagreement about how to reach an agreement in the UN talks on the **name issue**. Furthermore, the president pleaded against the dissolution of Pa*
- g. *constructive approach, to find a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution on the **name issue** with Greece, under the auspices of the UN, within the framework o*
- h. *border movements. However, relations between the two countries were affected by the **name issue**. No progress has been made in this context. The renaming of Skopj*
- i. *constructive approach, to find a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution on the **name issue** with Greece, under the auspices of the UN, within the framework o*
- j. *health, security, culture and customs. However, there has been no progress on the **name issue** which remains an open problem. Renewed efforts are needed, with a*
- k. *Sustained efforts are needed in this area, in particular in order to resolve the **name issue** with Greece in the interest of good neighbourly relations.*
- l. *Sustained efforts are needed in this area, in particular in order to resolve the **name issue** with Greece in the interest of good neighbourly relations*

The 2nd and the 7th semi-identical examples illustrated above (see examples b. and g.) derive from the Council Decision of February 2008 and the 2009 Progress Report documents. The 3rd, 4th and 5th identical examples (c., d. and e.) derive from the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia document of 2009, as well as the Progress Reports of 2008 and of 2009. The last two

once again equal occurrences (examples k. and l.) have been used in the Commission Opinion of 2005 document and the 2005 Analytical Report. As shown in Table 6.5 above, and bearing into consideration the identical repetition of the same statements concerning the name issue subject matter within the 2005 – 2009 period could indicate two possibilities: one, the topic in question has remained actual during the period in which the documents have been prepared or two, the expectancies of reaching a resolution on this topic are rather low and in that regard, a mere repetition of the same recommendations is of a simply practical nature. In reference to the name issue between the two neighbouring countries no progress has been made and no solution has been reached until today.

Most of the word clusters listed under this domain are c-clusters.

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

3 Domain A: Domestic institutions or bodies

MINISTRY OF FINANCE - 59
JUDICIAL COUNCIL - 52
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR - 41
PUBLIC REVENUE OFFICE – 37
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR – 36
NATIONAL BANK – 36
BROADCASTING COUNCIL - 33
MINISTRY OF ECONOMY - 33
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES – 32
ADMINISTRATIVE COURT – 29
PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTER – 23
THE COMMISSION FOR PROTECTION OF COMPETITION - 23
MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE - 23
FINANCIAL SECTOR - 22
COUNCIL OF PUBLIC PROSECUTORS – 21
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR’S OFFICE – 21
PUBLIC PROCUREMENT BUREAU – 16
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS - 16
STATE ANTI CORRUPTION COMMISSION - 15
DIRECTORATE FOR PERSONAL DATA PROTECTION - 14
PUBLIC BODIES – 13
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE - 12
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS - 11
STATE ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES (SABs) – 11
FINANCIAL POLICE – 10
STATE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR – 9

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE - 9
 MINISTRY OF CULTURE - 9
 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION - 8
 MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT - 8
 SECRETARIAT FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS – 8
 ENERGY REGULATORY COMMISSION - 8
 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT -13
 GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT - 7
 COMMITTEE ON EU AFFAIRS – 7
 MINISTRY OF HEALTH - 7
 MINISTRY OF LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT - 6
 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL - 6
 STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE – 6
 MONETARY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS - 5
 FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS – 5
 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE – 5

3 Domain B: EU and international institutions or bodies

COUNCIL OF EUROPE - 39
 EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 43
 EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 20
 INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT - 20
 EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS – 19
 INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY) –
 16
 GROUP OF STATES AGAINST CORRUPTION GRECO - 16
 EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 12
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL - 8
 STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION COUNCIL - 7
 SOUTH EAST EUROPE TRANSPORT OBSERVATORY – 7
 EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND - 7
 REGIONAL COOPERATION COUNCIL - 6

The third terminological domain, i.e. institutions and bodies involved, hosts quite a large number of c-clusters. What can be distinguished at the first glance of the domain is the prevalence of the domestic institutions as opposed to the EU and international ones, as well as the introduction of many new institutions and bodies which did not occur in the analysis conducted on the enlargement documents as represented in Chapter 5. This observation can be further supported by the most frequent cluster *Ministry of Finance*, which is used mostly in technical financial terms, either scrutinizing the financial services offered by the Ministry, the capacity of its departments to implement a financial requirement, its involvement in legal and financial aspects

as an institution or as a legal entity in legislative processes. A more detailed analysis conducted on some of the other word clusters under this domain has brought similar results, i.e. the application of the word clusters involving institutions or bodies of the state moves along the aspects of the activities of the separate institutions under examination.

In comparison to the *European Council*, which has been analyzed in the previous chapter (see Chapter 5), the mission of the institution whose name has the second highest frequency of occurrence among the EU institutions and bodies, i.e. the *Council of Europe*, is quite specific: protection of human rights, democracy, rule of law, promotion and development of the Europe's cultural diversity and identity, seeking solutions to the European society challenges and consolidation of Europe's democratic stability (see Council of Europe, 2015). In the second corpus, the word cluster *Council of Europe* collocates in the word clusters *Council of Europe Convention*, *Council of Europe standards* and *Recommendations of the Council of Europe*, in most cases dealing with the ratification and implementation of the conventions in question, the standards of the Council the country ought to reach or with the recommendations that the Republic of Macedonia ought to acknowledge, on a variety of aspects involving human trafficking, protection of human rights, protection of individuals and other. The *European Council* word cluster collocates with the *Copenhagen*, the *Madrid*, the *Brussels* and the *Thessaloniki European Council* in most of its occurrences, specifying the provisions of each of the Councils listed respectively, some of which for illustrational purposes presented in Table 6.6 of concordances:

6.6 Table of concordances: European Council

- a. *Parliament*, – having regard to the Presidency Conclusions of the **Thessaloniki European Council** of 19-20 June 2003, at which the promise was made to all Western Balkan
- b. *can first be achieved*, whereas the Presidency Conclusions of the **Brussels European Council** of 14-15 December 2006 stated that the EU keeps its commitments
- c. *and local level*, whereas the Presidency Conclusions of the **Thessaloniki European Council** of 19-20 June 2003 reiterated its determination to fully and effectively
- d. *at they would in the long term join the European Union*, – having regard to the **European Council** decision of 16 December 2005 to grant the Former Yugoslav Republic
- e. *Parliament*, – having regard to the Presidency Conclusions of the **Thessaloniki European Council** of 19-20 June 2003, at which the promise was made to all Western Balkan
- f. *of Macedonia*, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council** in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the
- g. *of Macedonia*, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council** in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the

The 1st and 5th identical examples (a. and e.) derive from the 2007 and 2006 Progress Reports respectively. The 6th and the 7th (f. and g.) corresponding applications of the *European Council* collocating with *Copenhagen* originate from the 2009 and 2008 Progress Reports. The correspondence of the applications of the word cluster *European Council* as demonstrated above mark regular occurrences throughout the entire corpus.

The word cluster *International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia* has been listed under the cooperation types and elements domain in the previous Chapter 5. In the second corpus analysis the word cluster, listed under the intuitions and bodies domain, due to absence of the terminological domain cooperation types, occurs 16 times all of which illustrated in the 6.7 Table of concordances below:

6.7 Table of concordances: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

a. *the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia maintained full co-operation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

b. *The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continued to cooperate fully with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

c. *States, and respect for international obligations, such as cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

d. *The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has cooperated fully with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

e. *and respect for international obligations, such as cooperation with the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

f. *former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has maintained full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

g. *and respect for international obligations, such as cooperation with the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

h. *former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has maintained full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

i. *could also not meet, after its chairperson was transferred for trial to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in 2005.*

j. *and the respect for international obligations, such as cooperation with the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.*

k. *The country fully cooperates with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.*

l. *were defined by the Council on 29 April 1997 and included co-operation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)*

m. *continue to be properly implemented. The country fully co-operates with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.*

n. *The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is fully cooperating with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).*

*o. regional co-operation and good neighbourly relations. Co-operation with the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia** The former Yugoslav
p. were defined by the Council on 29 April 1997 and included co-operation with the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** and regional co*

The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia was established in 1993 under the auspices of the United Nations, as a court dealing with the war crimes committed during the 1990s conflicts in the Balkans (see United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, 2015). One of the prerequisites for EU membership of the countries from the former Yugoslavia is full cooperation with the Tribunal as can be detected from the above listed examples.

The word cluster appears throughout the second corpus. The 1st, 6th and 13th entirely identical applications (see examples a., f. and m) of the word cluster originate from the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia document of 2009, the 2007 Progress Report and the Analytical Report of 2005. The circumstances in which this word cluster occurs in its entirely or partially identical application, remain the same in the other cases as well.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP – 39
STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS - 24
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION - 21
EU MEMBERSHIP – 17
ACCESSION TO THE EU – 14
INTEGRATION WITH THE EU – 13
ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS – 10
EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN COPENHAGEN – 10
EU ACCESSION – 8
IMPLEMENTATION OF IPA – 7
COPENHAGEN EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 7
SOUTH EAST EUROPEAN COOPERATION PROCESS (SEECp) - 7
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 6
CRITERIA SET BY THE COPENHAGEN EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 6
PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS OF – 6
PRE - ACCESSION ECONOMIC PROGRAMME - 6
ECONOMIC CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP – 6
EU PRE-ACCESSION – 5

The word clusters listed under the fourth terminological domain, i.e. enlargement and elements of the process differ on a rather great scale from the clusters listed in the previous Chapter 5. This is due to the fact the key words that could be characterized as ‘purely enlargement process

identifiers’, such as the words *enlargement*, *accession*, *negotiations*, *dialogue*, *candidate* do not appear among the first 60 key words highest in frequency (see Table 6.1 above). Many of the typical enlargement terminology words, such as *dialogue* and *negotiations*, do occur in the documents and some of their occurrences have been subjected to a more in depth analysis due to their appearance as part of the word clusters formed by other key words that do suffice in regularity in order to be listed in the key words table above.

Nonetheless, the word *enlargement* that held the 6th highest position among the key words highest in frequency in the previous chapter, occurs a total of only 24 times in the second corpus collocating in the word cluster, i.e. document title *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges* in 11 cases and making reference to the documents for the 2006 -- 2007, 2007 – 2008 and 2008 – 2009 period. The word *enlargement* collocates six times in the cluster *Other enlargement countries and (neighbouring) member States*, and refers to the countries that are aspiring towards EU membership and their neighbourly or bilateral relations with the aspiring countries have been evaluated. The word clusters, as illustrated in the Table 6.8 below, have been applied in entirely equal manner, merely in the 2007, 2008 and 2009 Progress Report documents:

6.8 Table of concordances: Other enlargement countries and Member States

a. continued to cover foreign policy issues. (Concerning neighbourly relations with **other enlargement countries and Member States**, see the section on Political

b. ALTHEA mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As regards bilateral relations with **other enlargement countries and neighbouring Member States**, relations remained

c. continued to cover foreign policy issues. For neighbourly relations with **other enlargement countries and member states**, see the section under Political

d. ALTHEA mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As regards bilateral relations with **other enlargement countries and neighbouring member states**, relations with Alban

e. continued to cover foreign policy issues. Concerning neighbourly relations with **other enlargement countries and member states**, see section under Political Crite

f. As regards bilateral relations with **other enlargement countries and neighbouring member states**, relations with

The situation with the other ‘enlargement’ word i.e. the word *accession* is rather dissimilar. The word is a great deal more frequent, however did not recur sufficiently to reach the first 60 key words listed in the table above. In 57 cases of total of 175 occurrences, the word *accession* collocates with the word *partnership*, thus forming the word cluster *Accession partnership*, partially defined in the previous chapter (see Chapter 5). Bearing in mind the objectives of the

signed partnership with the Republic of Macedonia, as “an instrument of the Stabilization and Association Process and set up under the Thessaloniki Agenda for the Western Balkan of 2003 countries” (see EUR-Lex, 2015), its aim is to depict the areas of main concern for implementation of additional reforms calling for supplementary efforts, to provide guidelines for financial assistance in the distinguished priority areas and to grant the principles and conditions managing the implementation of the Partnership. These Partnerships and their succeeding amendments are being adopted by the Council of the European Union preceding a proposal of the European Commission by a qualified majority (see European Commission, 2015). Out of the 57 occurrences, over 40 times the cluster collocates with the words *key priorities*, *key priority* and *conditions and key priorities*. The key priorities have been manifold and they range from Law on the Police, police reforms, judicial reforms, dialogue between the governing coalition and opposition, civil service reforms, unemployment, business environment to administrative capacity for implementation and enforcement of the legislation and other aspects of the Partnership within the 2005 – 2009 time framework. Some of the other concordances of the word *accession*, which occur with the minimum determined frequency of 5 times, shall be further analyzed where deemed necessary in this chapter.

The most frequent word cluster under this domain, *European Partnership*, yet again refers to the Accession Partnerships and has already been elaborated upon in the previous chapter. The European Partnership for Macedonia has been adopted by the European Council in 2008 and is considered to be the main instrument for the Macedonian Government for the realization of the country’s prospect to join the Union (see European Commission, 2015). As already stipulated above, the Partnership identifies the priority areas where reforms are to be implemented. In this respect the cluster, detected in the 2005 – 2007 documents, has been used in several cases collocating with the word *priorities* in the word cluster *Priorities of the European Partnership* and referring to the judicial and legislative reforms in its applications set as key priorities for the country in the 2005 – 2007 documents.

The *Accession to the EU* cluster appears within the 2005 – 2008 documents, however it is absent in the 2009 documents as well as in Chapter 5 in this form. This incidence shall be further explored later on in this chapter’s analysis.

The word cluster *accession negotiations*, elaborated throughout Chapter 5, has only 10 occurrences in the documents of 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2009. The application of the cluster in the

second corpus differs greatly from its application in the first corpus. Generally the occurrences in the second corpus are limited to contexts in which the Commission emphasizes the fact that the country has not commenced the negotiations and urges for the country to undertake all necessary preparations in order to do so. The accession negotiations with the Republic of Macedonia have not started even today regardless of the fact that the country received candidate status in 2005, due to the unresolved name issue with the neighbouring country Greece. Mainly in this spirit, and conveying the ‘hope’ that the country shall finally be in a position to commence the aforementioned negotiations, are the uses of the word clusters in similar settings as illustrated here:

6.9 Table of concordances: Accession negotiations

- a. *progress made so far, and if possible to decide on a date for the start of the **accession negotiations**; Welcomes the preparations by the government for the*
- b. *hopes that the attainment of these by the country will lead to opening of the **accession negotiations** before the end of 2008, which will further enhance the*
- c. *status, of the three candidate countries it is the only country with which no **accession negotiations** have taken place to date; considers it desirable that*
- d. *accession to the EU as long ago as 2005, as of today no date for the start of **accession negotiations** has yet been set; whereas this prolonged situation is add*
- e. *as granted in 2005 to be accompanied as soon as possible by the actual start of **accession negotiations**; finally, invites all parties to maintain and consolidate*
- f. *and to improve the business climate; 2. Emphasises that the commencement of **accession negotiations** will depend on the progress being made in this respect;*
- g. *recognition of the status of candidate country by the EU on 16 December 2005, **accession negotiations** have not yet started with the Former Yugoslav Republic of*
- h. *priorities as benchmarks in this Progress Report. A recommendation on the start of **accession negotiations** will depend on the results achieved.*
- i. *In drawing up its recommendation on the opening of **accession negotiations**, the Commission has paid particular attention to the*
- j. *chapters into which the *acquis* has been divided for the purpose of conducting **accession negotiations**. Each chapter examines the current situation and prospect*

The conclusions of the European Council in Copenhagen of 1993 have been analyzed in depth in Chapter 5, and the Copenhagen criteria have been explored profoundly throughout the entire previous chapter. As already stipulated the document to have set the criteria for accession for the countries wishing to join the European Union, i.e. the aforementioned document, encloses the word *criteria* once and not in an enlargement context. In the second corpus analyzed here, the word cluster *European Council in Copenhagen* has been applied in contexts calling upon the

conclusions reached during the Copenhagen Council as guiding principles for the accession and the assumption of the membership obligations of the country in question, i.e. the Republic of Macedonia as shown in Table 6.10 of concordances:

6.10 Table of concordances: European Council in Copenhagen

- a. of Macedonia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993, which stated that membership of*
- b. of Macedonia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993, which stated that membership of*
- c. of Macedonia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993, which stated that membership of*
- d. of Macedonia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993, which stated that membership of*
- e. Council of 1993 and the Stabilisation and Association Process conditionality". The **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993 concluded that: "The associated co*
- f. ABILITY TO ASSUME THE OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP The **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993 included among the criteria*
- g. 2. ECONOMIC CRITERIA In 1993, the **European Council in Copenhagen** defined the following economic criteria for acces*
- h. B. CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP 1. POLITICAL CRITERIA The **European Council in Copenhagen** in 1993 decided on a number of political criteria*
- i. The structure of the Analytical Report takes account of the conclusions of the **European Council in Copenhagen**. It: describes the relations between the form*
- j. Council of 1993 and the Stabilisation and Association Process conditionality." The **European Council in Copenhagen** in June 1993 concluded that: "The associated co*

The criteria and conditions for the full membership of the Republic of Macedonia are being set in political and economic contexts as well. The first four identical examples (see examples a., b., c. and d.) derive from the Progress Reports of 2009, 2008, 2007, and 2006 respectively. The fifth and the last entirely identical uses (see examples e. and j.) originate from two different documents from 2005, namely the Commissions Opinion and the Analytical Report. The seven occurrences of the word cluster *Copenhagen European Council*, and in this respect the *Criteria set by the Copenhagen European Council*, all move along the same line:

6.11 Table of concordances: Copenhagen European Council

- a. Republic of Macedonia relate to its capacity to meet the criteria defined by the **Copenhagen European Council** of 1993 and the conditions set by the Stabilisation*
- b. the country is well on its way to satisfy the political criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** in 1993 and the Stabilisation and Association Proces*

- c. Macedonia on the basis of the country's capacity to meet the criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** of 1993 and the conditions set for the SAP, notably*
- d. performance in implementing reforms, thus respecting the criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** of 1993 and the Stabilisation and Association Process*
- e. Republic of Macedonia towards meeting the political criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** in 1993 and the Stabilisation and Association Process*
- f. Macedonia on the basis of the country's capacity to meet the criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** of 1993 and the conditions set for the SAP, notably*
- g. performance in implementing reforms, thus respecting the criteria set by the **Copenhagen European Council** of 1993 and the Stabilisation and Association Process*

The 3rd and the 6th identical sentence (c. and f.) containing the word cluster in question derive from the Commission Opinion and the Analytical Report documents both from 2005. The other two documents containing the word cluster are the 2005 Brussels European Council document and the Council Decision of 2008 document.

All of the above deployments of the clusters making reference to the Copenhagen Council are compliant with the membership criteria set in 1993 and advocate for their implementation by the country wishing to join the Union.

Out of the total of 17 occurrences of the word cluster *EU Membership*, the illustrations in Table 6.12 of concordances derive from different documents, in which the word cluster has been identically used:

6.12 Table of concordances: EU membership a.

- a. on progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in preparing for **EU membership** largely follows the same structure as in previous years. The report*
- b. on progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in preparing for **EU membership** largely follows the same structure as in previous years. The report*

The above two applications can be found in the 2009 and 2008 Progress Reports respectively.

6.13 Table of concordances: EU membership b.

- a. This is the second report on progress made by this country in preparing for **EU membership**. The report: – briefly describes the relations between the f*
- b. This is the first report on progress made by this country in preparing for **EU membership**. The report: – briefly describes the relations between the f*

The similar examples in Table 6.13 above derive from the 2007 and 2006 Progress Reports and the same cluster has not been applied in the later reports.

Additionally to the illustrations above, the *EU membership* cluster collocates either with the *obligations, the criteria or the preparations* for the membership in most of the cases.

The collocations and concordances of the word directly associated to the enlargement process, i.e. the word *candidate*, shall be explored further in this chapter.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements and compliances

5 Domain A: Administrative aspects

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY - 325
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 57
INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY - 22
STRENGTHEN ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 17
ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL - 9
ADMINISTRATIVE AND OPERATIONAL CAPACITY – 8
SUFFICIENT ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 7
ADEQUATE ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY - 6
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORM – 6

5 Domain B: Legislative aspects

IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION - 120
ALIGNMENT WITH THE ACQUIS – 60
EU LEGISLATION - 31
ALIGN ITS LEGISLATION WITH THE ACQUIS - 27
COMPLIANCE WITH THE ACQUIS - 14
ADOPTION OF THE ACQUIS – 14
LEGAL PROVISIONS - 9
ENFORCEMENT OF LEGISLATION – 8
PROPER LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 7
IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF LEGISLATION – 5

5 Domain C: Political aspects and requirements

POLITICAL CRITERIA – 60
POLITICAL PARTIES - 56
RULE OF LAW – 56
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT – 26
DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW – 21
COPENHAGEN POLITICAL CRITERIA - 7
POLITICAL INTERFERENCE – 7
REGIONAL COOPERATION AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS - 6
POLITICAL CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP - 5
TOWARDS MEETING THE COPENHAGEN POLITICAL CRITERIA – 5
STRONG POLITICAL WILL - 5

5 Domain D: General rights and freedoms

JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY – 33
CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS – 11
WOMEN S RIGHTS – 10
ACCESS TO EDUCATION – 9
ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION – 8
RIGHT TO EDUCATION – 7
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS - 5

5 Domain E: Country - specific aspects and structural reforms

OPERATIONAL CAPACITY – 24
LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT - 24
EDUCATION AND TRAINING - 24
FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION – 23
MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL - 22
TRAINING OF JUDGES - 20
CROSS BORDER SERVICES - 16
POLICE REFORM - 16
BROAD POLITICAL CONSENSUS - 11
TECHNOLOGICAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT - 11
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT – 10
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - 10
RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT - 9
INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY – 9
PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES – 9
POLICE REFORM STRATEGY - 8
PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMMES – 7
PUBLIC PROCUREMENT RULES – 7
PUBLIC SERVICE OBLIGATIONS – 7
QUALITY OF EDUCATION - 6
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION REQUIREMENTS - 6
CENTRAL AND LOCAL LEVEL – 6
THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL - 5
THE GENERAL LEVEL - 5
AT NATIONAL LEVEL - 5
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES – 5
FINANCIAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS - 5
NATIONAL REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT - 5

5 Domain F: EU – Macedonia relations

EU REQUIREMENTS – 22
EUROPEAN STANDARDS – 19
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EU AND (FYR) MACEDONIA – 16

CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP –	13
EU GUIDING PRINCIPLES –	11
INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS –	10
EU COMMON POSITIONS –	8
EU NATURAL AND LEGAL PERSONS -	7
EUROPEAN RESEARCH AREA –	6
COMPLIANCE WITH EU STANDARDS –	6
PROTECTION OF EU FINANCIAL INTERESTS -	6
DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EU AND THE COUNTRY –	6
REGULAR POLITICAL DIALOGUE -	5

The notion of conditionality and requirements is quite strongly represented in the second corpus as can be perceived from the vast number of word clusters listed under this terminological domain. For this reason, the word clusters have been sub-categorized under additional six sub-terminological domains.

Based on the rate of recurrence of the word cluster *administrative capacity*, it could be deduced that the capacity of the administration is among the key priorities and concerns as regarding the reforms that are to be implemented in the country. The sufficiency, insufficiency, lack or need of strengthening of the administrative capacity move in many directions, ranging from the energy sector, civil sector, legislative, public sector, to the transport and other sectors. The areas addressed as well as the development of the administrative capacity terminology shall be further explored in the chronological analysis of this chapter.

The administrative capacity bears direct connection to the *public administration*, a cross domain cluster, i.e. a cluster that could easily be classified under the domain of particular areas as well, resulting from the different areas in which it has been declared. In many of its occurrences it collocates with the word *reform* thus forming the *public administration reform* and *reforms of the public administration* word clusters, emphasizing insufficiencies or the urging on the part of the official EU bodies to restructure the public administration of the country.

As shown in Chapter 5, the word cluster *political criteria* appeared for the first time in the 2005 – 2009 corpus with 12 occurrences in the documents referring to the accession of the countries of the Western Balkans. In the second corpus, the word cluster occurs 60 times. In 38 cases the cluster is a name of a sub-division in the documents or makes reference to the aforementioned sub-division. In seven cases, all of which illustrated in Table 6.14 of concordances below, the word cluster collocates with Copenhagen in *Copenhagen political criteria*:

6.14 Table of concordances: Copenhagen political criteria

- a. multi-ethnic and multicultural character, thus representing a core part of the **Copenhagen political criteria** for EU membership; points out that respecting the*
- b. since its application to become a Member of the European Union, in meeting the **Copenhagen political criteria** and in implementing the recommendations of the 200*
- c. progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia towards meeting the **Copenhagen political criteria**, which require stability of institutions guarantee*
- d. progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia towards meeting the **Copenhagen political criteria**, which require stability of institutions guarantee*
- e. progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia towards meeting the **Copenhagen political criteria**, which require stability of institutions guarantee*
- f. progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia towards meeting the **Copenhagen political criteria** which require stability of institutions guarantee*
- g. of compliance by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with the **Copenhagen political criteria**; of the requirements of the Stabilisation and*

All of the Progress reports deriving from 2009, 2008, 2007 and 2006 enclose the identical sentence listed above (see examples c., d., e. and f.) in the section of the report named political criteria. The first example illustrated above derives from the 2006 Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia and conveys the European Parliament's perception of the importance of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, standing for a "core part of the Copenhagen political criteria for EU membership" (see EUR-Lex, 2015) in the following abstract of the text:

6.15 Table of concordances: Ohrid Framework Agreement/Core part of the Copenhagen political criteria

Emphasises that the Ohrid Framework Agreement has transformed the country by taking full account of its multi-ethnic and multicultural character, thus representing a core part of the Copenhagen political criteria for EU membership

The *Ohrid Framework Agreement* word cluster, falling under the terminological domain documents, papers and agreements (see below) shall be analyzed in-depth further in this chapter. However, for clarification purposes here, the Agreement had been signed in 2001 whereas the Copenhagen criteria document derives from 1993 Council in Copenhagen in which document, the word criteria had been used once in a non-enlargement context. The *Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement* word cluster, listed under this domain, further stresses the significance of this document as one of the integral conditions for a membership of the country.

The key word *Acquis* in Chapter 5 collocated mostly in the word cluster *Implementation of the Acquis*. In this chapter, the word collocates with *adoption, compliance* prevailing in the 26 occurrences of the cluster *Align its Legislation with the Acquis* in only three documents from the corpus i.e. the Analytical Report and the Commissions Opinion of 2005 and the 2006 Progress Report. Twenty four of its collocations form the cluster *efforts to align its legislation with the Acquis* of which 13 times the efforts on the part of the country have to be *considerable and sustained* and in 7 cases the country would *have to make further efforts* to align the legislation in different areas as illustrated in only several examples in Table 6.16 that are identically recurrent in the above documents:

6.16 Table of concordances: Will have to make considerable and sustained efforts to align its legislation with the *acquis*

- a. *Republic of Macedonia will have to make considerable and sustained efforts to align its legislation with the **acquis** in the area of company law and*
- b. *system, the country will have to make considerable and sustained efforts to align its legislation with the **acquis** and to effectively implement and enforce*
- c. *the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will have to make further efforts to align its legislation with the **acquis** and to effectively implement and enforce*
- d. *the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will have to make further efforts to align its legislation with the **acquis** in these areas and to effectively implement and enforce*

The *Criteria for membership* is another novelty in the word clusters of the second corpus. The following equal eight examples (illustrated in Table 6.17 of concordances below), out of 13 occurrences in total, additionally to the three occurrences of the cluster as a title of a section in the documents analyzed, derive from the introductory part in which the Commission regularly reports to the Council and the Parliament on the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia in reference to the achievements and fulfillment in the area of the political or the economic criteria for membership. The illustrations derive from all of the Progress Reports on the country:

6.17 Table of concordances: Economic criteria for membership

- a. *situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on the basis of the **economic criteria for membership**; – reviews the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedon*
- b. *situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in terms of the **political criteria for membership**; – analyses the situation in the former Yugoslav R*
- c. *situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on the basis of the **economic criteria for membership**; – reviews the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedon*

- d. situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in terms of the **political criteria for membership**; – analyses the situation in the former Yugoslav R
- e. situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on the basis of the **economic criteria for membership**; – reviews the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedon
- f. situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in terms of the **political criteria for membership**; – analyses the situation in the former Yugoslav R
- g. situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on the basis of the **economic criteria for membership**; – reviews former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's
- h. situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in terms of the **political criteria for membership**; – analyses the situation in the former Yugoslav R

The strong communicational presence in the first corpus analyzed lacks in the second one due to the absence of the key words dialogue and communication from the most frequent 60 words represented in the table above. Unlike the use of the word dialogue established between the member, the candidate, the SAP states, the general public or public societies in the previous corpus, the six occurrences of the cluster *Dialogue between the EU and the country* bears a more procedural connotation in terms of the regularity of the process either within the framework of the Stabilisation and Association Structures or in reference to the foreign policy issues:

6.18 Table of concordances: Dialogue between the EU and the country

- a. Foreign, Security and Defence Policy The regular political **dialogue between the EU and the country** continued to cover foreign policy issues
- b. The regular political and economic **dialogue between the EU and the country** has continued through the SAA structures
- c. Chapter 31: Foreign, security and defence policy. The regular political **dialogue between the EU and the country** has continued to cover foreign policy is
- d. to the EU entered into force on 1 November 2008. Political and economic **dialogue between the EU and the country** has continued through the SAA structures
- e. Chapter 31: Foreign, security and defence policy The regular political **dialogue between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** has contin
- f. However, further progress is needed in these areas. Political and economic **dialogue between the EU and the country** has continued through the SAA structures

The other frequent occurrence of the word *dialogue* is in collocation to the word *political* thus forming the word cluster *political dialogue*. In its 15 occurrences, eight times the cluster has been set in reference to the requirement for political dialogue among the political parties in the country, i.e. the positional and the oppositional parties as one of the key priorities of the Stabilisation and Association Partnership. The other seven occurrences refer to the dialogue set between the European Union and the country or its member states on the common foreign and

security policy as illustrated in the three identical examples below deriving from the Progress Reports of 2009, 2008 and 2007 respectively:

6.19 Table of concordances: Regular political dialogue between the EU and the country

- a. Chapter 31: Foreign, Security and Defence Policy The **regular political dialogue between the EU and the country** continued to cover foreign pol*
- b. Chapter 31: Foreign, security and defence policy The **regular political dialogue between the EU and the country** has continued to cover foreign*
- c. Chapter 31: Foreign, security and defence policy The **regular political dialogue between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia***

The *Regional Cooperation and good Neighbourly Relations* have remained an essential part of the process of moving towards the European Union as stipulated in all of the Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia, and as illustrated in the equivalent examples presented in Table 6.20 of concordances here, thus accentuating on the conditionality of the collaboration between the countries at a regional level:

6.20 Table of concordances: Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations

- a. lateral immunity agreements. The country needs to align with the EU position. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** form an essential part of th*
- b. les on bilateral immunity agreements. It needs to align with the EU position. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** form an essential part of th*
- c. UN, within the framework of UNSCR 817/93 and 845/93, thereby contributing to **regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations**. Relations with Turkey dev*
- d. les on bilateral immunity agreements. It needs to align with the EU position. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** form an essential part of th*
- e. of UN Security Council Resolutions 817/93 and 845/93, thereby contributing to **regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations**. 3. ECONOMIC CRITERIA*
- f. provisions ensuring investigation and prosecution by national jurisdictions. **Regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations** form an essential part of th*

6 Domain: Particular areas

6 Domain A: Judiciary area

JUDICIAL SYSTEM - 14

AREA OF THE JUDICIARY – 6

AREA OF COMPANY LAW – 7

6 Domain B: Economic and financial area

BANKING SECTOR – 25

FINANCIAL SYSTEM - 11
CAPITAL MOVEMENTS AND PAYMENTS – 9
INSURANCE SECTOR – 8
AREA OF INDIRECT TAXATION – 6
AREA OF PUBLIC PROCUREMENT – 6
AREA OF FREE MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL - 5
AREA OF PUBLIC INTERNAL FINANCIAL CONTROL – 5
AREA OF BANKS AND FINANCIAL CONGLOMERATES – 5
AREA OF FINANCIAL SERVICES – 5

6 Domain C: Other areas

PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA – 158
PUBLIC SERVICE – 35
TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS - 18
EDUCATION AND CULTURE - 14
CONSUMER PROTECTION - 13
AREA OF FOOD SAFETY – 12
EUROPEAN COMMON AVIATION AREA - 11
ENERGY SECTOR - 11
EDUCATION SYSTEM - 10
INTEGRATED ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL SYSTEM IACS - 8
AREA OF STATE AID – 8
AREA OF ROAD TRANSPORT - 8
AREA OF HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK – 7
NUCLEAR SAFETY AND RADIATION - 6
AREA OF AIR QUALITY - 6
AREA OF ANTI DISCRIMINATION – 6
PRISON SYSTEM - 6
LAND PARCEL IDENTIFICATION SYSTEM - 6
RESOURCES MANAGEMENT SYSTEM - 6
EU COMPATIBLE CONTROL SYSTEM - 6
MERIT BASED CAREER SYSTEM - 6
INTEGRATED INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM - 6
AREA OF TRANS EUROPEAN NETWORKS – 5
SCIENCE AND RESEARCH - 5
AREA OF ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS - 5
AREA OF ENERGY EFFICIENCY – 5
AREA OF POSTAL SERVICES -5
AREA OF HORIZONTAL LEGISLATION - 5
AREA OF STANDARDISATION – 5
AREA OF EDUCATION – 5
FIELD OF PUBLIC HEALTH - 5
HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT SYSTEM - 5
AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION SYSTEM - 5
NATIONAL STATISTICAL SYSTEM – 5

ELECTRICITY SECTOR - 5
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR - 5
HEALTH CARE SECTOR - 5

6 Domain D: General and fundamental rights area

HUMAN RIGHTS - 88
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS - 55
INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - 31
PRIVATE SECTOR – 23
JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS – 25
COPYRIGHT AND RELATED RIGHTS – 14
INTELLECTUAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS – 8
HUMAN RIGHTS AND RESPECT FOR AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES – 7
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS – 7

6 Domain E: Policy areas

REGIONAL POLICY AND COORDINATION – 21
FOOD SAFETY, VETERINARY AND PHYTOSANITARY POLICY – 20
ANTI CORRUPTION POLICY – 20
SOCIAL POLICY AND EMPLOYMENT – 17
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY – 16
FOREIGN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY - 15
ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY – 15
COMPETITION POLICY – 10
TRANSPORT POLICY – 9
AREA OF REGIONAL POLICY AND COORDINATION - 6
AREA OF ECONOMIC POLICY – 6
AREA OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY – 6
DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND HUMANITARIAN AID - 6
RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY - 5
EUROPEAN DEFENCE AND SECURITY POLICY – 5
AREA OF VETERINARY POLICY – 5
AREA OF MONETARY POLICY - 5
COMMON FISHERIES POLICY – 5

Based on the abundant number of word clusters under the particular areas domain, it could be acknowledged that the Progress Reports and the related documents on the advancement of the Republic of Macedonia towards the European Union treat a large number of fields in deciphering the ongoing development of the country at a certain period of time. These particular areas are manifold and they move along the lines of judicial aspects, economic and financial as well as particular areas entailing cultural, educational and other grounds, as well as rights and policy areas as distinguished in the above sub-categories.

The most recurrent cluster, *preparations in this area*, is a c-cluster, appearing in all of the Progress Reports and in the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia of 2009 document. It collocates with *moderately advanced, on track, well advanced, ongoing, not yet, slowly and advancing* in all of its 158 occurrences. These qualifying evaluations shall be further explored in this chapter (see the 9th domain).

Human rights is yet another constant cluster throughout the corpus. It further forms the word clusters *Protection of human rights, Human rights and fundamental freedoms, Human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, Human rights and the protection of minorities* present throughout the entire corpus as well. The strong presence of this cluster and its extended word clusters comes of no surprise taking into account the provisions of Article 6 (1) of the Treaty on European Union: “The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law” (see European Parliament, 2015).

In 23 out of total of 35 applications, the *public service* word cluster collocates in the cluster *public service broadcaster* further collocating with the *Broadcasting Council*, both of which are under disapproval by the European bodies for its *subjection under political interference, remaining a cause for concern, vulnerable to political interference* throughout the period from which the analyzed documents derive, in identical or semi-identical settings as shown in Table 6.21 here:

6.21 Table of concordances: Public service broadcaster

- a. consumers. In the area of audiovisual policy, the Broadcasting Council and the **public service broadcaster** continue to be subject to political interference. Ove*
- b. blic service broadcaster has not been ensured. The Broadcasting Council and the **public service broadcaster** continue to be subject to political interference. Ove*
- c. public service broadcaster are still in force. The Broadcasting Council and the **public service broadcaster** continue to be subject to political interference, par*
- d. In the media, the financial situation of the Broadcasting Council and the **public service broadcaster** remain a cause for concern. Overall, preparations are*
- e. provisions regulating the independence of the Broadcasting Council and the **public service broadcaster**, both remain vulnerable to political interference*

All of the word clusters listed under this domain represent a specific area that has been subjected to scrutiny in inspecting its progress or lack of progress during a certain time framework, i.e. during a one-year period in between the inspections conducted. Some of these areas shall be further explored in the chronological development component of this chapter.

7 Domain: Legislative and legal aspects

7 Domain A: General aspects

NEW LAW ON – 91
LEGAL FRAMEWORK – 62
AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW ON – 35
SECONDARY LEGISLATION – 27
NATIONAL LEGISLATION – 25
LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK - 20
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW ON – 17
LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK - 15
NATIONAL LEGISLATION – 8
REGULATORY FRAMEWORK - 7
EXISTING LEGISLATION - 7
INTERNATIONAL RESTRICTIVE MEASURES - 6
PROPER LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 6
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACTION PLAN – 5

7 Domain B: Corporate and regulatory law

COMPANY LAW – 45
COMPETITION LAW - 11
BANKING LAW – 6
ENERGY LAW – 6
LAW ON PUBLIC PROCUREMENT – 5

7 Domain C: Private, labour, procedural and administrative law

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW – 20
LAW ON CIVIL SERVANTS – 11
LAW ON EMPLOYMENT – 10
LAW ON LABOUR RELATIONS – 8
LAW ON MEDIATION – 8
LAW ON GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES - 6
LAW ON CRIMINAL PROCEDURE – 16
LAW ON MISDEMEANOURS - 10

7 Domain D: Miscellaneous aspects

ELECTORAL CODE – 21
LAW ON ALIENS - 15
LAW ON PRODUCT SAFETY – 12
LAW ON FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES - 11
LAW ON TECHNOLOGICAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ZONES – 9
LAW ON ENVIRONMENT – 9
LAW ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT – 8
LAW ON LANGUAGES – 8

BROADCASTING LAW - 8
LAW ON ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS – 8
LAW ON CONFLICT OF INTEREST - 8
LAW ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS - 7
LAW ON ASYLUM AND TEMPORARY PROTECTION – 7
LAW ON HIGHER EDUCATION – 7
LAW ON AVIATION – 7
LAW ON POLICE - 7
LAW ON WASTE MANAGEMENT - 6
LAW ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES – 6
LAW ON CONSTRUCTION PRODUCTS - 5
LAW ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE OPERATIONS – 5
ALIENS MIGRATION LAW – 5
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW – 5
LAW ON ADULT EDUCATION – 5
LAW ON ANTI DISCRIMINATION – 5
CODE OF POLICE ETHICS – 5

Part of the obligations of the country on its path to the European Union involve drafting, adoption, enforcement, implementation of new laws and legal regulations harmonized with the legislative of the EU. The 7th terminological domain encloses some of these legal aspects that bear recurrent application in the documents, and that have been subjected under examination on the part of the European bodies involved in the scanning process of the progress made in the legal area.

For illustrational purposes here (see Tables of concordances 6.22 and 6.33 below), the word cluster *company law*, additionally being used as a chapter title in the Progress Reports and appearing throughout the corpus, has had aspects that have been subjected to ‘praise’ as well as ‘criticism’ in the following examples deriving from the 2009 Progress Report and the Conclusions on Macedonia from 2009:

6.22 Table of concordances: Company law a.

*a. trative capacity at all levels. Good progress has been made also in the area of **company law**, although alignment of the legal framework for accounting and auditi*

*b. meet its priorities. Conclusion Good progress has been made in the area of **company law**. However, alignment of the legal framework for accounting and auditi*

The following two identical uses of the cluster derive from the Progress Reports of 2008 and 2009:

6.23 Table of concordances: Company law b.

*a. administrative capacity at all levels. 4.6. Chapter 6: Company law There has been good progress in the area of **company law**.*

*b. on the new public procurement rules need to be sustained. 4.6. Chapter 6: Company law There has been good progress in the area of **company law**.*

The application of the other word clusters under this domain is rather similar and they shall be further analyzed in-depth where deemed necessary in this chapter.

8 Domain: Economic aspects

8 Domain A: Financial indicators and issues

GDP – 294
NATIONAL ACCOUNTS – 26
FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE -21
NATIONAL CURRENCY – 18
PUBLIC DEBT – 16
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT – 13
GENERAL GOVERNMENT DEBT – 9
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION – 8
FINANCIAL CONTROL – 8
PUBLIC DEBT MANAGEMENT – 7
SUFFICIENT FINANCIAL RESOURCES - 6
FINANCIAL REPORTING STANDARDS - 6
GDP PER CAPITA – 6
GOVERNMENT DEFICIT SURPLUS - 5
GENERAL GOVERNMENT DEBT - 5
INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL REPORTING STANDARDS– 6
GENERAL GOVERNMENT DEFICIT - 6
GOVERNMENT DEFICIT SURPLUS - 5
FINANCIAL MARKET INFRASTRUCTURE - 5
FINANCIAL SECTOR DEVELOPMENT - 5

8 Domain B: Economic system and economic policy

FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY – 28
LABOUR MARKET - 26
INTERNAL MARKET - 21
INTERNAL ENERGY MARKET - 12
TRADE INTEGRATION – 11

GOODS AND SERVICES - 10
 ONE STOP SHOP SYSTEM – 9
 ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET - 8
 LABOUR MARKET MEASURES - 7
 TRADE INTEGRATION WITH EU – 7
 LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH - 5
 SHARE OF IMPORTS – 6
 MARKET SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM - 6
 SHARE OF EXPORTS – 6
 ELECTRICITY MARKET - 6
 BODY FOR MARKET SURVEILANCE - 5
 COMMON MARKET ORGANISATIONS - 5
 THE DOMESTIC MARKET - 5

8 Domain C: Miscellaneous aspects

MARKET SURVEILLANCE - 36
 ECONOMIC CRITERIA – 28
 HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES - 24
 STATE MARKET INSPECTORATE - 20
 MARKET FORCES- 19
 CAPACITY TO COPE WITH COMPETITIVE PRESSURE – 17
 FINANCIAL SERVICES – 9
 EU 27 COUNTRIES - 8
 PURCHASING POWER STANDARDS - 7
 WHOLE ECONOMY - 5
 SIGNIFICANT MARKET POWER - 6
 FINANCIAL MARKET INFRASTRUCTURE - 5
 PROTECTION OF EU FINANCIAL INTEREST - 5
 TRADE IN GOODS - 5
 TRADE EXPORT PRICE - 5

Similar to the previous domain analyzed, the domain enclosing the economic aspects deals with versatile components of the economic strength, growth, competitiveness and capacity of the country and examines its capabilities to reach the ability to join the Union as an equal, economically stable member.

The existence of a *functioning market economy* appears in all of the Progress Reports as a sub-division title under the *economic criteria* chapter. The word clusters under the economic criterion process the technicalities, the principles and the decisive factors determining the progress of the country in this respect.

As shown in the following four, entirely equivalent, examples occurring in the same form in each Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia under the economic criteria chapter, the existence

of a functioning market economy is a prerequisite and a condition for a country wishing to join the Union as illustrated via several examples presented in Table of concordances 6.24:

6.24 Table of concordances: Existence of a functioning market economy

- a. Council in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the **existence of a functioning market economy** and the capacity to cope*
- b. Council in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the **existence of a functioning market economy**, and the capacity to cope*
- c. Council in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the **existence of a functioning market economy** and the capacity to cope*
- d. Council in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the **existence of a functioning market economy**, and the capacity to cope*

The listing of the word cluster *EU 27 countries* under the economic aspects domain derives from the purely economic context in each of its eight occurrences, dealing with technicalities and the country's import or export size.

The *economic and monetary union* cluster appears four times as a chapter title and as in the following three uses, presented in Table 6.25 below, derive from the Analytical Report and the Commissions Opinion of 2005, stressing the postulation of the Union as a political, economic and monetary creation and the obligations of membership that ought to be undertaken by the countries wishing to join it:

6.25 Table of concordances: Economic and monetary union

- a. on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, **economic and monetary union**. The Union's capacity to absorb new members, w*
- b. on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, **economic and monetary union**". In applying for membership on the basis of the T*
- c. on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, **economic and monetary union**. The Union's capacity to absorb new members, w*

Two of the above statements, listed under the requirements of membership, precede the following declaration on the future enlargements of the Union and its absorption capacity, and both identical statements derive from the Commission's Opinion and Analytical Report documents from 2005:

6.26 Table of concordances: Union's capacity to absorb

The Union's capacity to absorb new members, while maintaining the momentum of European integration, is also an important consideration in the general interest of both the Union and the candidate countries."

Unlike the *absorption capacity*, which was one of the major future enlargement issues in Chapter 5, the 655 occurrences of the word *capacity* collocate in an administrative, institutional and operational context.

Quite unexpectedly, the word cluster *broad political consensus*, in all six occurrences illustrated in Table 6.27, references the general political consent in the country in the framework of the economic policy in all of the Progress Reports and the Analytical Report and Commissions Opinion of 2005:

6.27 Table of concordances: Broad political consensus

- a. elections, structural reforms continued in a number of areas. Overall, a **broad political consensus** on the fundamentals of economic policy has been maintained*
- b. implementation of reforms slowed down before and after the elections. Overall, a **broad political consensus** on the fundamentals of economic policy has been maintained*
- c. country's progress by both institutions concerning its programme commitments. A **broad political consensus** on the fundamentals of economic policy has been maintained*
- d. ECONOMIC CRITERIA In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia there is a **broad political consensus** on the essentials of economic policies. The economy ha*
- e. In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia there is a **broad political consensus** on the essentials of economic policies. The economy*
- f. improve the efficiency of the economy. There seems to be an increasingly **broad political consensus** on the fundamentals of economic policy. After independ*

The word clusters holding economic connotations shall be further analyzed where required further in this chapter.

9 Domain: Qualifying evaluations

9 Domain A: Endorsing evaluations

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 251

PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 164

SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 102

PROGRESS WAS MADE - 93

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE AREA OF - 73

THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS – 67

PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED IN THE AREA OF - 57

PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE (STILL) AT AN EARLY STAGE - 52
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE MODERATELY ADVANCED - 39
GOOD PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 37
LITTLE PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED – 24
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE AT AN EARLY STAGE - 22
MACEDONIA HAS MADE PROGRESS – 20
THERE HAS BEEN GOOD PROGRESS – 18
LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE – 17
PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED – 17
GOOD PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED – 16
THE COUNTRY IS MODERATELY ADVANCED – 15
FURTHER PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE – 14
SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS - 14
THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED PROGRESS - 12
LITTLE PROGRESS WAS MADE – 11
PROGRESS WAS MADE TOWARDS – 11
THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS IN THE AREA – 10
COUNTRY PARTIALLY MEETS - 9
THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS – 9
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE WELL ADVANCED - 9
FURTHER PROGRESS WAS MADE - 9
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS – 7
MADE GOOD PROGRESS – 7
SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED – 7
THERE HAS BEEN GOOD PROGRESS IN THE AREA – 7
SOME/LITTLE PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED – 5
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED – 5
IMPORTANT PROGRESS - 5

9 Domain B: Unfavourable evaluations

NOT YET BEEN - 99
HAS NOT YET - 95
IS NOT YET – 88
LITTLE PROGRESS - 65
HAS YET TO BE - 59
HAVE NOT YET - 39
ARE NOT YET FULLY - 24
LAGGING BEHIND – 20
NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE – 18
HAVE YET TO - 18
NO PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 17
NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED - 15
NOT YET BEEN TRANSPOSED - 12
YET IN PLACE - 12
NOT YET SUFFICIENT - 12

NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY - 11
YET BEEN ENACTED - 11
COUNTRY IS NOT (YET) SUFFICIENTLY PREPARED - 11
YET PREPARATIONS IN - 9
DOES NOT YET - 9
NOT YET OPERATIONAL - 8
YET FULLY IN - 8
YET BEEN COMPLETED - 7
YET ENTERED INTO - 7
YET BEEN ADOPTED - 7
NOT YET STARTED - 7
THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS – 7
NO PARTICULAR PROGRESS - 7
NO PROGRESS WAS MADE - 6
BUT IS NOT - 6
BUT NOT YET - 6
NOT YET RATIFIED – 5

9 Domain C: Necessity for further endeavors

EFFORTS ARE NEEDED – 79
EFFORTS ARE REQUIRED - 17
CONTINUED EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 11
FURTHER SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS - 9
SIGNIFICANT FURTHER EFFORTS - 8

The 9th terminological domain, which is the domain enclosing the qualifying evaluations, contains a fairly large quantity of word clusters, most of which are constant throughout the corpus (c-clusters), and mainly relate to the defining of the evaluation of the progress made by the country overall or in a particular area. As can be discerned from the sub-categorization of the above clusters, the first glance at the body of the domain suggests a positive evaluation of the development. However, a more detailed observation leads to a large portion of ‘buts’, ‘yets’ and ‘nots’. The most frequent cluster of this domain, *progress has been made* collocates with *some, little, good, limited* and *no* thus forming the recurrent clusters: *some progress, little progress, good progress, limited progress* and *no progress has been made* in most of its appearances. The assessments of the progress made are directed in all areas under examination, portraying in detail the development and the lack of development in a particular field.

The circumstances under which the second word cluster under this domain, *progress can be reported*, occurs are quite similar as the cluster collocates again with *some, little, good, limited* or *no* in the c-clusters *some progress, little progress, good progress, limited progress* and *no*

progress can be reported. Upon a further analysis on some of the extended word clusters, these have similar or identical applications throughout the second corpus, and as shown in Table 6.28 of concordances below:

6.28 Table of concordances: Some progress can be reported

*a. Preparations in this area are advanced. **Some progress can be reported** in the area of regional policy and coordination of structural instruments*

*b. have not yet started. Preparations in this area are advancing. Conclusion **Some progress can be reported** in the area of regional policy and coordination of structural instruments*

*c. not started yet. Preparations in this area are slowly advancing. Conclusion **Some progress can be reported** in the area of regional policy and coordination of structural instruments*

The above examples derive from the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia 2009 document, as well as from the 2009 Progress Report and the 2008 Progress Report, thus showing the level of progress that the country has made within a time span of two years on the regional policy and coordination of structural instruments issue.

The word cluster *Country partially meets* collocates with the *objectives* or its synonyms *priorities* or *targets* of the country in different unrelated areas under evaluation:

6.29 Table of concordances: Country partially meets

*a. social inclusion policies and stakeholder dialogue are still lacking. The **country partially meets** its objectives in this area. Minority rights, cultural*

*b. of Economy is still understaffed. In the area of the internal energy market the **country partially meets** its objectives. There has been modest progress in the*

*c. coordination remain poor and ineffective. In the area of food safety rules, the **country partially meets** its objectives. No progress was made on specific rules*

*d. as been reinforced, but is not sufficient. In the area of veterinary policy the **country partially meets** its objectives. Little progress has been made in conne*

*e. are still being used. In the area of corporate accounting and auditing, the **country partially meets** its priorities. Conclusion Good progress has been ma*

*f. domestic electronic payment transactions. In the area of payment systems, the **country partially meets** its targets. Progress has been made in the fight again*

*g. as regards children's rights and antidiscrimination policies. Overall the **country partially meets** its objectives in this area. Minority rights, cultural*

*h. provisions on financing of political parties and election campaigns. The **country partially meets** its priorities in this area. 2.2. Human rights and t*

*i. politicisation of senior police officers is a serious concern. In this area the **country partially meets** its priorities. Judicial system*

The above examples are not isolated cases. On the contrary, the listed qualifying evaluations have been applied throughout all of the documents under analysis here and in the entire spectrum of fields that have been subjected to scrutiny.

Taking into consideration the vast number of qualifying evaluations, as well as their repetitive manifestations throughout the corpus, some of the clusters under this domain shall be analyzed further in this chapter.

10 Domain: Documents, papers and agreements

10 Domain A: National documents, papers and agreements

ACTION PLAN – 116
OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 55
NATIONAL STRATEGY – 49
NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE ACQUIS - 9
BILATERAL IMMUNITY AGREEMENT - 9
BILATERAL SOCIAL SECURITY AGREEMENTS - 8
INTEGRATED BORDER MANAGEMENT STRATEGY – 7
NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR EMPLOYMENT - 5
NATIONAL STRATEGY AND ACTION PLAN – 5
ACTION PLAN FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN’S RIGHTS – 5
ROMA STRATEGY - 5

10 Domain B: International, EU and joint documents, papers and agreements

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 60
EU ACQUIS – 22
ENERGY COMMUNITY TREATY - 18
EUROPEAN CONVENTION – 15
EUROPEAN CHARTER FOR SMALL ENTERPRISES – 13
ENLARGEMENT STRATEGY AND MAIN CHALLENGES - 11
2007 PROGRESS REPORT – 8
CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (CEFTA) – 7
CONVENTION FOR PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUALS - 6
2006 PROGRESS REPORT – 6
2008 PROGRESS REPORT - 5
EUROPEAN COMMON AVIATION AGREEMENT – 5
AGREEMENT WITH EUROPOL - 5

The *Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)*, defined as a means through which the countries are to prepare for the demands and the perspectives of EU accession (see Chapter 5), has been identified as “the legal framework for relations with the European Union” providing a structure for “political dialogue and enhanced regional co-operation”, assisting in the

development of the economic relations, furthermore serving as “a basis for Community technical and financial assistance” in the Analytical Report of 2005. The above Agreement has been called upon 60 times in the second corpus, in many cases concerning its implementation, evaluating that the *country has made progress* in this regard, and especially in the Progress Reports of 2006, 2007 and 2008, as well as in the Key Findings document of 2008:

6.30 Table of concordances: Stabilisation and Association Agreement

*a. non-majority communities has been adopted. The country has made progress in the implementation of the **Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)** and has*

*b. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has made progress in the implementation of the **Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)** and has reac*

*c. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has made progress in the implementation of the **Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)** and complies*

*d. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has made progress in the implementation of the **Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)**. But is not*

The above appraisals precede statements on judicial and police reform, electronic communications, competition and industrial property rights marking satisfactory development in these fields or less satisfactory advancement expressed through *however* or *but* in the evaluations following the good progress.

The *Ohrid Framework Agreement* brought up previously in this chapter, is a document signed in the town of Ohrid in August 2001, as a result of negotiations held between the major Macedonian and Albanian political parties in the Republic of Macedonia, mediated by EU and USA representatives, seeking to end an armed conflict between the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army and the Macedonian government security forces (see United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR, 2015). The EU Commissioner responsible for EU Enlargement at the time, Olli Rehn, in one of his speeches characterized the agreement as “Vital for European Path” (see European Union, 2015h).

This imperativeness of the Agreement for the country on the path towards fulfilling its aspirations of becoming an EU member state can be further distinguished in the large number of occurrences of the word cluster, collocating in 13 of its 55 occurrences in the cluster *Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement*. The Agreement has further been allocated the concepts of *Democracy and rule of law* as can be perceived in the following example deriving from the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia document of 2009:

6.31 Table of concordances: Ohrid Framework Agreement

*The implementation of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** remains an essential element of democracy and the rule of law in the country.*

As shown in Table 6.32 of concordances, the Ohrid Framework Agreement has been given additional weight in its significance as a guarantee for the rights of the ethnic communities and the non-majority communities in the country, allowing for a margin for promotion of further reforms in all of the Progress reports on Macedonia:

6.32 Table of concordances: Ohrid Framework Agreement remains

*a. the country sufficiently fulfils the political criteria. The implementation of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement remains** an essential element of democracy and the*

*b. They intensified at times, in particular in schools. The **Ohrid Framework Agreement remains** a crucial guarantee of the rights of the n*

*c. at a low level but have intensified in some areas and at certain moments. The **Ohrid Framework Agreement remains** a crucial guarantee of the rights of the e*

*d. important political reforms and related legislation. The implementation of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** remains essential to foster a positive environment*

The c-cluster *national strategy* is present in the domain comprising the documents, papers and agreements word clusters and in the corresponding cluster of each sub-corpus to follow. The strategy brought up at a national level and referred to in this corpus has not been prepared for a unique area, but National Strategies referenced to or their absence, have been set up in regards to the Roma, reform in education, development, youth, deinstitutionalization, waste management, protection and rescue, employment and other fields. The occurrences of the cluster throughout the corpus have been employed in examination of the implementation of the respective strategies or the urging for their implementation and development.

11 Domain: Other

STATUS OF CANDIDATE COUNTRY – 10

GRANTED STATUS OF CANDIDATE COUNTRY – 6

EU POSITION – 6

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC – 6

CORRUPTION REMAINS WIDESPREAD - 6

CORRUPTION REMAINS PREVALENT - 5

COOPERATION WITH THE PUBLIC - 5

The 11th terminological domain encompasses the word clusters distinguished as Other.

All of the Progress Reports, including the Parliament Resolutions on the 2006 and 2007 Reports and the Commission Opinion of 2005 documents inform about the candidate status that the country has obtained by the European Council of 2005 in the below illustrated examples, originating from the Progress Reports:

6.33 Table of concordances: Status of candidate country

*a. The European Council of December 2005 granted the **status of candidate country** to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.*

*b. The European Council of December 2005 granted the **status of candidate country** to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.*

*c. The European Council of December 2005 granted the **status of candidate country** to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*

*d. The European Council of 17 December 2005 granted the **status of candidate country** to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.*

*e. The European Council of 17 December 2005 granted the **status of candidate country** to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.*

The Commission Opinion of 2005 states the following:

6.34 Table of concordances: Status

This status is a political recognition of a closer relationship between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on its way towards membership.

The word clusters under this, as well as under the remaining terminological domains, shall be subjected to further analysis where needed.

The introductory part of this chapter announced a division of the analysis conducted on the second corpus into two parts. The second part of this chapter that follows shall go through a diachronic, i.e. chronological examination of the development or correspondence of the terminology applied in the Progress Reports and the related papers. For this purpose the documents have been grouped in respective sub-corpora either according to the year during which they have been prepared or according to the year to which the conveyed results of the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia refer.

6.2.1. Official Documents of the European Union bodies on the Candidature and on the Progress made by the Republic of Macedonia – 2005

The first sub-corpus that shall be more extensively analyzed here consists of documents produced by the EU bodies, dealing with the candidature of the Republic of Macedonia for European Union membership, as well as with the motion made by the country on this path. It comprises four documents: the Analytical Report for the Opinion on the Application, the Commission Opinion on the Application, the Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council and the Council Decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the European Partnership (see beginning of Chapter 6 for the complete titles of the aforementioned documents).

As stated above (see Chapter 4), the Republic of Macedonia was granted Candidate Country status in 2005. The documents of this sub-corpus deal with the opinion of the European Commission on the country's application, the Brussels European Council's approval of the Commission's decision and statements concerning the further progress of Macedonia calling upon the Copenhagen political criteria, the Stabilisation and Association process and the absorption capacity of the Union, as well as with the principles, priorities and conditions of the European Partnership with the Republic of Macedonia.

The 2005 sub-corpus consists of 79,036 words and when compared to the Guardian Word List 1998 – 2004, the key words list exceeded the preset number of 500. The first 66 key words relevant to this analysis (ordered in terms of frequency of occurrence) are presented in the table below (Table 2).

Table 2: Key words of the 2005 sub-corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	LAW	375	58,744	1,592.02	34	DEVELOPMENT	109	40,629	287.68
2	REPUBLIC	333	10,657	2,438.79	35	COUNCIL	109	59,268	216.40
3	MACEDONIA	330	2,545	3,320.47	36	MEASURES	107	14,630	481.68
4	COUNTRY	304	102,076	859.74	37	CONTROL	105	49,206	235.01
5	EU	297	32,882	1,457.99	38	NEEDS	104	45,090	246.79
6	ACQUIS	270	11	4,299.17	39	SOCIAL	95	66,543	149.27
7	LEGISLATION	261	13,849	1,653.73	40	MINISTRY	92	12,632	413.40

8	PUBLIC	199	146,245	297.7 7	41	RULES	92	28,238	274.92
9	EUROPEAN	196	82,150	476.8 7	42	POLITICAL	91	86,968	100.12
10	NATIONAL	192	120,895	334.7 3	43	EMPLOYMENT	89	17,013	344.02
11	STATE	168	81,391	366.5 3	44	MEMBER	89	35,973	222.12
12	MARKET	164	104,828	281.8 7	45	TERM	88	49,674	169.19
13	POLICY	156	64,728	382.2 5	46	AREA	87	47,745	171.36
14	SECTOR	155	37,923	527.7 9	47	ENFORCEMENT	86	2,962	617.25
15	SYSTEM	154	74,855	335.0 9	48	PARLIAMENT	86	25,055	265.16
16	HOWEVER	152	109,881	231.3 2	49	STANDARDS	86	26,509	256.32
17	NEED	149	122,324	197.4 5	50	GDP	85	2,927	610.10
18	ADMINISTRATIVE	140	3,136	1,122. 26	51	NECESSARY	85	18,885	304.60
19	FRAMEWORK	138	4,089	1,031. 07	52	SERVICES	84	73,685	102.93
20	PROTECTION	138	17,181	646.0 5	53	PROVISIONS	83	1,990	654.31
21	FINANCIAL	138	58,244	334.0 0	54	MANAGEMENT	82	46,537	156.91
22	AGREEMENT	134	23,730	537.3 5	55	CUSTOMS	80	4,300	504.70
23	IMPLEMENTATION	133	2,172	1,147. 59	56	COMMISSION	80	39,077	173.35
24	ADOPTED	133	8,181	804.1 9	57	PRODUCTS	79	22,187	248.86
25	TRADE	127	46,864	337.4 8	58	ECONOMY	79	33,308	191.30
26	CAPACITY	125	13,227	624.2 8	59	FOREIGN	78	49,381	135.22
27	GOVERNMENT	124	198,659	55.48	60	REGIONAL	76	16,371	276.73
28	ECONOMIC	123	39,097	359.8 0	61	LABOUR	76	95,514	54.46
29	LEGAL	121	40,848	340.8 0	62	PROCEDURES	75	6,068	413.47
30	RIGHTS	121	52,176	288.3 0	63	PARTICULAR	75	27,398	200.61
31	EFFORTS	120	16,495	539.0 0	64	ASSOCIATION	75	38,718	155.45
32	INTERNATIONAL	114	89,287	159.2 4	65	UNION	75	57,009	108.21
33	LEVEL	113	55,863	242.5 7	66	COMMUNITY	72	45,669	124.59

Upon comparison of the key words table of the entire second corpus and of the 2005 sub-corpus, the similarity of the words contained can be discerned, i.e. in 46 cases the words in both tables are identical. This vast correspondence of the words implies a presence of corresponding or comparable key terminology throughout the complete corpus.

Similarly with the overall analysis of the entire second corpus, many of the key words of the 2005 sub-corpus, amongst which the most frequent key word holding the first position in both of

the tables, *law* refer to the legislative and legal aspects together with the words: *adopted, enforcement, implementation, legal*. The words *Acquis, efforts, rights, development, measures, administrative, capacity, control* make reference to the notion of conditionality, requirements and compliances for an EU membership of the country. Many of the key words such as *Republic, Macedonia, EU, country, European, and Union* deal with the countries or regions involved in the enlargement process, additionally enforced by *member, public* and *Community* signifying the parties and actors involved. The *Parliament, Commission, Ministry, Government* clearly mark the involvement of the aforementioned institutions or bodies in the country's progress towards its objective, and the *employment, framework, sector, policy, area* represent the particular areas subjected to closer inspection when deciphering the development made in these particular fields of interest. The economic aspects bear a strong presence in the 2005 sub-corpus as represented by the key words *market, GDP, financial* and *economy*.

As mentioned above, the corresponding key words of the 2005 sub-corpus produce corresponding word clusters, classified under the corresponding terminological domains as presented below. However, the first sub-corpus does generate several word clusters that do not mark their occurrence within the entire corpus's analysis and shall be further explored in this second part of the analysis here.

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

PUBLIC SECTOR – 19

MEMBER STATES – 9

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT - 7

NEW MEMBER STATES – 6

EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES – 5

Apart from the two clusters that appear only in the 2005 documents and whose occurrences shall be subjected to a closer examination, the word clusters under the first terminological domain reiterate throughout the 2005 sub-corpus. The word cluster *new Member States* occurs solely in the 2005 Analytical Report document and bears a rather technical meaning in terms of the visa requirements technicalities, external financial assistance, details on specific areas in which the obligations of the new member states are being laid as illustrated in Table of concordances 6.35:

6.35 Table of concordances: New member states

- a. bilateral national programmes to achieve the necessary figures. Targets for the **new Member States** have recently been increased by the Council.*
- b. the period between mid-July and mid-December 2005, the citizens of most of the **new Member States** are still under a visa obligation for entry into the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*
- c. which entails the lifting of internal border controls in the EU. However, for the **new Member States** substantial parts of the Schengen acquis are implemented following*
- d. banks will be subject to the Statute of the European System of Central Banks. **New Member States** are also committed to seek compliance with the criteria laid down*
- e. privileged access of the public sector to financial institutions. Upon accession, **new Member States** will be expected to co-ordinate their economic policies.*
- f. A Protocol amending the SAA in view of the accession of ten **new Member States** to the EU was concluded in February 2005. This also provided*

The limited number of occurrences of this word cluster, differently than primarily expected, carries quite a ‘guide like’ connotation in terms of what is expected from a country once achieving the status of a new member state, or what is expected from the Republic of Macedonia in terms of the visa obligations towards the new member states. The cluster itself refers to the states that acquired full membership of the European Union in 2004.

The seven appearances of the new word cluster *Members of Parliament* are in the same line with the previously analyzed cluster, in that they occur only in the 2005 Analytical Report document and in a purely technical sense carrying over the regulations and legal frameworks assigned to the position of the Parliament’s members as illustrated below:

6.36 Table of concordances: Members of Parliament

- a. 2005 the government decided to set up a Council on EU integration, composed of **Members of Parliament** and representatives of civil society. While it*
- b. Following the amendment of the Constitution in 2001, Albanian can be used by **Members of Parliament** in plenary sessions. It can also be spoken during committee*
- c. A vote of confidence in the government can be initiated by one sixth of the **Members of Parliament**. An interpellation may be made by a minimum of five MPs co*
- d. issue – within which there must be a majority of the total number of votes by **Members of Parliament** from the minority communities. The same rule also applies*
- e. double majority rule. “Double majority” means a majority of the total number of **Members of Parliament** – which can be a simple or two thirds majority depending o*
- f. e members attending which may not be less than one third of the total number of **Members of Parliament**. After the amendment of the Constitution entailed by the*
- g. There are 18 permanent working bodies of Parliament. Seven are chaired by **Members of Parliament** from the opposition. A Committee on EU Affairs was establi*

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 321

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 321

EUROPEAN UNION - 20

EU AND THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 7

All of the word clusters under the countries or regions domain are comprised in the corresponding domain of the entire corpus and none of their presences in the sub-corpus is unexpected. The word cluster *EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, as explored in its contexts of occurrence, once more carries a technical explanation of the relations between the country and the Union. In two of its seven appearances the cluster has been used as a title of sub divisions in the two documents in which they occur, i.e. the Analytical Report and the Commission Opinion of 2005. One of the occurrences shows the candidate status that the country obtained in 2005, characterizing this acknowledgement as a political recognition of the relationship between Macedonia and the EU. The additional four occurrences explain the trade relations and signed agreements:

6.37 Table of concordances: EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

a. This status is a political recognition of a closer relationship between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on its way towards membership.

b. Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for EU membership). b) Relations between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

c. provides for a competition regime to be applied in trade relations between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia based on the criteria of Article

d. of the right of establishment and the supply of services between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. As regards the freedom of es

e. impact of the Interim Agreement on Trade and Trade-Related Matters between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which entered into force on 1

f. Pact, IMF, World Bank, EBRD, EIB, etc.) and NGOs. b) Relations between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia After a referendum in September

g. 4 b) Relations between the EU and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

NATIONAL BANK - 21

MINISTRY OF FINANCE - 21

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR - 20

JUDICIAL COUNCIL - 15

COUNCIL OF EUROPE - 14

EUROPEAN COUNCIL - 14
 PUBLIC PROSECUTOR - 13
 STATE COMMISSION - 9
 EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 7
 MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE - 9
 STATE MARKET INSPECTORATE – 8
 PUBLIC REVENUE OFFICE – 8
 PUBLIC PROSECUTOR S OFFICE - 7
 EUROPEAN COMMISSION - 7
 LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES - 7
 MINISTRY OF DEFENCE - 7
 MINISTRY OF ECONOMY - 7
 MINISTRY OF JUSTICE – 6
 EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE - 6
 INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL - 6
 INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT – 5
 STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE – 5
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL – 5

The 3rd terminological domain entails the word clusters representing the Institutions and bodies involved in the process of accession, mostly on the part of the Republic of Macedonia and some of the institutions on the part of the European Union. The clusters are constant, i.e. c-clusters in the entire corpus. The most frequent word clusters *National Bank* as well as the *Ministry of Finance* in this sub-corpus mark their appearance simply in the Analytical Report of 2005 document and in both of the cases solely clarify the positions and activities of both institutions carrying details on the scope of operations of the Bank i.e. Ministry. The circumstances, in which the other State or the Union's institutions and bodies comprised in this domain occur, are comparable in their technical application or in contexts bearing explanations of the scope of operations carried by a specific body, as illustrated in Table of concordances 6.38, deriving from the Analytical Report of 2005 document:

6.38 Table of concordances: Stabilisation and Association Committee

- a. Agreement on 1 April 2004, a Stabilisation and Association Council and a **Stabilisation and Association Committee** were set up. An extensive political dialogue*
- b. Committee met for the first time in March 2005 in Skopje. In 2005 the **Stabilisation and Association Committee** and Council met in June and July respect*
- c. are also being reduced but remain for a number of sensitive items. The **Stabilisation and Association Committee** met for the first time in June 2004 and*
- d. Subcommittees examine questions at technical level. The **Stabilisation and Association Committee** provides a forum for discussions at senior*

e. the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the questionnaire delivered by the **European Commission** in October 2004, bilateral follow-up meetings, discussions

f. In order to carry out the assessment required in this connection, the **European Commission** has drawn on a number of sources of information: answers

g. programmes to be implemented and the indicative amounts. Based on this programme, the **European Commission** adopted National Annual Programmes worth ^ 41.5 million in 2

h. In 2003 an action plan was adopted to implement the recommendations made by the **European Commission** in its *Stabilisation and Association Report*. In September

4 Domain: Enlargement and the elements of the process

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT (SAA) - 36

EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP - 15

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION - 15

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS - 10

ACCESSION TO THE EU – 9

APPLICATION FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 7

INTEGRATION WITH THE EU – 6

COPENHAGEN EUROPEAN COUNCIL - 6

EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN COPENHAGEN - 6

CRITERIA SET BY THE COPENHAGEN EUROPEAN COUNCIL - 6

The enlargement elements domain comprises a rather limited number of word clusters that once again reaffirm the well-established enlargement terminology. The clusters *Stabilisation and Association Agreement*, *European Partnership*, *Stabilisation and Association Process* have already been elucidated in the current chapter as well as in the previous Chapter 5.

The cluster *Accession to the EU* occurs only in the 2005 Analytical Report of this sub-corpus. Upon several in-depth analyses on some of the recurrent word clusters as illustrated hitherto, it could be concluded that the aforementioned document serves as a blueprint document and a document of conduct for the overall accession of the country in terms of the standards that the country ought to achieve on different accounts as well as the obligations that follow upon the achievement of the final aim, i.e. full integration into the Union as shown in the several examples here:

6.39 Table of concordances: Accession to the EU

a. continues to be the main tool for guiding the country's work on preparation for **accession to the EU**. Implementation of the *European Partnership* needs to continue

b. for in these agreements are not entirely in line with the *acquis*. Before its **accession to the EU**, the country would have to ensure that the content of these

- c. goods, 16.2% on agricultural goods and 12.4% on fishery products. Upon **accession to the EU**, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia would become bound
- d. is in the process of acceding to the Agreement on Trade in Civil Aircraft. Upon **accession to the EU**, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia would have to apply
- e. to reintegrate the state and sub-state energy markets with a view to eventual **accession to the EU's Internal Energy Market**. There is an oil pipeline between t
- f. to migrant workers holding temporary residence permits. By the time of its **accession to the EU**, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia must have implemented
- g. the European Council in Copenhagen defined the following economic criteria for **accession to the EU**: . the existence of a functioning market economy; .
- h. 2004 by all political parties in the Parliament underlined that the country's **accession to the EU** is a strategic national goal and supported the government's

Taking into consideration the fact that the country received its Candidate status in 2005, the seven occurrences of the word cluster *Application from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* (all of which illustrated in Table of concordances 6.40) are quite anticipated and are mostly employed as a sub division title or document title or refer to the application of the country and the reached decision upon this submission on the part of the Commission and the relevant EU bodies:

6.40 Table of concordances: Application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

- a. is made public as a separate document (*Analytical Report for the Opinion on the **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** for EU membership*).
- b. to force in April 2004. In its Opinion, the Commission therefore analyses the **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** on the basis of the
- c. legal framework within which the Commission submits the present Opinion. The **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** for membership is
- d. COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION Commission Opinion on the **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** for membership of the
- e. the Opinion and this Analytical Report, the Commission therefore analyses the **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** on the basis of the
- f. the Opinion and the present Analytical Report. Context of the Opinion The **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** for membership is
- g. ANALYTICAL REPORT for the Opinion on the **application from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** for EU membership

The cluster *Integration with the EU* does not appear in the analysis of the first corpus, i.e. in Chapter 5. Upon a closer inspection of its occurrences in the current sub-corpus, it could be deciphered that out of six of the total uses of the cluster, in five cases it refers to an economic i.e. trade integration with the EU. The last illustrated example below refers to the “broad legislative

programme” (see EUR-Lex, 2015) adopted by the country in line with the Ohrid Framework Agreement, allowing for “an increasingly positive environment for integration with the EU” (see EUR-Lex, 2015). Additionally, the first and the third entirely identical examples illustrated below (see Table of concordances 6.41, examples a. and c.) derive from the Commission Opinion of 2005 and the Analytical Report of 2005 documents respectively:

6.41 Table of concordances: Integration with the EU

- a. of transport and telecommunication infrastructure is fairly good. Economic **integration with the EU** is well advanced. However, the functioning of the mark*
- b. stability in the country and foster an increasingly positive environment for **integration with the EU**. The European Union has consistently been supporting t*
- c. of transport and telecommunication infrastructure is fairly good. Economic **integration with the EU** is well advanced. However, the functioning of the mark*
- d. exports, and manufactured iron and zinc products some 25%. The increased trade **integration with the EU** reflects to some extent the impact of the Interim Agreement*
- e. labour costs, this implies a considerable loss of price competitiveness. Trade **integration with the EU** is moderate but increasing. In contrast to most other*
- f. consolidate the achievements and foster an increasingly positive environment for **integration with the EU**. The President of the Republic is elected by direct*

The word clusters *Copenhagen European Council*, i.e. *Criteria set by the Copenhagen European Council* have already been explored in-depth in this chapter. Out of the total of seven occurrences of the clusters in the entire second corpus, they have been used six times in the 2005 documents, stressing the importance of the Copenhagen Council and the utmost importance of the enlargement principles i.e. criteria reached during the Council in 1993, serving as a reminder for the criteria that the country ought to fulfill within the period during which the documents have been produced, i.e. in 2005. The word cluster *European Council in Copenhagen* has also been examined in this chapter of the analysis (see above).

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements and compliances

5 Domain A: Administrative aspects

- ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY - 49
- EFFORTS TO ALIGN ITS LEGISLATION - 28
- PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - 10
- CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION – 9
- HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES - 8
- ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL CAPACITY - 6
- SUFFICIENT ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY - 5

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES – 5
COUNTRY S ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 5
STATE ADMINISTRATION – 5

5 Domain B: Legislative aspects

ALIGN ITS LEGISLATION WITH THE ACQUIS - 26
IN LINE WITH THE ACQUIS - 16
ALIGNMENT WITH THE ACQUIS - 13
COMPLIANCE WITH THE ACQUIS - 12
IN LINE WITH THE EU LEGISLATION – 12
BROADLY IN LINE WITH THE ACQUIS - 9
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACQUIS - 6
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ACQUIS - 6

5 Domain C: Political aspects and requirements

RULE OF LAW – 25
POLITICAL CRITERIA – 19
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 11
REGIONAL COOPERATION – 10
DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW - 7

5 Domain D: General rights and freedoms

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS - 7
JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS - 6

5 Domain E: Country - specific aspects and structural reforms

CONSIDERABLE AND SUSTAINED EFFORTS - 17
TO MAKE CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS - 16
LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT – 12
EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 8
EMPLOYMENT RATE – 7
FURTHER EFFORTS - 7
PROTECTION OF MINORITIES - 7
EFFORTS WILL BE NEEDED – 6
PROVIDE SERVICES – 6
FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT - 6
RURAL DEVELOPMENT - 6
RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT – 5
FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL – 5
COPE WITH COMPETITIVE PRESSURE - 5
CONSUMER PROTECTION - 5

5 Domain F: EU – Macedonia relations

EU REQUIREMENTS - 9
EU STANDARDS – 6
IN LINE WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS - 6
IN LINE WITH EU STANDARDS – 6

The terminological domain carrying the notion of conditionality and requirements lists a somewhat large number of word clusters classified under five sub-domains above. Many of them refer to the necessity of *Alignment with the Acquis*, *Compliance with the Acquis*, or call upon *efforts to align legislation or implementation of the Acquis* thus accentuating on the immense importance of the Acquis and the EU legislation. The above-listed clusters and the further forms in which the words *Acquis* or the *legislation* have been employed are cross-domain clusters as they easily belong to the legal aspects domain (see domain 7 below) as well. However, due to the repetitive call for alignment with the Acquis and the EU legislation, they have been listed under the conditionality and requirements domain. The call for alignment with the Acquis is in reference to the chapters i.e. areas referred to in the European Union legislation.

As shown in Table of concordances 6.42 below, the word cluster *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* occurs exclusively in two contexts, i.e. either in reference to Article 6 (1) of the consolidated treaty on European Union or the Convention on Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as set in the following examples:

6.42 Table of concordances: Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

- a. The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for **human rights and fundamental freedoms**, and the rule of law, principles which are*
- b. framework is in line with the European Convention on the Protection of **Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms**, which has been in force in the former Yugoslav*
- c. Macedonia has signed Protocol 13 to the Convention for the Protection of **Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms** concerning the abolition of the death penalty in*
- d. November 1995 and ratified the European Convention for the Protection of **Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms** and its additional protocols in April 1997*
- e. the foremost of which is the European Convention for the Protection of **Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms** and its main additional protocols.*
- f. The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for **human rights and fundamental freedoms** and the rule of law.”*
- g. The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for **human rights and fundamental freedoms**, and the rule of law, principles*

The first example (example a.) originates from the Commission Opinion Report of 2005 and the sixth and seventh (f. and g.) from the Analytical Report of 2005 document, thus stressing the principles upon which the Union is founded by the equal use and recurrence of the statements.

The word cluster *EU requirements* did not mark occurrence in the previous chapter. However, all of the 9 occurrences of the cluster in the 2005 sub-corpus, illustrated in Table 6.43 below, derive from the Analytical Report document:

6.43 Table of concordances: EU requirements

- a. interests will need to be ensured. The country might not be able to comply with **EU requirements** in this field in the medium term, unless it makes considerable a*
- b. the market surveillance system needs to be enhanced in order to meet **EU requirements**, access to justice should be improved and the development of an*
- c. There is no official register of chemicals meeting **EU requirements**, although there is a register of poisons and a list of plant*
- d. investments. If it continues its efforts, the country should be able to meet **EU requirements** in the field of enterprise and industrial policy in the medium*
- e. Purchasing power parities are produced in accordance with **EU requirements**. However, a Harmonised Consumer Price Index is not yet available*
- f. is not yet covered. Environment statistics are generally not compliant with **EU requirements**, although some basic statistics are produced, e.g. on pollution*
- g. that are used in the national statistical system are almost in line with **EU requirements**. A computerised classification database should be established.*
- h. Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has taken steps to align its legislation with **EU requirements**. However, efforts should continue to complete the drafting of le*
- i. checks on imports from third countries, and import rules into line with **EU requirements**, in particular concerning staffing and training of inspectors.*

The EU requirement referred to here seems to be case specific and advance in different directions ranging from financial interests of the Union, requirements for chemicals registers, enterprise and industrial policy, environment, purchasing power parties, databases up to imports and legislation. They neither refer to the enlargement process nor to the obligations for accession of the Republic of Macedonia. The requirements for membership in the Union shall be further explored in the sub-corpora to follow.

Finally, the word cluster that seems to be holding the top position in most of the domains on conditionality, *Administrative capacity*, marks a vast presence in the 2005 sub-corpus as well in its 49 occurrences and ranging from its application in legislative contexts such as in the identical examples originating from the Commission Opinion and Analytical Report documents of 2005 to financial, legal, IT, accounting, policy making settings, as well as in regard to the administrative capacity of specific institutions and ministries:

6.44 Table of concordances: Strengthening of administrative capacity

*a. efforts will be needed, including substantial investment and **strengthening of administrative capacity** for the enforcement of legislation. Full compliance with*

*b. efforts will be needed, including substantial investment and **strengthening of administrative capacity** for the enforcement of legislation. Full compliance with*

6 Domain: Particular areas

SOCIAL POLICY AND EMPLOYMENT - 12
ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY - 10
FINANCIAL SECTOR - 10
BANKING SECTOR – 9
SOCIAL SECURITY - 8
MONETARY POLICY - 7
TRANS EUROPEAN NETWORKS - 7
VETERINARY AND PHYTOSANITARY POLICY - 6
TRANSPORT POLICY ENERGY - 6
SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY - 6
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY – 6
INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - 6
JUDICIAL SYSTEM – 5
INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT – 5
SOCIAL SECURITY CONTRIBUTIONS – 5

The particular area referring to the *social policy and employment*, as represented by the most frequent cluster in this domain, marks 11 occurrences. It appears in the Commission Opinion and in the Analytical Report documents of 2005:

6.45 Table of concordances: Social policy and employment a.

*a. Transport policy; – Energy; – Taxation; – **Social policy and employment**; – Regional policy and co-ordination of*

*b. Transport policy; . Energy; . Taxation; **Social policy and employment**; . Regional policy and co-ordination of*

*c. forbid discrimination based on sexual orientation. (See also Chapter 19 – **Social policy and employment**.) EU citizens' rights As regards the right*

*d. Public procurement, 8 – Competition policy, 27 – Environment and 19 – **Social policy and employment**). In particular, preference clauses discriminating*

*e. with the *acquis* and to effectively implement and enforce it in the area of **social policy and employment** in the medium term. The country also needs to prepare*

*f. and to effectively implement and enforce it in the medium term. Chapter 19: **Social policy and employment** The *acquis* in the social field includes minimum*

- g. (See also Part 3, Chapter 26 – Education and culture, and Chapter 19 – **Social policy and employment**.) The share of investment in GDP has been relatively
- h. such as part-time and fixed-term contracts. (See also Part 3, Chapter 19 – **Social policy and employment**.) After a short period of hyperinflation
- i. (See also Freedom of association and assembly (above) and Chapter 19 – **Social policy and employment**.) Minority rights, protection of minorities
- j. by the adoption of anti-discrimination legislation (see also Chapter 19 – **Social policy and employment**). The right to property is guaranteed by the Cons
- k. 92 Chapter 19 : **Social policy and employment**

Upon a closer examination of the above-represented appearances of the word cluster, it could be discerned that 10 of the occurrences are either titles of a sub-chapter or make reference to the sub-chapter named Social policy and employment. The one example essentially elaborating on the actual situation in respect to the social policy and employment derives from the Analytical Report of 2005 and is here illustrated in full:

6.46 Table of concordances: Social policy and employment b.

*Overall, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will have to make considerable and sustained efforts to align its legislation with the **acquis** and to effectively implement and enforce it in the area of **social policy and employment** in the medium term. The country also needs to prepare itself for participation in the co-operation processes developed at European level in the fields of employment, social inclusion and pensions.*

The above statement bears a notion of denigration towards the current state of affairs in the country in this particular area and calls upon the necessity for alignment with the EU **acquis** as well as implementation and enforcement of the legislative in this field.

In 2005, the Analytical Report called upon the necessity for changes within the legal framework on the *Judicial system*, stressing its weaknesses in certain areas, its slowness in reference to settling the ownership disputes, the lack of confidence on the part of the minorities in the country and elaborating upon its structural and operational division as can be discerned from the examples in Table of concordances 6.47:

6.47 Table of concordances: Judicial system

- a. of changes to the legal framework to enhance the efficiency and quality of the **judicial system**, some of which are already being implemented. Major changes will
- b. enforce effective and dissuasive sanctions is also limited by weaknesses in the **judicial system**. As concerns the social dialogue, an Economic and Social Council

c. *this respect are the still incomplete land registry and the slow speed of the **judicial system** to settle ownership disputes. Privatisation of socially-owned*
 d. *where better representation would contribute to greater confidence in the **judicial system** on the part of minorities. Improving participation by minoriti*
 e. *Chapter 23 – Judiciary and fundamental rights) Role and structure The **judicial system** is organised hierarchically in three instances. Twenty-seven basic courts act as*

The opinion on the progress made in regard to the improvement of the judicial system of the country shall be further explored in the sub-corpora to follow in this part’s analysis.

7 Domain: Legislative and legal aspects

NEW LAW ON - 31
 COMPANY LAW - 21
 LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 20
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW - 8
 LAW ON CRIMINAL PROCEDURE - 8
 LAW ON ALIENS MIGRATION - 8
 LAW ON LABOUR RELATIONS - 7
 DRAFT LAW ON - 7
 LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK - 7
 LAW ON LABOUR RELATIONS – 7
 ADOPTION OF THE LAW - 6
 LAW ON ENVIRONMENT – 6
 NEW COMPANY LAW – 6
 IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT – 6
 COUNTRY S LEGISLATION - 6
 ALIENS MIGRATION LAW - 5
 LAW ON CIVIL SERVANTS - 5
 STRUCTURES AND PROCEDURES – 5
 LAW ON PUBLIC PROCUREMENT – 5

The high significance of alignment and implementation of the legislative in the country with the EU legislative, strongly present throughout the entire second corpus is represented in the 7th terminological domain enlisting the word clusters that either bear the title of a specific law in question, call upon implementation and enforcement of a specific law or the country’s legislation.

For illustrational purposes, the six occurrences of the word cluster *implementation and enforcement* listed in Table 6.48 below, originate from the Analytical Report and the Commission opinion and collocate either with the EU Acquis or the country’s legislation:

6.48 Table of concordances: Implementation and enforcement

- a. efforts are made to align its legislation with the *acquis*, particularly to ensure **implementation and enforcement**. Unless efforts are speeded up considerably, the
- b. in the Stabilisation and Association Agreement; – Progress with adoption, **implementation and enforcement** of the *acquis*. The former Yugoslav Republic
- c. energy, and telecommunications. In most of these areas, it is particularly the **implementation and enforcement** of the legislation where most remains to be done.
- d. in the Stabilisation and Association Agreement; Progress with adoption, **implementation and enforcement** of the *acquis*. The former Yugoslav Republic
- e. administrative capacity, participation in EU trade decision-making mechanisms and **implementation and enforcement** of the *acquis* will require strengthening of the
- f. legislative framework are in place, although much of the legislation is quite recent. **Implementation and enforcement** are in some cases only in their initial stages

As can be perceived, in 2005 the country had been faced with a large portion of recent legislation that was to be subjected to an improved implementation and enforcement and a lot was to be done in this regard. The sub-corpora that follow shall further examine whether there had been improvement made in this field.

Furthermore, the *country's* legislation on specific issues such as transportable equipment, drivers licenses, customs administration, money laundering, postal directive or its alignment with the *Acquis* (as illustrated in Table 6.49 below) in 2005 had been partially or had not been in accordance with the *Acquis* and further efforts in this regard were to be made:

6.49 Table of concordances: Country's legislation

- a. inspection bodies for transportable pressure equipment should be adapted. The **country's legislation** is not fully compliant with the technical *acquis* on driver
- b. including the new Law on the Customs Administration, which further aligns the **country's legislation** with the *acquis*. Intellectual and industrial property case
- c. Money laundering is considered a criminal offence and all crimes under the **country's legislation** are predicate offences. However, prior conviction for the
- d. to the Postal Directive of the same year. The Law already approximates the **country's legislation** to the *acquis* to some extent. Nevertheless, significant
- e. requirements as well as reciprocity clauses. Regarding mutual recognition, the **country's legislation** provides only for the recognition of foreign higher education
- f. approximation of Legislation (NPAL) to steer the process of approximation of the **country's legislation** with the *acquis*. This Plan has been revised annually.

Whether the country made progress in these areas shall be explored further in the sub-corpora i.e. documents to follow.

8 Domain: Economic aspects

INTERNAL MARKET - 17
 LABOUR FORCE - 15
 STATE AID - 8
 FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY - 8
 LABOUR MARKET - 7
 GOODS AND SERVICES - 7
 MARKET ENTRY AND EXIT - 7
 STATE MARKET - 7
 LABOUR MARKET – 7
 SHARE OF GDP UNIT – 6
 EXISTENCE OF A FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY - 6
 FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT – 5

The word cluster *functioning market economy* and its collocation with the word *existence*, thus forming the *existence of a functioning market economy* cluster, listed under the economic aspects domain, have been explored under the Assessment in terms of the Copenhagen criteria sub chapter in the two Reports from 2005:

6.50 Table of concordances: (Existence) of a functioning market

- a. Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has taken important steps towards establishing a **functioning market economy**. While it would not be able to cope with competitive*
- b. rights and respect for and protection of minorities; – the **existence of a functioning market economy**, as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pre*
- c. determined by market forces. The basic elements of the legal framework for a **functioning market economy** are to a large extent in place. However, the definition*
- d. Assessment in terms of the Copenhagen criteria. The **existence of a functioning market economy** requires that prices, as well as trade, are liberalized*
- e. Assessment in terms of the Copenhagen criteria The **existence of a functioning market economy** The existence of a functioning market economy requires*
- f. and market forces within the Union. These criteria are linked. Firstly, a **functioning market economy** will be better able to cope with competitive pressure*
- g. following economic criteria for accession to the EU: the **existence of a functioning market economy**; the capacity to cope with competitive pressure*
- h. rights and respect for and protection of minorities; the **existence of a functioning market economy**, as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pre*

At a large scale, the applications of the clusters have been set in explanatory contexts in terms of what the existence of a functioning market economy entails and requires in general. The 4th and the 5th identical example listed above (see Table of concordances 6.50, examples d. and e.) both derive from the Analytical Report of 2005 under the Assessment sub-chapter and the example to follow, the 6th illustration (example f.), further stresses the important role taken over by the

economic criteria. Most of the uses of the clusters bear descriptive meaning and highlight the *economic obligations* of membership as illustrated here:

6.51 Table of concordances: Economic obligations

*a. A candidate country must commit itself permanently to the **economic obligations** of membership.*

*b. ...the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia needs to be capable of assuming the **economic obligations** of membership, in such a way that the single market functions smoothly and fairly.*

On the other hand, the word cluster *foreign direct investment* is case-specific and is used in contexts dealing with the situation in the country in particular evaluating the positive steps and the lack of investments. The first and last identical examples have been used in the Commission Opinion and in the Analytical Report respectively:

6.52 Table of concordances: Foreign direct investment

*a. the business climate is not conducive to stimulating investment, particularly **foreign direct investment**, and growth. In addition, the functioning of the labour*

*b. on the reduction of administrative barriers to investment and for attracting **foreign direct investment** was prepared and the government has responded with*

*c. appears to be decreasing. Customs duties and tariff quotas are in place. **Foreign direct investment** of USD 6.6 million was made in the tobacco industry*

*d. current account convertibility in June 1998. Over the period 1996-2004 total **foreign direct investment** amounted to about 1 billion. Most of these inflows*

*e. the business climate is not conducive to stimulating investment, particularly **foreign direct investment**, and growth. In addition, the functioning of the labour*

The word clusters under the economic aspects domain, i.e. the improvement or lack of improvement in the economic area, shall be additionally explored in the following sub-corpora.

9 Domain: Qualifying evaluations

WILL NEED TO - 42

MACEDONIA WILL HAVE TO – 18

THE COUNTRY SHOULD - 15

THE COUNTRY WILL HAVE TO - 10

STILL NEED TO - 8

WOULD NEED TO - 7

TO BE FURTHER - 7

TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY - 7

MACEDONIA HAS MADE – 7

MACEDONIA SHOULD NOT HAVE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES – 6

THE COUNTRY MIGHT - 6
THE COUNTRY NEEDS - 6
COUNTRY HAS MADE - 6
COUNTRY MIGHT NOT - 6
IN THE MEDIUM TERM THE COUNTRY – 5

The 9th terminological domain encompasses the word clusters that evaluate the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia, urge the country to take over further steps or elaborate on the concerns about its capacity in the areas of free movement of goods, intellectual property law, competition policy, financial control, enforcement of legislation, complying with the requirements of Acquis or the membership requirements as expressed in the first two identical examples (a. and b. in Table of concordances 6.53 below) deriving from the Analytical Report and Commission Opinion document, or the examples that follow:

6.53 Table of concordances: Country might not be able to

- a. Customs union. Unless efforts are speeded up considerably, the **country might not be able to** comply with the requirements of the acquis in the medium terms*
- b. Customs union. Unless efforts are speeded up considerably, the **country might not be able to** comply with the requirements of the acquis in the medium terms*
- c. protection for the EC's financial interests will need to be ensured. The **country might not be able to** comply with EU requirements in this field in the medium terms*
- d. align its legislation with the acquis and to implement it in the medium term. The **country might not be able to** effectively enforce the legislation in the medium*
- e. law enforcement, prosecution and the judiciary. Unless such steps are taken, the **country might not be able to** comply with the requirements of the acquis in the m*
- f. and to effectively implement and enforce it in the medium term. However, the **country might not be able to** comply with the requirements for membership of CEN*

The country's progress in these particular areas shall be further inspected later in this chapter's analysis.

On the other hand, the word cluster *Macedonia has made* finds its positioning in a more positive assessments illustrated in Table 6.54 below:

6.54 Table of concordances: Macedonia has made

- a. implementation and enforcement of the acquis. The former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** progress with applying the Stabilisation and Association Agreement*
- b. membership has been uneven. In general, while the former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** substantial progress in the area of legal approximation with*

c. implementation and enforcement of the *acquis*. The former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** progress with applying the Stabilisation and Association Agreement

d. investigation techniques. Conclusion The former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** efforts to align its legislation with the *acquis* in the field

e. Overall, the statistical system of the former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** remarkable progress towards compliance with international

f. best international practices. Conclusion The former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** progress on approximating its legal framework for financial

g. to pass through the courts. Conclusion The former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia has made** significant efforts to align its legislation with the *acquis*.

Nevertheless, six of the total of seven of positive evaluations and appraisals to the country's improvement in a certain area are followed by the words *although* or *however*, for example:

6.55 Table of concordances: However

*Macedonia has made significant efforts to align its legislation with the *acquis*. However, effective enforcement of intellectual and industrial property rights is a key challenge which should be addressed through a combination of political determination and the allocation of adequate human, financial and technical resources, especially at the level of collective rights management, law enforcement, prosecution and the judiciary. Unless such steps are taken, the country might not be able to comply with the requirements of the *acquis* in the medium term.*

10 Domain: Documents, papers and agreements

OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 19

NATIONAL ACTION PLAN - 8

NATIONAL PROGRAMME - 8

CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - 8

FREE TRADE AGREEMENT – 7

NATIONAL STRATEGY – 6

EUROPEAN CONVENTION - 6

FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS – 6

The last terminological domain consists of the word clusters of the 2005 sub-corpus documents i.e. the domain of the documents, papers and agreements related to the enlargement process and to the progress of the country on its integration path.

Similar to the overall analysis of the second corpus, the *Ohrid Framework Agreement* seems to be of utmost importance in the integrative process of the Republic of Macedonia. The 19 uses of this word cluster have been set in contexts appealing to the *full implementation* or *strong commitment to the implementation* of the Agreement in eight cases, or its legislative framework

and legal provisions in five of its occurrences, thus placing this document in a pivotal position for the country's accession to the Union.

6.2.2. Official Documents of the European Union bodies on the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia – 2006

Unlike the documents contained in the first sub-corpus, which dealt with the candidature of the Republic of Macedonia to the European Union and the decision to grant the country a candidate status for EU membership, the documents comprising the second sub-corpus are more case specific and they elaborate on the actual progress made by the country within a one-year period. The second sub-corpus consists of two documents: the 2006 Progress Report, evaluating the development that the country had made since it was granted candidate status in 2005 overall as well as in specific areas; and the European Parliament Resolution on the 2006 Progress Report, which summarizes the scope of progress and reflects explicit issues that ought to be further explored and improved.

The 2006 sub-corpus consists of 34,726 words and it generated 471 key words of which, upon removal of unrelated words, the first 66 key words have been listed in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Key words of the 2006 sub-corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	PROGRESS	181	20,400	1,173.53	34	FRAMEWORK	52	4,089	373.74
2	LAW	151	58,744	616.44	35	MARKET	52	104,828	63.00
3	AREA	132	47,745	557.09	36	MINISTRY	51	12,632	252.19
4	REPUBLIC	129	10,657	914.92	37	STRATEGY	51	22,555	195.71
5	MACEDONIA	122	2,545	1,194.84	38	AGREEMENT	51	23,730	190.84
6	PUBLIC	116	146,245	226.94	39	NEEDED	51	39,854	142.16
7	EU	95	32,882	408.81	40	EFFORTS	50	16,495	219.69
8	HOWEVER	95	109,881	199.63	41	REMAINS	50	33,722	152.71
9	GOVERNMENT	95	198,659	110.05	42	CORRUPTION	48	8,706	266.37
10	ADOPTED	92	8,181	639.09	43	POLITICAL	47	86,968	62.98
11	FURTHER	90	78,922	232.43	44	EMPLOYMENT	43	17,013	174.05
12	STATE	87	81,391	214.74	45	REPORTED	43	29,863	129.02
13	LEGISLATION	84	13,849	681.86	46	COUNCIL	43	59,268	77.70

14	EUROPEAN	81	82,150	188.4 9	47	FORCE	41	44,276	90.92
15	NOT	75	1,033,60 5	-30,68	48	SOCIAL	41	66,543	63.28
16	STILL	74	205,417	56.86	49	SERVICES	41	73,685	56.77
17	IMPLEMENTATIO N	72	2,172	653.1 4	50	INTERNATIONAL	41	89,287	45.05
18	POLICY	72	64,728	182.7 5	51	POLICE	41	112,16 9	32.26
19	ACQUIS	70	11	1,189. 33	52	COOPERATION	40	4,636	255.99
20	SECTOR	68	37,923	231.4 9	53	ENERGY	40	27,431	120.94
21	SYSTEM	68	74,855	148.6 0	54	LEVEL	39	55,863	68.01
22	CAPACITY	63	13,227	331.7 1	55	EDUCATION	39	101,21 7	33.38
23	RIGHTS	63	52,176	169.0 7	56	JUDICIARY	38	2,023	302.27
24	NATIONAL	62	120,895	78.20	57	PROCEDURES	38	6,068	220.31
25	ADMINISTRATIV E	58	3,136	459.6 2	58	STANDARDS	38	26,509	113.71
26	NUMBER	58	94,814	88.88	59	PARTICULAR	38	27,398	111.43
27	GDP	57	2,927	457.4 8	60	FIELD	38	28,453	108.83
28	PREPARATIONS	56	2,873	449.5 6	61	NEEDS	38	45,090	78.16
29	COUNTRY	56	102,076	76.33	62	MANAGEMENT	38	46,537	76.13
30	LEGAL	55	40,848	158.3 5	63	RELATIONS	37	16,444	141.63
31	FINANCIAL	55	58,244	123.8 4	64	ESTABLISHED	37	18,064	135.10
32	PROTECTION	54	17,181	241.0 1	65	CONTROL	37	49,206	69.04
33	DEVELOPMENT	53	40,629	149.5 7	66	SIGNIFICANT	36	25,097	107.76

Upon comparison of the key words tables of the 2005 and 2006 sub-corpus, the similarity of the words is quite striking and in 46 cases the words entirely correspond. However, the distinction between the two key words tables can be seen in the newly introduced words dealing with specific issues under examinations such as *corruption*, *police*, and *energy*.

Upon observation of the key words represented in the table above, again the legislative and legal aspects seem to carry some of the most frequent words: *law*, *adopted*, *legislation*, *implementation*, and *legal*. Another group of high frequency words: *Republic*, *Macedonia*, *EU*, *country*, *European* refer to the countries or regions involved and the words *Council*, *Government*, *Ministry* are related to the institutions or bodies involved in the development process. The key words table is abundant in words signifying particular areas subjected to closer scrutiny when evaluating the progress of the country: *employment*, *corruption*, *policy*,

*framework, police, energy, education, judiciary, particular, field, sector. The conditionality, compliances and requirements notion is strongly present through the words *Acquis, efforts, administrative, capacity, rights, management, control* and the economic aspect again is reflected in *GDP, financial, and market*.*

The similarity of the key words of the two sub-corpora further foreshadows the similarity in terminological domains between the different groups of documents produced within a one year period. The domains generated via in depth analysis of the 2006 sub-corpus, as well as their respective word clusters, have been listed below.

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 11

PUBLIC SECTOR – 5

The small number of word clusters comprised under the terminological domain parties or actors involved in the enlargement process have already been listed in the identical domains both of the entire second corpus analysis and of the 2005 sub-corpus analysis.

The *member states* cluster collocates with the word *new* in three cases, thus forming the cluster *new member states*. However, unlike this cluster's meaning in the previous sub-corpus, in the 2006 sub-corpus the new Member States have been called upon to play an active role in the approximation of the Republic of Macedonia towards the EU in order to benefit from the experiences and reforms gained (see European Commission, 2015). Additionally, the country's integration in the Union depends solely on fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria, the conditions of the stabilization and association framework, and the EU's capacity to integrate new Member States (see EUR-Lex, 2015) thus once again bringing into focus the integration capacity of the European Union and a more technical meaning in terms of the visa liberalization process for the new members, as illustrated in Table of concordances 6.56, below:

6.56 Table of concordances: New member states

*a. and calls for negotiations to start as soon as possible; 35. Calls on the **new Member States** to play an active role in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*

*b. stabilisation and association framework, and the EU's capacity to integrate **new Member States**; 14. Notes that the United Nations' Special Envoy, Matthew Nimitz*

*c. has continued with the abolition of visa requirements for all remaining **new Member States**. With the recently adopted Law on Aliens, the legislation is large*

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 119

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 118

EUROPEAN UNION – 11

The word clusters of the countries and regions involved in the process terminological domain once again accentuate on the actors, i.e. the EU and the Republic of Macedonia. The unexpectedly rare occurrence of the cluster *European Union* as opposed to the one of the country in question furthermore stresses the scope of the documents, i.e. the examination of the progress made by Macedonia. Mainly the contexts in which the cluster has been applied, some of which illustrated in Table 6.57 here, move along the lines of EU membership and progress towards the Union, as well as reiterate the importance of full implementation of the Copenhagen criteria as one of the top priorities for membership:

6.57 Table of concordances: European Union

*a. Welcomes the progress made by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, since its application to become a Member of the **European Union**, in meeting the Copenhagen political criteria and in implementing*

*b. the enlargement process and reiterated that each country's progress towards the **European Union** depends on its individual efforts to comply with the Copenhagen criteria*

*c. successfully involved in negotiations relating inter alia to relations with the **European Union**, such as the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)*

*d. A. whereas further enlargement of the **European Union** is not an end in itself, whereas strict compliance with the Copenhagen*

*e. was made to all Western Balkan states that they would in the long term join the **European Union**, – having regard to the European Council decision of 16 December*

f. quotas for sugar exports from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the European Union, which entered into force in January. The protocol sets a new

*g. neighbourly relations form an essential part of the process of moving towards the **European Union**. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has continued its*

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

MINISTRY OF FINANCE - 12

MINISTRY OF ECONOMY - 10

NEW GOVERNMENT – 9

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR - 7

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE – 7

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR - 6
STATE AUDIT OFFICE - 6
STATE ANTI CORRUPTION COMMISSION – 5
JUDICIAL COUNCIL – 5
COUNCIL OF EUROPE – 5
INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT OF JUSTICE – 5

Most of the word clusters of the institutions or bodies involved in the terminological domain of the 2006 sub-corpus have occurred in the entire second corpus analysis and in the 2005 sub-corpus analysis, once again showing the organizations that are either involved in the motion of the Republic of Macedonia towards EU membership or whose activities have been subjected to scrutiny on this path.

The new appearance of the cluster *new government* was due to the elections that were held in the country in 2006 and the composition of the new government. Most of the appearances of the cluster deal with the programme and future plans of the new government in specific areas relevant to the improvement of the state and are not related to the accession process of Macedonia.

The above word clusters are c-clusters as they occur throughout the second corpus.

4 Domain: Enlargement and the elements of the process

EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP – 6
STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS - 5

The only two word clusters pertaining to the enlargement and elements of the process domain listed here have already been extensively analyzed throughout this and Chapter 5. This constant reduction of the number of word clusters that are directly associated with the enlargement process itself leaves open space for a rather larger number of word clusters that deal with the notions of conditionality, particular areas analyzed as well as the legal aspects as represented in the domains to follow.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements and compliances

ALIGN WITH THE ACQUIS - 13
IN LINE WITH THE ACQUIS - 9
FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION - 9
ALIGNMENT WITH THE ACQUIS - 8
ALIGN THE LEGISLATION WITH THE ACQUIS - 8

ENERGY EFFICIENCY AND RENEWABLE ENERGY - 8
ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 7
JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS - 7
INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - 5
COPYRIGHT AND RELATED RIGHTS – 5
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - 6
EU STANDARDS – 6
PUBLIC INTERNAL FINANCIAL CONTROL – 5
JUDICIARY REFORM – 5
CORRUPTION REMAINS WIDESPREAD – 5
GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS – 5

Once more, the word clusters referring to the *Alignment with the Acquis* or the requirement to *Align the legislation with the Acquis* recur among the most frequent ones under the domain of conditionality, requirements and compliances. The EU requirements of the 2005 sub-corpus occur only once in the 2006 sub-corpus in a technical environment:

6.58 Table of concordances: EU requirements

*technology and innovation strategies. The country is partially meeting the **EU requirements** in this area.*

This trend of procedural setting of some of the word clusters continues further with the *EU standards* cluster, again dealing with the standards of the Union in regard to the customs procedures, witness protection programme, classifications, statistics and alignment of the legislation:

6.59 Table of concordances: EU standards

*a. in January 2006. It represents a further alignment of customs procedures with **EU standards**, especially in the fields of procedures with economic impact*
*b. The witness protection programme needs further development to reach **EU standards**. The Law on Weapons has been adopted and will enter into force in*
*c. has been made with regard to classifications and standards. Compliance with **EU standards** is improving with NACE Rev 1.1 and PRODCOM 2005 being adopted.*
*d. and to deliver timely, reliable and accurate statistics in accordance with **EU standards**. In addition, very frequent changes of the top management during*
*e. as the country has continued its efforts to align its national legislation with **EU standards** in the various sectors. Nonetheless, some deficiencies remain, in p*
*f. However, the legislation does not yet fully comply with **EU standards**. The directorate for money laundering prevention is at the core of*

The omnipresent concern about the *administrative capacity* is again present in this sub-corpus and in its 31 occurrences the cluster has been linked to many specific areas amongst which regional policy and coordination, taxation, financial issues, and implementation of the Acquis calling upon the need for its *strengthening, development and enhancing*.

6 Domain: Particular areas

ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY - 8
PRIVATE SECTOR - 7
ONE STOP SHOP SYSTEM - 6
BANKING SECTOR - 5
SOCIAL POLICY - 5
SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY – 5
AREA OF PUBLIC INTERNAL FINANCIAL CONTROL - 5
PROTECTION OF COMPETITION – 5
LABOUR FORCE – 5
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING – 5
INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS – 5

The word clusters here partially correspond to the clusters of the same domain in the previous sub-corpus.

The c-cluster, present within the entire second corpus, *industrial property rights*, marking 5 occurrences in the 2006 sub-corpus, represents a particular field that, judging from the contexts of occurrences, as well as the fact that it falls under the Judiciary and Fundamental Rights Chapter of the Acquis, has been freshly introduced. The environment in which this cluster occurs is mostly of legislative nature as shown in Table of concordances 6.60:

6.60 Table of concordances: Industrial property rights

- a. the legislation with the acquis in this chapter, in particular in the area of **industrial property rights**. However, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*
- b. the activities of the various institutions, and raising public awareness of **industrial property rights**. Additional, although limited, recruitment has taken*
- c. enforcement of industrial property law, strengthening the system for protection of **industrial property rights**, co-ordinating the activities of the various*
- d. business; seize products, equipment, funds and documents used in violating **industrial property rights** and launch a misdemeanour procedure. These changes we*
- e. will assist the implementation of the law. In the field of **industrial property rights** some progress has been recorded. The agreement on co-*

The *judicial system* analyzed in the 2005 sub-corpus, and as presented in Table 6.61 below, occurs only four times in the 2006 documents of which once as a subdivision title (see example c.), once in reference to the overall functioning of the system (example a.), once in reference to specific court cases (example b.) and once bearing a critical note towards the judicial system as a whole (example c.):

6.61 Table of concordances: Judicial system

- a. acquis, as well as regarding the overall functioning and efficiency of the **judicial system**. Preparations in this area are moderately advanced.*
- b. be a major test of the maturity of the institutions and the capacity of the **judicial system**. As regards the International Criminal Court, the government*
- c. agenda of the new government just as for the previous government. However, the **judicial system** shows the same serious shortcomings as in previous years*
- d. in the administration and the reform of the police remain serious challenges. **Judicial system** The amendments made to the Constitution in December allowed a*

The remaining word clusters of this domain depict specific areas that had been under examination during the year 2006.

7 Domain: Legislative and legal aspects

NEW LAW ON - 21
GOVERNMENT ADOPTED - 13
LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 12
AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW ON - 8
REMAINS TO BE ADOPTED – 7
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW - 5
LAW ON PRODUCT SAFETY – 5
LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK - 5

The tone surrounding the word clusters of the 7th terminological domain referring to legislative and legal aspects moves along the lines of emphasizing the significance of alignment with and implementation of certain laws and legislatives with the ones of the European Union. The clusters of this domain make reference to a specific law, rules or to the legal framework of the country as can be detected in the four occurrences of the *implementation and enforcement* cluster:

6.62 Table of concordances: Implementation and enforcement

*a. substantial investment and strengthened administrative capacity for the **implementation and enforcement** of legislation. 4.28. Chapter 28: Consumer an*

*b. to align the legislation with the **acquis** in this area and ensure its effective **implementation and enforcement**.*

*c. Further efforts are needed to ensure the practical **implementation and enforcement** of the legal provisions. Preparations in this are*

*d. have been amended. Further efforts will be needed to ensure the **effective implementation and enforcement** of these rules. 4.7. Chapter 7: Intellectual*

8 Domain: Economic aspects

RELATIVE TO GDP - 6

STATE AID - 6

SHARE OF GDP – 6

GOODS AND SERVICES – 5

The word cluster *existence of a functioning market economy* does not occur here under the economic aspects domain due to the small number of occurrences, i.e. a total of four times in the 2006 sub-corpus, and again is either used as a subdivision title or bears an explanatory notion of the importance of the market economy as one of the prerequisites for membership, as can be discerned from the several examples in Table of concordances 6.63:

6.63 Table of concordances: Existence of a functioning market economy

*a. with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union **Existence of a functioning market economy** The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has achie*

*b. Assessment in terms of the Copenhagen criteria 3.2.1. **The existence of a functioning market economy** Economic policy essentials All relevant political*

*c. 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the **existence of a functioning market economy**, and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure a*

*d. **The existence of a functioning market economy***

9 Domain: Qualifying evaluations

THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS - 39

PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 34

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE AREA - 21

PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE MODERATELY ADVANCED - 17

THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS - 16

SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 14

SOME PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 11
 IS NOT YET - 10
 STILL NEEDS TO - 10
 FURTHER EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 10
 PROGRESS HAS BEEN LIMITED - 8
 NOT YET BEEN - 7
 HAS NOT YET - 7
 HAVE NOT YET - 7
 EFFORTS WILL BE NEEDED TO ENSURE – 7
 NO PARTICULAR PROGRESS – 5
 THERE ARE NO SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS – 5
 THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED PROGRESS - 6
 SHOULD BE FURTHER STRENGTHENED – 5
 NOT YET FULLY – 5

The qualifying evaluations of the 2006 sub-corpus are rather different from the ones of the 2005 sub-corpus in that the evaluations in the 2006 documents are more centered on a specific area and not on the country overall as was the case in the previous year. As can be perceived from the clusters of this domain listed above, there is a direct assessment of the progress made in a specific field and this appraisal characterizes the progress made as existent, rather small or non-existent calling for further efforts and work. For illustrational purposes, as exemplified in Table 6.64, in 2006, the country made *no particular progress* in the areas of domestic violence, food production safety and quality policy:

6.64 Table of concordances: No particular progress

- a. been assessed positively by the UN in a number of areas. However, there was **no particular progress** in the definition of rape and in measures against domestic*
- b. chocolate products; safety of sugar and sanitary conditions for food production. **No particular progress** can be reported on specific rules for feed. Some*
- c. are on track. As regards the placing on the market of food and feed, **no particular progress** can be reported. Agro-food establishments need to continue*
- d. should continue the preparations for IPARD in order not to risk any delay. **No particular progress** can be reported as regards quality policy. Concerning*
- e. and violence (see also chapter 19 - Employment and social policy). There was **no particular progress** in the definition of rape or in measures against domestic*

10 Domain: Documents, papers and agreements

OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT – 8
 STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 7
 NATIONAL STRATEGY – 6

Other than the introduction of the *Energy Community Treaty* word cluster, whose occurrence can be justified with the fact that this document was signed in May of 2006, the documents, papers and agreements domain holds the corresponding word clusters of the same domain in the 2005 sub-corpus.

6.2.3. Official Documents of the European Union bodies on the Progress made by the Republic of Macedonia – 2007

The 2007 sub-corpus analyzed here corresponds to the previously examined sub-corpus of 2006 in several respects. Both of the sub-corpora consist of reports on the progress of the country within the time span of one year, as well as with the resolutions of the European Parliament upon the reports. Additionally, the documents of the sub-corpora pass the results of the same or similar examined aspects of the development of the country, the difference being the year of assessment. The 2007 sub-corpus again consists of two documents, i.e. the 2007 Progress Report and the European Parliament Resolution on the 2007 Progress Report. Once more, the progress report scrutinizes respective fields of development of the country and the parliament resolution summarizes the findings of the report, highlighting specific issues that are to be taken into consideration for future actions. It gives praise on the positive steps taken by the country or shows areas in which there has been slow or no progress whatsoever.

The size of the sub-corpus is 38,717 words and the generated body of key words of the sub-corpus is over the preset limit of 500. Upon removing the noise and unrelated words, the most frequent 66 key words of the third sub-corpus have been listed in Table 4 here.

Table 4: Key words of the 2007 sub-corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	LAW	222	58,744	1,023.76	34	STRATEGY	58	22,555	224.72
2	AREA	174	47,745	790.08	35	SECTOR	58	37,923	168.93
3	PROGRESS	166	20,400	1,012.45	36	IMPLEMENTING	53	1,541	473.09
4	PUBLIC	122	146,245	226.80	37	FRAMEWORK	53	4,089	371.50
5	ADOPTED	121	8,181	879.74	38	GDP	51	2,927	387.14

6	LEGISLATION	110	13,849	665.5 4	39	PARLIAMENT	50	25,055	170.01
7	CAPACITY	108	13,227	659.2 7	40	COUNCIL	48	59,268	86.83
8	HOWEVER	105	109,881	219.0 8	41	SERVICES	48	73,685	70.08
9	REPUBLIC	101	10,657	646.0 0	42	CORRUPTION	47	8,706	248.92
10	STILL	97	205,417	95.56	43	PROGRAMME	47	54,728	89.58
11	MACEDONIA	93	2,545	841.2 7	44	POLICE	47	112,16 9	38.68
12	STATE	93	81,391	222.6 7	45	LEVEL	46	55,863	84.47
13	ADMINISTRATIVE	91	3,136	782.0 6	46	LIMITED	45	16,185	180.98
14	YET	89	111,723	158.6 4	47	ENERGY	45	27,431	136.79
15	POLICY	88	64,728	237.7 3	48	LEGAL	45	40,848	104.84
16	IMPLEMENTATION	84	2,172	759.1 5	49	EFFORTS	44	16,495	173.51
17	COUNTRY	84	02,076	154.2 1	50	AGREEMENT	44	23,730	143.62
18	GOVERNMENT	83	198,659	68.02	51	EDUCATION	44	101,21 7	38.85
19	ACQUIS	80	11	1,348. 29	52	PROCEDURES	43	6,068	250.51
20	PREPARATIONS	80	2,873	681.0 3	53	AUTHORITIES	43	29,170	122.37
21	PROTECTION	77	17,181	380.1 1	54	INCREASED	42	20,921	143.26
22	FURTHER	73	78,922	148.2 4	55	CONTROL	42	49,206	79.61
23	SYSTEM	72	74,855	150.9 8	56	FOREIGN	42	49,381	79.37
24	NATIONAL	72	120,895	95.23	57	POLITICAL	42	86,968	42.66
25	EUROPEAN	70	82,150	132.5 3	58	INTERNATIONAL	42	89,287	41.12
26	COOPERATION	69	4,636	502.4 3	59	ENFORCEMENT	41	2,962	292.67
27	DEVELOPMENT	68	40,629	209.2 2	60	EMPLOYMENT	41	17,013	153.83
28	REMAINS	67	33,722	227.2 9	61	STANDARDS	41	26,509	120.24
29	RIGHTS	67	52,176	174.1 6	62	TRAINING	41	44,021	83.71
30	FINANCIAL	66	58,244	157.0 3	63	SOCIAL	41	66,543	56.33
31	MARKET	64	104,828	87.06	64	ALIGNMENT	40	345	450.91
32	NUMBER	62	94,814	90.91	65	PARTICULAR	40	27,398	113.13
33	MINISTRY	59	12,632	295.9 3	66	COMMISSION	39	39,077	84.21

As already mentioned, the similarity between the two corpora, consisted of comparable types of documents with a time difference of one year on the progress of the Republic of Macedonia, is rather noticeable. When contrasting the two tables, the key words are identical in 55 cases out of the total of 66 times, marking further the closeness of the texts or even the progress of the country within that one-year framework. This result further distinguishes the reference of the key

words yet again to the legislative and legal aspects as brought by the most frequent words *law, adopted, legislation, implementation, alignment, implementing and legal*. The notion of conditionality, compliances and requirements has been carried by the words *Acquis, efforts, administrative, rights, control, capacity* and the *corruption, policy, employment, framework, police, energy, education, particular, area, foreign, sector* as well as the newly introduced *training* move across the notion of the particular areas whose progress has been examined. The words *Republic, Macedonia, European, country* accentuate on the countries or regions involved along with the words marking the institutions or bodies involved in the evaluation and progress process, i.e. *Ministry, Commission, Government* strengthened by the new key word *authorities*. The words bearing the economic aspect remain the same: *GDP, financial, and market*. The likeness of the key words anticipates likeness in the word clusters classified under the terminological domains. The generated domains and clusters, as well as the contexts of their occurrences, have been catalogued here:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 11
EU MEMBER STATES - 7
PUBLIC SECTOR – 7

Similar to the outcome of the analysis of the 2006 sub-corpus, the domain entailing the parties or actors involved contains a small number of word clusters already generated in the entire corpus and in the previous sub-corpora studied. The word cluster *new member states* does not occur in the 2007 sub-corpus due to the fact that the last enlargement had happened in 2004. Instead, the *EU Member States* word cluster appears 7 times, all of which are presented in Table of concordances 6.65, in contexts requiring the establishment of committees and alignment of legislation or about informing about the signing of agreements, declarations or in a visa and support contexts:

6.65 Table of concordances: EU member states

- a. *Macedonia to establish joint committees on education and history with neighbouring EU Member States with a view to reviewing possible discrepancies and*
- b. *Macedonianian to bring its legislation into line with the principles and standards of the EU Member States; 37. Notes that further investment is needed in*

*c. Declaration, which was unanimously approved by all the Foreign Ministers of the **EU Member States** and the Foreign Ministers of the Western Balkan States in Salzburg*

*d. The country has ratified a total of 14 readmission agreements with 16 **EU Member States** and 6 agreements for readmission with non-member countries.*

*e. and Latvia were ratified. In total, there are currently 20 agreements with **EU Member States**. A manual on international cooperation was adopted to improve*

*f. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia received support from **EU member states** through the EU Monitoring and Information Centre for Civil Protection*

*g. visas free of charge. This will allow more interaction between citizens of the **EU Member States** and the citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.*

The cluster *EU Member States* in the above settings does not bear an enlargement notion but has been used to simply accentuate on the involvement of the European Union members in relations with the country on certain accounts as illustrated above.

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

EU – 97

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 93

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 85

EUROPEAN UNION - 4

The countries and regions involved in the process of integration have already been listed in the previous terminological domains of this Chapter's analysis. In this regard the occurrence of the clusters carrying the two main actors, i.e. EU and the Republic of Macedonia come naturally. However, even though the abbreviation for the *European Union*, i.e. *EU* occurs fairly frequently, the word cluster itself appears in a very limited number and as shown in Table of concordances 6.66, in every one of its four occurrences it has been set in an enlargement, i.e. integration context, either of the country or of the Western Balkan region:

6.66 Table of concordances: European Union

*a. demonstrate that the country is ready for the process of integration into the **European Union**;*
17. Supports the initiative of the Thessaloniki-based Center for

*b. Welcomes the renewed political consensus on the accession of the country to the **European Union** and the considerable progress achieved since the above-mentioned*

*c. the promise was made to all Western Balkan states that they would join the **European Union**, – having regard to Resolutions 817 (1993) of 7 April 1993 and 8*

*d. neighbourly relations form an essential part of the process of moving towards the **European Union**. The country has continued to actively participate in other regional*

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

STATE ANTI CORRUPTION COMMISSION - 9
MINISTRY OF FINANCE - 9
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR - 7
MINISTRY OF ECONOMY – 5
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE - 7
NEW GOVERNMENT – 7
JUDICIAL COUNCIL - 7
COUNCIL OF EUROPE – 6
PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTER - 6
STATE MARKET INSPECTORATE - 6
STATE AUDIT OFFICE - 5
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES – 5
INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT – 5

The 3rd terminological domain lists the word clusters representing the institutions and the bodies involved in the enlargement process. The above-listed institutions have been inspected in reference to their scope of activities and in reference to the effectiveness in which they function. As was the case with the two previous terminological domains, the word clusters here have been generated in the 2005 and 2006 sub-corpora and in the entire corpus analysis.

As per the cluster *new Government*, the seven times it occurs were in reference to assessment of the positive and negative steps taken over by the government that had been elected in 2006 as illustrated in the examples below:

6.67 Table of concordances: New government

- a. taken on 10,306 of the 22,809 applications filed between 2000 and 2006. The **new government**, to make allowance 5 an independent European advisory body.*
- b. the state's influence on competitiveness is rather limited, although the **new government** has been demonstrating a greater willingness to actively promote*
- c. However, these distortions have not yet been fully addressed. Furthermore, the **new government** appears more active in directly intervening to promote domestic a*
- d. The main foreign investors are from the EU. The **new government** has launched a programme to attract FDI, for example by establish*
- e. Fiscal policy became more expansionary towards the end of 2006, when the **new government** adopted a supplementary budget with additional spending of some*
- f. concerned agree on the objective of establishing a market-based economy. The **new government** presented its economic programme in autumn 2006, emphasising the*
- g. The Public Prosecutor was dismissed immediately after the **new government** took office, and the position remained vacant for four months due*

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION – 6

The enlargement and elements of the process terminological domain holds only one word cluster. In 4 of its 6 occurrences it collocates with the word *Agreement*, once with *process* and once with *Council*. This small number of uses does not leave space for further in-depth exploration. However, the above cluster and its collocations have already been studied in this and in Chapter 5.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements and compliances

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 56
ALIGNMENT WITH THE ACQUIS - 30
IN LINE WITH THE ACQUIS – 8
ADOPTION OF THE ACQUIS - 7
PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - 7
ALIGNED WITH THE ACQUIS - 6
ALIGN ITS LEGISLATION WITH THE ACQUIS – 6
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 6
PUBLIC INTERNAL FINANCIAL CONTROL - 5
ENFORCEMENT OF LEGISLATION – 5
EU STANDARDS – 5

Once more the call for *Alignment with the Acquis*, *adoption of the Acquis*, *alignment of the legislation with the Acquis* and all others collocations of the word *Acquis* dominate the conditionality terminological domain placing this necessity at the top of the requirements for EU accession of the country.

Unlike the ones in the 2006 sub-corpus, the *EU standards* in the 2007 sub-corpus have been set in terms of the environmental legislation, stamps, networks and farmers in which areas the country has made efforts. The outcome of this alteration may lie in the assumption that the standards of the previous year have been reached or that the focus has shifted to different areas. In one case (see example a. below in Table of concordances 6.68), the country has reached a decision to sign a Bilateral Immunity Agreement with the US authorities, going against the EU standards:

6.68 Table of concordances: EU standards

*a. national Criminal Court in The Hague; stresses that such an act runs counter to **EU standards** and policies, all aimed at supporting the International Criminal*

- b. continue efforts to bring its environmental legislation into line with accepted **EU standards**;*
32. *Notes that on 7 November 2007, a large police operation took*
- c. national security standards. The new entry and exit stamps are in accordance with **EU standards**. A national IT visa management system and a visa centre should be*
- d. Network (FADN), where a law establishing the whole system in compliance with **EU standards** has been enacted. The budget of the Ministry of Agriculture,*
- e. measures required to give farmers access to direct support according to **EU standards** is at an early stage. Pilot projects were installed for setting up*

The strong presence of the *Administrative capacity* word cluster has been set in institutional and in particular areas contexts yet again.

6 Domain: Particular areas

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - 11

PUBLIC PROCUREMENT - 11

PUBLIC SERVICE – 7

INTELLECTUAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS – 5

LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY - 6

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT - 6

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ZONES – 5

ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY – 5

Other than the correspondence of the word clusters *enterprise and industrial policy* and *industrial property rights*, the particular areas examined in the 2007 sub-corpus, expressed through the recurrent word clusters listed under this terminological domain, seem to differ from the ones of the 2006 sub-corpus. The areas that are rather central in this sub-corpus are mostly related to economic, social, industrial and agricultural aspects.

The word cluster highest in frequency under this domain, *industrial property rights* and its collocation with the word *intellectual*, thus forming the cluster *intellectual and industrial property rights*, have been dealing with a slight development in the area pointing out specific activities that have been undertaken on this matter and the legislative aspects related to industrial property rights:

6.69 Table of concordances: (Intellectual and) Industrial property rights

*a. powers of the state market inspectorate for product safety; and **industrial property rights** are under way. The Commission for Protection of Competition*

*b. in this area, especially with regard to alignment of legislation in the area of **industrial property rights** and interception of counterfeit goods at the border.*

- c. sources are being allocated to ensure a level of protection of **intellectual and industrial property rights** similar to that which exists in the Community, includ
- d. and to enhance the enforcement of the legislation on **intellectual and industrial property rights**. However, the political will to tackle properly the
- e. A joint coordinating body for both **intellectual and industrial property rights** was created, consisting of 11 members from various in
- f. establishing a credible enforcement record in combating cross-border breaches of **industrial property rights**. Within the country, the activities and the capacity
- g. and for monitoring the implementation of the legislation on **intellectual and industrial property rights**. Five new employees were recruited, but the total num
- h. The SOIP keeps registers of patent applications and other registered **industrial property rights**. The SOIP has equipment for maintaining all the
- i. The preparations in this area are lagging behind. The legislation on **industrial property rights** was amended with the aim of bringing it into line
- j. proceedings, also to impose fines in cases of breach of **intellectual and industrial property rights**. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia signed a m
- k. made to improve implementation of SAA provisions in the field of competition, **industrial property rights** and the telecommunication market. However

The acclamations on the progress of the *judicial system*, in two of the total of its four occurrences, have been followed by the word however, and other than the development in the organized crime and fight against trafficking in human beings areas, the judicial system did not mark any specific progress as can be seen from the illustrated uses in Table of concordances 6.70:

6.70 Table of concordances: Judicial system

- a. leading to a strengthening of the independence and the overall capacity of the **judicial system**;
- 9. Commends the government on the progress that it has made in
 - b. for judicial reform, are gradually addressing the deficiencies of the **judicial system**. However, sustained efforts are needed to ensure progress in the
 - c. Overall, steps were undertaken to gradually address the deficiencies of the **judicial system**. However, a number of delays were encountered, notably as regard
 - d. Implementation of the police reform is underway but still at an early stage. **Judicial system** Some progress was achieved in implementing the strategy on

7 Domain: Legislative and legal aspects

NEW LAW ON - 14
 AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW - 11
 LAW ON MISDEMEANOURS - 10
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW - 8
 AMENDED LAW - 7
 PARLIAMENT RATIFIED – 7
 GOVERNMENT ADOPTED - 7

IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION – 7
LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 7
LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – 5
ADOPTION OF THE LAW - 6
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW - 5
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW - 5
LAW ON EMPLOYMENT - 5
PROPER IMPLEMENTATION - 5
EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LEGISLATION - 5
IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT – 5
LAW ON EMPLOYMENT – 5

The terminological domain grasping the legal aspects of this sub-corpus is more plentiful in word clusters as compared to the one in the 2006 sub-corpus. However, the call for proper and effective *implementation and enforcement* of the legislation in different fields remains universal, and as shown in Table 6.71, even though the EU bodies recognize the progress made on certain issues, this acknowledgment is often followed by the word *however*, necessitating further efforts:

6.71 Table of concordances: Implementation and enforcement

- a. competences of the various inspectorates have still not been clarified. Proper **implementation and enforcement** is not yet ensured. Preparations in this area are*
- b. including substantial investment and strengthened administrative capacity, for the **implementation and enforcement** of the legislation.*
- c. lacks proper facilities for normal working, is insufficient to ensure proper **implementation and enforcement** of the legal provisions. There has been no progress*
- d. of the Public Revenue Office. However, further efforts to ensure effective **implementation and enforcement** of the legislation are still necessary.*
- e. obligations under the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. In all sectors, **implementation and enforcement** of the legislation remains weak. The independence*

8 Domain: Economic aspects

RELATIVE TO GDP – 7
FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY – 5
SHARE OF GDP – 5
GOODS AND SERVICES – 5

The economic aspects in the 2007 sub-corpus were to some extent embodied by four c-clusters present throughout the second corpus.

The significant economic criterion, *functioning market economy*, in four of its total of five applications in the sub-corpus, and as represented in Table of concordances 6.72 below, is

entirely identical to the ones used in the 2006-subcorpus, replicating the requirements for membership in the European Union. The one time it has been used in reference to the country in question, i.e. the Republic of Macedonia (see example a.), emphasizes the obstructive effect that the judiciary and the legal system have on the fully functioning market economy of the country:

6.72 Table of concordances: Functioning market economy

- a. legislation to put into action major structural reforms. However, a fully **functioning market economy** is still impeded by weaknesses in the judiciary*
- b. with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union Existence of a **functioning market economy** The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has*
- c. competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. 3.1. The existence of a **functioning market economy** Economic policy essentials The country is fully p*
- d. 1993 which stated that membership of the Union requires the existence of a **functioning market economy** and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure an*
- e. The existence of a **functioning market economy***

9 Domain: Qualifying evaluations

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 35
HAVE NOT YET BEEN - 26
HAS NOT YET BEEN - 26
THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS - 24
PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 24
IS NOT YET - 19
PROGRESS WAS MADE - 17
SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 15
HAS YET TO BE - 11
ARE NOT YET - 9
PROGRESS HAS BEEN LIMITED - 8
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE MODERATELY ADVANCED - 8
FURTHER EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 8
SOME PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 7
HAVE NOT YET - 7
HAVE YET TO BE - 6
THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED PROGRESS - 5
STILL AT AN EARLY STAGE - 6
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE ADVANCING - 6
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA HAS MADE PROGRESS - 5
COUNTRY IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY PREPARED - 5

The similarity between the word clusters of the qualifying evaluations terminological domain of the 2006 and 2007 sub-corpora is quite striking. Once again, the appraisal of the progress made

has been directed towards a specific area under examination, as can be seen in the following examples listed below, in which the word cluster *country is not sufficiently prepared* has been used to characterize the development of the Republic of Macedonia in the financing, police, energy and solid fuels sector:

6.73 Table of concordances: Country is not sufficiently prepared

- a. specially in the field of financing, have not been addressed. In this area, the **country is not sufficiently prepared**. The national drugs strategy has been ado*
- b. Europol has not been followed by an operational agreement. In this area, the **country is not sufficiently prepared**. Enactment of the law on monitoring of co*
- c. level of independence of the energy regulator remains inadequate. Overall, the **country is not sufficiently prepared**. 4.16. Chapter 16: Taxation The former*
- d. initial phase of creating a state aid policy for solid fuels. In this area, the **country is not sufficiently prepared**. Good progress was made in the field of*
- e. a strategy for long-term development of the energy sector. In this area, the **country is not sufficiently prepared**. Significant progress was made with regar*

10 Domain: Documents, papers and agreements

OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 10

NATIONAL STRATEGY – 8

The recurrence of the two clusters of the documents and agreements terminological domain already reflected upon in Chapter 5 and in this chapter further strengthens their position as constant clusters.

6.2.4. Official Documents of the European Union bodies on the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia – 2008

Other than the 2008 Progress Report, the other two documents comprising the 2008 sub-corpus differ slightly from the documents comprising the 2006 and 2007 sub-corpora in this chapter. This slight distinction lies in the form in which the documents were built, i.e. the 2008 sub-corpus, other than the usual Report on the progress made by the country within one year time span, additionally encloses a short specific summary on the key findings in the aforementioned Report and concentrates on the political and economic criteria and on the EU legal order assessing the legislative development that the country has made. This approach once more places legislative matters amongst the highest priorities for the accession of the Republic of Macedonia

along with the advancement in the political and economic spheres. The third document that rounds the 2008 sub-corpus is the Council Decision exploring the principles and the short and medium term priorities for the country identified within the framework of the Stabilisation and Association Process, the funding and financial assistance and the conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the Republic of Macedonia.

These three documents constitute a body of total of 47,538 words whose comparison to the Guardian Word List 1998-2004 generated over 500 key words. The 66 key words marking highest occurrence, once freed from the unrelated words and the noise, have been presented in Table 5 here:

Table 5: Key words of the 2008 sub-corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	PROGRESS	257	20,400	1,683.92	34	SECTOR	71	37,923	206.39
2	LAW	256	58,744	1,149.47	35	STRATEGY	70	22,555	268.91
3	AREA	238	47,745	1,129.97	36	ENSURE	69	23,386	258.51
4	PUBLIC	192	146,245	437.76	37	EDUCATION	66	101,217	76.02
5	CAPACITY	172	13,227	1,137.36	38	COOPERATION	64	4,636	430.57
6	STILL	165	205,417	242.21	39	REPUBLIC	64	10,657	326.65
7	LEGISLATION	153	13,849	962.82	40	FIELD	64	28,453	207.47
8	ADMINISTRATIVE	133	3,136	1,187.48	41	ADVANCED	63	7,620	360.67
9	POLICY	122	64,728	356.23	42	REMAINS	63	33,722	182.88
10	HOWEVER	122	109,881	243.14	43	ENFORCEMENTY	62	2,962	467.74
11	ADOPTED	121	8,181	830.54	44	ESTABLISHED	62	18,064	249.96
12	FURTHER	119	78,922	299.97	45	REGIONAL	61	16,371	255.43
13	IMPLEMENTATION	118	2,172	1,110.38	46	INCREASED	61	20,921	227.17
14	FINANCIAL	111	58,244	326.32	47	REPORTED	61	29,863	186.97
15	ACQUIS	105	11	1,741.87	48	HUMAN	61	59,303	113.74
16	COUNTRY	105	102,076	195.85	49	SOCIAL	61	66,543	102.25
17	SYSTEM	102	74,855	239.00	50	POLICE	61	112,169	54.70
18	YET	102	111,723	170.37	51	CONTROL	60	49,206	129.05
19	STATE	99	81,391	212.58	52	INTERNATIONAL	60	89,287	71.75

20	PREPARATIONS	95	2,873	801.9 3	53	EFFORTS	58	16,495	236.48
21	IMPLEMENTING	93	1,541	894.0 4	54	MACEDONIA	57	2,545	437.58
22	COUNCIL	93	59,268	240.9 5	55	GDP	57	2,927	421.94
23	EU	92	32,882	335.5 6	56	MEASURES	57	14,630	243.52
24	NUMBER	90	94,814	155.9 9	57	ENERGY	57	27,431	176.49
25	TRAINING	87	44,021	261.4 7	58	MANAGEMENT	56	46,537	119.18
26	RIGHTS	87	52,176	234.8 0	59	RESOURCES	55	20,012	198.73
27	EUROPEAN	87	82,150	166.4 6	60	SAFETY	55	23,439	182.58
28	PROTECTION	84	17,181	395.4 3	61	TRANSPORT	55	24,759	177.03
29	MARKET	84	104,828	122.9 1	62	CORRUPTION	54	8,706	278.97
30	NATIONAL	82	120,895	99.21	63	IMPLEMENT	53	3,151	377.09
31	FRAMEWORK	78	4,089	574.2 6	64	MINISTRY	53	12,632	233.92
32	PARTICULAR	77	27,398	281.4 7	65	PROCEDURES	52	6,068	301.32
33	DEVELOPMENT	75	40,629	216.1 1	66	LEGAL	51	40,848	111.75

Despite the difference in the form in which the documents were prepared when compared to the sub-corpus of 2007, the correspondence of the key words tables of the two sub-corpora remains significant with 54 identical key words out of a total of 66. In this respect, the similarity of the words signifying a specific category remains almost unchanged. The countries or regions involved in the process, i.e. *Republic, Macedonia, European, country, state* and the once again introduced key word *EU* stay mostly unaffected, as do the legislative and legal aspects universally present in the entire corpus through the words: *law, legal, adopted, legislation and implementation*. There is slight alteration in the key words regarding the institutions or the bodies involved as represented solely by the *Ministry and Council*, as well as in those regarding the particular areas subjected to a closer assessment: *framework, police, employment, corruption, field, energy, sector, policy* further strengthened by *safety, transport, resources*. There is no particular change in the words grasping the economic aspect *GDP, market* and *financial* nor in the words representing some aspects of the notion of conditionality, compliances and requirements: *Acquis, efforts, rights, administrative, capacity*.

The key words of the 2008 sub-corpus generated terminological domains richer in word clusters in one respect and poorer in another. The clusters that occurred at least five times, involving some exceptions where deemed necessary and for illustrational purposes, have been listed below. However, the closeness of the notions carried by these word clusters remains here as well.

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 10

PUBLIC SECTOR – 8

EU MEMBER STATES – 6

The three word clusters of the parties or actors involved terminological domain belonging to the 2008 sub-corpus are identical with the ones of the previous sub-corpus and occur in the same domain of the entire corpus analysis. As can be discerned from the examples in Table of concordances 6.74, the *EU Member States* word cluster again does not occur in enlargement context but rather in technical circumstances dealing with the bilateral investment agreements, re-admission issues, due to the visa liberalization procedures ongoing at the time, and regarding banking and pharmaceutical issues.

6.74 Table of concordances: EU member states

- a. investment agreements ratified rose to 30, of which 27 are in force and 15 are agreements with **EU Member States**. There is no progress to report in the areas of development*
- b. Bosnia and Herzegovina, bringing the number of readmission agreements with non-**EU Member States** to five. Readmission agreements were concluded with Moldova*
- c. Lithuania have been ratified. In total, there are currently 22 agreements with **EU Member States**. Good progress can be reported in the field of operational*
- d. in accordance with the Law on the payment system and the best practice of **EU Member States** central banks. However, the charges for cross-border electronic*
- e. authorisations for pharmaceuticals and for recognising authorisations issued by **EU Member States**. In addition, implementing legislation aiming to transpose the*
- f. procedures for the authorities of both the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and **EU Member States** as to when and how to take back people who are illegally residing*

The four additional uses of the cluster *Member States* simply distinguish between the member and the non-member countries of the Union, exploring the relations between them and the Republic of Macedonia. However, the cluster has been used two times, collocating with the cluster *Enlargement countries*. Upon a closer inspection of this application, it can be discerned that the enlargement countries actually bear the meaning of applicant countries for EU membership as presented in the three examples in Table 6.75 below:

6.75 Table of concordances: Enlargement countries

- a. continued to cover foreign policy issues. For neighbourly relations with other **enlargement countries** and member states, see the section under Political criteria*
- b. mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As regards bilateral relations with other **enlargement countries** and neighbouring member states, relations with Albania*
- c. It also monitors regional cooperation, good neighbourly relations with **enlargement countries** and Member States, and respect for international obligations*

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

EU – 92

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 60

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 57

EUROPEAN UNION – 6

There is no surprise in terms of the countries and regions involved in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the actors remain the same.

There is a minor increase in the number of occurrences of the word cluster *European Union* compared to the 2007 sub-corpus. However, there is a slight distinction in the application of the cluster because in the previous sub-corpus it was solely set in an enlargement environment. Here, apart from the broad use of the Union in terms of the integration process in general or the placement of the EU accession as one of the top priorities of the Macedonian government, the term was also used as part of a document title or a title of an institution. Additionally, the reiteration of the fact that the good neighbourly relations are tightly connected to the process of accession can be seen from the identical statement in both of the sub-corpora, i.e. the one of 2007 and of 2008, as presented in the example e. illustrated here:

6.76 Table of concordances: European Union

- a. affect on the third day following its publication in the Official Journal of the **European Union**. Done at Brussels, 18 February 2008.*
- b. In order to prepare for further integration with the **European Union**, the competent authorities in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia should develop*
- c. Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's preparations for further integration with the **European Union**.*
- d. Macedonia and repealing Decision 2006/57/EC (2008/212/EC) THE COUNCIL OF THE **EUROPEAN UNION**, Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community*
- e. neighbourly relations form an essential part of the process of integrating with the **European Union**. The country has continued to participate actively in regional in*
- f. is from the Roma community. The government programme includes accession to the **European Union** amongst its strategic priorities. Decentralisation,*

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

COUNCIL OF PUBLIC PROSECUTORS – 17
MINISTRY OF (THE) INTERIOR - 16
BROADCASTING COUNCIL - 13
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES - 12
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE - 12
JUDICIAL COUNCIL - 12
PUBLIC REVENUE OFFICE - 9
MINISTRY OF FINANCE - 8
PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTER - 7
STATE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR – 7
EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS - 6
COUNCIL OF EUROPE - 6
EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 5
LAW ENFORCEMENT BODIES - 5
STATE AUDIT OFFICE - 5
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY - 5
MINISTRY OF ECONOMY - 5

As can be discerned from the above listed institutions or bodies involved in respective aspects of the accession process, the majority of the institutions again belong to the state system of the Republic of Macedonia, thus stressing the fact that their activities were subjected to a closer observation on the part of the bodies of the European Union. The cluster *New Government* no longer bears a significant number of occurrences in 2008.

On the other hand, the *European Council*, absent in this terminological domain since 2005, occurs six times in the 2008 sub-corpus, all of which are presented in Table of concordances 6.77, generally in reference to the Copenhagen Council of 1993, the Thessaloniki Council of 2003, Council of September 2002 or December 2005, during which the country was granted a candidate status, reiterating the already set guidelines and provision for membership.

6.77 Table of concordances: European Council

- a. national Criminal Court into line with the EU guiding principles adopted by the **European Council** in September 2002. Chapter 32: Financial control - Further de*
- b. Macedonia relate to its capacity to meet the criteria defined by the Copenhagen **European Council** of 1993 and the conditions set by the Stabilisation and Association*
- c. YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA 2007 ACCESSION PARTNERSHIP 1. INTRODUCTION The **European Council** endorsed the introduction of the partnerships as a means to realize the European Perspective of the Western Balkan*

- d. *Stabilisation and Association Process, notably by the annual progress reports. (3) The **European Council** of 17 December 2005 granted the former Yugoslav Republic of Mac*
- e. *regard to the proposal from the Commission, Whereas: (1) The Thessaloniki **European Council** of 19 and 20 June 2003 endorsed the introduction of the partner*
- f. *Republic of Macedonia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council** in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the*
- g. *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2008-2009 1.2. Context The **European Council** of December 2005 granted the status of candidate country to the*

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS - 8

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 8

Once again the enlargement elements have been rather weakly represented with two word clusters that are constant throughout the body, collocating in most of the occurrences with the word *implementation* in the cluster *implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement* or with the words *mechanisms established* in the cluster *mechanisms established under the Stabilisation and Association Process*. As can be discerned by the entirely or partially identical uses of the cluster shown in Table of concordances 6.78, all deriving from the Council Decision document of 2008 (see beginning of Chapter 6 for the complete title of the document), there is a repetition of the fact that mechanisms have been established in order to examine the accession partnership.:

6.78 Table of concordances: Mechanisms established under the Stabilisation and Association Process

- a. *Accession Partnership will be examined by the **mechanisms established under the Stabilisation and Association Process**, notably the annual reports presented by*
- b. *Accession Partnership shall be examined through the **mechanisms established under the stabilisation and association process**, notably the annual progress reports*
- c. *the partnerships will be ensured through the **mechanisms established under the Stabilisation and Association Process**, notably by the annual progress reports.*

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements and compliances

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY - 83

ALIGNMENT WITH THE ACQUIS - 19

RULE OF LAW - 10

ACCESS TO THE LABOUR MARKET - 10

AIMING TO TRANSPOSE THE ACQUIS - 9

HUMAN RIGHTS - 9

IN LINE WITH THE ACQUIS - 8
 RELEVANT ACQUIS - 7
 CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT - 7
 REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT - 7
 RURAL DEVELOPMENT - 6
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 6
 HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES - 6
 INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - 6
 MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL – 6
 HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES – 6
 REGIONAL ISSUES AND INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS – 5
 PROTECTION OF MINORITIES - 5
 STATE INFLUENCE ON COMPETITIVENESS - 5
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACQUIS – 5

If compared to the word clusters of the terminological domain of the 2007 sub-corpus, the conditionality, requirements and compliances clusters of 2008 seem to be higher in number. The call for *Alignment with the Acquis, Implementation of the Acquis*, the other collocations of the word *Acquis* as well as the newly introduced clusters *Relevant Acquis* and *Aiming to transpose the Acquis* continue to emphasize the immense importance of the legislation for the process of accession and in many directions, ranging from asylum and aliens acts, material and plant variety rights to livestock breeding and product legislation.

The cluster *EU standards* is not frequent in this sub-corpus. Nevertheless, the ever-present *administrative capacity* remains prevalent in the conditionality domain of this sub-corpus with 83 occurrences, forming the clusters *administrative capacity of* or *administrative capacity for*, once more requiring increased, strengthened, ensured or enhanced administrative capacity in the customs, taxation and legislative spheres as well as in the areas of the labour market, nuclear safety, protection of rights and related fields.

6 Domain: Particular areas

ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY - 8
 PUBLIC SERVICE - 8
 FOOD SAFETY VETERINARY AND PHYTOSANITARY POLICY - 6
 FOREIGN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY - 6
 MONETARY POLICY - 6
 ANTI CORRUPTION POLICY – 6
 INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS – 6
 PRIVATE SECTOR – 6

SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE MEASURES – 6
TECHNOLOGICAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ZONES - 5
REGIONAL POLICY AND COORDINATION - 5
LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY - 5
AREA OF PUBLIC HEALTH - 5
AREA OF STATE AID - 5
FINANCIAL SECTOR - 5
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY – 5
JUDICIAL SYSTEM - 5

The word clusters of the 6th terminological domain of the 2008 sub-corpus, including the particular areas subjected to closer assessment in the documents dealing with the progress that the Republic of Macedonia has made in 2008, are quite close to the ones examined in the same domain of the 2007 sub-corpus in that they communicate matters of economic, social, industrial and agricultural instance. Furthermore, the clusters of this domain carrying particular areas under examination occur in the previous sub-corpora and in the overall study of the second corpus as presented in the first part of the current chapter.

The word cluster *special investigative measures* is a novelty in this domain and the contexts in which this cluster occurs are mostly of legislative nature and deal with the manner in which specific types of crimes are being legally regulated. The case with yet another word cluster, *Anti-corruption policy* is similar. This cluster has been introduced under this domain due to the occurrence of the key word corruption, whose high frequency indicates one of the new focal areas subjected to closer inspection.

The *industrial property rights* are regulated under the chapter of the Acquis on the Intellectual Property Law (see European Commission, 2015). Therefore, the close assessment of their development, evaluated as not yet satisfactory, as well as the call for improvement and enforcement in the legislative settlement is quite expected:

6.79 Table of concordances: Industrial property rights

- a. *logistics by all the institutions. Similar efforts are now necessary to protect **industrial property rights** and to combat counterfeiting. The results of all the*
- b. *but the situation is not yet satisfactory. The number of cases relating to **industrial property rights**, in particular trademarks, is still too low. Fines*
- c. *stepped up its efforts to ensure a level of protection of intellectual and **industrial property rights** similar to that which exists in the Community*
- d. *the capacity necessary to implement and enforce the acquis on both copyright and **industrial property rights**. Enforcement of intellectual property rights (IPR) is*

*e. of Plants remains to be ratified. Preparations improved in the area of **industrial property rights**, although much remains to be done. There has been s*
*f. to address its priorities. Little progress has been made in the field of **industrial property rights**. Two additional employees were taken on in the State*

In the previous sub-chapter the *judicial system* had been assessed to have undergone progress in certain areas, and in two of its applications the cluster was followed by the word *however*, qualifying some of the development made. In the 2008 sub-corpus the judicial system cluster had been used as a sub division title twice and once has been referenced in terms of the necessity of improvements. The third and the fourth identical examples below (see Table of concordances 6.80, examples c. and d.) both derive from the 2008 Progress Report document and follow identical observations on the insufficient budget of the courts, disallowing the courts to cover running costs and leading to judicial inefficiency:

6.80 Table of concordances: Judicial system

*a. administrative capacity to programme and manage IPA funds effectively. **Judicial system** - Further develop initial and continuous training in the*
*b. judiciary reforms and strengthen the independence and overall capacity of the **judicial system**. Implement the reform of the prosecution and finalise the appointment*
*c. was remedied again by providing a supplementary budget in the course of the year but nonetheless it continues to jeopardize the efficiency of the **judicial system**.*
*d. was remedied again by providing a supplementary budget in the course of the year but nonetheless it continues to jeopardize the efficiency of the **judicial system**.*
*e. In this area the country partially meets its priorities. **Judicial system** (See also chapter 23 - Judiciary & fundamental rights)*

7 Domain: Legislative and legal aspects

IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION - 19
AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW ON - 17
NEW LAW ON - 14
GOVERNMENT ADOPTED - 11
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW - 10
LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 10
EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION - 7
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW - 5
LEGISLATION WAS ADOPTED - 5
IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT - 5
LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – 5

The word clusters of the 7th domain taking on the legislative and legal aspects of the 2008 sub-corpus bear no element of surprise. On the contrary, all of them have already occurred plentifully in all of the previous analyses. The omnidirectional application of the cluster *implementation and enforcement* of the legislation in 2008 once more exposing it as poor or insufficient in respective fields, and bearing in mind the uses of this cluster in the corpus so far, is to be anticipated:

6.81 Table of concordances: Implementation and enforcement

*a. Credit Law was issued. Use of mediation increased slightly. However, proper **implementation and enforcement** are not yet ensured. No progress can be reported*

*b. and local levels and its strengthening remains a priority for improving the **implementation and enforcement** of the legislation. Little progress has been made*

*c. was adopted. However, administrative capacity is insufficient to ensure proper **implementation and enforcement** of the legal provisions. The number of injuries*

*d. between the relevant institutions is low. Administrative capacity to ensure proper **implementation and enforcement** of the labour law is weak. Preparations in this*

*e. and tax revenue has increased, but efforts are still needed to ensure effective **implementation and enforcement** of tax legislation, in view of reducing the infor*

8 Domain: Economic aspects

RELATIVE TO GDP - 7

SHARE OF GDP – 5

FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY – 5

The economic aspect's word clusters of the 2008 sub-corpus are entirely identical to all of the previous ones. In this regard, the applications of the *functioning market economy* cluster, constituting one of the major economic criteria for accession, and the four occurrences of the cluster in its environment as entirely identical to the ones of the 2007 sub-corpus and of the 2006 sub-corpus as well, as shown in Table of concordances 6.82 below, once more reiterate the weight given to this area by the Union:

6.82 Table of concordances: Functioning market economy

*a. strengthened during the last year and the country has moved closer towards becoming a **functioning market economy**. It should be able to cope with competitive pressures*

*b. with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union Existence of a **functioning market economy** Overall, macroeconomic stability has been maintained*

*c. competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. 3.1. The existence of a **functioning market economy** Economic policy essentials The country is fully p*

- d. 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the existence of a **functioning market economy**, and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure*
*e. The existence of a **functioning market economy***

9 Domain: Qualifying evaluations

9 Domain A: Endorsing evaluations

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 98
PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 48
THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS - 42
SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 33
THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS - 18
GOOD PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 14
LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 11
LITTLE PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 10
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE MODERATELY ADVANCED – 10
THERE HAS BEEN GOOD PROGRESS - 9
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE ADVANCED – 8
SOME PROGRESS IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN MADE - 8
COUNTRY PARTIALLY MEETS - 8
ADVANCED LITTLE PROGRESS – 5
SOME PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED – 5
COUNTRY IS MODERATELY ADVANCED - 5

9 Domain B: Unfavourable evaluations

IS NOT YET – 29
NOT YET BEEN - 29
HAS NOT YET - 27
IS STILL NOT - 11
BUT IS STILL - 8
ARE NOT YET IN PLACE - 8
NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 7
NO PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 7
IS STILL INSUFFICIENT - 6
NOT YET FULLY - 6
IS STILL INADEQUATE – 5

9 Domain C: Necessity for further endeavors

HAS YET TO BE - 17
FURTHER EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 12
HAS STILL TO BE - 10
FURTHER SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 5
FURTHER SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 5
EFFORTS ARE REQUIRED – 5

The indications on the extent of the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia as listed under the 9th terminological domain above are even greater in number and have mostly already been generated in the previous domains of the sub-corpora and of the entire corpus. The extent of the advancement moves along the lines of specific fields subjected to evaluation. This can be illustrated through the contexts of occurrence of the word cluster *no progress can be reported* i.e. as shown in the 83. Table of concordances, the lack of progress made by the country in the area of alignment with the Acquis on distance marketing, treatment of the socially vulnerable, telecommunications, economic and monetary policy and so forth.

6.83 Table of concordances: No progress can be reported

- a. However, proper implementation and enforcement are not yet ensured. **No progress can be reported** on aligning the legislation with the acquis on distance*
- b. associations of employers were registered in accordance with the labour law. **No progress can be reported** in the field of treatment of socially vulnerable and*
- c. with Greece and Albania. In this area, preparations are moderately advanced. **No progress can be reported** in the area of telecommunication networks. In this a*
- d. and need to be continued. 4.17. Chapter 17: Economic and monetary policy **No progress can be reported** in aligning the legal framework with the acquis the*
- e. in registration forms that will be subsequently introduced into the system. **No progress can be reported** in setting up an integrated administration and*
- f. security schemes in the framework of movement of workers remains insufficient. **No progress can be reported** with regard to the European Health Insurance Card.*
- g. overall level of preparations. 4.1. Chapter 1: Free movement of goods **No progress can be reported** as regards general principles. An action plan for*

10 Domain: Documents, papers and agreements

OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 9

NATIONAL STRATEGY AND ACTION PLAN – 6

The above two clusters of the documents and agreements terminological domain have already been established as c-clusters and have been analyzed in-depth previously in this chapter.

6.2.5. Official Documents of the European Union bodies on the Progress made by the Republic of Macedonia – 2009

The final sub-corpus of the second part of this chapter's analysis on the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia refers to the year 2009 and consists of two documents, i.e. the 2009 Progress Report and the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia document, which is an

extract from the Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010 document. The Conclusions document outlines particular aspects of the progress of the country within the one-year period. Some of the observations move along the lines of the important events that had a direct influence on the country's motion towards achieving its objective, i.e. accession to the European Union, for instance the presidential and local elections that took place in 2009 were explored under the political criteria, the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement was evaluated under the democracy and the rule of law. The other remarks of the documents address the various areas deriving from the provisions of the Acquis such as human rights, regional issues and international obligations, economic and monetary policy, abilities to assume the obligations of membership.

Overall, the assessment approaches of the two documents do not differ from the ones analyzed in the previous sub-corpora of this chapter.

The 2009 sub-corpus consists of 45,804 words, once again generating a key words list of over 500 words as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998-2004. Upon elimination of the terminologically non-related words and the noise, the 66 key words most recurrent in this sub-corpus, and subjected to a closer study, have been listed in Table 6 represented below:

Table 6: Key words of the 2009 sub-corpus as compared to the Guardian Word List 1998_2004

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	PROGRESS	314	20,400	2,204.25	34	CONTINUED	72	21,911	289.43
2	NOT	257	1,033.605	32.54	35	MARKET	72	104,828	92.44
3	AREA	241	47,745	1,167.38	36	IMPLEMENTING	71	1,541	650.55
4	CAPACITY	187	13,227	1,281.02	37	SECTOR	70	37,923	206.40
5	LAW	184	58,744	723.38	38	REPORTED	69	29,863	231.85
6	PUBLIC	177	146,245	390.05	39	CIVIL	66	26,482	231.04
7	STILL	174	205,417	280.27	40	PARTICULAR	65	27,398	221.59
8	ADMINISTRATIVE	149	3,136	1,374.41	41	EUROPEAN	65	82,150	97.58
9	COUNTRY	131	102,076	301.84	42	EDUCATION	65	101,217	76.95
10	HOWEVER	123	109,881	254.56	43	MANAGEMENT	64	46,537	155.10
11	POLICY	117	64,728	340.64	44	IMPROVED	62	11,683	306.08
12	IMPLEMENTATION	115	2,172	1,084.92	45	STRATEGY	61	22,555	222.83

13	PREPARATIONS	114	2,873	1,011. 43	46	FRAMEWORK	60	4,089	415.24
14	ADOPTED	112	8,181	756.9 9	47	COUNCIL	60	59,268	113.99
15	LEGISLATION	105	13,849	591.1 2	48	STRENGTHENED	59	2,113	482.81
16	YET	105	111,723	186.6 8	49	INTERNATIONAL	58	89,287	69.64
17	NATIONAL	105	120,895	173.2 3	50	COURT	57	78,506	77.97
18	SYSTEM	103	74,855	249.7 9	51	CONTROL	56	49,206	117.41
19	REMAINS	99	33,722	376.9 6	52	INSUFFICIENT	55	2,050	445.77
20	EU	97	32,882	370.2 2	53	MEASURES	55	14,630	235.13
21	FINANCIAL	96	58,244	263.5 1	54	ESTABLISHED	55	18,064	213.15
22	NUMBER	96	94,814	182.4 6	55	LEVEL	55	55,863	101.95
23	ACQUIS	87	11	1,441. 15	56	HUMAN	55	59,303	96.55
24	STATE	83	81,391	158.7 2	57	POLITICAL	55	86,968	63.87
25	ADVANCED	77	7,620	476.6 3	58	CUSTOMS	54	4,300	357.22
26	SOCIAL	77	66,543	163.6 4	59	SERVICES	54	73,685	74.64
27	GOVERNMENT	77	198,659	40.25	60	MINISTRY	53	12,632	237.70
28	PROTECTION	76	17,181	348.5 9	61	ENERGY	53	27,431	160.66
29	INCREASED	76	20,921	318.9 8	62	POLICE	53	112,16 9	40.32
30	TRAINING	75	44,021	210.3 0	63	CORRUPTION	52	8,706	268.59
31	RIGHTS	75	52,176	187.6 0	64	ECONOMIC	52	39,097	122.97
32	COOPERATION	74	4,636	524.3 7	65	RESOURCES	51	20,012	180.63
33	EFFORTS	73	16,495	334.8 9	66	PLAN	51	42,957	110.60

The key words list of the 2009 sub-corpus resembles the one of the 2008 sub-corpus in 52 cases out of the total of 66. Therefore, the closeness of the words carrying respective issues subjected to a more extensive inspection remains anticipated, however the notion of the countries or regions involved, i.e. the words that bear the actors of the process do not appear among the 66 most frequent. The only indicators of the involved players as listed in the table above are the words *European, country, EU* and *state* lacking in the personal nouns of the country in question as opposed to all of the previously analyzed key words tables of the entire chapter. The institutions and bodies of the process are referenced by the key words: *Ministry, Council, Government* strengthened by the involvement of the *court*. There are no changes in the legislative and legal aspects as carried by the most frequent key words: *law, adopted, implementation, implementing, legislation* and *legal*, just as same as with the ones carrying the

notion of conditionality, compliances and requirements i.e. *Acquis, rights, efforts, administrative, capacity*. The particular areas have been strengthened by *political, customs, services, civil* in addition to the already established *framework, police, energy, corruption, employment*, and the omnipresent word *GDP* under the economic aspects does not occur among the first 66 most frequent words, nevertheless this notion had been filled in by the new *economic* as well as the existent *market* and *financial*.

Even though the 2009 sub-corpus size corresponds to the size of the previous sub-corpus, the key words analyzed generated a larger number of word clusters. The ones occurring with a minimum frequency of five times have been listed under the terminological domains below:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES - 8

EU MEMBER STATES – 5

PUBLIC SECTOR – 5

There is no difference in the word clusters of the 1st terminological domain comprising the parties and actors involved in the accession process whatsoever. The three clusters of this domain are identical to the ones of the 2007 and 2008 sub-corpora. The other similarity lays in the contexts of occurrences of the word cluster *EU Member States* and the lack of its occurrence in enlargement settings. Additionally, the environment of the *EU member states* resembles the one of the previously studied clusters in the bilateral investment or readmission agreements with EU member and non-member states. The first illustrated example in Table of concordances 6.84 below (see example a.) is identical to the one of the 2008 sub-corpus in that there has been no progress made in the area of development policy either in 2008 or in 2009. The last example (example e.) states the parties that made contributions to the preparation of the 2009 Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia.

6.84 Table of concordances: EU member states

*a. investment agreements ratified rose to 31, of which 28 are in force and 15 are with **EU Member States**. No progress can be reported in the areas of development*

*b. adopted. In all, the country has ratified six readmission agreements with non-**EU-Member States**: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Moldova, Norway and Swit*

*c. with Ireland and Estonia were ratified, bringing the number of agreements with **EU Member States** to 24. A joint memorandum of cooperation was signed with the*

d. from the United Kingdom, Portugal, Belgium, Monaco, Turkey and eight other non-EU-Member States, bringing the total of such memoranda to 31. The administrative contributions from the government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the EU Member States, European Parliament reports¹ and information from

The state of affairs with the three further occurrences of the cluster *Member states*, illustrated in Table of concordances 6.85 below, is identical to one of the previous sub-corpus. Once more the member states cluster serves to distinguish between them and the non-members and assesses their relationship with the Republic of Macedonia.

6.85 Table of concordances: Member states

a. issues. (Concerning neighbourly relations with other enlargement countries and Member States, see the section on Political criteria.)
b. regards bilateral relations with other enlargement countries and neighbouring Member States, relations remained good with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia
c. regional cooperation, good neighbourly relations with enlargement countries and Member States, and respect for international obligations, such as cooperation

The application of the collocating cluster *Enlargement countries*, signifying the EU applicant countries, is furthermore identical to the one in the previous sub-corpus in all of its three appearances presented in Table 6.86 below:

6.86 Table of concordances: Enlargement countries

a. to cover foreign policy issues. (Concerning neighbourly relations with other enlargement countries and Member States, see the section on Political criteria.)
b. mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As regards bilateral relations with other enlargement countries and neighbouring Member States, relations remained good
c. It also monitors regional cooperation, good neighbourly relations with enlargement countries and Member States, and respect for international obligation

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

Due to the lack of occurrence of the words Republic and Macedonia in the most frequent key words table above, the countries and regions involved terminological domain remains empty in this last sub-corpus as the word cluster *European Union* occurs insufficiently to be listed here. In three of the total of four occurrences of the cluster the Union has been referred to in a legislative and cooperation setting, and the one time it occurs in an integration setting is identical to the

same application in both the 2007 and 2008 sub-corpora, once more reiterating the importance of good neighbourly relations in the integration process:

6.87 Table of concordances: European Union

*neighbourly relations form an essential part of the process of integrating with the **European Union**. The country has continued to actively participate in regional*

Its abbreviation EU collocates with the *Member states*, explored above and with the word *Acquis*.

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ADMINISTRATIVE COURT - 18
PUBLIC REVENUE OFFICE - 12
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR - 12
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR - 10
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE - 10
JUDICIAL COUNCIL - 10
COUNCIL OF EUROPE - 10
MINISTRY OF FINANCE - 9
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS - 9
CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION - 12
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES - 8
STATE AUDIT OFFICE – 8
PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTER - 6
MINISTRY OF ECONOMY - 6
NATIONAL AUTHORITIES - 5
COUNCIL OF PUBLIC PROSECUTORS – 5
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY – 5
COMMISSION FOR PROTECTION OF COMPETITION – 5
ACADEMY FOR TRAINING OF JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS – 5
CIVIL SERVANTS AGENCY – 5
CONSTITUTIONAL COURT – 5
INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT - 5

The 3rd terminological domain has increased in size as compared to the ones of the previous sub-corpora. Partially, this is due to the introduction of the word *court* as a new key word (see table above) and its collocations thus forming the clusters: *Administrative Court* and *Constitutional Court* at a state level and the *International Criminal Court* at an international level.

As can be seen from these clusters, the number of state institutions and bodies involved in the accession of the Republic of Macedonia has increased.

The *European Council* investigated in the previous sub-corpus bears only two occurrences in this one, presented below, identical to the ones applied in the 2008 sub-corpus, highlighting the Commission's approach towards the country based on the Copenhagen Council of 1993 and on the 2005 Council that granted the state a candidate status:

6.88 Table of concordances: European Council

*a. Republic of Macedonia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the **European Council** in Copenhagen in June 1993, which stated that membership of the*

*b. 1.2. Context The **European Council** of December 2005 granted the status of candidate country to the*

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

The 4th terminological domain of the enlargement elements process is vacant due to the absence of the key words of the Stabilisation and Association Process or Agreement as was the case in the previous sub-corpora. For this reason, the Stabilisation and Association Agreement cluster has been tackled slightly and it occurs six times in the corpus, reflecting the signed document between Macedonia and the Union as well as the obligations taken over by the country in this respect.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements and compliances

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY - 106
ALIGNMENT WITH THE ACQUIS - 18
ALIGN WITH THE EU - 17
HUMAN RIGHTS – 17
ALIGNED WITH THE ACQUIS - 12
RULE OF LAW - 10
EU ACQUIS - 7
PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - 7
HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES – 7
NOT FULLY ALIGNED WITH THE ACQUIS - 6
JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS – 6
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACQUIS – 5
OPERATIONAL CAPACITY - 5
CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT - 5

DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW - 5
COOPERATION BETWEEN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES - 5
STRENGTHEN TRANSPARENCY – 5
STRENGTHEN ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 5
CAPACITY OF THE CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION – 5

The high occurrence of the word cluster *Administrative capacity* in the 2009 sub-corpus, holding the top position in the conditionality domain, when explored in its settings does not bring any novelties. The need for Macedonia's administrative capacity to be strengthened and enhanced, and its weakness and insufficiency in specific areas, simply reiterates the importance of this requirement for accession, as do the occurrences of *Alignment with the Acquis* or *the Implementation of the Acquis*. Namely, these recurrences imply that the development that the country made in regards to the alignment with the Acquis, implementation of the EU legislation, and improvements of the administrative capacity were insufficient throughout the period of analysis of the second corpus, i.e. 2005 – 2009.

6 Domain: Particular areas

PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA - 53
OVERALL PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA - 13
ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY - 8
HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT - 8
SOCIAL POLICY AND EMPLOYMENT - 8
PUBLIC SERVICE - 7
ANTI CORRUPTION POLICY - 6
NUMBER OF STAFF – 6
SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY - 5
REGIONAL POLICY - 5
LABOUR AND SOCIAL POLICY - 5
AREA OF ANTI CORRUPTION – 5
SOCIAL INCLUSION POLICIES – 5
EDUCATION AND TRAINING – 5
ENERGY EFFICIENCY – 5
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY – 5

The 6th terminological domain of this sub-corpus entails the particular areas that have been a matter of interest and whose progress has been assessed and reported in the two documents of 2009. Most of the word clusters listed under this domain occur in the entire second corpus

analysis and in the previously examined sub-corpora, and in this regard they bear social, industrial, economic and legislative aspects.

The *industrial property rights* and the *judicial system* of the previous sub-corpora do not mark any significant occurrences, i.e. their frequency in the 2009 sub-corpus is rather low. The two most frequent clusters of the domain are largely connected to the qualifying evaluations as listed under the 9th terminological domain below.

The word cluster *anti-corruption policy*, occurring in the corresponding domain in the overall second corpus analysis and in the 2008 sub-corpus, once more highlights the importance of fighting corruption in the country, which is a fairly new area of scrutiny. The 2008 Progress Report characterized the anti-corruption policy as a key priority for the Accession Partnership of the country in the identical statement occurring twice in the report:

6.89 Table of concordances: Anti-corruption policy a.

*a. are handled. Overall, some further progress has been made in implementing **anti-corruption policy**, which is a key priority of the Accession Partnership.*

*b. Judiciary & fundamental rights) Some progress has been made in implementing **anti-corruption policy**, which is a key priority of the Accession Partnership.*

In this respect, as shown in Table of concordances 6.90, the occurrences of the cluster have been placed in a rather complimentary setting, appraising the progress made as good and urging for further development:

6.90 Table of concordances: Anti-corruption policy b.

*a. need to be further developed. Overall, good progress was made on implementing **anti-corruption policy**. The electoral code, the law on financing of political pa*

*b. measures to combat corruption in specific sectors. Statistics relevant to **anti-corruption policy** need to be further developed. Overall, good progress*

*c. Democracy and the rule of law) Good progress can be reported in the area of **anti-corruption policy**. The Electoral Code was amended to clarify the rules on f*

*d. Overall, good progress was made on implementing **anti-corruption policy**. The electoral code, the law on financing of political parties*

*e. The SCPC should make efforts to be more pro-active in pursuing **anti-corruption policy**. It is limited by the part-time role of its members.*

*f. and promotions. (See also Chapter 23 - Judiciary and fundamental rights) **Anti-corruption policy** Good progress has been made in strengthening and implementing*

Upon a more extensive examination of the sentences that follow the above examples, the positive criticism on the applied measures in the area of the anti-corruption policy, in four out of a total of six occurrences, has been followed by the entirely identical qualification presented here:

6.91 Table of concordances: Nevertheless

Nevertheless, corruption remains prevalent and continues to be a serious problem in many areas. Continued efforts are needed, in particular as regards implementation of the legal framework.

These 3 of the total of 4 identical statements derive from the 2009 Progress report and one from the Commission opinion of 2009.

7 Domain: Legislative and legal aspects

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW - 74
AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW - 15
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW - 13
LEGAL FRAMEWORK - 13
LAW ON FINANCING POLITICAL PARTIES – 9
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL STRATEGY – 8
IMPLEMENTING THE LAW - 12
NEW LAW ON - 11
LAW ON CIVIL SERVANTS - 8
GOVERNMENT ADOPTED – 8
LOCAL LEVEL – 7
LAW ON THE ELECTORAL CODE – 6
IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGISLATION - 6
ENSURE PROPER IMPLEMENTATION - 6
LAW ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS - 5
LAW ON PUBLIC PROSECUTORS – 5
IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT - 5
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 5
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN – 5

Many of the above-analyzed domains of this sub-corpus, bearing versatile aspects of involvement in the development process of the Republic of Macedonia towards the European Union, have been collocating with the legal aspects, i.e. the legal framework that regulates the specific aspects. This and the overall results of the study of the second corpus further imply the high significance of legality in the advancement of the country.

As regarding the *implementation and enforcement*, the negative remarks on the execution of the legislation in a specific field or overall continue and have been illustrated in Table 6.92:

6.92 Table of concordances: Implementation and enforcement

- a. sustained efforts are needed to strengthen administrative capacity for the **implementation and enforcement** of legislation. In line with the relevant key pri*
- b. Some progress has been made with regard to non-safety-related issues, where **implementation and enforcement** of the consumer credit legislation have been ensu*
- c. capacity of the labour inspectorate remains insufficient to ensure proper **implementation and enforcement** of the legal provisions. The number of 35 inspect*
- d. has not improved. Administrative capacity remains insufficient to ensure proper **implementation and enforcement** of the labour law. Preparations in this area are*
- e. infrastructure and capacity are still inadequate for full and efficient **implementation and enforcement** of the legislation.*

8 Domain: Economic aspects

FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY – 6

The loss of the key word *GDP* among the most frequent 66 words in the 2009 sub-corpus led to a single occurrence of a word cluster grasping the economic aspects. That prerequisite for becoming an EU member state, the *functioning market economy*, and the environment of its occurrence in the 2009 sub-corpus, is entirely identical to the occurrences of this word cluster in all of the previous sub-corpora. Upon a closer examination of the cluster and in comparison with the 2008 sub-corpus cluster, we see that in five cases the applications are the same. This leads to the conclusion that the country must have a functioning market economy and must be able to cope with the competitive pressure of the Union. It also leads to the conclusion, presented in the third example below (see Table of concordances 6.93, example c.), that the country's legal system has been largely in place since 2005:

6.93 Table of concordances: Functioning market economy

- a. Macedonia is well advanced. It has continued to move closer towards becoming a **functioning market economy**. It should be able to cope with competitive pressures*
- b. with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union Existence of a **functioning market economy** Overall, macroeconomic stability has been maintained*
- c. environment, which is a key Accession Partnership priority. The legal system for a **functioning market economy** is largely in place. Good progress has continued to*

- d. competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. 3.1. The existence of a **functioning market economy** Economic policy essentials The country is*
- e. 1993, which stated that membership of the Union requires the existence of a **functioning market economy** and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure an*
- f. The existence of a **functioning market economy***

9 Domain: Qualifying evaluations

9 Domain A: Endorsing evaluations

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 86
PROGRESS WAS MADE - 61
PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 58
THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS - 45
SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 37
THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS - 25
SOME PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 20
GOOD PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 19
SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE - 19
LITTLE PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED - 12
THERE HAS BEEN GOOD PROGRESS - 11
COUNTRY IS MODERATELY ADVANCED – 10
PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED - 7
LIMITED PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 7
PREPARATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE MODERATELY ADVANCED - 6
GOOD BUT UNEVEN PROGRESS - 5

9 Domain B: Unfavourable evaluations

IS NOT YET - 23
IS STILL NOT - 22
HAS NOT YET BEEN - 21
STILL INSUFFICIENT - 13
STILL NOT BEEN - 12
REMAINS INSUFFICIENT - 10
ARE STILL NOT - 10
NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED - 8
STILL NOT FULLY - 7
HAS STILL NOT - 7
STILL NOT SUFFICIENT - 7
NOT YET FULLY ALIGNED - 6
NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE - 5
NO PROGRESS CAN BE REPORTED – 5
HAS NOT IMPROVED - 5
NOT YET SUFFICIENT – 5

9 Domain C: Necessity for further endeavors

EFFORTS ARE NEEDED – 27

FURTHER EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 18

CONTINUED EFFORTS ARE NEEDED - 10

HAS IMPROVED BUT – 8

EFFORTS ARE REQUIRED - 5

The qualifying evaluations of the 2009 sub-corpus are even larger in number as compared to the previous ones. As stated during the analysis of the particular areas domain, the qualifying evaluations move along the lines of assessment of the progress made. Upon a glimpse of the word clusters of this domain, some of which shown in Table of concordances 6.94, it can be distinguished that Macedonia has made good, some or little progress in specific regards as opposed to no progress at all in others:

6.94 Table of concordances: No progress can be reported

*a. (AFCOS) within the financial police. Preparations in this area are on track. **No progress can be reported** in the fight against counterfeiting of the euro.*

*b. ratified rose to 31, of which 28 are in force and 15 are with EU Member States. **No progress can be reported** in the areas of development policy and humanitarian*

*c. In this area the country is moderately advanced. **No progress can be reported** on telecommunications networks. The country is not y*

*d. and ports. In this area, the country is sufficiently prepared. **No progress can be reported** on combined transport. Preparations are on track.*

*e. 03 edition of the IFRS and the 2004 edition of the IAS were still being used. **No progress can be reported** as regards auditing. The provisions of the Directive*

As per the above examples, the country made no progress in telecommunications networks either in 2008 or in 2009. Additionally, no progress could be reported in the areas of auditing, development policy or transport.

10 Domain: Documents, papers and agreements

OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT - 9

NATIONAL STRATEGY - 7

ENERGY COMMUNITY TREATY – 6

NATIONAL ACTION PLAN – 5

ROMA STRATEGY – 5

The second part of this chapter's analysis shall be finalized with examination of the documents or agreements referred to and examined in the 2009 progress papers. The introduction of the

Roma Strategy only in the 2009 documents is due to the fact that the paper on inclusion of the Roma population in the country had been brought in 2009. The occurrences of the cluster have all been applied in reference to the call for implementation of the Roma Strategy.

Finally, the constant presence of the *Ohrid Framework Agreement* in the entire second corpus and the constant appeal for its implementation comes of no surprise because as the Conclusions on the Republic of Macedonia documents states, it constitutes an “essential element of democracy and the rule of law in the country”:

6.95 Table of concordances: Ohrid Framework Agreement

country sufficiently fulfils the political criteria. The implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement remains an essential element of democracy and the rule of law in the country.

6.3. Summary and conclusions of Chapter 6

Upon examination of the documents published by the official European bodies, including Progress Reports and papers assessing the progress of the Republic of Macedonia within a five-year period, from 2005 when the country was granted candidate status until 2009, as well as their examination diachronically inspecting the specific progress that the country has achieved on its path towards the European Union, several conclusions can be made.

One of the most striking impressions, when observing the overall findings of the conducted analysis, is the copy/paste “phenomenon” both in the overall corpus analysis and in the examination of the sub-corpora. Namely, the repetitive nature of the statements provided by the official EU institutions, as well as the echoing evaluations in reference to the achievements already accomplished by the country both in general terms and in specific areas, as well as the reverberating language in the guidance provided for future improvements is rather perceptible. This trend of repeating the same or similar assertions occurs throughout the entire analysis. One of the many such occurrences could be here illustrated via the use of the word cluster *name issue*, which has been applied identically in 12 statements out of the total of its 15 occurrences.

Another distinct similarity can be found in the key words generated by the overall corpus and in the respective sub-corpora. The results of the overall exploration of the behavior of the key words throughout the corpus implies a strong correspondence of the key terminology, that

repeats at all levels within the sub-corpora. This tendency can be spotted even in the terminology of the 2005 sub-corpus dealing with the candidate status of the Republic of Macedonia, and the 2006 sub-corpus dealing with a progress made within one year. Despite the difference in the types of documents building the two sub-corpora, and the divergence in terms of the topic they elaborate on, 46 out of the total of 66 key words are identical. This accord between the key words increases in the sub-corpora to follow.

Additionally, apart from the similarity in the terminological domains themselves, a significant overlap in the word clusters under the domains can be distinguished.

What can be further discerned is that the spheres which the terminological domains carry, for instance legislative or economic aspects, belong to varying chapters of the Acquis (see Chapter 5). In reference to the terminological domains, the one encompassing the qualifying evaluations is a novelty when compared to the domains generated from the first corpus. However, the reproducing character of the second corpus prevails in this domain as well as the word clusters of this domain recur throughout the entire corpus and most of their occurrences are identical.

When observing the language of the second corpus in general, it can be inferred that it is more generic, standardized and technical.

When comparing the key terminology and the manner in which it has been applied in the two corpora several similarities and differences can be detected.

As anticipated, an occurrence of new word clusters, such as *public sector*, which did not appear in the previous chapter, can be spotted.

There is an overlap of a significant number of word clusters such as *general public*, which have been used in entirely different contexts in the two corpora. Namely, in the corpus examined in Chapter 5 the cluster bears a communicative aspect. There it was applied in contexts which restate the necessity to communicate the enlargement aspects to the public, while in the corpus in Chapter 6 the cluster appears in legislative, competitive, cooperative frameworks but not in a communicational context. This is also the case with the word cluster *member states* which was used in a rather technical sense here when compared to the previous corpus, in which the cluster was employed in various environments, highlighting the significance of the EU member states in the accession process of a country. Furthermore, many of the enlargement terms from the first corpus bear a somewhat technical connotation in the second corpus.

Furthermore, the elusiveness of some of the key terminology from the previous corpus, such as *the criteria set by the Copenhagen European Council*, pertains in this one as well.

Some of the most significant differences between the two corpora lie in the manner in which some of the key terms have been used. For instance, the key word *capacity* and the word clusters deriving thereof, in the first corpus have been applied in reference to the European Union's enlargement capacity settings and in regards to the concerns about its enlargement capabilities, while in the second corpus the country's capacity in specific areas, such as administration or implementation, have been brought to attention. Thus, even though some of the key terminology does reoccur it bears rather different contexts of occurrences. Furthermore, some of the terminology which was rather general in the first corpus, for instance the word cluster *EU requirements*, in the second corpus is rather case specific, i.e. the *EU requirements* in the second corpus refer to the country's legislation, environment and so forth.

There is a gradual reduction of the word clusters under the enlargement elements domains examined, entirely disappearing in the 2009 sub-corpus. On this issue, the general enlargement terminology as existing in Chapter 5 has been modified or is completely nonexistent in Chapter 6. At the same time, the word clusters pertaining to the conditionality or legal aspects domain increase in number and in frequency.

With this in mind, the anticipated development of the progress terminology of the country in the accession process, in the actual sense of the concept of development, is deficient. Even though some of the word clusters listed under the specific aspects present in the documents occur in settings marking specific areas subjected to scrutiny, for instance the omnipresent particular areas, qualifying evaluations, legal aspects or the notion of conditionality, where their uses do differ, the general terminology as represented through the key words and their collocations and concordances, remains the same. This can be additionally supported by the fact that there has been a repetition in the statements, sentences or even smaller paragraphs throughout the analyzed documents. This repetition of specific aspects of apparently vital importance for the accession of the State into the Union leaves space for different interpretations when identically applied in diverse contexts whether assessing a particular field or the progress of the country overall. The question is whether a country, whose people strongly support joining the European Union, and whose government is strongly committed to fulfilling the 'European dream,' could make equal or no progress at all within specific areas even within a five-year framework. Finally, the vagueness

of the language used opens a possibility for a contrasting reading as shall be examined in the chapter to follow, which analyzes the articles published by the newspapers with largest circulation in the country.

7. Articles deriving from two major newspapers in the Republic of Macedonia- *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*

Since the independence of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991, the two daily newspapers *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik* have traditionally been considered the most serious published media in the country, having taken over the readership of the *Nova Makedonija* daily newspaper in the former Yugoslavia (data derive from the results of the research of the SMMRI Group) (see ESOMAR World Research, 2015).

According to the internal data of Media Print Macedonia (MPM) (see Media Print Macedonia, 2015), the publishing house of the daily newspapers, in ownership of Orka Holding, Internet Group Investment Dooel – Skopje and Mireks Plus Dooel – Skopje, as of June i.e. December 2012, the daily readership of the printed edition of the *Dnevnik* newspaper in Skopje is 28,000 to 35,000 and 10,000 to 13,000 daily readers of the *Utrinski vesnik*. According to the Market Intelligence Tanking Report, prepared in March 2012 by the AGB Nielsen (see AGB Nielsen, 2015) marketing and media information company, the daily readership of the online edition of the *Dnevnik* newspaper is 25,000 and of the *Utrinski vesnik* 18,000.

In accordance with the data acquired upon a research conducted in 2006 across the entire territory of the Republic of Macedonia by the Strategic Marketing and Media Research Institute Group (see SMMRI Group), an average reader of the Macedonian daily newspaper *Dnevnik* printed publication is a 50-60 years old “intellectual” male, with a settled family status, independent and with a solid financial income, who has a wide range of acquaintances, is socially well-networked and well-informed. An average reader of the *Utrinski vesnik* printed daily is a young male between 25 and 40 years, who is sporty/trendy , highly-educated, with unsettled family status and unsettled financial situation, with a rising social status and a wide range of acquaintances. Furthermore, according to the Market Intelligence Demographics Report of AGB Nielsen from March 2012, an average reader of the Internet editions of both *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik* news outlets is a 18-to-34 year-old highly educated male, highly qualified worker or public servant with regular access to the Internet, well-situated financially and well-networked socially.

According to participants interviewed during the research from the SMMRI Group and pertaining to the opinion of the general public in the country, both of the newspapers are rather

moderate in their views, which could be detected in the weekly publications of the “open pages” and columns usually written by members of the Government but also of the opposition in both of the newspapers. None of the newspapers is extremely “left,” i.e. oppositional, nor extremely “right”, i.e. positional, but could be characterised as rather “centrist” with leftist or rightist tendencies.

That said, the newspaper *Dnevnik* is considered to be pro-government as opposed to the pro-oppositional stance of *Utrinski vesnik*. This can be further supported by the fact that the previous editor-in-chief of the *Dnevnik* newspaper, taking over this position as a former editor of the *Nova Makedonija* newspaper, is publicly known to be a pro-governmental person and the editor-in-chief of *Utrinski vesnik* has written the autobiography of the leader of the oppositional party, SDSM (Social Democratic Union of Macedonia) and is known by the general public to be a pro-oppositional person. Additionally, to a public knowledge and often condemned by the *Utrinski vesnik*, most of the governmental campaigns and advertisements are published by the newspaper *Dnevnik*, while none are carried in the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper, as stated in the article in *Utrinski vesnik* “Governmental campaigns pressure over the media,” published in January 2008, which noted that “through the selective treatment of the Government in publishing campaigns the editors recognize a pressure by the Government” (see *Utrinski vesnik*, 2015). This can be further supported by the newspaper articles “The Prime Minister does not like *Utrinski vesnik*” and “Kanal 5” published in *Utrinski vesnik* in January 2007, accusing the two media (published and TV) of “a populist fight against the Government”.²

The newspapers’ leanings can also be seen in the reader comments on the published articles on the part of both of the printed media.

7.1. Introduction

Bearing in mind the somewhat differing stands of the two selected newspapers, as well as the commonly held views on the part of the general reading public, the selected newspaper articles have been divided into two corpora. The newspaper articles deriving from the newspaper *Dnevnik* generate the third corpus, “Dnevnik”, and the ones of *Utrinski vesnik* generate the third corpus “Utrinski”. Correspondingly to the analyses conducted in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, the

²The newspaper articles referenced in this chapter can be found in the contemporary websites or in the online archives of the two newspapers *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik* (see Appendix 1, *Dnevnik*, 2015 and *Utrinski vesnik*, 2015).

examination of the newspaper articles has been divided into two sections. The first section of the analysis aims to provide an overall image of the terminology applied in the third corpora respectively, entailing newspaper articles published within a five-year period, i.e. 2005-2009, including an examination of the key words, word clusters and their collocations. The second section of the analysis investigates the terminological development chronologically, showing the development of the key terminology in reaction to specific events within the country, within the European Union or on a global level, and further inspecting the environments in which the key terminology has been applied and what this means. In the chronological analysis the articles from each newspaper are grouped into sub-corpora according to the year of publication.

7.1.1. Articles comprising the third corpus

The newspaper articles have been generated upon the principle of input of key words in the search engines of the two newspapers *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*. The key words have been drawn from the findings of the previous two corpora and their sub-corpora respectively. They correspond to the general notions that the enlargement, i.e. the accession process entails such as *enlargement, accession, report, progress, negotiations, membership, criteria, and candidate* upon which the suitability of the proposed articles has been decided manually. The chosen pieces include columns, expert analyses, news articles about a special occurrence or event, or about progress reports, and interviews given by local governmental representatives, EU representatives or other high-ranking foreign officials on the topic of enlargement. Due to the fact that there are no significant number of articles per genre, the generated articles have been inspected and interpreted together. The 76 articles selected from *Dnevnik* within the five-year period correspond to the 75 newspaper articles from *Utrinski*. The titles of the newspaper articles, as well as the dates of their publication, have been listed in Appendix 1 in both the original Macedonian language and in their English translation. The exact distribution of articles per year, the number of words comprising the corpora and the sub-corpora, as well as the specifics of the key terminology shall be indicated in the analysis to follow.

7.2.1. Dnevnik: Key words

The first portion of the third corpus (henceforth third corpus *Dnevnik*), encompassing the 76 articles deriving from the newspaper *Dnevnik* (see *Dnevnik*, 2015), contains a total of 47,229

words. When compared to a word list of randomly assembled newspaper articles with a total of 62,627 words using the Word Smith software tool, a total of 120 key words were generated. The first 60 key words, highest in frequency and relevant to the analysis and translated accordingly from Macedonian into English have been listed in Table 1a below. All of the original key words tables from the entire chapter, i.e. the key words in Macedonian language, are listed in Appendix 2.

Table 1a: Key words of the entire Third Corpus Dnevnik as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	503	240	185,36	31	DIALOGUE	49	7	48,42
2	EU	497	32	636,22	32	EXPECTS	48	8	44,12
3	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	217 73	3 4	338,57 96,35	33	STATUS	47	3	60,05
4	BRUSSELS	199	8	277,68	34	SOLUTION	44	15	24,26
5	EC (European Commission)	172	5	250,83	35	THE COUNCIL	43	10	32,52
6	THE EUROPEAN	153 53 51 49	26 15 11 14	139,40 34,60 40,53 48,42	36	RECEIVE	42	4	48,24
7	MEMBERSHIP	125	8	159,72	37	TO BECOME A MEMBER	41	0	69,24
8	REHN	113	0	190,93	38	(THE) RECOMENDATION	37	3	44,54
9	THE COUNTRY	108	28	75,60	39	FOREIGN	35	4	37,81
10	(THE) REPORT	102 100	5 9	137,55 116,92	40	MEMBER-STATES	35	3	41,49
11	COMMISSION	98	11	106,61	41	(THE) CORRUPTION	33	3	38,45
12	THE NAME	96	17	85,56	42	CONSENSUS	33	1	47,83
13	DATE	93	0	157,12	43	POSITIVE	32	3	36,93
14	(THE) PROGRESS	90	0	152,05	44	INTEGRATION	31	2	39,51
15	THE GOVERNMENT	89	42	33,15	45	PRESIDENCY	30	0	50,66
16	COUNTRY/IES	83 81	42 33	27,78 36,70	46	FOUERE	29	0	48,93
17	THE (POLITICAL)	80 56 48	21 11 14	55,46 47,10 30,56	47	THE UNION	27	2	33,29
18	MUST	79	28	41,88	48	DOCUMENT	27	1	38,09

19	(THE) CRITERIA	79	5	101,16	49	LAWS	26	1	36,47
20	AFFAIRS	76	38	25,92	50	FULFILL	26	0	43,90
21	GREECE	76	36	28,14	51	STABILISATION	25	0	42,22
22	(THE) BALKANS	73	7	83,70	52	THE COPENHAGEN	24	0	40,53
23	(THE) REFORMS	69 60	0 6	116,5 5 67,87	53	CONDUCT (carry out)	22	1	30,05
24	(THE) ENLARGEMENT	68 56	8 2	72,70 79,43	54	CANDIDATE	22	0	37,15
25	THE ISSUE (name)	66	8	69,77	55	THE FIGHT	21	2	24,12
26	(THE) ELECTIONS	65	8	68,31	56	AREAS	20	1	26,85
27	(THE) PROCESS	61 53	7 2	65,81 74,58	57	CAPACITY	20	1	26,85
28	AGREEMENT	57	16	37,47	58	THE CONDITIONS	20	1	26,85
29	START (negotiations)	55	9	51,02	59	EVALUATION/ASSESSMENT	20	0	33,77
30	THE COMMISSIONER	51	0	86,14	60	THE JUDICIARY	19	1	25,27

The newspaper articles from which the above key words originate address the issue of the Republic of Macedonia's accession to the European Union as well as the enlargement process as a whole. Consequently, the most frequent key words *Macedonia, EU, the country, countries, European, the Union, the Balkans, Greece* correspond to the countries or regions involved in the accession process at different levels and with a diverse significance in the matter as do the institutions or bodies involved *EC, Commission, Council* and the parties or actors involved *Brussels, Ren, Fuere, the Commissioner, Member states*. The most frequent key words in the third corpus *Dnevnik*, signifying the enlargement and the elements of the process, are largely represented by the words *enlargement, the negotiations, membership, to become a member, process, integration, Stabilisation*. The notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives are carried by the key words *Copenhagen, capacity, conditions, reforms, criteria, political* on a large scale. The key words of the newly introduced elements of the Progress Reports account for the *Report, progress, evaluation/assessment* of the development made by the country aiming towards full membership in the Union.

7.2.2. Dnevnik: Word clusters and terminological domains

Bearing in mind the total number of key words, i.e. over 120, merely the 60 key words highest in frequency in the third corpus *Dnevnik*, presented in Table 1a above, have been considered while

generating the word clusters. The principle of calculation remains identical to the one applied in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, i.e. two- to six-word clusters that repeat with a minimum frequency of five times. Once eliminating the recurrent as well as the unrelated word clusters and word strings, the remaining English language clusters have been categorized under the following eight terminological domains:

Terminological domains of the third corpus *Dnevnik*.

Domain

1. Parties or actors involved
2. Countries or regions involved
3. Institutions or bodies involved
4. Enlargement and elements of the process
5. Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives
6. Elements of the Progress Reports
7. Agreements
8. Other

All of the word clusters in the original Macedonian language have been listed in Appendix 3.

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

(THE) MEMBER STATES - 37

(EURO)COMMISSIONER OLLI REHN - 26

ERWAN FOUERE – 13

(THE) MINISTER(S) OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS – 19

THE (EURO)COMMISSIONER FOR ENLARGEMENT OLLI REHN(exact title EU COMMISSIONER FOR ENLARGEMENT) OLLI REHN - 17

THE PRESIDENT OF EC - 5

A DIPLOMAT IN BRUSSELS – 5

The most frequent word cluster under the first terminological domain of the third corpus *Dnevnik*, encompassing the parties or actors involved in the accession process, is the cluster *member states*. Unlike the more clear-cut application of this cluster in the first corpus, where it appeared mostly in the context of the general decision making process (see Chapter 5), or their rather technical employment in the second corpus (see Chapter 6), in the third corpus *Dnevnik* the cluster *member states* is applied in a more versatile fashion. In 12 of the total of its 37 occurrences, the cluster appears in contexts exploring the role that the member states play, however in this case in reference to a specific issue, i.e. in setting a date for commencing the

negotiations between Macedonia and the Union. The examples illustrated in Table of concordances 7.1 below originate from three newspaper articles from 2008 and 2009³:

7.1. Table of concordances: Member states a.

*a. to start negotiations. However, bearing in mind the fact that the date is within the competence of the **member states**, they may postpone or condition the determining of the date*

*b. when the country was granted a candidate status. However, the **member states** declared their opinion on the date for starting the negotiations in March for the first time*

*c. the negotiations ought to start. The determining of the date remains in the competence of the **member states** and there is no rule that establishes when that ought to happen*

*d. and the blockade that Athens announces on the matter of our accession negotiations may happen only once the **member states** decide upon the negotiations. Greece cannot blockade the EC if*

*e. claim that this election criteria is actually the key one, that bothers the EU **member states** the most and the reason why the EC cannot recommend accession negotiations*

*f. But, the negotiations themselves are being conducted between the **member states** and the candidate country*

*g. the decision upon when the negotiations are to be opened within the following 12 months shall depend on the **member states** for which new elections would be a sign that Macedonia is not prepared*

As shown in the Table of concordances 7.2, another, somewhat different responsibility has been allocated to the EU member states in 7 cases clarifying their response to future enlargements under the financial and budgetary difficulties that the countries faced during the economic crisis.

7.2. Table of concordances: Member states b.

*a. “and the conditions were different. I as a president of the EC have the task to point out the responsibilities and the liabilities that the **member states** have. They said that the future of the Balkans*

*b. “the Balkans. I am not underestimating the difficulties, I know that the budgetary situation is difficult. The **member states** are under pressure and we do not possess the same flexibility as in the past”*

*c. and the decisions for admission of one state as a member are being reached by the democratically elected bodies of the **member states**. They must explain why they consider that the enlargement is within interest*

*d. it is pointed out that the enlargement process is problematic for the **member states**’ general public which must be informed. The key decisions for admission of*

*e. On each question that addresses a possible “Balkan package” the leaderships of the **member states** repeat that the progress is individual and depends on the reforms*

The above examples derive from a 2005 statement given by the former President of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, during a press conference, as well as from an article from

³All of the examples used in this chapter derive from the newspaper articles listed in Appendix 1, translated into English language.

2006 on the Strategic Paper published by the European Commission and an article on the decisions reached during the Brussels summit in 2007. All of the names and functions of the foreign and local officials occurring in this chapter have been listed in Appendix 4.

The role of the *member states* has been additionally evoked in specific matters regarding the visa regime for the Republic of Macedonia, as communicated by the newspaper in a 2008 interview with the EC Director for Enlargement Michael Lee.

7.3 Table of concordances: Member states c.

*a. It is exceptionally important in this process that the Commission is in a constant contact with the **member states** on this issues and to communicate with them in order to stipulate whether the country adheres to the Roadmap*

*b. But the entire visa “area” is a responsibility split between the Commission and the **member states**. So, it is of an utmost importance that the Commission is*

*c. Apart from the Commission do we need to convince the **member states** that we are no threat to the EU if we do not have visa regime*

Member states were also mentioned in reference to the naming conflict with the country’s southern neighbour Greece (see Chapter 6) in two articles from 2008, as presented in Table of concordances 7.4 below:

7.4 Table of concordances: Member states d.

*a. “a solution with Greece is necessary. Without it, Greece is going to block. You know that the **member states** have the right to do that towards the newcomers and Greece is going to employ that right here”*

*b. EC decided to slow down the enlargement and that is why it inconceivably tolerates the blockades from the **member states**, first from Greece and now from Slovenia*

Most of the remaining word clusters under this domain involve proper nouns of people, and often involve both the personal name and the institution the individual represents, such as *the (Euro)Commissioner for Enlargement Olli Rehn*, collocating mostly with the words *stated, announced, decided, admitted* or *Rehn and his team, Rehn and his colleague*.

Another example is the use of the proper noun *Erwan Fouere*, the former European Union Special Representative and Ambassador, Head of Delegation in the Republic of Macedonia, who has been ‘entrusted’ with carrying the role and was also perceived as the ‘messenger’ of the European Union, as can be seen from the illustrations in Table of concordances 7.5:

7.5 Table of concordances: Fouere

a. *we take it very seriously, and the Report shall be presented on 5 November” – he stated. According to **Fouere** it is very important for the EU that the Government accepts this report and the progress that has been made as well as the remarks*

b. *so that the negotiations can start based on a recommendation by the European Commission. According to **Fouere** that had been very clearly pointed out in all conversations with the Government and the state institutions*

c. *“I completely stand behind what I said during the session of the Commission for European Affairs last Friday”, stated **Fouere**. He stated that the procedures for entering the EU are very clear and have been clear during the past years.*

In some of the above examples, as well as in the ones to follow further in this chapter, the statements provided by the officials have been quoted and further interpreted by the authors of the newspaper articles. The names of the officials, and the positions that they held at the time, are listed at the end of this dissertation.

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

OUR COUNTRY - 33

THE EUROPEAN UNION – 20

WESTERN BALKANS - 19

THE BALKAN COUNTRIES (THE COUNTRIES FROM THE WESTERN BALKAN) - 19

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 15

MACEDONIA AND EU - 9

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 8

There are no surprises in the composition of the word clusters listed under the second terminological domain of this corpus, i.e. countries or regions involved in the process of accession. The focal points are the *European Union* on one hand and the *Republic of Macedonia* on the other, collocating with *Former Yugoslav* in the eight cases when the newspaper articles convey parts of the Progress Reports translated into Macedonian language, and additionally referred to as *our country*.

The word cluster *Macedonia and EU* collocates four times in the cluster *the Stabilisation and Association Council between Macedonia and EU*, and in the remaining five occurrences, shown in Table of concordances 7.6 below, it conveys specific aspects either of the Progress Reports or of the possible future negotiations:

7.6 Table of concordances: Macedonia and EU

- a. *the Stabilisation and Association Council between **Macedonia and EU** as well as the EU meeting of the Ministers yesterday almost literally conveyed the conclusions of the EC Report*
- b. *this significant message has been conveyed yesterday after the third regular meeting of the Stabilisation and Association Council between **Macedonia and EU**.*
- c. *with the European Union. The negotiation date with Brussels slips away from Macedonia. **Macedonia and the EU** are not going to negotiate on membership neither in 2008*
- d. *must work on the political criteria, as assessed by the Stabilisation and Association Council between **Macedonia and EU***
- e. *Stabilisation and Association Council between **Macedonia and EU**. The political criteria are the weakest point*

The *Western Balkans*, *the countries from the Western Balkan* and *the Balkan countries* word clusters signify the countries from the 'last' European region that is to be integrated into the Union. The collocations of the above clusters involve their *cooperation*, *European aspirations*, *progress*, similarly to the application of the cluster(s) in Chapter 5. Namely, in the first corpus, the countries of the Western Balkan region often occur in a *Regional cooperation* context, i.e. the regional cooperation between the countries has become an obligatory element of the *Western Balkans' European agenda* (see Chapter 5). The situation is rather similar in reference to the *progress* of the region in the above mentioned cluster.

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

EUROPEAN COMMISSION EC – 92
THE COUNCIL OF THE EU (European Union) – 6
THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE – 6
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS – 6
THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS – 6
THE STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION COUNCIL - 5

The word cluster *European Commission EC* was used in a limited fashion in Chapter 5, where it was mainly referenced as part of the European Union system responsible for aspects of enlargement. In the corpus explored in Chapter 6, the Commission published the Progress Reports that were analysed. However in this corpus, the cluster is by far the most frequent under the third terminological domain, the institutions or bodies involved in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia, as can be seen in the newspaper articles of the daily newspaper *Dnevnik*. Out of the total number of 92 occurrences, the cluster *European Commission* is either

collocating with the word *report*, thus forming the word clusters *(the) Report of the European Commission* in 18 cases, or is used in the contexts describing the findings of the Progress Report published by the Commission on a yearly basis in November, in over 20 other applications. These collocations shall be further explored under the 6th terminological domain dealing with the elements of the Reports (see below). The EC is a constant cluster, henceforth c-cluster (see Chapter 2), as it occurs in 54 out of 76 newspaper articles in total, throughout the years 2006-09, i.e. since the first Progress Report on the achievements of Macedonia were published in 2006. In 17 further occurrences, the word cluster European Commission appears in contexts dealing with the assignment of the negotiation date for the country, the recommendation for the negotiation date and the role of the Commission in this regard (see domain 4 below), and in 12 cases with the conditions or criteria set for the Republic of Macedonia on the part of the EC as examined in the 5th domain on the notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives below. The remaining occurrences of the European Commission word clusters have been set in an environment stipulating its stake in the visa liberalization process or the name issue.

In Chapter 5 dealing with the documents on the process of enlargement of the Union and in Chapter 6, exploring the Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia's development and achievements within a five year period, i.e. 2005-09, the word clusters under the terminological domain encompassing the institutions or bodies involved in the process do entail monetary and financial institutions or EU institutions, but not *political institutions*. In the third corpus *Dnevnik*, the six occurrences of the word cluster, illustrated in Table of concordances 7.7 below, deriving from newspaper articles published within a one year period, namely in September, October and November 2008 as well as in November 2007, make reference to the poor and counter-productive functioning of the political institutions that results from a lack of political dialogue, as stated in the Progress Reports and as conveyed by the newspaper:

7.7 Table of concordances: Political institutions

- a. *The lack of political dialogue had a contra productive effect on the functioning of the **political institutions** – said the Brussels administration in the draft-report*
- b. *“We have observed the development in the political criteria and we cannot say that the **political institutions** function meticulously” – said Mirrel*
- c. *In the Enlargement directorate, most of the remarks they had were on the functioning of the **political institutions**, the manner in which the elections were conducted*

- d. *The political criteria are the weakest link. Most of the remarks go to the functioning of the **political institutions**, the Laws with urgent order and the election irregularities*
- e. *problems in the constructive dialogue among the main political actors has shaken the effective functioning of the **political institutions** and has led to slowing down of the reforms. The representatives*
- f. *the lack of constructive dialogue among the major political parties has disturbed the functioning of the **political institutions**, is stated in the European document.*

The increased reporting on the political institutions was due to the political crisis in the country, caused by the disagreement between the Macedonian ruling party which won the elections in 2006, VMRO-DPMNE, and the largest political party of the biggest ethnic group, the Albanian party Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), which led to an impaired functioning of the political institutions. The lack of the occurrence of the word cluster in Chapter 5 is understandable due to the nature of the documents which the first corpus entails. However, in Chapter 6, even though there is no occurrence of the cluster *political institutions* there is a rather strong presence of the cluster *political dialogue*, related to the above mentioned circumstances, stressing the necessity of an enhanced political dialogue among the political parties.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

NEGOTIATIONS DATE - 53
 MEMBERSHIP NEGOTIATIONS – 51
 START OF NEGOTIATIONS - 31
 EU MEMBERSHIP - 25
 RECEIVE (GETTING) A DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 23
 STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION - 21
 START (BEGINNING) OF THE ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS - 20
 (THE) EUROPEAN INTEGRATION - 20
 START OF THE ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS – 18
 START OF THE NEGOTIATIONS - 16
 START OF THE MEMBERSHIP NEGOTIATIONS - 15
 MEMBERSHIP NEGOTIATIONS - 15
 NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EU - 15
 (THE) EU ENLARGEMENT - 15
 DATE FOR START - 14
 EU ACCESSION - 10
 DATE FOR MEMBERSHIP NEGOTIATIONS - 7
 NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU - 7
 NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP WITH THE EU - 7
 NEGOTIATIONS WITH MACEDONIA – 6
 DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS - 6
 IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION - 6
 RECOMMENDATION FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 6
 NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP WITH MACEDONIA - 5

FOR STARTING NEGOTIATIONS - 5
TO RECOMMEND NEGOTIATIONS – 5
SHALL RECEIVE DATE – 5
DATE FOR STARTING THE NEGOTIATIONS – 5
THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS – 5

The rather vast number of occurrences of the word cluster *accession negotiations* in Chapter 5 and their reference to the fact that these negotiations serve the candidate countries to prepare for the EU membership, as opposed to the only 10 occurrences of this cluster in Chapter 6 where the European Commission simply states the fact that the country has still not entered into accession negotiations with the Union, are evidently in discrepancy with the fixation of the newspapers on the *beginning, start, recommendation, opening, date* for the *accession negotiations* in the abundant number of word clusters with over 200 applications, under the 4th terminological domain of this corpus which refers to the enlargement and the elements of the process. The fact that the accession negotiations are a central focus of newspaper reports about the enlargement, and for that matter the progress of the country, can be further supported by the 24 word clusters out of total of 29 clusters under this domain, involving either the word *negotiations* or the notion of negotiations and thus showing that these are the major concern on the path towards full integration of the Republic of Macedonia. One of the most common collocations of the word negotiations, i.e. the word cluster *date for negotiations* collocates further with the words *receive, recommend, define*. The examples to follow in Table of concordances 7.8 are a simple illustration because the word clusters dealing with the negotiations are going to be explored in-depth in the second part of this chapter, i.e. in the chronological analysis:

7.8 Table of concordances: Accession negotiations/Date

*a. According to Brussels diplomats, the inability of the administration to enter into negotiations is the main argument based on which the European Commission has dismissed the Macedonian request **for start of accession negotiations** twice - 2007*

b. Reminded the European Commission that this country is (in)excusably too long in the line for starting the accession negotiations and that the European parliament has given the same recommendation last year as well - 2009

*c. the road towards enlargement has been opened for the Balkans but that does not mean that Macedonia will receive **date for accession negotiations** in December - 2007*

*d. Olli Rehn, two weeks ago, upon the question when is Macedonia going to receive a **date for starting the accession negotiations**, instead of an answer told a joke about - 2007*

e. *“But we need to be realistic here as well. Personally, I believe that this year Macedonia is for sure going to receive a **date** if the Government continues with the same intensity in reference to the reforms” – Slovenian Ambassador in Macedonia – 2008*

The following two examples derive from the same article from 2008, the first one referencing a statement from an unidentified source that the country shall receive date if it reaches a compromise on the name issue, the second one referencing high governmental officials stating that the EU Ambassador did not answer the question about whether Macedonia will receive a negotiations date without solving the name issue:

7.9 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations

a. *he called the Government and announced that if there is a compromise in the name issue with Greece, Macedonia will receive **date for negotiations** regardless of the election irregularities - 2008*

b. *The respected Ambassador did not answer the question whether if Macedonia fulfills all criteria the country will receive **date for negotiations** even without solving the name issue - same article of - 2008*

Apart from the clusters dealing with the negotiations, or clusters linked to the negotiations such as *EU membership*, *(the)European integration* word cluster collocates in the names of an institution such as the *Council*, *National Council* or with the name of the person in charge i.e. the *Vice-Prime Minister of European Integration* in six of its occurrences. Some of the other applications of this cluster which bear an environment associated with the name issue shall be further examined in the 8th terminological domain below. Some, as shown in Table of concordances 7.10, cover the appraisal of the progress that the country has made, while others, as shown in Table of concordances 7.11, cover inducement of the gains from the integration:

7.10 Table of concordances: European integration a.

a. *Macedonia, which is involved in the **European integration** process for many years now, is definitely at the top of the Balkan countries in that regard, of course, excluding Croatia*

b. *Brussels is pleased because of the enforced attention that Skopje expresses towards the **European integration** that has been pushed aside during the previous two years mandate of the Government*

7.11 Table of concordances: European integration b.

European integration and the perspectives of EU membership are the strongest mechanism for initiation of reforms, for consolidation of the democracy, the rule of law, strengthening of the institutions

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA - 22
(MACEDONIA) (ON THE) ROAD TOWARDS EU – 22
THE POLITICAL CRITERIA - 19
(THE) CRITERIA FROM COPENHAGEN - 14
THE FIGHTS AGAINST THE CORRUPTION - 12
IMPLEMENTATION (OF) (THE) REFORMS – 11
(MANY) (DIFFERENT) AREAS – 10
MACEDONIA IN EU - 9
THE REFORMS IN – 9
FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS - 7
(THE) ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY – 7
(THE) ADOPTED LAWS – 7
FULFILLING THE CRITERIA - 6
ABSORPTION/INTEGRATION CAPACITY – 6
DOES NOT FULFILL THE POLITICAL CRITERIA - 5
BETWEEN MACEDONIA AND EU – 5
THE JUDICIAL REFORMS – 5
FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS - 5
THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 5
(THE) POLITICAL CONSENSUS – 5

The most frequent word cluster under the umbrella of the 5th terminological domain carrying the notion of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives is the cluster *the Copenhagen criteria*. These criteria have been additionally called upon twice in the same domain once as *(the) criteria from Copenhagen* and once stating that the *EU should evaluate/assess us according to the Copenhagen criteria*. As elaborated in Chapter 5 the Copenhagen criteria derive from the “Conclusions of the Presidency of the European Council” held in 1993 in Copenhagen. As already examined in Chapter 5, the cluster *Copenhagen criteria* occurs sporadically within the period 1993 until 2000. In the 2003 Thessaloniki Agenda document its use increased and reached its ‘peak’, i.e. its most frequent application in the Western Balkans/Turkey sub-corpus covering the period 2005 – 2009. In Chapter 6, the occurrences of the clusters related to the Copenhagen European Council’s conclusion have increased rapidly, and as stated: the country’s integration in the Union depends solely on fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria...(see Chapter 6). The significance of these criteria for future membership of every aspiring country can be further detected in the fact that the two Reports on the Republic of Macedonia from 2005 as well as in

the Progress Reports of 2006, contain a sub chapter 3.2 named: “Assessment in terms of the Copenhagen criteria”.

The word cluster *the Copenhagen criteria*, in the third corpus *Dnevnik* occurs 22 times in 14 newspaper articles within the period 2006 -- 2009 and has been set in many different contexts, presented in Table of concordances 7.12, 7.13 and 7.14 below. The first is an explanation on the importance of their fulfillment in a 2006 column written by Angelica Beer, member of the Greens in the European Parliament, entitled “Macedonia must convince”:

7.12 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria a.

*Is Macedonia prepared for the accession negotiations – how far have the reforms which are obligatory for the fulfillment of the **Copenhagen criteria** been implemented?*

The next is a quotation of a statement given by the Commissioner Olli Rehn in 2008:

7.13 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria b.

*without which the country cannot hope for negotiations for EU membership. The fulfilment of the **Copenhagen criteria** is vital in order to walk the European road and I call upon*

The last reports the statement that:

7.14 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria c.

*the majority in the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Committee clearly stated that the **Copenhagen criteria** are the most important in the accession process.*

In addition to the above declarations on the utmost importance and the requirement of fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria in order for the country to join the Union, the criteria seem to have become numbered, have increased and gained an additional stipulation, i.e. *free and fair elections* as can be seen in the examples to follow:

7.15 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria/conditions d.

*a. instability and the country is not fulfilling the **Copenhagen criteria**, the European Commission is sending a message. The ninth criterion, i.e. the elections, halts the country (headline of an article from 2008)*

b. “the international standards for free and fair elections are a condition to answer the **Copenhagen criteria**. Therefore, March is the moment of truth”, stated Olli Rehn

c. “free and fair elections are part of the basic **Copenhagen conditions** without whose fulfilment no country so far has approximated the EU” (statement of the Spokesperson of the European Commission). According to the diplomats, this should be read as an announcement

d. part of the basic **Copenhagen conditions**, without whose fulfilment no country so far has approximated the EU, Brussels sends a message. The European Commission shares the opinion

As can be drawn from the first example above (see example a.), the elections have been considered to be the ninth criterion for the country’s accession. Additionally, the *country is not fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria* as stipulated in the headline of the 2008 article. In this respect, one can suppose that the Copenhagen criteria are consisted of eight criteria. Upon a further in-depth analysis, the document named: “Council Decision of 18 February 2008 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and repealing Decision 2006/57/EC” (see Chapter 6) contains the following statement:

7.16 Table of concordances: Key priorities

*“Among the short-term priorities, the **key ones** have been identified and grouped together at the beginning of the list. The order of these **key priorities** does not imply a ranking of their importance”.*

The statement, illustrated in Table of concordances 7.16 above, which originates from a 2008 document, is being followed by a list of eight key priorities for the progress of the country which have not been named criteria. A similar statement has been reiterated in the 2009 Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia (see Chapter 6):

7.17 Table of concordances: Eight key priorities

*“The Accession Partnership identifies **eight key priorities** for progress in the accession process by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Commission assesses these key priorities as benchmarks in this Progress Report”*

Additionally, as shown in Table of concordances 7.18, in the 2007 Progress Report (see Chapter 6) on the Republic of Macedonia these eight key priorities have been referred to as eight benchmarks and once again neither the word criteria nor the Copenhagen criteria context have been applied:

7.18 Table of concordances: Eight benchmarks

*“calls on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to ensure that the necessary reforms are undertaken; refers to the list of **eight benchmarks** that the Commission has drawn up, derived from the key priorities of the new Accession Partnership, and hopes that the attainment of these by the country will lead to opening of the accession negotiations before the end of 2008”*

Furthermore, in neither the first corpus, containing the EU enlargement documents and papers, nor in the second corpus, containing the Progress reports, does the cluster *ninth criterion* occur. Moreover, the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993 has been more extensively inspected and the word *election(s)* occurs five times in total, none of which are in context of enlargement. The referral to the elections as yet another of the Copenhagen criteria for the country’s accession is once again restated in a 2008 article presented in Table 7.19 here:

7.19 Table of concordances: Criteria from Copenhagen a.

*According to the political **criteria from Copenhagen**, the country should have free and fair elections.*

In terms of the numbering of the *criteria from Copenhagen*, another article from 2006 reports on the basic three criteria from 1993 as strengthened by an additional one:

7.20 Table of concordances: Criteria from Copenhagen b.

*Apart from the three **criteria from Copenhagen** from 1993, a new additional criteria that the Union is going to request glances – “the ability of the Union to enlarge itself” – stresses the Agency (French National Agency, France Press)*

Apart from the Copenhagen criteria, based on the number of occurrences, the word cluster *the political criteria* is yet another rather important point of interest that has been elaborated upon in the newspaper articles. In 10 of total of 19 occurrences, the country *does not fulfil the political criteria* or *does not fulfil the political criteria fully*, and in five cases, there is some progress in fulfilling the political criteria. Some of the applications of the word cluster *political criteria* have been illustrated in Table 7.21:

7.21 Table of concordances: Political criteria

*Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia made a certain progress but still does not fulfil the **political criteria**. The Parliamentary elections did not*

*b. EC will not recommend accession negotiations with Macedonia. Macedonia does not fulfil the **political criteria** and the early elections did not fulfil*

c. the lections judged us. This country still does not fulfil the political criteria. The elections were not held in accordance to international

*d. Officially published the yearly report in which it is being stipulated that Macedonia does not fulfil the **political criteria** for EU membership which is why*

The above examples derive from three articles from 2008 after poorly conducted Parliamentary elections in the state.

Other than the *administrative capacity* which was a c-cluster in Chapter 6, another concern in the newspaper articles is the *absorption i.e. integration capacity*. The *capacity to integrate, the integration capacity* and the *absorption capacity of the Union* marked their first occurrences and a rather high frequency in the 2005 – 2009 Western Balkans/Turkey sub-corpus in Chapter 5. The EU documents on the Western Balkan indicated the EU's absorption capacity as another key element in any new enlargement. In the third corpus, *Dnevnik*, the absorption capacity is being perceived as an invention to block any further enlargements, a scarecrow for the counties on the path towards the Union or as a clumsy expression that has grown from absorption to integration capacity due to the postulation of the Union as illustrated in the several examples presented in Table of concordances 7.22, originating from articles from 2006, 2007 and 2009:

7.22 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity

*a. significant incentive for progress towards membership. Namely, the slightly forgotten phrase “**absorption capacity**” was largely (mis)used in order to block the process*

*b. So, all that was imposed as a scarecrow over the countries that are still walking the road towards Brussels, packed in the formulation “**absorption capacity**” for new members, remains in the past.*

*c. With the change of the vocabulary a correction of the clumsy expression “**absorption capacity**” has been made, but we are not talking about a change in the strategy of the EU*

*d. the personality of EU for receiving new member will no longer be called **absorption** but **integration capacity**. EU does not absorb anyone but makes efforts into integrating*

The newspaper's demeanor towards the expression can be further detected in the quotation marks under which the word cluster has been placed simply by the newspaper "*absorption capacity*" as opposed to its corresponding assertion *integration capacity*.

Finally, the comparatively rare clusters *(the) fights against the corruption, implementation of the reforms, adopted laws, and judicial reforms* have been applied in cases when the newspaper articles would convey the messages or findings in the Progress Reports, urging for improvement, increase in their efficiency or implementation. Based on the frequency of occurrence of the above word clusters as compared to the *date for negotiations*, for instance, it could be concluded that certain topics, such as the inability of the country to commence with the accession negotiations, have been pushed further at the expense of the requirements and the calls for improvement of the country in certain areas, for instance in the *judicial reforms*. Once compared to the findings in Chapter 6, i.e. the conveyed messages on the specific areas where further efforts are needed, this 'selective' approach of reporting on the part of the newspaper further indicates the manner in which the newspaper informed about the findings of the Progress Reports.

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

(THE) REPORT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC) - 24

REPORT FOR MACEDONIA – 6

THE INFORMANT FOR MACEDONIA – 6

PROGRESS IN FULFILLING – 6

PASS MARK – 5

THE PROGRESS OF MACEDONIA - 5

RECEIVE POSITIVE REPORT – 5

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS – 5

Considering the nature of the newspaper articles of the third corpus *Dnevnik*, the word clusters listed under the 6th terminological domain, elements of the Progress Reports would be rather anticipated. The most frequent word cluster(s) *(the) Report of the European Commission (EC), Report on the progress* and *Report for Macedonia* collocate in most of their occurrences with the words *November, fall, yearly, published, previous, next*. This is partially due to the time period when the reports are being published, i.e. in the Fall of every year, and partially because of the comparison of the progress or regress for that matter that the country has made between two reports, i.e. within a one year period. The cluster *the informant for Macedonia* collocates in all of

its six occurrences with the name Eric Meyer, the European Parliament's special informant for Macedonia.

The following are illustrations of the applications of the word cluster *receive/get a positive report*:

7.23 Table of concordances: Receive positive report

a. Macedonia presents adopted laws to the union hoping to **receive a positive report** and accession negotiations, and Brussels is requiring their implementation

b. and in order for the country to **receive positive report** from EU which will be important to receive a date for negotiations, there must be a complete progress in the political criteria

c. Macedonia will **receive today positive report** and in it a recommendation for starting the accession negotiations

d. contained in the benchmarks that the country got one and a half year ago from the EU if the country wants to **receive a positive report** from the European commission and a recommendation for date for negotiations

The above examples derive from articles from 2007, 2008 and 2009 and the clusters have been employed in settings directly associated with receiving a date for accession negotiations (see domain 4 above), i.e. the general aura that follows a positive report seems to be proportionate to the recommendation and the start of accession negotiations with the Union.

7 Domain: Agreements and documents

THE OHRID AGREEMENT – 21

THE STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 9

THIS DOCUMENT – 6

The seventh terminological domain of the third corpus *Dnevnik* encloses a limited number of word clusters on the Agreements and documents directly or indirectly connected to the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Stabilisation and Association process has been initiated by the European Union in 1999 for the countries from the Western Balkans (see Chapter 5). The process itself and consequently the *Stabilisation and Association agreements* have already been explored in-depth in Chapter 5 and in Chapter 6. The nine occurrences of this word cluster in the third corpus *Dnevnik* collocate with its *ratification*, *signing* and its *implementation*. Upon the elections held in 2006 (see Chapter 6), a 2006 newspaper article conveys the message from the EU Ministers, upon the instructions of their leaders to remind the country that:

7.24 Table of concordances: Stabilisation and Association Agreement

what is required from our country is further fulfilling of the criteria from Copenhagen, of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and of the Ohrid Agreement.

In the above statement, the Copenhagen criteria, the SAA Agreement and the Ohrid Agreement have been accentuated as key points in the accession process for Macedonia. The most frequent word cluster under this domain, i.e. the *Ohrid Agreement* or officially the Ohrid Framework Agreement was elaborated upon in Chapter 6 and was a c-cluster in the same chapter. This cluster does not occur in Chapter 5. The Agreement itself had been defined as a “core part of the Copenhagen political criteria for EU membership” by the European Parliament in the 2006 Progress Report. In the third corpus *Dnevnik*, in 10 out of the total of 21 occurrences, the major concern has been the effective implementation of the Agreement, and in the other cases the Agreement has been characterized as a democratic pillar of the multiethnic state, stressing its importance in the conveying of the reforms, adopting laws, improvements in the area of the public administration. The example presented in Table of concordances 7.25 below further accentuates on the utmost significance of the Ohrid Agreement in the accession process of the country:

7.25 Table of concordances: Ohrid Agreement

*The accession (entry) depends solely on the reforms in the state. The implementation of the **Ohrid Agreement** is a decisive factor towards that goal.*

The last cluster of this domain, i.e. *this document* in two out of six occurrences, this document refers to the Progress Report on Macedonia, three times to the Enlargement strategy and main challenges documents (see Chapter 5) and once to the Communication document from 2008 (see Chapter 5).

8 Domain: Other

THE NAME ISSUE - 51
CANDIDATE STATUS – 22
(NAME) ISSUE WITH GREECE - 17
SOLUTION TO THE NAME ISSUE - 14
EU PRESIDENCY - 9

CANDIDATE FOR MEMBERSHIP - 8
SLOVENIAN PRESIDENCY WITH THE EU - 6
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION – 5

The key word *issue* (referring to the name dispute between Macedonia and Greece, see Chapter 6) marks 66 occurrences alone in the third corpus *Dnevnik*. The key word *the name* occurs 96 times in the corpus. These two key words appear in the word clusters: *name issue, issue about the name, question about the name, solution on the name issue, name issue with Greece* and additionally to the negotiations date they carry the second major focus of the newspaper *Dnevnik* within the examined period, i.e. 2005 -- 2009.

There are different approaches in addressing the name issue.

Two articles from 2008 and 2009 respectively attend to this matter as part of the bilateral issues that had risen in line with the Union's enlargement and convey the following statements:

7.26 Table of concordances: Bilateral issues/Name issue a.

a. It is stated in it that the “bilateral issues should not dominate the European integration process”. Swoboda himself yesterday in front of the European Parliament explained: “The bilateral issues (Swoboda is a member of the European Parliament representing the Socialist Democratic Party of Austria)

*b. The part in which it was requested that the **name issue** should not be a barrier in our European integration will not enter the report, but there will be a more general provision requiring that the bilateral issues to*

*c. a provision requiring that the **bilateral issues** should not dominate the European integration process. This compromise of the MPs results from a long*

Additionally to the above more general approach, as shown in the Table of concordances 7.27, an article of 2008 in its subtitle states that the name is not within the scope of the Commission's work:

7.27 Table of concordances: Name issue b.

*Lisbon treaty is going to affect the Report. The **name** is not a matter of the EC. The **name issue** would not have been mentioned at all yesterday in Brussels if there it was not posed as a question by a Spanish journalist*

Moreover on this subject, a 2008 article named ‘We want negotiations with the EU, Brussels wants compromise with Greece’, conveyed the announcement of Petar Pop Arsov, Chief of the

Parliamentary Delegation that went to Brussels at that time. Pop Arsov, as illustrated in Table 7.28 below, calls upon the Union to assess Macedonia in the spirit to the Copenhagen criteria:

7.28 Table of concordances: Name issue c.

- a. “that the **name issue** is a big problem and that we are going to continue talking, but we consider that the EU should assess us according to the Copenhagen criteria. However, it is obvious that”*
*b. “compromise with Greece. Macedonia is aware that the **name** is a problem, but we consider that the EU should assess us according to the three Copenhagen criteria”, stated Petar pop Arsov*

Furthermore, two articles from 2009 communicate two rather contradicting statements given by the Commissioner Olli Rehn. Namely in July 2009 the EU Commissioner for Enlargement announced the following:

7.29 Table of concordances: Name issue d.

*fulfilling of these conditions. At the same time, he sent a message that solving the **name issue** is not a condition for receiving/getting a date, because it is a matter of bilateral issue*

However, in October 2009, the Commissioner urged the Government to solve the name issue, which was characterized as key and urgent:

7.30 Table of concordances: Name issue e.

- a. “I believe that the Government in Skopje shall accept this recommendation as a strong encouragement in order to finally solve the **name issue**”.*
*b. “I underline hereby that the good neighbouring relations, as well as a solution to the **name issue** are key. This is more key and more urgent than ever before” – said Rehn hoping that he would be heard and understood.*

The name issue has been tackled upon in Chapter 6.

In addition to this question, the key word *solution* further collocates in a more ‘fresh’ word cluster *mutually acceptable solution* that marks five occurrences in the third corpus *Dnevnik* in five articles from 2008 and 2009. In the examples presented in Table of concordances 7.31 below, the statements of the EC that further evolved into the statements of the EU leaders, which derives from the statement of the EC Director for Enlargement one year prior, additionally obtained a key notion:

7.31 Table of concordances: Mutually acceptable solution

a. “from the European Commission were very clear. We said that it is important to achieve a **mutually acceptable solution** on this issue with which both sides could live with”. Statement by EC Director for Enlargement Michael Lee – February 2008

b. that might have negative influence over the good neighbourly relations. The efforts for **mutually acceptable solution** under the mediation of the UN should be strengthened – recommend EC – October 2008

c. Then the leaders of EU in reference to Macedonia decided that “Maintaining good neighbourly relations, including a negotiated and **mutually acceptable solution** on the name issue under the auspices of the UN remain essential” – September 2009

d. opened. Maintaining good neighbourly relations, including a negotiated and **mutually acceptable solution** on the name issue under the auspices of the UN remain key – concludes the EC. – October 2009

e. “We encourage both countries to double their efforts in order to find a **mutually acceptable solution** to the name issue, states Thaler”. – Zoran Thaller was the European parliament rapporteur on Macedonia – November 2009

Based on only several of the examples above addressing the problem that the Republic of Macedonia has with the Republic of Greece over its name, and the statements given by both EU officials on one hand, the Macedonian governmental officials on the other, and the passing of the messages as well as their interpretation by the newspaper on third, it could be concluded that this issue in particular, and an issue that is still open and ongoing today, creates an uncertainty for all parties involved and thus for the wider readership also.

The second most frequent word cluster of this domain, *candidate status*, collocates with *receive*, *Macedonian*, *possible* and is further used to accentuate on the fact that even though the country was granted a status of a candidate in 2005, four years later, i.e. in 2009, it still did not receive a recommendation for opening the accession negotiations:

7.32 Table of concordances: Candidate status

*her interests. They also (the diplomats), just like the EC, consider that it is high time, four years after the **candidate status**, for the country to receive a recommendation for negotiations.- 2009*

7.3.1. Utrinski. Key words

The second part of the third corpus (henceforth third corpus *Utrinski*), encloses 75 articles originating from the Macedonian daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* (see *Utrinski vesnik*, 2015).

The third corpus *Utrinski* consists of a total of 53,997 words. Upon its comparison to a word list of random newspaper articles containing 62,627 words, by applying the Word Smith software tool, the total number of generated key words is 112. Table 1b below holds the first most frequent 60 key words relevant for this analysis in English language:

Table 1b: Key words of the entire Third Corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	605	240	223,32	31	DIALOGUE	47	7	39,45
2	EU	447	32	494,96	32	STATUS	44	3	49,20
3	THE EUROPEAN	192	26	168,97	33	ADMINISTRATION	41	4	41,13
4	THE REPORT	159	9	186,10	34	CORRUPTION	41	3	44,98
5	THIS COUNTRY/IES	151	28	112,26	35	EVALUATE	41	3	44,98
6	THE GOVERNMENT	141	42	72,33	36	THE CONDITIONS	41	1	54,95
7	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	12385	34	164,95103,31	37	EXPECTS	39	8	27,14
8	BRUSSELS	117	8	140,80	38	THE PROCESS	39	7	29,54
9	(THE) COMMISSION	114	11	114,88	39	BALKAN	37	3	39,41
10	REHN	113	0	174,15	40	WESTERN	35	3	36,65
11	DATE	103	0	158,73	41	THE FIGHT	35	2	40,84
12	THE NAME	102	17	80,69	42	PARTIES	34	6	26,01
13	(THE) REFORMS	10086	06	154,1095,61	43	CAPACITY	33	1	43,05
14	MEMBERSHIP	92	8	95,95	44	THE PUBLIC	32	4	29,15
15	(THE) UNION	91	2	123,40	45	COUNCIL	31	4	27,85
16	GREECE	83	36	26,73	46	EFFORTS	31	3	31,19
17	EC (European Commission)	83	5	95,71	47	LAWS	31	1	40,09
18	(THE) CRITERIA	81	5	92,87	48	(THE)RECOMMENDATION	29	3	28,49
19	THE POLITICAL	78	11	67,27	49	AREAS	29	1	37,14
20	(THE)PROGRESS/IMPROVEMENT	69	0	104,77	50	MEIJER	29	1	37,14
21	ISSUE (name)	65	8	59,62	51	MEMBERS	28	4	23,99
22	(THE) ELECTIONS	65	8	59,62	52	THE OHRID	27	3	25,81
23	PROGRESS	65	1	91,02	53	EUROCOMMISSIONE	26	1	32,74

						R			
24	FOUERE	63	0	97,06	54	REMARKS	25	1	31,27
25	FULFILL	55	0	84,73	55	STABILISATION	24	0	36,97
26	SOLUTION	54	15	29,58	56	IMPLEMENTATION	24	0	36,97
27	THE OPPOSITION	52	8	42,93	57	CONSENSUS	23	1	28,36
28	(THE)ENLARGEMENT	52	8	42,93	58	STABILITY	23	0	35,43
29	REQUIRES	49	15	24,43	59	THE ECONOMIC	22	1	26,90
30	THE JUDICIARY	49	1	66,93	60	MARKET	21	0	32,35

Upon a comparison of the two key words tables of the two Macedonian daily newspapers, examining the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia with an additional focus on the Progress Reports prepared by the EU official bodies, what can be discerned is the evident similarity in the key words. Namely, out of total of 60 the two tables share 46 identical key words, i.e. the key words of the two corpora correspond in 75%. However, 25% of the key words are different. A portion of this distinction in the third corpus *Utrinski* lies in the key words that carry the economic elements of the accession process in terms of the words: *the economic, market* or are more closely connected to specific issues of the development process such as: *stability, public, administration*. The key words of the third corpus *Utrinski* that stand for the countries or regions involved remain the same, i.e. *Macedonia, EU, the country, countries, the European, Union, Western, Balkan, Greece* as do the institutions or bodies involved *Council, EC, Commission*. Most of the key words that correspond to the parties or actors involved remain unchanged: *Brussels, Ren, Fuere, the Euro commissioner, members* and are further enforced by the words *the Government, the opposition, parties, Meijer*. The solid presence of the enlargement and the elements of the process key words can be distinguished in the *enlargement, membership, the negotiations, process, Stabilisation, implementation*. The conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives notions are being communicated through the words: *reforms, political, fulfill, expects, criteria, dialogue, capacity, conditions*, and the key words *the Report, progress, improvement, evaluate* encircle the elements of the Progress Reports.

7.3.2. *Utrinski*. Word clusters and terminological domains

Out of the total of 112 key words that resulted from the comparison between the word list of the third corpus *Utrinski* and the random newspapers word list, only the 60 most frequent key words, as presented in Table 1b above, have been taken into consideration in generating the word

clusters. There are no alterations in the calculation principle of two- to six-word clusters that repeat with the minimum frequency of five times. The eight terminological domains presented below arose from the categorization of the remaining word clusters once they had been freed from the recurrent and unrelated word clusters and word strings.

Terminological domains of the third corpus *Utrinski*

Domain

1. Parties or actors involved
2. Countries or regions involved
3. Institutions or bodies involved
4. Enlargement and elements of the process
5. Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives
6. Elements of the Progress Reports
7. Agreements
8. Other

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

THE MEMBER(S) STATES (OF EU) – 33

THE POLITICAL PARTIES – 14

EUROCOMMISSIONNER OLLI REHN – 13

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION – 11

NEW MEMBERS – 10

ERIK MEIJER – 9

THE EU DELEGATION – 6

ALL POLITICAL PARTIES - 6

THE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 5

EUROCOMMISSIONNER FOR ENLARGEMENT OLLI REHN (exact title EU

COMMISSIONNER FOR ENLARGEMENT OLLI REHN) – 5

EUROAMBASSADOR IN THIS COUNTRY ERWAN FOUERE – 5

The word cluster holding the top position under the first terminological domain of the third corpus *Utrinski* enclosing the parties or actors involved in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia, same as in the third corpus *Dnevnik*, is the word cluster the *Member States* which additionally appears as the *EU Member(s)*. The application of this cluster in Chapters 5 and 6 has already been exploited previously in this chapter. Similarly to its application in the third corpus *Dnevnik* where the cluster had been set in the context examining the role of the member states, in the third corpus *Utrinski*, the member states' responsibility has

been evoked in five cases represented in Table of concordances 7.33 below, in the enlargement setting however, here reflecting the general notion of ‘fear’ that the enlargement process might be reduced to a halt due to the state of affairs at that specific time in the members themselves or at a general Union level:

7.33 Table of concordances: (EU) member states a.

- a. the EU enlargement has been put in question or stopped. In that context it is required that the **EU member states** do not postpone the preparation of the opinions from the Commission*
- b. can adapt to new enlargements. As she says, she knows that there is an on-going European election campaign in the **EU member states**, that in different countries the public opinion is against enlargement or they want a slowdown in that respect*
- c. to find a solution to its functionality. What is being requested from the European Council, the Commission and the **member states** is for them to fulfil the promises and the engagements they gave*
- d. The European Union is preparing to sharpen the conditions, to temporarily close the gates for receiving new members. This conclusion is part of the report of the French state agency France press at the end of the two day informal summit of the chiefs of the diplomats of the **EU member states***
- e. meetings of the European Union Council – the forum that unites the ministers of the **member states** – when they are going to discuss the perspectives of the EU*

The above examples derive from two different time periods, i.e. from articles from 2006 and 2009.

Furthermore, the below examples deriving from 2006 and 2009 articles of the third corpus *Utrinski*, illustrate the cluster’s application in the accession negotiations setting as had been the case in the third corpus *Dnevnik*, stating that the time to open negotiations with the country has still not come i.e. clarifying the position of the member states on this matter:

7.34 Table of concordances: (EU) member states b.

- a. and that the decision for starting the negotiations must be unanimously brought by the member states.*
- b. the progress in the country so that it can allow for the EC to have enough arguments in order to convince the **member states** that now is the right time for a recommendation for opening the negotiations*
- c. According to Meijer, despite the position of the Foreign Affairs Ministers in the **EU member states** that wanted to postpone the decision upon the date for negotiations*
- d. Commissioner for enlargement Olli Rehn: “In my opinion, there is a wider consensus among the **member states** that it is still not the time to open the accession negotiations*

Some of the other occurrences of the cluster are in reference to a specific state in the Republic of Macedonia or express a concern about ‘when’ is Macedonia going to become a EU member as in the two examples in Table of concordances 7.35, originating from 2006 and 2008 articles.:

7.35 Table of concordances: (EU) member states c.

*a. meeting the Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski and the Ministers presented the European agenda and the priorities of this country in 2008 to the **EU member states** Ambassadors*

*b. representatives of the Government about the time when (in which year) is Macedonia going to become a full **member of the EU**. Haven't we convinced ourselves yet that that is the most important*

Table 7.36 illustrates that they have been applied in the inevitable name issue context in statements originating from 2008 and 2009 articles:

7.36 Table of concordances: (EU) member states d.

*a. Even though, on the occasion of the Slovenian-Croatian border issue, Brock states that the **member states** must not force the candidates to do something that they don't want to and blackmail them with vetoes, his position on Macedonia is completely different*

*b. Gruevski said that it is discouraging to hear the statements of one **EU member state** every day that without a solution to the name issue the other country will not receive a date for negotiations*

*c. is completely different. According to him, no matter who is right and who is wrong, Greece is an **EU member** and has the right to a veto – statement by a member of the European Parliament Elamar Brock*

As was the case with the third corpus *Dnevnik*, many of the word clusters listed under this domain of the third corpus *Utrinski*, contain proper nouns of high representatives that have developed into representing the respective European Union institution itself. One of them is the cluster *Eurocommissioner Olli Rehn, Eurocommissioner for Enlargement Olli Rehn* collocating in most of the cases with *announced, stated, expressed his disappointment, commented, spoke*. Another one is the application of the name of the European Parliament rapporteur on Macedonia *Erik Meijer*, collocating with *requests, suggests, calls upon* as well as the name of the *Euroambassador in this country, Erwan Fouere*, collocating with *stated, pointed out, said, greeted, added*. The word clusters *the Government and the opposition* and the *(all) political parties* are ‘novelties’ in this domain as opposed to their non-occurrence in the third corpus *Dnevnik*. The newspapers convey the messages either from EU officials or from Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia in which they have been called upon in contexts requiring

an improvement of the political climate and the necessity for an intensified political dialogue among the parties or among the Government and the opposition respectively:

7.37 Table of concordances: Political parties/Government and opposition

- a. Macedonia, he pointed the holding of regular elections and the improvement in the dialogue among the **political parties** and actors, not announcing whether if that happens we will receive*
*b. in the acting and functioning of all institutions and in the activities of the **political parties** both from the **Government and from the opposition***
*c. functioning of the Parliament is seriously disturbed from the nonsufficient consultations between the **Government and the opposition**, from the boycott of*

In the above illustrations from 2006 and 2008 articles, the actors involved in the process, i.e. the Government, the opposition and the political parties, have been reprimanded on their acting and have been urged to better their communication.

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

THE EUROPEAN UNION – 52

WESTERN BALKAN – 35

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 25

COUNTRIES FROM THE WESTERN BALKAN – 13

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 10

MACEDONIAN AND EU – 6

MACEDONIA AND GREECE – 5

THE COUNTRIES FROM THE REGION – 5

None of the clusters of the countries or regions involved domain of the third corpus *Utrinski* is unexpected. *The European Union, Republic of Macedonia* and its 10 collocations with the *Former Yugoslav* in the parts of the articles quoting the Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia, with an increased application of the (*countries from the*) *Western Balkan* are rather anticipated bearing in mind the topic under examination and the region left to join the Union.

The word cluster *Macedonia and EU* occurs 6 times, once related to the visa liberalization, 2 times in reference to the relations among the country and the Union, 2 times collocating with the Stabilisation and Association Committee and once related to the name issue. This is the context of occurrence of the word cluster *Macedonia and Greece* as well, and the issue between the two neighbouring countries shall be further in depth explored under the eight terminological domains below:

7.38 Table of concordances: Macedonia and EU

- a. Macedonia and EU” said Fouere, and pointed out that it opens a new phase of the relations among **Macedonia and EU**. In the documents adopted by the European Commission yesterday
- b. an assessment of the achievements of the country and it opens a new phase for the relations between **Macedonia and EU**
- c. and the corruption has been noticed by the Stabilisation and Association Committee between **Macedonia and EU**, but noticed that politicisation is a problem with which
- d. a meeting of the Stabilisation and Association Committee between **Macedonia and EU** is happening in Skopje, during which details of the progress and of the stall shall be noted

The examples above have been drawn from 2005 and 2008 newspaper articles. The third example (see example c.) which derives from a September 2008 newspaper article states that the SAA Committee’s meeting shall assist in detecting the progress that Macedonia has made especially in the areas of judiciary, public administration, police and that it has been noted that politicization is a problem that the country faces. This specific article is titled: “The politicization is the biggest problem in the country”. It explores many different areas or progress or regress before the official Progress Report in November was to be published, and are going to be further explored in the sub-corpora analysis to follow.

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 107

THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL – 13

THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL – 11

The *European Commission* word cluster precedes the small number of clusters under the institutions or bodies involved terminological domain. Unlike its applications in Chapters 5 and 6 and similarly to its use in the third corpus *Dnevnik* (see terminological domain 3 above), in most of its occurrences the word cluster emerges in the context of the Progress Reports published annually. Namely, in half of its employments, i.e. in 50 out of the total of 107 cases, the word cluster has been set in a direct or indirect relation to the Reports. In 31 of its occurrences it collocates with the word *report* resulting in the additional clusters *(the) (November) (fall) report of the European Commission* ensuing from the time framework during which the reports have been prepared and the month in which the reports are being published by the European Commission. The cluster further collocates in seven cases again with the word *report* additionally forming the cluster: *the European Commission in (this) (its) (next) Report*. The word

clusters related to the Progress Reports shall be further explored under the sixth domain of this third corpus *Utrinski* below. A further similarity between the occurrences of the same cluster in the third corpus *Dnevnik* and the third corpus *Utrinski* can be discerned in the fact that it is a constant cluster in both of the cases. It appears in 52 out of the total of 75 articles of the *Utrinski vesnik* daily newspaper, pertaining to the years of examination, i.e. 2006 when the first Report on the Republic of Macedonia had been published until the end of the examination period i.e. 2009. Moreover, in 20 occurrences the European Commission has been directly associated with the commencement of the negotiations, the date for negotiations, recommendation for negotiations and the decision that the EC is to reach on the matter of the negotiations between Macedonia and the EU. This issue shall be analysed in-depth in the terminological domain to follow, i.e. domain 4 below. In additional 20 occurrences, the Commission has been called upon in reference to the criteria set by the EC, assessment of the reforms or the expectation on their implementation, the candidate status that the country was granted with and in reference to the name issue with the neighbouring country.

The negotiations date has been furthermore explored in six out of the total of 13 occurrences of the word cluster *the European Council* which place the Commission in relation to the negotiation date as illustrated in the two examples below originating from a 2006 and a 2009 article:

7.39 Table of concordances: European Council

*a. Ivanov has also been informed that the EC is unprepared to step up and propose to the **European Council** to set a date for starting the negotiations, but if Macedonia*

*b. consensus among the members and the EU that the time for negotiations with Macedonia has not arrived. The **European Council** will not answer positively to the letter of the Italian Prime Minister*

The word cluster *political institutions* from the same domain in the third corpus *Dnevnik*, exploring the poor exertion of activities of the aforementioned institutions within the period November 2007 until November 2008, as distinguished in the articles of the *Dnevnik* newspaper, does not occur in the *Utrinski vesnik*'s articles that were subjected to examination.

Finally, the activities of the third word cluster of this domain, i.e. the *Judicial Council* has been examined by the EU official bodies in the area of judicial reforms. Bearing in mind that the *election* of the Judicial Council, as well as the *members of* the Judicial Council collocate with the words *failure*, *extremely bad solution*, and *disappointing*, in all of its 11 occurrences the Council

has been subjected to disapproval on the part of the EU bodies examining its actions as reported by the newspaper. Upon a closer inspection of this word cluster, which justly does not appear in Chapter 5 due to the scope of the documents, in Chapter 6 the Judicial Council is a c-cluster occurring 54 times in seven of the documents produced within the 2005 – 2009 period, including all of the Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia. In none of its 54 applications in the second corpus does the cluster collocate with the words fail, or bad, or disappointing. What is examined in reference to the Judicial Council in the second corpus is primarily the establishment of the Council, the scope of its activities, the Laws regulating its operations, the appointments of judges and the areas requiring for the improvement or alteration in the work of the Council.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(FOR) MEMBERSHIP IN EU (THE UNION) – 56
(TO RECEIVE) DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 55
FOR START/BEGINNING (OF) THE NEGOTIATIONS - 47
RECEIVE DATE FOR STARING THE NEGOTIATIONS -43
(STARTING) NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP - 36
STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION - 18
(THE) DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS(FOR MEMBERSHIP/MACEDONIA) - 17
NEGOTIATIONS WITH EU - 12
EU ENLARGEMENT - 12
THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION - 9
THE EU MEMBERSHIP - 7
OPENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS - 7
DATE FOR STARTING THE NEGOTIATIONS - 6
RECOMMENDATION FOR STARTING NEGOTIATIONS – 6
NEGOTIATIONS WITH MACEDONIA - 5
MACEDONIA TO RECEIVE – 5
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNION - 5
STARTING NEGOTIATIONS WITH - 5
NEGOTIATIONS FOR MACEDONIA - 5
THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS – 5
ASSOCIATION AND STABILISATION – 5

Out of the total of 21 word clusters that the terminological domain on enlargement and elements of the process of the third corpus *Utrinski* encloses, 14 are in reference to the *accession negotiations* i.e. *receiving date for starting of the negotiations, opening of the negotiations, recommendation for opening of negotiations, negotiations for membership* and other forms of the word *negotiations* which, similarly to the situation in the previous third corpus *Dnevnik* (see

domain 4 above) further accentuate the ‘spotlight’ in the issue of accession of the Republic of Macedonia in the reporting of the newspaper *Utrinski vesnik*. Once more the treatment of this issue differs from the actual situation in the first and in the second corpus, i.e. Chapters 5 and 6 elaborated under this domain of the third corpus *Dnevnik*. As can be perceived from the abundant number of clusters with over 200 applications, the *negotiations* are in a close relation with the *date* and the *recommendation* for their *starting/opening*. The *date for negotiations* cluster, a c-cluster that marks its occurrence in 27 articles which derive from 2005 – 2009 period, further collocates with the word *receive* in 21 occurrences further forming the cluster *to receive date for negotiations*, and in nine cases collocates with *there is no* or *will not* in the clusters *there is no date for negotiations* and *will not receive date for negotiations*. The examples provided here serve simply as an illustration of some of the applications of the cluster as the date for negotiations shall be more elaborately explored in the second part of this chapter, i.e. in the portion of this chapter that shall embark upon a chronological examination of the word clusters:

7.40 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations/Accession negotiations

*a. EU does not announce a **date for negotiations with Macedonia**. Nobody in Macedonia wants to comment on the Report – November 2006*

*b. fulfilling of the reforms and stepping onto the next phase, and that would be **receiving a date for negotiations**. Fouere noted the progress and the remarks separately – November 2007*

*c. In about 15 days Macedonia will receive a “no” for the fourth time from the European Commission. Namely, for the fourth time the hopes that the **accession negotiations** are going to become a reality, and not Utopia, something that all previous candidate countries received automatically with the candidate status, will be betrayed – October 2008*

*d. heading the EU states. The Macedonian Prime Minister expresses his hope that Macedonia will **receive a date for starting the negotiations** with the EU and is convincing them that the country – October 2009*

*e. Rehn said that Macedonia has made a great improvement and that the country constantly progresses in the priority reforms and that the country has sufficiently fulfilled the Copenhagen criteria “I think that the Government in Skopje will see this process as an encouragement to finally solve the name issue with Greece. That will increase the country’s chances **to receive a date for negotiations** – November 2009*

*f. the pro-governmental media, some of which during their breaking news the day before yesterday reported that all hopes have sank and that **Macedonia will not receive a date for negotiations**. – December 2009*

The last two examples illustrated in Table of concordances 7.40 above (see example e. and f.) derive from the same year, i.e. 2009, and have been published in the newspaper within a one month difference. In the first one the Commissioner for Enlargement at the time, Olli Rehn (see

domain 1 above) praises the improvement and the reforms made on the part of the country and urges the Government to see the process “as an encouragement” in regards to solving the name issue with Greece. In the second one, published within a one month period, the newspaper reports that the “hopes have sunk” and that the country will not receive a date for starting the negotiations.

The negotiations are additionally linked to the most frequent word cluster of this domain *membership in EU, EU membership, membership in the Union* in the clusters *accession negotiations for EU membership* as well as *starting the negotiations for membership in the EU*.

The European integration word cluster appears in different settings, illustrated in the three Tables of concordances below. The first deals with bilateral issues relating to the name dispute:

7.41 Table of concordances: European integration a.

*363 members of the European parliament voted in favour for the unresolved bilateral problems not to become an obstacle in the process of **European integration** and 215 were against. In other words, the unresolved name issue should not – March 2009*

The second deals with European integration of the region, i.e. of the Western Balkans countries:

7.42 Table of concordances: European integration b.

*from the beginning of their mandates they have shown plenty of sympathies and interest in the **European integration** of the countries from the region – April 2009*

The last case refers specifically to the integration of the Republic of Macedonia:

7.43 Table of concordances: European integration c.

*so now, all of the governments from the neighbourhood of Macedonia are being called upon to support the **European integration** of the country and to contribute to the stability and prosperity – March 2009*

The varying associations of the integration process shall be additionally examined in the chronological analyses of this chapter.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 32

THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 32
 FIGHT AGAINST THE CORRUPTION – 26
 THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 20
 FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY – 17
 THE JUDICIAL REFORMS – 16
 THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA – 15
 (TO) ENTRY/ENTER IN/THE EU – 15
 FULFILL THE CRITERIA/CONDITIONS – 14
 THE ABSORPTION/INTEGRATION CAPACITY – 12
 ON THE WAY TOWARDS EU – 10
 THE ECONOMIC CRITERIA – 10
 (THE) CRITERIA FROM COPENHAGEN – 10
 (THE) POLITICAL STABILITY – 8
 POLICE REFORMS – 7
 MACEDONIA IN EU – 7
 FULFILL THE REFORMS – 7
 THE JUDICIARY REFORMS – 6
 (THE) MACROECONOMIC STABILITY – 6
 CONTINUANCE OF THE REROFMS – 6
 (THE) EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION – 6
 BECOME EU MEMBER – 5

The most frequent under the 5th domain, entailing the word clusters that carry the notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives of the third corpus *Utrinski*, i.e the *Political criteria* word cluster, in the first corpus (see Chapter 5) marks its first occurrence in the sub corpus-examining the Western Balkans/Turkey documents produced and published within the 2005-09 period. In the same chapter, the political criteria have additionally been referred to as the Copenhagen political criteria. Then again, the Copenhagen criteria document of 1993 addresses the political criteria in a single context in which the political and economic criteria for assuming membership obligations are being tackled indistinctly (see Chapter 5). In the second corpus, the word cluster political criteria is a c-cluster, with over 60 occurrences of which mostly as a title of a sub-division of the Progress Reports, making reference to that sub-division or collocating with Copenhagen (see Chapter 6). In the third corpus *Utrinski*, the cluster occurs 32 times in 17 newspaper articles within the 2005 until 2008 period, marking no occurrences in the 2009 articles. In 18 out of the total of 32 employments, the political criteria have been assessed as unsatisfactory, insufficient or deficient or have been subjected to negative remarks hence forming the clusters *the country/Macedonia does not fulfill the political criteria, lack in fulfilling*

the political criteria, unfulfilling of the political criteria, unsatisfactory fulfillment of the political criteria.

Furthermore, the ‘most important area for the Union’ has been given a *big minus* on the part of the European Commission as reported by the *Utrinski vesnik*’s article deriving from October 2007 and presented in Table of concordances 7.44:

7.44 Table of concordances: Political criteria a.

*the European Commission, the biggest minuses have been given to the area that is the most important for the Union, i.e. the **political criteria** and without a date for negotiations for membership*

The political criteria has been assessed as *poor* in the November 2007 article:

7.45 Table of concordances: Political criteria b.

*The poor assessment of the **political criteria** coloured the EU Report. What is requested from Macedonia is to implement what has been adopted such as the Laws or*

The *negative remarks*, which concerned mostly the political criteria portion of the report, remained present in the Progress Report published within a one year period, i.e. in November 2008 the following year as evident from the example illustrated in Table of concordances 7.46 below:

7.46 Table of concordances: Political criteria c.

*The negative remarks, as Gruevski stated, are generally in the **political criteria** part and especially in reference to the elections, the political dialogue and in the part of the public administration – November 2008*

Moreover, the political criteria have been addressed in reference to the omnipresent issue on the date for commencing the accession negotiations.

One of the rare occasions when the political criteria have been placed in a more positive connotation is listed below:

7.47 Table of concordances: Political criteria d.

*And the EU greets the significant progress of Macedonia in fulfilling the **political criteria** and the SAA, and the future steps shall be taken into consideration in the light of*

However, the example in Table of concordances 7.47 derives from the earlier years of the country's development towards the Union, i.e. from November 2005.

Other than the direct appraisal of the progress that Macedonia has made in reference to fulfilling the political criteria, the word cluster occurs once, in an article from 2007, bearing the importance of the political criteria in the accession process itself:

7.48 Table of concordances: Political criteria e.

*inner political issues. What is necessary in order to approach the EU is the fulfilling of the **political criteria**, but there are others as well, it's not only them. In all areas we want*

As per the importance of fulfilling the criteria for membership, an article from 2008 conveys the statement of the Commissioner for Enlargement, Olli Rehn, on the significance of the *Copenhagen criteria* as showed in Table 7.49 here:

7.49 Table of concordances: Political criteria f.

*However, I followed the last happenings with concern. The fulfilment of the **Copenhagen criteria** is the basic condition in the Euro integration so that is why I am addressing the Government to ensure*

The *Copenhagen criteria* or the *criteria from Copenhagen* word clusters occur 25 times in 19 articles published within the 2005 – 2009 time framework, exploring the relation between the Copenhagen criteria and the name issue, the Copenhagen criteria and the integration process, the Copenhagen criteria and the political criteria, as well as simply stating the necessity for their fulfilment as a major pillar in the accession process.

The trend in 'numbering' the criteria or conditions, as was the case with the third corpus *Dnevnik* (see the 5th terminological domain above), seems to persist in the third corpus *Utrinski*. This 'numeration' progresses in two directions. As shown in Table 7.50 below, on one hand there are three Copenhagen criteria that have been increased with the fourth one, i.e. the *absorption capacity*:

7.50 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria

*a. Of course, starting from the essence of the economic (the second) criterion from the three so called **Copenhagen criteria** that every country ought to fulfil in order to become a member – November 2007*

*b. planned for the middle of June. It is a general approach that the absorption capacity is the fourth **Copenhagen criterion**, stated an official EU representative – May 2006*

As a simple illustration, the economic criterion referred to above as the second Copenhagen criteria, in an October 2009 article has been addressed as the third basic European principle:

7.51 Table of concordances: Third basic European principle

*push our European agenda. The **third basic European principle**, functioning market economy, implies that the market mechanism of offer and demand should function in liberal conditions*

On the other hand, in reference to the eight conditions that have been added a new one, i.e. the elections as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.52. Namely, an article from September 2008 reports the statement of the Commissioner Rehn that he will make an effort for the country to receive a completely objective report:

7.52 Table of concordances: Eight conditions/Ninth

*in reference to the fulfilling of the **eight conditions** that were given to us and the elections as a **ninth**. “There is some progress in certain areas, such as the judicial reforms – September 2008*

In November 2008, the newspaper conveys the statement of the EU Ambassador:

7.53 Table of concordances: Ninth criterion

*Fouere said that the country shall have the possibility to confirm the capacity of holding regular elections, as a **ninth criterion**, because of which the country now failed the exam in front of the European partners – November 2008*

The above examples refer to the eight benchmarks or key priorities given to the country in the 2007 Progress Report that have been marked as conditions or even criteria by the newspapers. Moreover, they have been addressed in the examples provided in Table of concordances 7.54 below as conditions in the articles that originate from 2008, in certain applications correlated

with the date for negotiations, and in others as something that the country ought to accomplish or that will be used in assessing the progress in fulfilling parts of the conditions:

7.54 Table of concordances: Eight (old-new) conditions

*a. Rehn is completely clear on that, and he does not hide the fact that the realisation of the **eight old-new conditions** is completely unimportant in receiving a date for negotiations – March 2008*

*b. still, significant further efforts are needed in order for us to scratch **all eight conditions**. We hope that the Government will get their hands on the other challenges and – September 2008*

*c. negotiations date. Progress has been made, but it is not sufficient in order to scratch **all eight conditions** – said EU. Brussels – the European Union still does not see Macedonia as a true European country September 2008*

*d. the position of the European Commission is crystal clear on this. “We have defined **eight conditions** and there is some progress in some of them. We completely give you credit for that. But for us it came as a total surprise the irregularities – statement by Rehn, November 2008*

An article from May 2006 entitled “The absorption capacity, new criterion for EU membership”, foretells the fear of the Union’s capacity to absorb new members:

7.55 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity a.

*accepting new members, officials stated yesterday. Unclearly defined **absorption capacity** became a signal for the current EU members, leaving space for excuses*

Going further in the numeration of the conditions, and in reference to the *absorption capacity* word cluster, an article written three years later in March 2009 reiterates this dread about the absorption capacity of the Union:

7.56 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity b.

*the enlargements are to depend on **two criteria**. The first one is that the candidate countries for EU should **fulfil the conditions**, and the second one is that the Union is prepared to receive new members, i.e. to have **absorption capacity** to further enlarge.*

The absorption i.e. integration capacity shall be further explored in the chronological examination i.e. in the second part of this chapter.

Many of the remaining clusters of this domain examine the results published in the Progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia in terms of the reforms made in *the public administration, fight against corruption, functioning market economy, judicial reforms, political stability, police*

reforms and the developments made in reference to the above and other areas shall be examined more in-depth later in this chapter.

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

(THE) REPORT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC) ON THE PROGRESS - 51
(THE) PROGRESS OF MACEDONIA IN – 22
(THE) PROGRESS OF THIS COUNTRY – 10
STATES THE REPORT – 8
PART OF THE REPORT – 7
IN THE REPORT OF THE EC - 5

The Report of the European Commission (EC) on the progress, the progress of Macedonia (of this country), the EC Report, and part of the report word clusters collocate with the words *finalizing, read, remarks, mentioned*. The word clusters of this domain have been set in the general environment of the publication of the report in that they announce that the report is to be published or in reference to a certain aspect or area of the progress report.

The 6th terminological domain including the word clusters that carry the elements of the progress Reports on the Republic of Macedonia brings no surprises, taking into consideration the topic that the newspaper articles of the third corpus *Utrinski* cover.

7 Domain: Agreements

THE OHRID (FRAMEWORK) AGREEMENT – 26
THE STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 7

The two word clusters under the 7th domain of the third corpus *Utrinski* are identical with the ones contained under the same domain of the third corpus *Dnevnik*. Similarly to its occurrences in Chapter 6, *the Ohrid (Framework) Agreement*, is a c-cluster in the corpus subjected to analysis here. It occurs in 17 articles published within the 2005 – 2009 period, thus highlighting the importance of the Agreement's *implementation, objectives, fulfilling* in the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia. Unlike the situation in the third corpus *Dnevnik* (see above), in the third corpus *Utrinski* the Ohrid Agreement collocates with *the spirit of* in four cases illustrated in Table of concordances 7.57 below:

7.57 Table of concordances: Spirit of the Ohrid Agreement

a. *the Report contains, generally the multiethnic relations are improved, but the **spirit of the Ohrid Agreement** should be constantly supported through consensus and preparation -October 2007*

b. *should continue with the reforms and their implementation. Multiethnic relations – **The spirit of the Ohrid Agreement** should be consistently upheld through a consensual approach and preparations – November 2007*

c. *about the political criteria. The recommendation on the multiethnic relations states that the **spirit of the Ohrid Agreement** should be consistently upheld “through consensual approach and preparations – November 2007*

d. *What is also required from Macedonia is deepening of the multiethnic relations and respect of the **spirit of the Ohrid Agreement**, as well as annulment of the Agreement with the USA – February 2008*

The above illustrations derive from three different articles published around the publication of the Progress Reports on Macedonia by the EC and in a period of one year. The articles elaborate on the findings of the Reports. In the 2007 Progress Report the Ohrid Agreement has been called upon four times, out of which two times in reference to its implementation i.e. collocating with the word *implementation*, once characterized as a *crucial guarantee* on the ethnic communities rights and once stating that the *spirit of the Ohrid Framework Agreement* needs to be “upheld consistently”. In the 2008 Progress Report mentions of the *Agreement* occur seven times, four times collocating with its *implementation*, once with its *basic principle*, once with its *limits* and once in a statement on its *crucial guarantee* of the rights of the ethnic communities, as had been the case with the 2007 Progress Report, has been repeated identically. In a 2008 Progress Report the *spirit of the Ohrid Agreement* does not appear; however, the article from 2008 replicates the statement from 2007 regardless of the fact that the Progress Report does not contain a provision of that kind.

The second word cluster of this domain, *the Stabilisation and Association Agreement* occurs seven times in five articles from 2005, 2007 and 2008. There are no surprises in its collocations, i.e. the necessity for its *implementation* and the *responsibilities* that ought to be assumed.

8 Domain: Other

THE NAME ISSUE – 54

(RECEIVED/GAVE) (THE) CANDIDATE STATUS (TO MACEDONIA) – 46

THE NAME ISSUE WITH GREECE – 29

(TO FIND) SOLUTION TO THE NAME ISSUE – 12

MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION – 6

THE EU SUMMIT – 5

THE NAME OF THE STATE – 5

Based on the above-listed word clusters of the 8th terminological domain marked as Other, it is rather discernable that the ubiquitous matter of the *name issue*, present throughout the entire third corpus *Utrinski*, as well as the third corpus *Dnevnik* for that matter, prevails the articles subjected to close examination in this corpus. The *name issue* is additionally directly or indirectly associated with many of the word clusters of the remaining seven terminological domains, particularly to the negotiations date which, as examined above, impose as yet another major concern of the newspaper articles that report the accession process happenings. The key word, related to the name (see Chapter 6 for the problem between Macedonia and Greece) i.e. *issue*, occurs 65 times in 33 articles of the corpus written between 2006 and 2009. The key word *the name* occurs 102 times in 39 articles published within the 2005 – 2009 period. Together, the two key words form the word clusters: *name issue*, *name issue with Greece*, *find solution to the name issue*. Bearing in mind the frequency of occurrence of both the key words and the clusters that they generate, this issue has been addressed in different manners and by different representative, or the European Union, or the newspaper itself:

Namely, an article from July 2007 entitled “Brussels delivered us requirements and encouragements” describes the requirements imposed by the EU as ‘hinted at’ by the Portuguese European Affairs Minister:

7.58 Table of concordances: Name issue a.

*the European Union asks from Macedonia to find a solution to the **name issue** with Greece, and this attitude, that used to be just a phrase in the Brussels documents now gets a real political weight*

The Brussels documents, i.e. the Progress Reports and related documents, have been explored in Chapter 6. The name issue in the second has been addressed in context either reiterating the fact that the issue is still on-going or in contexts urging the two countries to solve it.

A newspaper article from June 2008 conveys the ‘message’ from the French President Sarkozy that Macedonia ought to find a compromise solution to the name issue. The article was named “Macedonia got a Veto from EU as well” and a subtitle: “Sarkozy is sending us a message to love Greece and find a compromise on the name issue”:

7.59 Table of concordances: (Solution to the) Name issue b.

*Sarkozy sent us a message to theatrically love Greece, with a previous assessment that the position of Greece should be taken into consideration and to find a compromise **solution to the name issue** of Macedonia that he called Skopje.*

The same article informs about the condition posed by the EU on the country as shown in Table of concordances 7.60 below:

7.60 Table of concordances: (Solution over the) Name issue c.

*The European Union conditioned the progress of Macedonia towards membership with a **solution over the name issue** of the state, with a famous announcement that if the issue is solved and if all conditions are fulfilled, a step forward is possible at the end of this year*

In July 2008, the Macedonian Foreign Minister at the time, Antonio Miloshoski, addressed the issue as a bilateral problem and, as illustrated in Table 7.61, saw it as an additional burden to the established Copenhagen criteria:

7.61 Table of concordances: Name issue d./Bilateral issues

*“It is our job and we will contribute in solving this problem with our own efforts”, by pointing out that it is being used as an instrument in hiding some **bilateral issues**. ”That is why it must not be a rule in making the situation harder. EU must protect its credibility by preventing this type of imposing not to become an additional burden to the Copenhagen criteria”*

Another article from November 2008, “Rehn left us empty-handed”, reports the statement of the Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn in which the name issue is detached from the negotiations package but he encourages both sides to solve it:

7.62 Table of concordances: Name issue e.

*free, fair elections according to the international standards”, stated Rehn, and added that the **name issue** is detached and is not a part of the negotiation package, however, he urges*

On the name issue topic, yet another article from November 2008, “Both the government and the opposition are responsible for the Report from the EC”, conveys the statement of yet another EU representative, Fouere, the EU Ambassador in Macedonia. This is shown in Table of concordances 7.63:

7.63 Table of concordances: Name issue f.

*Fouere, who several times yesterday in front of the media accentuated on the objectivity and non-prejudice of the Commission from possible double standards in assessing our country and the **name issue**, said that “things cannot be clearer”.*

In July 2009, in an article named: Macedonia needs a reform sprint in order to get a date, Rehn stated that:

7.64 Table of concordances: Name issue g.

*there is no connection between the possibility to start the accession negotiations and the **name issue**. “That is a bilateral issue”, said Rehn, still, he added that the decision to start the negotiations must be unanimously reached by the member states*

The *mutually acceptable solution* word cluster occurs in six articles between 2008 and 2009. In its occurrences it collocates with *to find(ing) (fair)* in the cluster *to find(ing) (fair) mutually acceptable solution* as illustrated in the several examples in Table 7.65 below:

7.65 Table of concordances: Find(ing) a mutually acceptable solution

- a. in order not to have a negative influence on the mutual relations with the recommendation to **find a mutually acceptable solution** within the negotiations under UN*
- b. maintaining good neighbourly relations, including that the negotiations for **finding a mutually acceptable solution** with Greece on the name issue remain key*
- c. with a discouraging message to half of the participants – a **mutually acceptable solution** to the name issue must be found*

The issue over the name which is legitimately absent from the first corpus, i.e. Chapter 5, bearing in mind the nature of the documents analysed, and tackled in Chapter 6, predominates the third corpus *Utrinski* as a herald of the major fixation, even frustration on the part of all domestic parties involved in the accession process, as clearly conveyed by the newspaper and as deciphered from the vast frequency of application. The controversy in addressing this issue, the statements given on the matter by the official EU representatives, as well as particular leaders of EU countries, and the discrepancy in the manner in which this subject is treated in the official documents on the progress of the Republic of Macedonia in the accession process, leaves wide

open space for interpretation, confusion, or even aggravation by the final end party on this topic, i.e. the readership, consequently the people of the Republic of Macedonia.

The *candidate status* is a constant word cluster collocating with *receive*, highlighting the fact that the country was granted a status of a candidate country in 2005, or is set in the all present concern that even though the country is a candidate state, still Macedonia has not started the accession negotiations, which is apparently, as conveyed in an article from October 2009, and as shown in Table of concordances 7.66, was a big disappointment for the citizens:

7.66 Table of concordances: Candidate status

start of negotiations – we have done nothing. Macedonia is about to enter the fifth year of candidate status without started negotiations which shall be a huge disappointment for all

The examination of the key terminology and its ‘conduct’ in the overall corpora of the two Macedonian newspapers, *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*, has shown a vast similarity in the key words and the respective word clusters, as well as terminological domains that they generated. In both of the corpora one of the most significant issues at hand was not only the lack of date for starting the negotiations, thus placing the words *date* and *negotiations* among the top of the key words tables in both of the corpora, but also its related ‘matter’ i.e. the name issue that the country has with its southern neighbour, leading to positioning of the key words *the name, the issue, Greece, solution* among the most frequent along with the already established enlargement terminology (as compared to the findings from Chapters 5 and 6). Some of the distinctness in regards to the key words of the two corpora lie in the more specific approach to the examination of particular areas of the progress made by the country, such as the reforms which the country has made in the area of *Public administration* in the *Utrinski vesnik* corpus as opposed to their absence in the *Dnevnik* corpus, as well as the economic aspect represented in the occurrence of the key words *market, the economic* in *Utrinski*, which are not present among the most frequent key words in the *Dnevnik* corpus. Another difference can be discerned in the occurrence of the word *opposition* in *Utrinski* corpus, and its lacking in the *Dnevnik* corpus. This is partially due to the dispute between the Government and the opposition at the time (see above) for which they were reprimanded by the Commission, and partially due to the leanings of the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper more towards the opposition.

These, and some additional similarities, as well as differences in the manner of conduct of the key terminology, shall be further examined in the analyses to follow in this chapter.

7.4.1. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Dnevnik* – 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*

The first sub-corpus (henceforth 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*) that shall be subjected to a closer inspection in this second part of the analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik*, investigating the chronological development of the enlargement or accession terminology as applied by the Macedonian daily newspaper *Dnevnik*, contains a total of eight newspaper articles published during a one year period (2005). Bearing in mind that in 2005 the Republic of Macedonia was granted the status of a candidate county, the major topics elaborated upon in the articles, and for that matter the key words listed in Table 2a below, come as no surprise.

The 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* generated a word list of total of 4,400 words. Once compared to a word list of random newspaper articles it generated a total of 18 key words, and other than the one preposition, the remaining 17 words have been listed below, in English, ordered by frequency:

Table 2a: Key words of the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EU	57	32	199,20	10	ENLARGEMENT	11	8	35,16
2	MACEDONIA	48	240	34,73	11	CRITERIA	10	5	36,07
3	MEMBERSHIP	22	8	86,22	12	CANDIDATE	7	0	38,14
4	THE ENLARGEMENT	16	2	74,92	13	THE OPINION	7	2	28,88
5	BRUSSELS	16	8	57,74	14	NEGOTIATIONS	7	3	26,33
6	COUNTRY	16	42	24,57	15	THE ECONOMIC	6	1	27,08
7	STATUS	14	3	60,86	16	DOUSTE-BLAZY	5	0	27,24
8	THE BALKANS	13	7	45,90	17	PRODI	5	0	27,24
9	EC	11	5	40,75					

Even though the number of key words in this sub-corpus is rather limited, the words listed above do maintain different aspects of the accession process of the country. Namely, the most frequent word clusters, *EU*, *Balkans*, *country* and *Macedonia* portray the countries or regions involved in the accession process and the key word *EC* represents the institutions involved. *Brussels*,

Douste-Blazy and *Prodi* carry the parties or actors involved in the 2005 sub-corpus A. The enlargement and elements of the process are depicted by the words (*the*) *enlargement*, *membership*, *negotiations* and the notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives are being represented by the words: *criteria*, *economic*, *opinion*, *candidate* and *status*.

With the exception of the proper nouns, e.g. Philippe *Douste-Blazy*, the French Foreign Minister at the time and Romano *Prodi*, Prime Minister of Italy at the time and the tenth President of the European Commission, most of the remaining key words from the selection of eight articles were also present in key words table of the entire third corpus *Dnevnik* (see above).

The small number of key words generated a very limited amount of word clusters some of which with a very low rate of frequency. For reasons of clarity, they have been categorized under the following terminological domains:

1 Domain: Countries or regions involved

OUR COUNTRY - 6

2 Domain: Institutions involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC) - 15

3 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

EU ENLARGEMENT – 5

NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP - 5

4 Domain: Requirements

COPENHAGEN CRITERIA - 4

5 Domain: Other

CANDIDATE STATUS - 7

The 54 occurrences of the key word *EU* in seven newspaper articles of the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* generated a single word cluster *EU enlargement* listed under the enlargement and elements of the process terminological domain above. As can be perceived from the examples illustrated in Table of concordances 7.67 below, in 2005 the enlargement of the Union, in the Macedonian newspaper *Dnevnik* bore a somewhat universal dimension in clarifying the importance of the process itself on one hand, as well as conveying the ‘fear’ of a halting in the

future enlargements due to issues that rose within the Union itself upon the disagreements of France and Netherland on the EU Constitution at the time, on the other:

7.67 Table of concordances: EU enlargement

*a. The enlargement bears the quality of pushing forwards. In that sense, the **EU enlargement** is a tool that catalyses processes and speeds them up*

*b. A while ago a European citizen and a citizen of the country (both very well informed about EU matters) sophisticatedly debated on what a **EU enlargement** is. Once they both agreed that it is an important and successful process*

*c. the decisions of the politicians. No matter all, Europe survived, only the **EU enlargement** stopped and some of the European projects are going to stop as well.*

*d. The former Prime Minister of Romania Adrian Nastase pointed out that the **EU enlargement** is necessary and must continue because it means unification of*

As can be discerned, the enlargement process in 2005 had not been case specific, i.e. had not been directly in proportion to the accession of the Republic of Macedonia. This can be further supported by the following example rendering that the concept of the Union itself, partially its institutions and the road towards accession, was still quite vague in 2005:

7.68 Table of concordances: EC/EU

*To put it shortly, **EC** will confirm what the citizens feel, **our country** belongs to Europe but to get there new and new reforms await us. The **EC's** opinion will help us to get a ticket for **EU** with a specific instructions manual.*

The only word cluster under the countries or regions involved terminological domain, used in the example above as well, i.e. *our country*, was applied as a synonym for the Republic of Macedonia in all six occurrences, in a rather journalistic manner highlighting the significance that the candidate status has for the people:

7.69 Table of concordances: Our country

*The European Commission, within the next several months, is going to prepare an opinion on the capability of **our country** to start the negotiations for membership. With this, after Croatia, Macedonia will be the second Balkan country to enter the accession process.*

As shown in Table of concordances 7.70, the second word cluster of the 3rd terminological domain above, *negotiations for membership*, which bore a constant presence in the general

overview of the third corpus *Dnevnik* (see above), occurs in the same environment with the word cluster *candidate status* of the 5th terminological domain:

7.70 Table of concordances; Negotiations for membership/Candidate status

a. *enlargements and to find mutual rules of the game before we start thinking about the negotiations for membership. That is the only way in which a common consensus can be reached*

b. *with the Council of ministers, that ought to decide upon the possibilities to start the negotiations for membership. The phases that follow depend on the conclusion of the Council*

c. *In the following months the European Commission will prepare an opinion on the capability of our country to start the negotiations for membership. With this, Macedonia after Croatia, is the second Balkan country that*

d. *it is being presupposed that at the end the EC will recommend a candidate status for Macedonia but no negotiations for membership. The light for Macedonia will be neither red nor green but orange*

e. *the Macedonian society, ought to receive candidate status. But, the negotiations for membership are going to be talked about at the end of 2006, when as Brussels hopes, we will be able to show that*

However, unlike the common aura encircling the negotiations concept in the entire third corpus *Dnevnik* analysis, bearing a notion of a major concern for the country's progress towards membership, in the 2005 articles, the environment in which the negotiations for membership occur follow a pattern, i.e. they result as a consequent part of the accession process once the country received a candidate status. Furthermore, upon the presupposed granting of a status of a candidate country, the newspaper perceived the situation as neither "red light", nor "green light", but "orange" as illustrated in the example d. above, bearing the allegory of a traffic light.

The candidate status that was eventually granted to the county in 2005 in the examples to follow is clearly detached from the date for negotiations. This fact has been highlighted on several occasions as can be detected from the above examples as well as in the ones illustrated in Table of concordances 7.71:

7.71 Table of concordances: Starting the negotiations/Candidate status

a. *the future European chairman to find a suitable formulation by which the granting of the candidate status for Macedonia will be separated from starting the negotiations for membership*

b. *Europe is asking for a compromise for Macedonia. A candidate status now, negotiations sometimes (in the future).*

In the newspaper articles of 2005, the Copenhagen criteria, also referred to as the *necessary, strict, economic, political*, as well as the *three criteria* have been given a 'revered' dimension of

what ought to be done in order to become a part of the European club, as conveyed in the example e. in Table of concordances 7.72 below, additionally to the necessity of making the society politically decent as communicated in example b. or to the human dimension as expressed in example c.:

7.72 Table of concordances: Necessary/Copenhagen/Strict/Three criteria

- a. all the Western Balkans countries are going to go to EU but once they fulfill the **necessary criteria**, according to the message that the chief of the Delegation of the European Commission sent*
- b. Macedonia is at the doorstep to become European country. But that does not imply only the **Copenhagen criteria** – that, if you please, means that we need to make our society politically decent*
- c. and speeds them up and at the same time the essence that has not been written in the **Copenhagen criteria**, and that is the human dimension of behavior in a community*
- d. the enlargement is no pseudo-process that requires fulfillment of the **Copenhagen criteria** only, but that the countries that come to the EU should have adopted civil*
- e. to tell its wishes, but above all we must fulfill the tasks and the **strict criteria** of Europe which does not want to have problems in its club.*
- f. a several members team that takes care of Macedonia exclusively, starts from the **three criteria** for EU membership that were defined in 1993 by the chiefs of the European states and governments in Copenhagen*

The above illustrations further imply that in 2005, the concept of the European Union, the EU membership and the prerequisites to become part of the Union had been of an unfamiliar nature and had been treated as an issue that ought to be brought closer to the people.

In the spirit of yet another focus of the newspaper in the general analysis of the *Dnevnik* articles, the key words *name issue*, *Greece*, *solution* do not bear any appearances in the eight articles of the 2005 sub-corpus as opposed to the presence of these key words in both the key words table of the entire third corpus *Dnevnik* and in the vast number of collocations, i.e. word clusters that the above words generated. This further entails that the above issues, that are to enter the spotlight in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia later on, in 2005 had not been a matter of question.

7.4.2. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper Dnevnik – 2006 sub-corpus Dnevnik

Eight newspaper articles published in the daily newspaper *Dnevnik* comprise the second sub-corpus of the third corpus *Dnevnik* (henceforth 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*). The 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* consists of a total of 3.954 words and once compared to a random articles word list it

generated 22 key words. Excluding the occurrence of one preposition among the most frequent key words, the remaining 21 words, in order of their frequency of application, have been listed in Table 3a below in English language:

Table 3a: Key words of the 2006 sub-corpus Dnevnik as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EU	67	32	258,71	12	DOCUMENT	9	1	44,47
2	MACEDONIA	44	240	33,17	13	MEMBERSHIP	8	8	23,99
3	THE REFORMS	15	0	84,76	14	COOPERATION	8	7	25,32
4	GREECE	14	36	24,21	15	ROMANIA	6	1	28,27
5	THE BALKANS	14	7	53,23	16	THE STRATEGIC	5	0	28,24
6	THE EUROPEAN	13	26	26,98	17	STABILISATION	5	0	28,24
7	BRUSSELS	13	8	46,52	18	THE PROGRESS	5	0	28,24
8	THE ENLARGEMENT	12	2	56,56	19	THE BALKAN (countries)	5	0	28,24
9	NEGOTIATIONS	11	3	47,97	20	THE CONCLUSIONS	5	0	28,24
10	EC	10	5	38,01	21	LEHTOMAKI	5	0	28,24
11	THE PROCESS	9	7	29,77					

The similarities between the key words of the two sub-corpora can be depicted in some of the words that represent the countries and regions involved in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. *EU*, *Macedonia*, *European* and *the Balkan(s)* strengthened by the newly introduced words *Greece* and *Romania*, as well as in the institutions involved embodied by the single word *EC* (an abbreviation of the European Commission). The parties or actors involved in the 2006 sub-corpus Dnevnik are being carried by the words *Brussels* and *Lehtomaki* (Paula Lehtomaki, Minister of Trade and Development of Finland at the time). The enlargement and the elements of the process of the 2006 sub-corpus bear similarities with the ones of 2005 in the key words *the enlargement*, *document* and *negotiations* and differ in the newly introduced: *the process* and *Stabilization*. The key words *membership*, *reforms*, *cooperation* refer to the notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives and the words *the progress*, *the conclusions* carry the elements of the Progress Report that had been published on the development that the Republic of Macedonia had made on its path towards the Union for the first time in 2006.

Apart from the proper nouns, most of the key words listed under Table 3a above have also been listed in the key words table of the entire third corpus *Dnevnik*.

Once more, due to the small number of key words, the number of word clusters that they generated, some of which with a frequency of less than 5 times, is quite narrow and have been classified under the following three terminological domains:

1 Domain: Countries or regions involved

THE BALKAN COUNTRIES/STATES – 5

BULGARIA AND ROMANIA - 4

2 Domain: Institutions involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION - 6

3 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(THE) STRATEGIC DOCUMENT – 6

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION – 5

COUNCIL FOR STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION – 5

(THE) DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 4

The newly introduced key word *document* in six of its occurrences collocates with the word *strategic* thus forming the word cluster *(the) strategic document*. In an additional three occurrences it collocates in the cluster *this document* again referencing the strategic document, i.e. the “Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006-2007” document published on November 8, 2006 (see Chapter 5). In the first corpus, the enlargement strategy had been introduced for the first time in the 2005 – 2009 sub-corpus dealing with papers produced for the Western Balkans countries and Turkey. In the second corpus, the strategy had mostly been referenced as a collocation to the word enlargement (see Chapter 6) and referencing the documents titled so. In the eight newspaper articles of 2006 analyzed here, the document has been rewarded with a higher significance. Primarily, this document has been produced shortly before the fifth enlargement of the Union with the entry of Bulgaria and Romania on January 1, 2007, along with the issuance of a document of the EU’s capacity to integrate new members by the European Commission. The former President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso stated during his Pre-European Council Press Conference on June 19, 2007 that before any further enlargements happen, the member states “need to show that a Union of 27 can work and take decisions”, as well as that “enlargement is not an obstacle but a success” (see Archive

of European Integration, 2015). Furthermore, the Commissioner on Enlargement, Olli Rehn, stated that the enlargement has been “the most powerful policy tool to extend the zone of peace, liberty and prosperity and to project Europe’s values and interests in the world” (see Archive of European Integration, 2015) and that in order to keep its promises and continue with its enlargement agenda, the EU needs to reform itself institutionally.

In the articles of 2006, the general setting of the occurrences of the word cluster(s) reflects upon a general excitement and anticipation of the strategic document which is going to: “specify whether the countries might determine their membership dates by themselves”, “specify that the Union will not enlarge within the three to five years to follow”, “specify that apart from Macedonia and Croatia the other Balkan countries’ European perspective follows in five to seven years” as reflected in the seven examples in Table of concordances 7.73 below, conveying the contexts of application of the word cluster(s) in the 2006 newspaper articles analyzed here:

7.73 Table of concordances: Strategic/This document

*a. we await 8th November intensely. On that day the Commission is going to submit the **strategic document** for enlargement of the EU – and will publish the reports on the progress of*

*b. that could simultaneously enter the EU – states the document. The **strategic document** of the EU will specify today whether it might not be bad if the countries determine by themselves dates for memberships*

*c. EU will not enlarge within the next three to five years, specifies the EC **strategic document** which will be published tomorrow at the same time with the reports from Brussels*

*d. five to seven years if the reforms progress in the requested rhythm. The **strategic document** that of the European Commission (EC) which will be published today in Brussels*

*e. The **strategic document**. The reforms will lead/enter Macedonia in EU. With the **strategic document** the European Perspective of Croatia and Macedonia becomes feasible*

*f. higher integration step from its Balkan neighbours. Their European perspective after **this document** becomes middle term and feasible within the next five to seven years.*

*g. **This document** is of an exceptional significance because it defines the enlargement policy of the EU and is a text that will be the basis for the conclusions that will be drawn on this topic by the EU leaders*

Upon a closer examination of the aforementioned document, it can be depicted that no time framework for future enlargements or accession of the Balkan countries has been provided whatsoever. In the manner of “providing” a time outline for membership, the only provision contained in the document reads as follows:

7.74 Table of concordances: Strategy/Conditions

The present enlargement agenda is based on a strategy consisting of three basic principles: consolidation, conditionality and communication. It covers countries in the Western Balkans and Turkey which are at different stages on the road towards the EU. These countries have been given by the European Council the clear perspective of becoming EU members once they fulfill the necessary conditions.

As discernable from the above statement, the countries ought to fulfil the conditions necessary and they are at different stages on their path towards the Union.

Furthermore, the second example above, which states that the strategic document of the EU will specify whether it might not be a bad idea for the countries to determine their own date for membership, derives from an article, “The EC will publish the strategic document”, published on November 7, 2006. The actual document upon which this statement is based contains the following provision:

7.75 Table of concordances: Dates/Progress

While countries may wish to set their own target dates for accession in order to steer their reform efforts, the EU should refrain from setting such dates until accession negotiations are close to completion. The principle should be maintained that the date for the completion of accession negotiations will depend on the progress made by the country itself.

Additionally, upon the statement conveyed in example e. in Table of concordances 7.73 above, which derives from the same article published November 7, 2006, that with the “strategic document the European perspective for Croatia and Macedonia becomes feasible” and that “the reforms will lead/enter Macedonia into the Union”, and upon an examination of the Enlargement Strategy document of 2006, Macedonia has been addressed on four occasions, once stating the fact that the country got granted a status of candidate in 2005, once in terms of the post-conflict reconstruction, once in terms of introduction of diagonal cumulation of rules and once in reference to regional trade and investment. None of the contexts of occurrences of Macedonia leads to the above postulation as expressed in example e. above.

The most frequent word cluster of the countries or regions involved terminological domain, *the Balkan states/countries*, bears a European perspective for the region environment as the region in line to be integrated in the Union:

7.76 Table of concordances: The Balkan countries

*a. European perspective and that the conditionality will be strict but will also help **the Balkan countries** in the reforms.*

*b. and the main challenges 2006-2007“ date for memberships of **the Balkan countries** are not mentioned but it is confirmed that the EU will not step away from the application of the individual approach.*

*c. By this, the EC refutes the speculations that **the Balkans countries** will all become members together and that the joining of Macedonia will have to happen together with*

*d. for increase of the regional property and to allow **the Balkan countries** to co-ordinately deal with the problems which are a mutual concern*

*e. programme of 670 million dollars and whose objective is improvement of the economic development of the **Balkan states**, neighbours of Greece. Many of the problems with which **the Balkan countries** are facing*

The *Bulgaria and Romania* word cluster of the same domain refers to the anticipated membership of the two countries at the time.

The *date for negotiations* word cluster which has been a major issue in the overall analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik*, in 2006 newspaper articles had been treated merely as a matter of interest and a consequential result from the progress that the country has made, as shown in the Table of concordances 7.77 here:

7.77 Table of concordances: Date for (accession) negotiations

*a. Stabilisation and Association Macedonia may be in a position to talk about a **date for negotiations**. He pointed out that the Ohrid Agreement is a Macedonian determination and is a milestone of our multi-ethnic democracy that works (the newspaper conveys the statement of the Macedonian Foreign Minister at the time, Antonio Miloshoski)*

*b. EC follows the evolution of the country and may give a proposition for **date for negotiations** earlier if it assesses that a sufficient progress has been made) said Lehtomaki*

*c. A quick progress in the reforms may bring a **date for accession negotiations** to Macedonia even before the next Report of the European Commission*

In reference to the question that is to be of greater importance later in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia, the words *name* and *issue* do not occur at all in the 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*. The application of the word Greece in none of its occurrences bears a context referencing the name issue among the two countries but has been simply mentioned as a member state of the Union.

7.4.3. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper Dnevnik – 2007 sub-corpus Dnevnik

The third sub-corpus of the third corpus *Dnevnik* (henceforth 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*) consists of a considerably larger number of articles, as compared to the previous two sub-corpora. The 19 newspaper articles published during 2007 build a body of total of 11,154 words, which further generated a total of 55 key words. Once the key words list had been cleaned of repetitive words and prepositions, the remaining 43 words, in order of their frequency of application, have been presented in the English language in Table 4a below:

Table 4a: Key words of the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EU	132	32	348,60	23	CRITERIA	15	5	35,84
2	MACEDONIA	106	240	53,13	24	SLOVENIA	15	4	38,45
3	BRUSSELS	55	8	162,71	25	BECOME MEMBER	15	0	56,70
4	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	52	3	174,39	26	OLLI	15	0	56,70
5	OUGHT TO	46	90	29,35	27	START	14	9	25,07
6	(THE) EUROPEAN	39	26	68,49	28	PRESIDENCY	14	0	52,92
7	TOWARDS	37	57	32,52	29	THE SLOVENIAN	13	0	49,13
8	EC	35	5	103,84	30	NOVEMBER	12	4	28,67
9	(THE) REPORT	33/30	9/5	84,07/86,35	31	THE CORRUPTION	12	3	31,32
10	MEMBERSHIP	32	8	83,58	32	STATUS	12	3	31,32
11	(THE) BALKANS	30	7	79,82	33	JANSA	12	0	45,35
12	REHN	27	0	102,08	34	CROATIA	11	4	25,49
13	THE COUNTRY	25	28	30,37	35	THE FIGHT	10	2	27,64
14	(THE) REFORMS	24/18	6/0	62,67/71,82	36	THE UNION	9	2	24,24
15	(THE) POLITICAL	23	21	32,91	37	CONSENSUS	9	1	27,84
16	AGREEMENT	23	16	39,38	38	CHARTER	9	1	27,84
17	COMMISSION	21	11	41,80	39	THE COMMISSIONER	9	0	34,01
18	(THE) ENLARGEMENT	21	8	47,84	40	PERSPECTIVE	8	1	24,28
19	(THE) PROGRESS	21	0	79,38	41	SENCAR	8	0	30,23
20	DIALOGUE	18	7	40,68	42	THE BALKAN (countries)	7	0	26,45
21	DATE	18	0	68,04	43	MISSIROLI	7	0	26,45
22	EXPECTS	15	8	29,60					

The words that clearly depict on the countries or regions involved in the process of accession, *EU, Macedonia, (the) Balkans, (the) European, the country* additionally strengthened by *the Union* and with the exception of the occasional occurrences of *Slovenia* and *Croatia*, as well as the enlargement and the elements of the process as represented by the key words *(the) negotiations, (the) enlargement, become member, membership* are present in all of the three sub-corpora subjected to in-depth analysis so far, as are the institutions involved as carried by the words *EC* and the *Commission*. Apart from *Brussels*, in the 2007 sub-corpus the parties or actors involved have been further represented by the *Commissioner, Olli, Rehn, Missiroli* (expert on EU and enlargement with the European Political Centre in Brussels at the time), *Jansa* (*Prime Minister of Slovenia at the time*) and *Sencar* (*Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Slovenia to the EU at the time*) and the words *criteria, (the) reforms, (the) political, the fight, the corruption, perspective*, bring the intertwined notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives while *(the) Report, November, (the) progress* entail the elements of the Progress Report, as related to the aspects that have been conveyed by the newspaper in terms of the progress that the country has made on its path towards its final objective, i.e. EU membership and in terms of the month during which the Report gets published, i.e. in November every year.

The key words of the above table generated a slightly larger number of word clusters listed under the following eight terminological domains:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

OLLI REHN – 15

The only word cluster pertaining to the parties or actors involved terminological domain, *Olli Rehn*, has been in-depth explored in the overall analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik* above. As mentioned previously, the position that Rehn held had been ascended to an institutional level, i.e. to an enlargement level due to the post that he held at the time. In 2007, his name had been associated either in direct proportion to the Republic of Macedonia in reference to the date for negotiations or in a more general framework in reference to the Western Balkan countries as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.78 below:

7.78 Table of concordances: Olli Rehn

*a. rules of the game in that area – stated yesterday from Brussels the Commissioner for enlargement, **Olli Rehn**. He added that in this situation it is too soon to tell when the EC would recommend accession negotiations date*

*b. the country may come to date for starting the negotiations for membership in the EU. This time **Olli Rehn** did not want to even mention the word negotiations.*

*c. The reports are exceptionally critical towards all countries, even towards Croatia. The Commissioner **Olli Rehn**, of course, did not shut the door in front of the Balkan's face.*

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

(THE) WESTERN BALKANS – 12

THE BALKAN COUNTRIES - 6

Bearing in mind that (*the*) *Western Balkans* i.e. *the Balkan countries* word clusters of the second terminological domain under the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, other than Turkey, were and are today the last region to be integrated in the Union, the occurrence of the above clusters in the entire third corpus *Dnevnik* is rather anticipated. This is the direction in which the clusters have been applied in the 2007 sub-corpus as well, i.e. in contexts reiterating the European perspective for the region once the countries get prepared and fulfil the necessary conditions, speculating the possible membership of the countries or the starting of their accession negotiations as can be discerned from the several examples in Table of concordances 7.79:

7.79 Table of concordances: Western Balkan(s) countries

*a. we are holding onto the given promises and we are not giving any new ones, and that means that the countries from the **Western Balkans** and Turkey have a clear and feasible European perspective with a clear goal, membership*

*b. The countries from the **Western Balkan** and Turkey will be able to become members of the EU once they fulfil the conditions*

*c. Without an answer from the EU which is coming out from the institutional blockade. – The **Balkan countries** in December next year might be prepared for accession negotiations*

*d. Brussels, that might mean that the doors of the Union will be closed for the **Balkan countries** in the next three to five years*

3 Domain: Institutions involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 21

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 6

The third terminological domain of this sub-corpus enlists two word clusters, *the European Commission's* involvement in the process of accession has already been elaborated in this as in the previous chapters as well and in 2007 the contexts of occurrence of this cluster remain tied to the reports that the Commission publishes or to the decisions and capacities of the institution, furthermore connected to the proposing an accession negotiations date for the Republic of Macedonia.

The newly introduced cluster *the European Parliament* in its six occurrences is tightly linked to the activities, i.e. role of the Commission in the preparation and approval of the Progress Report(s).

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS/NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 24

START/ING OF NEGOTIATIONS – 22

STARTING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 18

DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 12

MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU – 5

OPENING/TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS – 5

Five out of the total of six word clusters that belong to the enlargement and the elements of the process terminological domain deal with the *negotiations* and the *date for starting or opening of the negotiations*. The only cluster that does not contain the words date or negotiations is *membership in the EU* which again in two out of its total of five occurrences emerges in negotiations context and twice in Copenhagen criteria context which shall be further explored under the fifth domain below. The above state further envisages the forthcoming increase in the fixation of the newspaper, as already explored in the entire third corpus *Dnevnik*. This topic was absent in the previously analysed two sub-corpora of 2005 and 2006, despite their size. Namely, in all of its 54 occurrences in total, the word *negotiations* in 2007 collocates either with the date, the opening, starting or preparedness to start the negotiations. The situation with the word *date* is identical, i.e. in all of its 18 occurrences the date has been placed in reference to the starting of the negotiations. The several examples here place the negotiations either in a mode of prediction of their possible commencement as perceivable from example e. in Table of concordances 7.80, interpretation of the statements of the EU Enlargement Commissioner Rehn as in example a. or concluding that the situation in the country at that time moves the negotiations away as in examples c. and d.:

7.80 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations

a. according to the members of Parliament that were present during the meeting, the refusal of Rehn to mention **date for negotiations** is a signal for the displeasure of the Commissioner with the political situation

b. Slovenian chief of diplomacy Rupel, who sent us a message: We expect that Macedonia will **receivedate for negotiations** during the Slovenian presidency with EU, but now that depends on what has been done here

c. Brussels is wondering whether Macedonia will manage to complete all tasks which are being a pass for positive report in the fall and are the only road to receive **date for negotiations for membership**

d. and the state in the country comes as a result from the political events. The chances for **starting the negotiations for membership** in the EU are for the time being very far, but Europe hopes that Macedonia will not destroy its chances

e. and we by ourselves can suppose that EC will not recommend a **date for starting the negotiations** – sais a Brussels diplomat who wishes to remain anonymous

The development of the clusters that involve the negotiations shall be further explored in the two sub-corpora of the third corpus *Dnevnik* to follow.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

(THE ROAD) TOWARDS EU (THE EUROPEAN UNION) – 17

THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 14

FIGHT AGAINST THE CORRUPTION - 8

THE JUDICIAL REFORMS – 7

THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA – 7

THE ECONOMIC REFORMS – 5

THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 5

(THE) POLITICAL CONSENSUS – 5

The most frequent word cluster of the fifth domain of the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, (*the road*) *towards the EU (the European Union)* entails the notion of the shared objective of both Macedonia and the countries of the Western Balkans, namely getting to the end of this road and entering the Union. In most of its occurrences, this word cluster follows statements about the reports on the progress made by Western Balkans countries, further conveying the unsatisfactory impression in that the countries from the region did not fulfill the anticipated expectations, or that the Union drawing from the previous enlargement experiences refuses to assign dates for the further steps of the countries towards the EU in order to avoid past mistakes, as can be depicted from the several examples in Table 7.81:

7.81 Table of concordances: Towards the EU

*a. steps will motivate the Balkan to finally turn more decisively its politics **towards the EU** and to prove to the Europeans that they have nothing to fear*

*b. after the Brussels presentation of the reports. The stagnation of the Balkans on the **road towards the EU** has its own European obstacles. Even though the new reform Agreement of the EU is finally*

*c. the reports of the European Commission (EC) on the progress of our state and the neighbours **towards the EU** did not fulfil the Balkan expectations. The impression is that instead of*

*d. Macedonia in December 2005, the EU refused to give dates for the further steps **towards the EU** and is not resigning that position, especially with the promised membership dates for Bulgaria and Romania which were impossible to*

The *political criteria* and the *Copenhagen criteria* in the 2007 newspaper articles have been applied in two frameworks, the first one conveying the general state as regarding the criteria in their inclusion or exclusion from documents produced by the Union at the time or involvement of certain European institutions, the second one bearing an assessment notion of the country's progress towards the fulfilling of the aforementioned criteria, which had been addressed as a whole, with no precise explanations on the specifics that the criteria entail:

7.82 Table of concordances: Political/Copenhagen criteria

*a. important for getting a date for negotiations, must have a complete progress in the **political criteria**, the functioning of the institutions of the system and the set postulates*

*b. the Government could praise itself with a progress in fulfilling the **political criteria**, with the efficiency in the fight against the corruption, with the reforms in the police*

*c. the Prime Minister of the Netherlands. He added that the **Copenhagen criteria** are not being mentioned because the EU wanted to avoid the European Court of Justice to have its own saying in the decisions for enlargement*

*d. many other things that were in accordance to the **Copenhagen criteria**, that were supposed to be respected by all countries that are striving towards the European Union, ought to have been done*

*e. should be respected. As long as its in accordance to the **Copenhagen criteria** in reference to the respect for the minorities and all other general freedoms*

The 2006 articles conveyed a stipulation that the Union will not enlarge itself within the following three to five years as communicated in the strategic document (see above). The same stipulation remains in the 2007 newspaper articles in two cases, this time depicting this conclusion from the Report on the progress of the Western Balkans countries and Turkey published on November 6, 2007, illustrated in Table of concordances 7.83:

7.83 Table of concordances: Three to five years

a. that the Union's doors will be closed for the Balkan countries within the next **three to five years**. The countries from the Western Balkans and Turkey will receive

b. the European Commission does not predict new enlargement within the next **three to five years**, is being pointed in the report, which the Macedonian government judges to be "objective"

The full name of the referred document is "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008", published on June 11, 2007. Upon a closer examination of the provisions that the document entails in reference to the Western Balkan and Turkey, a time framework for future enlargements has not been given and the only provision from which the decisions above could be drawn reads as follows:

7.84 Table of concordances: Prospects/Support

In the countries engaged in the present enlargement agenda – the Western Balkans and Turkey, the pull of the EU is contributing to stability and encouraging important political and economic reforms. However, these still face a number of major challenges. It is crucial to maintain the visibility and credibility of their accession prospects, as well as rallying support for enlargement in the Member States.

The criteria for the countries wishing to join the Union, as well as the predictions of the newspaper on the opening, i.e. closing of the EU's doors, shall be further examined in the 2008 and 2009 sub-corpora of the third corpus *Dnevnik*.

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Report

REPORT OF THE (EC) THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 6

7 Domain: Agreements

THE OHRID AGREEMENT – 6

THE REFORM CHARTER (AGREEMENT) – 6

The single word cluster of the sixth domain enclosing the elements of the Progress Report in most of its occurrences collocate with the *forthcoming, last, yearly, new* and in that regard does not bring any novelties from the overall analysis of this cluster in the overview of the third corpus *Dnevnik*. The circumstances of the seventh terminological domain evolve in the same direction as well with the collocation of *the Ohrid Agreement* requiring for its *implementation*. The novelty of this domain, i.e. *the reform Charter (Agreement)* references the Lisbon

Agreement that has the Union in a stand still position over the lack of its ratification by some of the member states. In 2007, this situation had been overcome and the newspaper articles treat this resolution as a positive evolution of the circumstances in reference to the future enlargements and of the accession of the Republic of Macedonia particularly, as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.85 below:

7.85 Table of concordances: Reform charter/agreement

*a. evolution, as well as whether the criteria are going to be fulfilled. The new **charter/agreement** does not influence the negotiations for membership and for Macedonia nothing is changed*

*b. The crisis has passed – its Macedonia's move. The **reform /charter agreement** send a message to Macedonia that there is no longer European obstacle*

*c. the European doors for enlargement? – When the negotiations of the **reform charter/agreement** are going to be finished and the document will be ratified and will come to force, that for sure would give a positive*

*d. During the Brussels summit the new **reform charter/agreement** for Europe, that ought to pull Europe from the two year crisis, had been agreed*

8 Domain: Other

THE SLOVENIAN PRESIDENCY – 9

(THE) CANDIDATE STATUS – 8

PRESIDENCY WITH THE EU - 5

The Western Balkans had been placed high on the agenda during the presidency of Slovenia with the Union. Therefore, the 2007 articles accentuated on the *Slovenian Presidency* with the Union as a positive sign and a possibility for the Macedonian's progress in the accession process, particularly in the granting of a date for the opening of negotiations:

7.86 Table of concordances: Slovenian presidency

*Brussels, that sent us a message: we expect that Macedonia will receive a date for negotiations during the **Slovenian presidency** with the EU, but that does not depend on what has been done here*

The words, i.e. word clusters that marked a vast presence in the overall analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik* and which marked no occurrences in the previous two sub-corpora, commence their first appearances in the 2007 sub-corpus as presented in Table of concordances 7.87:

7.87 Table of concordances: Name

a. Soon the question about the **name** will be solved as well, because every country has the right to the name that she has chosen, and it is often the case with the European countries that one country has the name of a territory or part of the neighbouring country

b. between the members of the Parliament there is a split opinion on the recent change of the **name** of the Macedonian national airport into Alexander the great

c. the rapporteur Eduard Lintner from the European National Party uses the **name** Macedonia everywhere. He concluded that Macedonia has made a huge progress

Namely, the above approaches towards the *name* issue bear a more ideological stance on the whole situation which is not the case in the 2008 and 2009 newspaper articles, as shall be analysed in the sub-corpora to follow.

On another account, as shown in Table 7.88 below, the word *Greece* has been mentioned twice in rather specific contexts, hence foretelling the development on the matter of the dispute between the two countries further on:

7.88 Table of concordances: Greece

a. at the attempt of some Greek MPs to block the amendment in which it is required that **Greece** should acknowledge the Macedonian passport. The members of the parliament called for immediate recognition

b. of the National airport to Alexander the Great will not improve the relations with **Greece**. But it is good to remind that the Macedonians have already changed the flag

Additionally on this topic, the word *issue* (*dispute*) marks no occurrences in the 2007 articles.

7.4.4. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Dnevnik* – 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*

The largest sub-corpus of the third corpus *Dnevnik* (henceforth 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*) includes 25 newspaper articles of the Macedonian daily newspaper *Dnevnik*, produced and published in 2008, dealing with the topic of accession of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union. When comparing the word list of the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* numbering a total of 16,232 words to the word list of random newspaper articles by applying the Word Smith software tool, a key word list containing total of 86 words was generated. Once cleared of the repetitive words and the prepositions, the remaining 62 key words highest in frequency have been listed in English language in Table 5a below:

Table 5a: Key words of the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	189	240	120,27	32	FOREIGN	18	4	37,90
2	EU	152	32	326,26	33	REGIME	17	4	35,15
3	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	79	3	225,69	34	FAIR	16	2	38,96
4	BRUSSELS	76	8	191,38	35	LAWS	16	1	43,45
5	EC	66	5	174,99	36	MILOSHOSKI	16	0	50,59
6	THE EUROPEAN	53	26	79,54	37	NOVEMBER	15	4	29,72
7	THE COUNTRY	48	28	64,70	38	COUNCIL	14	4	27,04
8	(THE) REPORT	43	5	106,25	39	CROATIA	14	4	27,04
9	(THE) COMMISSION	43	11	86,49	40	MEMBER-STATES	14	3	29,81
10	THE GOVERNMENT	43	42	37,52	41	POSITIVE	14	3	29,81
11	DATE	41	0	129,70	42	STANDARDS	14	2	33,13
12	REHN	41	0	129,70	43	OSCE	14	1	37,38
13	(THE) ELECTIONS	40	8	86,96	44	THE EIGHT	14	0	44,27
14	(THE) PROGRESS	40	0	126,53	45	ASSESSMENT	14	0	44,27
15	THE NAME	37	17	57,58	46	INTEGRATION	13	2	30,25
16	CRITERIA	36	5	85,77	47	CONSENSUS	13	1	34,36
17	AFFAIRS	35	38	27,12	48	(THE) FULFILLING	13	0	41,11
18	STATED	35	19	49,40	49	THE COPENHAGEN	13	0	41,11
19	(THE) POLITICAL	33/33	11/21	59,95/41,87	50	THE RECOMMENDATIONS	12	3	24,31
20	MEMBERSHIP	24	8	43,59	51	PRIORITIES	12	1	31,35
21	THE COMMISSIONER	24	0	75,90	52	DELEGATION	11	1	28,36
22	THE ISSUE	23	8	41,02	53	MEYER	11	1	28,36
23	THE PROCESS	23	7	43,36	54	ERIC	11	1	28,36
24	(THE) ENLARGEMENT	22	8	38,46	55	LIBERALISATION	11	0	34,78
25	DIALOGUE	22	7	40,74	56	BROCK	11	0	34,78
26	BOCEVSKI	21	0	66,41	57	AREAS	10	1	25,38
27	RECEIVE	20	4	43,46	58	THE JUDICIARY	10	1	25,38
28	BECOME MEMBER	20	0	63,25	59	THE VISA	10	0	31,62
29	OLLI	20	0	63,25	60	STABILISATION	9	0	28,46
30	FOUERE	19	0	60,08	61	PRESIDENCY	8	0	25,29
31	(THE) REFORMS	19	0	60,08	62	THE VICE-PRIME MINISTER	8	0	25,29

The 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* generated a larger number of key words as compared to the results from the previously analysed three sub-corpora. Additionally, upon a comparison of the above key words table to the table of the entire third corpus *Dnevnik* (see Table 1a above) an undisputable similarity between the words contained can be discerned. Namely, the key words of the two compared tables correspond in 41 cases.

As was the case in all of the previously analysed corpora and sub-corpora, the top positions of the most frequent key words belong to the words that represent the countries or regions involved: *EU, Macedonia, European, the country* additionally strengthened by the other Balkan country that was granted candidate status at the time, *Croatia*. The parties or actors involved remain constant in the recurrence of the *Brussels, Commissioner, Olli Rehn, Fouere*, strengthened by *the member states, Miloshoski, the Vice-Prime Minister, Bocevski, Erick, Meyer, Brock, delegation* and the regular presence of the *EC* in the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*. The key words *the Government, the Commission, Council, OSCE* indicate the institutions and bodies involved in the process. The enlargement and the elements of the process are represented on a great scale by the key words *the enlargement, membership, become a member, the negotiations, integration, Stabilisation, process* as are the conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives notions through the words: *Copenhagen, criteria, reforms, standards, political*. The elements of the Progress Report are conveyed through the words *the Report, positive, November* and *progress* in 2008.

The word clusters generated from the closer inspection of the above listed key words have been categorised in seven terminological domains below:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

MEMBER STATES – 14

COMMISSIONER OLLI REHN – 8

ERIC MEYER – 8

ERWAN FOUERE – 7

THE REPORTEUR ON MACEDONIA – 6

THE COMMISSIONER ON ENLARGEMENT OLLI REHN – 6

(THE) PARLIAMENT DELEGATION - 6

ELMAR BROCK – 6

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANTONIO MILOSHOSKI – 5

THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS – 5

In the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, the most frequent word cluster under the parties or actors involved terminological domain, *Member states*, has been applied in versatile contexts similarly to the application of the cluster in the overall analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik* (see above). As shown in the several Tables of concordances to follow, the involvement of the member states ranges from exploration of their role in the decisions making process, to their responsibilities in reference to the visa liberalization process of the country, to their involvement in the accession negotiations process, to their part in the inevitable name issue dispute that is connected to the date for negotiations:

7.89 Table of concordances: Member states a.

*The Council of Europe, OSCE, our delegation here, but the authorities are most important in providing information. It is a matter of combined efforts, but the final assessment falls under the Commission, of the **member states**.*

7.90 Table of concordances: Member states b.

*The Dialogue will be led by the European Commission, but the whole “area” for the visas is within the responsibility of the Commission and of the **member states**. So, it is of an exceptional importance in this process that the Commission is in constant contact with the **member states***

7.91 Table of concordances: Member states c.

*The accession negotiations, for example with Croatia at the moment, are actually negotiation between the 27 **member states** and Croatia. The negotiations are being held during an intergovernmental conference between the **member states** and the candidate state.*

7.92 Table of concordances: Member states d.

*a. that Athens has announced upon your negotiations can happen only if the **member states** decide upon the negotiations. Greece cannot block the EC if the services of the Commissioner Rehn decide*

*b. integration. Macedonia is a country that needs to bridge the last gap with the **member states**, and the country has started from a very low point.*

The two examples presented in Table of concordances 7.92 above, add to the ones already illustrated on the page above, deriving from 2008 newspaper articles, in which the name issue had been elaborated upon as part of the rights of the member states to exert certain authorities on

a new coming state, as well as the use of this matter on the part of the European Commission that tolerated the obstructions imposed by certain member states in order to slow down the enlargement process at the time.

The name issue dispute among the two neighbouring countries, as compared to the previous three sub-corpora of this corpus, once more enters a focal point in the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* and shall be in-depth analysed under the fourth and the seventh terminological domain below.

The rest of the word clusters under the first domain engross proper names of the ‘carriers’ of official EU institutions: *Commissioner on enlargement, Olli Rehn, the Ambassador of EU in Macedonia at the time Erwan Fouere, Elmar Brok, President of the Commission on Foreign Affairs in the European Parliament at the time, and of Macedonian institutions, The Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Antonio Miloshoski.*

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

THE EUROPEAN UNION – 6

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA - 6

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 5

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC) - 39

The small number of word clusters of the second and the third domain above have already been thoroughly explored in the current chapter. The application of the interim name of the country, i.e. *the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, as opposed to the use of the *Republic of Macedonia* in the analysed articles from 2008, derives from direct translations of provisions contained in official documents or statements by EU officials. *The European Commission* in most of its occurrences collocates with the Progress Report, is being applied in environments dealing with the findings of the progress report, or with the role of the Commission itself.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 27

NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 23

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EU – 14

(THE) EUROPEAN INTEGRATION – 10

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION – 9

RECEIVE DATE FOR STARTING THE NEGOTIATIONS – 8

EU MEMBERSHIP – 7

EU ENLARGEMENT – 5

RECOMMEND NEGOTIATIONS – 5

Out of the total of nine word clusters pertaining to the enlargement and elements of the process terminological domain, five clusters refer to the *negotiations for membership* or the *date for starting the negotiations*. In the 2005 and 2006 sub-corpora *Dnevnik*, the *negotiations* had been referred to merely as part of the process once the country was granted a candidate status and as a consequential part of the course set for the country upon the progress made. In the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* the increased use of the clusters generated by the *negotiations* indicated an amplified concern over this issue. Based on the rate of frequency of these clusters as opposed to all others in the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, this matter has reached its peak and is the primary area of concern in regards to the accession of the country as designated in the following example:

7.93 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations/Recommendation for accession negotiations a.

*All but a **date for negotiations** with the EU is a failure. For us it is important whether the report is going to contain a **recommendation for accession negotiations** with the European Union*

Namely, in all of its 79 occurrences, the key word *negotiations* collocates either with the key word *date* or with the key word *membership*.

As shown in Table of concordances 7.94 below, the Macedonian side, i.e. the stance of the newspaper at the time connected the negotiations with the name issue on one hand:

7.94 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations b.

*a. clearly state and that the Macedonian perfect file is no guarantee for **date for negotiations** bearing in mind the statements from our southern neighbour, from Athens*

*b. that the name issue is the only reason why Macedonia will not **receive date for negotiations with the EU** this fall. Euro ambassador Fouere remained on the same stance yesterday*

On the other hand, as illustrated in the Table 7.95, the poorly executed parliamentary elections in the country at the time had left a “bitter taste” and resulted in lack of recommendation for starting negotiations:

7.95 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations c.

*Should be read as an announcement for a report in which Brussels is not going to **recommend a date for negotiations** for our country. They agree with the OSCE conclusion and with the Council of Europe that the re-voting had been well organised. But, the bad impression for Macedonia left a bitter taste in Brussels.*

Further to the results from the election process, the Republic of Macedonia had not been granted a date for accession negotiations due to lack in fulfilling the political criteria as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.96 here:

7.96 Table of concordances: Negotiations with the EU

*Macedonia will have to pass another election test before the country can begin to hope for **negotiations with the EU**. The European Commission yesterday officially published the yearly report in which it is being concluded that Macedonia does not fulfil the political criteria for accession into EU, because of which the country cannot start the negotiations fourth year in a row*

The process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia in 2008 had passed in the sign of the lack of negotiations date four years in a row.

This matter has already been extensively explored in the overall analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik*.

The *European integration*, explored in the overall analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik* (see above), in the 2008 sub-corpus collocates in most of the cases with the institutions or the carriers of the institutions, i.e. *National Council*, *Council* or *Vice Prime Minister for European integration*. The integration further collocates in contexts stipulating the extensive involvement of the country in the *Stabilisation and Association Process* as well as the signed *Stabilisation and Association Agreement*.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 14
THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA – 13
(THE) POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 12
(THE) VISA LIBERALISATION – 8
THE VISA REGIME – 8
(THE) INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS – 8
THE POLITICAL WILL – 8
FULFILLING OF THE EIGHT CONDITIONS – 8

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS – 6
MACEDONIA IN THE EU – 5
DOES NOT FULFIL THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 5

The key word *criteria* in the total of its 36 occurrences in the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* collocates with the word *political* thus forming the *political criteria* word cluster 14 times and in 13 cases with the word *Copenhagen* in the *Copenhagen criteria* cluster. The remaining occurrences of the key word collocate in the clusters *economic criteria*, *necessary criteria*, *all criteria* and *eight criteria*. The outcome of the frequency of occurrences of this key word accentuates on the notion of conditionality as entailed in the fifth terminological domain of this sub-corpus.

Furthermore, on seven occasions the criteria collocate either with the Copenhagen or the political in the cluster *does not fulfil* as illustrated in the several examples in Table of concordances 7.97 below:

7.97 Table of concordances: Does not fulfil the political criteria

- a. the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has made a certain progress, but still **does not fulfil the political criteria**. The Parliamentary elections did not fulfil*
- b. the document, EC will not recommend negotiations for membership with Macedonia. Macedonia **does not fulfil the political criteria**, and the early elections did not fulfil*
- c. insufficiently strong political dialogue continues to produce political instability and the country **does not fulfil the Copenhagen criteria** without which the country cannot hope for negotiations*
- d. and there are vulnerable minorities. The elections ruled. The country still **does not fulfil the political criteria**. The elections were not in accordance to the international standards*
- e. officially published the yearly report in which it is being concluded that Macedonia **does not fulfil the political criteria** for membership in the EU because of which it is not possible*

The above examples reflect the findings in the Progress report further mirroring the position of the European Commission and of the official EU representatives, in the above cases Commissioner Rehn and EU Ambassador Fouere, judging the progress made by the Republic of Macedonia in 2008 as an overall lack of fulfilment of the political i.e. Copenhagen criteria in five of the illustrations, or in two cases preceded, see examples a. and d. by the word *still*, indicating that some progress has been made but it has not been complete.

Additionally to the criteria that have been explored in-depth in the overview analysis of the third corpus *Dnevnik*, the 2008 sub-corpus brings a novelty in the *fulfilling of the eight conditions*. The eight conditions, further addressed as the eight benchmarks in the Progress Report on Macedonia

from 2007, supplemented by an additional ninth one (see above) in the form of *free and fair elections* that in 2008 were not held in accordance to the *international standards*, as assessed by the Commissioner Rehn have not been fulfilled or require a lot of efforts:

7.98 Table of concordances: Eight/Nine conditions/benchmarks

*a. that it will be difficult for us to recommend negotiations for membership. It seems that the **eight conditions** are not fulfilled, nor is the ninth one that is referring to the negotiations – Rehn added*

*b. of the EC, reminding that it will be necessary to work a lot on the fulfilling of the **eight conditions** that Olli Rehn posed to Macedonia.*

*c. are being undertaken in order to correct the electoral irregularities. Actually, now we have **nine benchmarks**, **eight** connected to reforms in the judiciary, police and the fight against*

*d. We are not too strict. Remember that we had **eight benchmarks**, which after the elections became **nine**. The international observers, such as the OSCE said that the elections were not in accordance to*

The importance of fulfilling the eight conditions has been furthered by the European rapporteur on Macedonia Meyer for whom, as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.99, the right of one EU member state to block another candidate state is as important as the Copenhagen criteria:

7.99 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria

*The rapporteur on Macedonia, the Netherlander Eric Meyer, agrees that the fulfilling of the **eight conditions** is important, but he considers that the right of one EU member state to block a decision must be respected. That right is as important as the **Copenhagen criteria***

The *visa liberalization* and the *visa regime* in 2008 had been some of the central topics as the country was making efforts into lifting the visa curtain. These word clusters occur in the parameters of the country's efforts and progress made in reference to the process of lifting the visa regime of the citizens of Macedonia.

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

REPORT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 5
5 NOVEMBER – 6

7 Domain: Other

(THE) NAME ISSUE - 15
ISSUE WITH GREECE - 5
THE SLOVENIAN PRESIDENCY – 5

The sixth domain above encompasses the common word clusters of the Progress Reports published by the European Commission on *November 5th*.

The seventh domain includes two word clusters reflecting upon the second matter, other than the date for negotiations, which pained the Macedonian newspaper, and the Macedonian governmental representatives for that matter.

Namely, the key word *the name* has been mentioned 37 times overall in the 2008 sub-corpus. All of the occurrences of the word have been set in a name issue context with Greece and many of them have already been illustrated in the domains above.

As can be depicted from the examples provided for all of the domains of the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* illustrated above, the three major concerns, or matters of interest at the time, i.e. *date for negotiations*, *name issue* and *fulfilling of the necessary criteria* continuously intertwine in their applications, thus leading to an observation that the progress of the country in its accession process bore three requirements. Furthermore to this impression, in its 2008 article, the newspaper conveyed the statement of the Chief of the Parliamentary Delegation from Macedonia calling upon the necessity for the Commission to assess the country based on the Copenhagen criteria and not in regards to the name issue (see above). Additionally, as shown in Table of concordances 7.100 below, the EU Ambassador disputed the statement of the Prime Minister of the country that if it were not for the name issue Macedonia would have received date for negotiations:

7.100 Table of concordances: Name issue

*Fouere recently confronted the statement of the Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski that the **name issue** is the only reason why Macedonia is not going to receive date for negotiations this fall.*

And high governmental representatives stated that:

7.101 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations/Name issue

*the Government shall fully accept the report, but reminded that “the respected Ambassador did not answer the question whether if Macedonia fulfils all criteria, the country will receive **date for negotiations** without solving the **name issue**”*

Further on, the Council of the EU Foreign Affairs Ministers encouraged the state to improve the political dialogue among the parties and introduced the *mutually acceptable solution* word cluster:

7.102 Table of concordances: Mutually acceptable solution to the name issue

*The ministerial conclusion does not forget to mention, not addressing Greece directly, that the good neighbourly relations are key and that that entails finding a **mutually acceptable solution to the name issue***

The general frustration from the matter additionally escalated into accusations for the actions on the part of the EU institutions. Namely, an article of the daily newspaper Dnevnik from 2008, named “the European Commission accused of double standards” conveyed the statement presented in Table of concordances 7.103:

7.103 Table of concordances: Double standards

*The Reports on the progress of the countries from the Western Balkan, even besides the general lack of interest for EU enlargement, caused many reactions in the political circles in Brussels. Most of the critics were that the EC conveys **double standards** in the euro integration process that for some of the countries (Croatia and Serbia) the Commission closes its eyes in front of the problems and for the others it accentuates them (Macedonia)*

All of the statements, quotations, conclusions and questions conveyed in 2008, on matters of top importance in Macedonia’s accession process, were published in a daily newspaper and all of these statements were read, understood and misunderstood not only by the general readership but also, as can be seen from the examples illustrated above, by governmental and institutional representatives on both ends, i.e. in Macedonia and EU.

7.4.5. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper Dnevnik – 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*

The final, fifth sub-corpus of the third corpus *Dnevnik* includes 16 articles produced and published within a one year period (2009). The 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* includes 11,489 words. Once compared to a word list of random generated newspaper articles by applying the Word Smith software tool, a total of 45 key words were generated. Upon sorting of the recurrent

words and removal of the prepositions, Table 6a below contains the most frequent 34 key words as presented in English language.

Table 6a: Key words of the 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	116	240	64,33	18	OLLI	23	0	85,79
2	EU	89	32	203,33	19	(THE) PROGRESS	23	0	85,79
3	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	68	3	230,03	20	(THE) ELECTIONS	18	8	37,73
4	THE NAME	55	17	132,29	21	RELATIONS	17	11	29,59
5	EC	50	5	154,78	22	THE COUNCIL	17	10	31,18
6	REHN	43	0	160,46	23	THE PROCESS	17	7	36,79
7	THE ISSUE (name)	42	8	115,45	24	THE COMMISSIONER	16	0	59,67
8	THE EUROPEAN	39	26	66,76	25	CROATIA	13	4	31,28
9	BRUSSELS	39	8	105,32	26	THE REFORMS	13	0	48,48
10	MEMBERSHIP	39	8	105,32	27	CRITERIA	12	5	25,84
11	(THE) DATE	31	0	115,65	28	THE CORRUPTION	10	3	24,26
12	GREECE	28	36	28,84	29	THE IMPLEMENTATION	9	1	27,40
13	(THE) REPORT	27	9	63,26	30	MEYER	9	1	27,40
14	START	26	9	60,11	31	THE RESOLUTION	9	0	33,56
15	COMMISSION	24	11	49,65	32	THALER	9	0	33,56
16	SOLUTION	23	15	39,86	33	GOOD NEIGHBOURLY	8	0	29,83
17	(THE) RECOMMENDATION	23	3	68,21	34	LIBERALISATION	7	0	26,10

Once more there is no alteration in the key words holding the most frequent positions and representing the countries or regions involved i.e. *Macedonia*, *EU*, *European*, *Croatia*, referred to as the next country to enter the European Union and *Greece*, the country associated with the *name issue*, or the ones referring to the parties or actors involved mostly embodied in the proper names *Brussels*, *Olli*, *Rehn*, *Meyer*, *Thaler* and *Commissioner*. The constant presence of the *EC* (*European Commission*) furthermore accentuates on the importance of this European institution involved in the publication of the reports on the progress made by the country and in the accession process in general, further strengthened by *the Council*. The words carrying the

notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives, additionally to the general identifies *criteria, reforms, implementation* in the 2009 sub-corpus have been enforced with *good neighbourly, relations* and the enlargement and elements of the process have been embodied by *the negotiations, membership, recommendation*, lacking in some of the most frequent and strongest representatives such as enlargement and integration. Furthermore, the elements of the Progress Reports are being born by *the Report and the progress*.

The smaller number of word clusters generated by the key words in Table 6a above, have been classified under the seven terminological domains to follow:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

OLLI REHN – 23

THE COMMISSIONER OLLI REHN – 7

Based on the frequency of occurrence of the key word *Rehn* with 43 applications and its collocations in the word cluster *Olli Rehn*, it seems that the universal presence of the *Commissioner* for Enlargement at the time, reached its peak in the 2009 sub-corpus as regarding the parties or actors involved. The constant evocation of the Commissioner collocates with *said, stated, and greeted*. The example in Table of concordances 7.104 derives from an article printed on the occasion of the publication of the 2009 Progress Report:

7.104 Table of concordances: Commissioner Olli Rehn admitted

The general conclusion is that the report is positive because the basic political and economic criteria are fulfilled. Commissioner Olli Rehn admitted that Macedonia has fulfilled the nine set benchmarks.

The above application of the word *admitted* on the part of the newspaper further implies the newspaper's interpretation that the Commissioner had been reluctant to acknowledge the progress made in the accomplishment of the basic political and economic criteria in the period that preceded this statement.

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 8

THE EUROPEAN UNION – 6

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 22

COUNCIL OF THE EU – 5
COUNCIL OF THE MINISTERS - 5

Apart from the two word clusters Council of the EU, i.e. the Council of the Ministers, indicating the institution that is responsible for granting a date for start of the negotiations acting upon the recommendation of the European Commission, which shall be additionally analysed under the 4th terminological domain, the remaining word clusters of the countries or regions involved and of the institutions or bodies involved terminological domains listed above, have already been explored in this and in the previous chapters and occur with similar collocations.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(DATE FOR) STARTING (THE) NEGOTIATIONS – 40

(THE) NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 26

DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 12

MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU – 9

START OF (THE) NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 9

(THE) RECOMMENDATION FROM THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC) - 6

All of the word clusters of the fourth terminological domain refer to the *date for starting the negotiations for membership* and this issue of a great importance, as can be discerned from the findings of the analysis conducted on the entire third corpora and on the sub-corpora so far examined, had been intensified even further in 2009 upon the *recommendation from the European Commission* that the country is ready.

The recommendation had been treated in calculating circumstances and this more optimistic approach towards the date for starting the negotiations persists throughout the 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*:

7.105 Table of concordances: Recommendation/Date for start of the negotiations a.

*If everything goes according to plan, the Council of the EU may accept the **recommendation of EC** in December and **set a date for start of the negotiations**. Realistically, they may begin in the first half of 2010*

As shown in Table 7.106 below, some of the occurrences of the cluster bear an explanatory note of the duties and the functioning of the institutions in regard to this matter:

7.106 Table of concordances: Date for the negotiations b.

*A date will not be recommended. The EC in its reports never proposes a **specific date for the negotiations**. That is a task that has been given to the **Council of Ministers**, the **highest executive body of the EU***

Furthermore, as can be discerned from the examples in the following Tables of concordances, the EC's recommendation in the 2009 sub-corpus had been set as a priority for the country in the statement set in the 'past':

7.107 Table of concordances: Recommendation/Accession negotiations c.

*Miloshoski pointed out that the country has one priority, and that is to receive **recommendation from the EC** that the candidate country is prepared **to start accession negotiations***

It had been also been interpreted as a success of the Vice Prime Minister for European Integration at the time set in the 'present':

7.108 Table of concordances: Recommendation/Starting the negotiations d.

*The Vice Prime Minister for European Integration Vasko Naumovski received all praises from Euro Ambassador Erwan Fouere for what he did so that we can receive a **recommendation from the European Commission for starting the negotiations for membership***

Lastly, it bore 'future' elements implying that:

7.109 Table of concordances: Recommendation e.

*a. The **recommendation of the EC** is accompanied by a friendly advice. The **Commission recommends** that the negotiations for membership of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with the EU should be opened. Maintaining good neighbourly relations, including a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution for the name issue, under the auspices of the UN, **remain key** – concluded the EC.*

*b. Rehn twice, and his messengers the day before yesterday in Skopje **passed the recommendation** to the Macedonian heads that **the recommendation** from the report should be **interpreted** as an encouragement to solve the name issue*

The correlation between the recommendation, the date for negotiations and the solving of the name issue once more seem to be inseparable as can be distinguished from the examples below. The Copenhagen criteria greatly advocated by the European Union as a milestone for accession of every country (as stated in all official documents produced by the Union in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) and as stipulated in the statement of the Commissioner Rehn, perceived as "a

representative of the European Commission” have been satisfied by the country which was the reason why Macedonia received a recommendation for starting the negotiations. Furthermore, as presented in Table of concordances 7.110 below, this recommendation ought to be understood by the Government as a strong encouragement to resolve the name issue which was of a vital importance at the time, more than ever before, if the country wished to have a European future:

7.110 Table of concordances: Recommendation f.

The Commissioner for enlargement, as a representative of the European Commission, was very clear in his stance what is expected from Macedonia: “The EC considers that the country satisfies the political criteria from Copenhagen and that is why it gave a recommendation for starting the negotiations. I believe that the Government in Macedonia will understand this as a strong encouragement for finally solving the name issue. It is really necessary and urgent now, more than ever before, for the European future of the country”

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

(THE) GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS – 12
COPENHAGEN CRITERIA/FROM COPENHAGEN – 7
(THE) VISA LIBERALISATION - 7

The good neighbourly relations word cluster and for that matter the key word *good neighbourly* never managed to reach the key words table in either the corpus nor in the sub-corpora analysed until now. Out of the total of 16 occurrences of *(the) good neighbourly* in the entire corpus, 12 belong to the 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*.

The maintaining of *good neighbourly relations* in 2009 intensified its occurrence due to what seems to be interpreted as yet another ‘invention’ of the Union, presented in Table of concordances 7.111:

Namely:

7.111 Table of concordances: Good neighbourly relations a.

The good neighbourly relations are yet another element that has been dragged through the European documents on Macedonia for a while now. It had been “institutionalised” for the first time during the summit with which the Slovenian Presidency with the EU in June 2008 had been closed. Then, the leaders of the EU in reference to Macedonia concluded that “the **maintaining of good neighbourly relations**, including a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution to the name issue remain essential”.

Further to the above statement, Brussels representatives that wished to remain anonymous explained that:

7.112 Table of concordances: Name issue

With this formulation of the highest European decision making body the Macedonian destiny has been sealed even over one year ago. Without a solution to the name issue there is no place to go and no one can say that Greece has put a Veto – as explained from Brussels.

In addition to the above clarification:

7.113 Table of concordances: Good neighbourly relations b.

*The European Commission (EC), on 14. October this year, is preparing to deliver negotiation for membership to Macedonia, but will not announce a date. Also, the great importance of the **good neighbourly relations** will be mentioned and it is possible that the concept “**good neighbourly relations**” will be defined – Dnevnik finds out.*

Commissioner Olli Rehn seemed to have separated the two, i.e. the *good neighbourly relations* from the *name* issue as taken from his statement presented in Table of concordances 7.114:

7.114 Table of concordances: Good neighbourly relations c.

*I underline here that the **good neighbourly relations**, as well as solution to the name issue are key. This is now more key and more urgent than ever before – said Olli Rehn hoping that he will be heard and understood*

However, the European Commission glued them together:

7.115 Table of concordances: Good neighbourly relations d.

*The maintaining of **good neighbourly relations**, including a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution on the name issue, with the mediation of the UN, remain key.*

Based on the above declarations from the anonymous source, as well as well-known EU representatives or EU institutions, the *good neighbourly relations*, and consequently the ‘keyness’ of the *name* issue have been imposed as yet another criteria.

Speaking of criteria and of the key conditions for that matter, apart from the good neighbourly relations and the name issue, as shown in Table of concordances 7.116 below, Commissioner

Rehn in March 2009 stated that free and fair elections as pertaining to the Copenhagen criteria are a key condition:

7.116 Table of concordances: Free and fair elections/Copenhagen criteria/Key condition

*I am sorry that there are no negotiations for over three years, but the international standards for **free and fair elections** in order to respond to the **Copenhagen criteria** are the **key condition**. Therefore, March is the moment of truth.*

On the linking of the Copenhagen criteria with different set(s) of conditions, a nameless diplomat from Brussels (who wished to remain so) stated that:

7.117 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria/ Good neighbourly relations

*In the **Copenhagen criteria** the **good neighbourly relations** are not explicitly mentioned as a condition. This time we would go towards their precision in order to avoid interpretations, said a diplomat. According to him, this type of defining does not necessarily have to be a bad signal for Macedonia.*

From the above declaration, due to the not explicit referral to *good neighbourly relations* as a condition in the criteria from Copenhagen, an additional facilitation in order to grasp their concept will be provided in order to avoid different, and probably inaccurate interpretations.

Apart from the example illustrated above, stating that Macedonia has satisfied the political criteria from Copenhagen, the examples in the Table of concordances 7.118 below, the first one (see example a.) passing a message, the second one (example b.) conveying the statement of Commissioner Rehn, who once again allocated the notion of ‘keyness’ this time to the priorities in October 2009, bear the same notion of satisfaction with the accomplishment of the Copenhagen criteria on the part of the Republic of Macedonia:

7.118 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria/Criteria from Copenhagen

*a. Brussels in October will most probably conclude that Macedonia fulfills the three **Copenhagen criteria** and based on that will recommend the Council of the EU to start negotiations*

*b. Macedonia has made a convincing progress in fulfilling the **key priorities**. The EC considers that a sufficient progress in fulfilling the **criteria from Copenhagen** has been made, an element that allowed us to recommend negotiations.*

In this ‘pool’ of notions that assign the ‘keyness’ momentum to good neighbourly relations, Copenhagen criteria, name issue, fair elections and other elements, it comes of no surprise that the newspaper had searched for an example as to how another country from the region, i.e. Croatia, managed to come to their date for negotiations, in the form of the opinion that the EC prepared for Croatia in April 2004, presented in Table of concordances 7.119 here:

7.119 Table of concordances: EC opinion on Croatia

to be capable of dealing with the obligations that membership brings. Other than these three Copenhagen criteria necessary for starting negotiations, the EC in its conclusion added a row of tasks that still stand in front of Croatia. However, bearing in mind the fulfilled criteria from Copenhagen, the Commission “recommends that the negotiations for membership with Croatia ought to begin”

Evidently, with regards to the Republic of Macedonia which received its candidate status in 2005, the situation had evolved in a different manner.

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

POSITIVE REPORT - 5

The single word cluster under the elements of the Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia in 2009 announces it as *positive report*. The application of the word cluster ranges from settings of contentment in terms of the positive findings in the report and the recommendation for starting negotiations (Table 7.120) to the explanation provided from the EU Ambassador Fouere saying that resolution of the name issue is not a condition for positive report, but could be useful in speeding up the negotiations process (Table 7.121):

7.120 Table of concordances: Positive report a.

*the European Commission (EC) assesses the reform achievements, Macedonia will today receive a **positive report** and in it a recommendation for starting negotiations for membership in the EU*

7.121 Table of concordances: Positive report b.

*Fouere, that regularly remind that the solution of the name issue with Greece is not a condition for a **positive report** from EU, but it could facilitate and speed the start of the negotiations*

7 Domain: Other

THE NAME ISSUE - 26
SOLUTION TO THE NAME ISSUE - 15
THE ISSUE ABOUT THE NAME - 10
THE ISSUE WITH GREECE – 7
SOLUTION ABOUT THE NAME – 6

The last terminological domain of this sub-corpus entails five word clusters all of which are in reference to the *solution of the name issue with Greece*. As already elaborated extensively in the 2009 sub-corpus A terminological domains above, the name issue has been subjected to versatile contexts of occurrence, i.e. it has been closely related to every most significant accession process aspect and element that have risen and have already been explored. Somewhere in the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. on the road of the country towards its final destination, i.e. membership in the Union, the name issue became crucial and as the EU Ambassador Fouere stated:

7.122 Table of concordances: Name issue/Solution

*Instead of speculating what is going to happen in December, I repeat that **solving the name issue remains essential and all energy should be focused on solving this question**. We prompt the dedications in reference to the negotiations and we hope that before the December Council a **solution** will be found.*

What can be discerned from the first part of the diachronic analysis is that in 2005 the newspaper *Dnevnik* gave a rather general portrayal of the situation in the country at the time in reference to the candidate status which the country received, overview of the common criteria for entering the Union, without tackling more specific aspects of the accession process. The demeanor of the newspaper towards the accession of the country in 2006 moved along similar lines, speculating over the forthcoming official EU document on the enlargement strategy and challenges, once again avoiding to mention the name issue. In 2007 the newspaper commenced with some reporting on the name and exerted dissatisfaction with the enlargement progress. However, in 2008, a complete alteration in the ‘tone’ towards both the negotiations date and the name issue can be depicted and the newspaper articles examined in the 2008 sub-corpus, linking varying aspects of both the accession process and of the developments in the country at the time, indicate irritation. In the final sub-corpus of the *Dnevnik* corpus, with the recommendation from the EC for the country to receive a date for negotiations but with no actual date, the examined articles convey an analysis on the fulfilled conditions, both political and economic, and look to link the

situation in Macedonia with the one in Croatia at the time the country got granted a candidate status, thus seeking for an explanation of the different treatment of the EC towards the two countries.

The following, final part of the analysis, shall embark upon examining the diachronic development in the *Utrinski vesnik* corpus.

7.5.1. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* – 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski*

The final analysis of this chapter shall examine the chronological development of the enlargement terminology as conveyed by the Macedonian daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik*. The first sub-corpus that is to be closely inspected in this second part of the *Utrinski vesnik*'s analysis (henceforth 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski*) encompasses a total of eight newspaper articles produced and published on the part of the above newspaper within the year 2005. Once more, the key focus of the newspaper revolves around the major event that shaped the European Union accession path of the Republic of Macedonia at the time, i.e. the candidate status that had been awarded to the country in 2005. Hence, the key words table 2b below reflects upon the key enlargement terminology that had been applied.

The word list of the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* lists a total of 7,091 words and upon its comparison to the word list of randomly assembled newspaper articles, a total of 38 key words emerged. The most frequent key words, freed from the recurrent words, have been listed in the table below in English language:

Table 2b: Key words of the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	89	240	74,69	17	COMMISSION	12	11	25,39
2	EU	64	32	177,68	18	THE OPINION	11	2	39,57
3	SHOULD	43	90	48,60	19	AREAS	11	1	43,63
4	THE COUNTRY	36	28	82,99	20	THE PROCESS	10	7	24,19
5	THE UNION	29	2	118,27	21	THE OHRID	10	3	32,32
6	STATUS	24	3	91,59	22	ACQUIS	9	0	41,15
7	THE EUROPEAN	23	26	43,02	23	(THE) CANDIDATE	9	0	41,15
8	MEMBERSHIP	21	8	63,60	24	YUGOSLAV	8	2	27,00
9	(THE) REFORMS	19	0	86,90	25	DATE	8	0	36,58

10	EFFORTS	17	3	61,48	26	STABILISATION	8	0	36,58
11	STATED	15	19	26,00	27	LAWS	7	1	26,19
12	AGREEMENT(CO NTRACT)	14	16	25,99	28	FULFILLING	7	0	32,01
13	THE NEGOTIATIONS	14	4	45,81	29	IMPLEMENTATION	7	0	32,01
14	THE ENLARGEMENT	14	2	52,39	30	PARTNERSHIP	7	0	32,01
15	(THE) PROGRESS	14	0	64,02	31	THE BALKAN	6	0	27,43
16	FOUERE	13	0	59,45	32	THE AGREEMENT	6	0	27,43

Despite the striking resemblance between the key words of the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* and of the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* in 12 of the key words (see Table 2a above), the *Utrinski vesnik* 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* includes a variety of additional key words. This is due partly to the larger number of words in the corpus and the key words generated, i.e. 32 versus 17 of the sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, but also indicates a complementary angle towards the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia and the granting of the candidate status in 2005 provided by the newspaper. Namely, there is a slightly larger number of key words signifying the countries or regions involved in the process *Macedonia, EU, the country, the Union, the European, the Balkan* while the key words carrying the institutions involved, i.e. *the Commission* remain constant. The parties or actors involved have been represented through the EU Ambassador in Macedonia at the time, *Fouere*. The words implying the enlargement and elements of the process, *(the) enlargement, membership, negotiations* have been further supported by *implementation, partnership* and *stabilization*, thus adding an additional weight to the process itself. Furthermore, the word *areas* refers to the specific areas which require further improvement on the part of the country and the only occurrence of the key word *Acquis* in the entire Chapter 7 analysis, making reference to the rights and obligations for every EU member state (see Chapter 5), further indicates the more in-depth approach towards the process in the *Utrinski vesnik*'s articles subjected to analysis in the current sub-corpus.

The limited number of word clusters that bore a frequency of minimum 5 times in the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski*, generated by the key words of the above table, have been classified under the five terminological domains below:

1 Domain: Countries or regions involved

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 7

THE EUROPEAN UNION - 6

2 Domain: Institutions involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION - 12

3 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(THE) NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 8

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION – 6

MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU/UNION – 6

(THE) EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP – 5

4 Domain: Agreements

THE OHRID (FRAMEWORK) AGREEMENT – 11

(THE) STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT – 6

5 Domain: Other

(THE) CANDIDATE STATUS (OF MACEDONIA) – 16

The first two domains entailing the countries or regions involved, i.e. the *former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* on the one hand and *the European Union* on the other, as well as the institutions involved, such as *the European Commission*, bring no novelties in terms of the sides or institutions involved in the enlargement process.

The most frequent word cluster under the third terminological domain enlargement and elements of the process, *(the) negotiations for membership*, in the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski*, in four of its total of eight occurrences collocates with the *date* for starting the negotiations, thus following a dissimilar pattern when compared to its application in the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*. Namely, in the corresponding corpus of the *Dnevnik* newspaper, the negotiations for membership had been expected to result from the candidate status granted to the country and their lack at the time had been merely stipulated following the situation at the time (see above). However, in the analysed 2005 *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper articles, the negotiations, and for that matter the date for their commencement as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.123 below, had been given a wider coverage:

7.123 Table of concordances: Date for (starting the) negotiations for membership

*a. and democratic elections are the main condition for Macedonia to receive a **date for starting the negotiations for membership**. Do you consider that the current political situation in Macedonia*

b. Ilinka Mitreva, still, came up with a brave evaluation that the EU will assign a **date for negotiations for membership** at the end of next year, concluding that since yesterday Macedonia
 c. and satisfactory fulfillment of the criteria for membership. “There is still no **date for negotiations for membership** and we will follow the progress further, stated Rehn at the press
 d. the Government is duplicating the efforts for achieving the reforms before the starting of the **negotiations for membership**, for which no one knew to tell when they are going to happen
 e. unanimously we recommended a status of a candidate for Macedonia, but we should remind that the **negotiations for membership** should be opened when the country is going to achieve substantial
 f. that Brussels requires. Sources from the European Commission announced that the chances for the starting of the **negotiations for membership** next year are small since Macedonia should make
 g. of France a paragraph that the further process of Macedonia has been added, i.e. that the **negotiations for membership** shall depend from the absorption capacity of the Union which
 h. opened space for a possible political status quo, since a **date for starting the negotiations for membership** has not been announced and the progress of Macedonia in the Euro integration
 i. said Fouere. According to the Ambassador it is obvious that the Government is willing for receiving a **date** as soon as possible, but this decision depends a great deal on the speed in which
 j. Macedonia for membership in the Union, Macedonia an EU candidate. The Union did not stipulate a **date** for starting the negotiations. The European Union announced Macedonia yesterday

The general mood assigned to the negotiations or the date when they ought to start on the part of the newspaper is one of doubt and scepticism and unlike the expressed satisfaction from the candidate status as conveyed by *Dnevnik*, in *Utrinski vesnik* the absence of the date for starting the negotiations has been addressed with a certain amount of criticism.

A further distinction in terms of the different approaches in which the two Macedonian daily newspapers addressed the matter of accession of the Republic of Macedonia into the Union in 2005 is the lack of the word *criteria* in the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as opposed to its presence in the key words table in the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*. In the 2005 *Utrinski vesnik* sub-corpus, the criteria had been attended to in a more generic context, merely passing the statements of the European Commission or of the Commission’s representatives on the achievements made by the country in this regard.

Furthermore, as regarding the issue that linked the negotiations with the date and made a mark on the entire integration process of Macedonia, and as can be depicted from the results conveyed in this chapter’s analysis, i.e. the name issue, the stand of the *Utrinski vesnik* at the time had not been as detached as the one of the *Dnevnik*. The words that marked no presence in the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, *name*, *issue*, *solution*, *Greece* in the eight articles of the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* not only do occur but the issue has been given a rather significant exposure as can be discerned from the several illustrations in Table of concordances 7.124:

7.124 Table of concordances: (Solve the) Name issue/Solution

- a. Ambassador Fouere in terms of the **name** stated that the EU “always considers that the **name issue** is a bilateral question that ought to be **solved** between **Macedonia and Greece***
- b. sustainable efforts in that area, especially in order to **solve the name issue with Greece**, in the interest of the good neighbourly relations. A general assessment*
- c. Ambassador of the EU, Erwan Fouere, that used the constitutional **name** of the country, instead of the temporary reference as he did before he came, assessed that the yesterday’s decision*
- d. In this manner this **issue** is treated in the opinion as well. With good will from both sides a satisfactory **solution** on this **issue** could be definitely reached.*

As can be concluded from the above statements, the name issue had been given a certain weight by the newspaper in 2005.

Apart from the already elaborated distinctions between the sub-corpora of the two newspapers deriving from the same year, treating the same issue, in the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* not only did the words *reforms, areas, efforts* not reach a key word status, but they marked a very low frequency of occurrence, unlike the situation in the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski*. In *Utrinski vesnik*, in its 14 occurrences the key word *reforms* collocates with the *undertaken, necessary, economic, political, judiciary, structural* some of which presented in Table of concordances 7.125:

7.125 Table of concordances: Reforms

- a. with a criticism of the slow implementation of the **undertaken reforms** in the judiciary and the need for the **reforms** to be focused on the repressive*
- b. the future of the country, should work in favour of the **economic and political reforms** in order to speed up the integration into EU and NATO. All other scenarios*
- c. will be very important in how far the country has progressed in the **necessary reforms**, and by that in getting a date for starting the negotiations.*

The total of its 17 applications key word *efforts* collocate with *big, sustainable, additional, significant* as in the cases shown in Table 7.126 below:

7.126 Table of concordances: Efforts

- a. laws and their implementation had been slow, and there are remaining **necessary big efforts** in order to respond to the middle term priorities.*
- b. democracy and the rule of law. Still, **significant and sustainable efforts** are going to be needed in order to consolidate the rule of law, fight against*

c. *The objective of the European partnership is to help the authorities in their efforts to achieve the accession criteria. That includes in detail the priorities*

In the 11 of the total number of occurrences of the key word *areas* it collocates with *following, middle term, different, many*:

7.127 Table of concordances: Areas

a. *in a position to respect the conditions of the Acquis in middle terms in the following areas: - free movement of goods – Law on Intellectual property*

b. *Acquis and for effective implementation and application in middle terms in the following areas: public procurement – Law on enterprises – IT*

c. *The administrative and the judiciary capacities in many areas should be significantly strengthened and should be accordingly applied*

The several above illustrated applications of the key words, bearing rather specific aspects of the integration process in the *Utrinski vesnik* 2005 sub-corpus, as opposed to their limited occurrence in the *Dnevnik* 2005 sub-corpus and for that matter a rather general attitude towards the accession of Macedonia at the time, assign a more thorough and informed treatment as well as a critical angle by the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper in the examined articles of 2005.

7.5.2. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* – 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski*

The nine newspaper articles published within 2006, which compose the second sub-corpus (henceforth 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski*), list a total of 4,705 words. Once compared to the word list of random collected newspaper articles the sub-corpus generated a total of 37 key words. Upon removal of the recurrent words and the prepositions, the remaining 28 key words have been listed in Table 3b below, ordered according to their frequency of occurrence, in English language:

Table 3b: Key words of the 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	EU	53	32	174,62	15	THE REGION	9	8	25,56
2	THE EUROPEAN	31	26	90,34	16	THE CONSTITUTION	9	5	30,39

3	(THE) UNION	21/18	2/12	98,55/ 57,21	17	WESTERN	9	3	34,85
4	ENLARGEMENT	17	8	60,34	18	PROGRESS	9	0	47,91
5	STATED	14	19	32,31	19	(THE) REFORMS	8/7	6/0	24,34/ 37,26
6	MEMBERS	13	4	51,25	20	NEGOTIATIONS	7	3	25,48
7	CAPACITY	13	1	62,16	21	THE LEADERS	7	2	28,02
8	REHN	13	0	69,22	22	BAROSSO	7	0	37,26
9	(THE) REPORT	12/8	9/5	36,51/ 25,99	23	ROMANIA	6	1	26,34
10	COMMISSION	11	11	29,66	24	THE JUDICIARY	6	1	26,34
11	THE COUNTRIES	10	8	29,67	25	OLLI	6	0	31,94
12	BRUSSELS	10	8	29,67	26	THE ABSORPTION	5	0	26,62
13	BALKANS	10	3	39,63	27	DATE	5	0	26,62
14	MEMBERSHIP	9	8	25,56	28	PRIEBE	5	0	26,62

The words that carry the enlargement and elements of the process i.e. *(the) enlargement, membership, negotiations* in the 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski* correspond to the ones of the 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, as do the words indicating the countries or regions involved in the process *EU, the European, (the) Union, the countries, the region, Western, Balkans* with the exception of the word *Macedonia* that is missing from the 2006 B key words table. The participation of *the Commission* as representing the institutions involved in the accession process remains present in the 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski*, however, apart from presence of the Enlargement Commissioner *Olli Rehn*, there are novelties in the words carrying the parties or actors involved i.e. *Barosso* (referring to the former President of the European Commission José Manuel Durão Barroso), *Priebe* (referring to Reinhard Priebe, European Commission's Director for Western Balkans in Directorates General External Relations and Enlargement at the time) and *members*.

The key words from Table 3b generated a limited number of word clusters occurring with a minimum frequency of 5 times in the 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski* and have been listed under the following terminological domains:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

(THE) NEW MEMBERS – 9

OLLI REHN – 6

(EURO) COMMISSIONER FOR ENLARGEMENT - 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

EU - 53

THE EUROPEAN UNION – 17

(COUNTRIES FROM) THE WESTERN BALKAN(S) – 14

BULGARIA AND ROMANIA – 5

3 Domain: Institutions involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 10

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 10

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

DATE FOR (STARTING) (THE) NEGOTIATIONS – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

(THE) ABSORPTION CAPACITY (OF ABSORPTION) – 10

JUDICIARY REFORM(S) - 5

The word clusters under the terminological domains pertaining to the countries or regions or institutions involved in the process are rather constant throughout the corpus. The contexts of occurrence of *(the countries) from the Western Balkan(s)* correspond to the ones of the 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* in reiterating the European future for the countries from the region.

Nonetheless, the results from the examination conducted show quite apparent differences between the two sub-corpora originating from the two newspapers. Namely, the corresponding sub-corpus of the corpus *Dnevnik*, i.e. the *Dnevnik* newspaper articles from 2006, largely dealt with the *strategic document* and the speculations on its content moved from hypothesizing on the ability of the countries to determine the date for membership by themselves to numbering the years on the future enlargement of the Union (see above). In the analysed newspaper articles of the *Utrinski vesnik* deriving from 2006 neither the word *document* nor *strategic* occur at all.

In terms of the parties or actors involved terminological domain, *(the) new members* word cluster occurs solely in the corpus *Utrinski* and nine out of the total of 10 occurrences in the entire corpus fall to the 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski*. In eight of the total of nine appearances in this sub-corpus the contexts involve *(the) absorption capacity (of absorption)*. In the remaining one case the new members collocate with *Bulgaria and Romania*, the two countries that entered the Union on January 1, 2007.

In May 2006, the capacity to absorb has been referred to as a new criterion for EU accession in a newspaper article titled: “The absorption capacity, new criterion for entering the EU”, passing the statement given by an official EU representative defining the absorption capacity as the fourth Copenhagen criterion, presented in Table 7.128 of concordances here:

7.128 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity a.

*EU leaders planned for the middle of June. It is a general approach that the **absorption capacity** is the fourth Copenhagen criterion, stated an official representative of the EU*

However, one month later, i.e. in June 2006, the newspaper published an article contesting the previously stated, titled: “EU softens the conditions for membership. The absorption capacity is no longer an additional criterion for entering the EU”, nevertheless, conveying that the future enlargement of the Union shall depend on the ability of the Union to absorb new members, as well as the fact that the absorption capacity had got to be taken into account assigning the ‘executive’ Commission with preparing a document which contains ‘those criteria’ not elaborating upon the criteria in question whatsoever:

7.129 Table of concordances: Ability to absorb/Absorption capacity b.

*a. In its draft of conclusions, the leaders pointed out that they will respect the efforts of the candidate countries, but warned that the future enlargement shall depend on the **ability of the EU to “absorb” new members***

*b. “The enlargement tempo must take into consideration the **absorption capacity** of the Union” is pointed out, and added that the executive Commission of the EU shall be entrusted with preparing a report on those criteria*

Upon a further analysis of the possible context referencing ‘those criteria’ in the example above, no indication can be found in the article.

An article from November 2006 passed a statement given by Erhard Busek, the Special coordinator of the Stability Pact (see Chapter 5), presented in Table of concordances 7.130 below, defining the *absorption capacity* of the Union as a ‘scary expression’:

7.130 Table of concordances: Capacity of absorption c.

*positions in Brussels, whose price is being paid by our countries. “A scary expression has been born – **capacity of absorption** – which reflects upon the coldness of Europe’s vocabulary.*

The same article, as shown in Table 7.131 below, draws the conclusion that the change of terminology from absorption to integration capacity serves the Union’s end in assigning

credibility to the resistance of the EU to integrate Macedonia and the countries from the region, i.e. the Western Balkan countries:

7.131 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity d.

*EU is going to announce a new strategy towards Macedonia and the other countries from the region, switching the **absorption capacity** with the so called integration capacity, because the Balkan countries are too small so that the resistance towards their faster integration would be more credible*

The newspaper sees the poorly defined term absorption capacity as an opened escape from the already made promises for membership on the part of the EU:

7.132 Table of concordances: Absorption capacity e.

*The unclearly defined **absorption capacity** has become a signal for the current EU members, leaving space for excuses in withdrawing the promises for membership*

The above illustrated examples portray the general dissatisfaction with the current developments in the European Union at the time. The introduction of the capacity of the Union to integrate new members has been perceived as yet another justification that the EU had come up with in order to not integrate the country and the region. Based on the results from the conducted analysis, i.e. the word clusters listed under the five terminological domains above, in 2006 it was one of the major focuses in terms of the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia. Furthermore, the two opposing titles of the two articles published within a one month period and followed once more by contradictory statements additionally convey the confusion that this “new criterion” created, leaving an impression of puzzlement on both the communicating side (the newspaper), as well as on the side creating the policy on the future enlargements (the official EU bodies), which failed to fully define this novelty.

The five applications of the single word cluster under the enlargement and elements of the process terminological domain, *date for (starting) (the) negotiations* communicate statements given by the Commissioner for Enlargement Rehn that it is still “not the time for Macedonia”, as well as from the Western Balkans Director Priebe on the inability to assign a specific date for starting the negotiations on one hand, on the other the newspaper article entitled “EU is not announcing a date for negotiations for Macedonia” addressed the fact that the Government did

not comment on the Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia and the lack of negotiations date as in the several examples illustrated in Table of concordances 7.133 below:

7.133 Table of concordances: Date for (starting the) negotiations

*a. of Macedonia after receiving the candidate status in 2005 to receive a **date for starting the negotiations** in 2007, the assessment from Brussels is that the country is not ready for that.*

*b. EU is not announcing a **date for negotiations** for Macedonia. In Macedonia no one is commenting on the Report*

*c. during the December summit that is going to be held this week, to determine a **date for negotiations** with the Union for Macedonia. This was stated during the show “Euro zoom” by the enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn.*

*d. “For the time being it is not possible to give a precise **date for Macedonia for starting the accession negotiations** to the Union”*

The manner in which the issue had been attended to in the *Utrinski vesnik* articles from 2006 differs from the rather monotone treatment in the *Dnevnik* articles from 2006 which correlated the progress of the country with the expected date. Yet again, in 2006 the matter of date for negotiations had not be given as much coverage as it was given in 2005 (see above).

Finally, the topic of the dispute with the southern neighbour of Macedonia, i.e. Greece over the name of the country, which marked no occurrences in the 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, and had been called upon in the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski*, as shown in Table of concordances 7.134, in the 2006 sub-corpus of the analysed articles from *Utrinski vesnik* had been mentioned once passing the rather generic statement of the Commissioner Rehn on the bilateral approach towards reaching a solution:

7.134 Table of concordances: Name issue

*the opposition” stated the Euro Commissioner for Enlargement. According to Rehn, the **name issue** is a bilateral question between Macedonia and Greece and ought to be solved bilaterally*

7.5.3. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* – 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski*

Eighteen articles originating from 2007 form the third sub-corpus of the *Utrinski vesnik* corpus, hence forth 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski*. Once comparing the word list of 12.968 words to the word list of randomly assembled newspaper articles, a total of 59 key words emerged. Upon the exemption of the prepositions and the repetitive words, resulting from the lexical construction of

the Macedonian language, the remaining 46 key words have been listed in English language in Table 4b below, according to their rate of recurrence:

Table 4b: Key words of the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	150	240	100,15	24	(THE) ADMINISTRATION	16	4	37,92
2	EU	82	32	166,18	25	DATE	16	0	56,43
3	(THE) REPORT(S)	78/48	9/5	220,90/138,14	26	GENERALLY	14	4	31,81
4	THE EUROPEAN	54	26	99,44	27	MARKET	14	0	49,37
5	THE GOVERNMENT	45	42	54,05	28	THE PUBLIC	13	4	28,80
6	(THE) COMMISSION	40	11	92,08	29	THE CORRUPTION	13	3	31,53
7	BRUSSELS	38	8	94,57	30	THE ECONOMIC	13	2	34,82
8	EC	32	5	85,46	31	LAWS	13	1	39,02
9	STATED	27	19	40,01	32	POSITIVE	12	3	28,44
10	THE CRITERIA	27	5	69,38	33	RECOMMENDATION	12	3	28,44
11	THE POLITICAL	26	11	50,81	34	FOUERE	11	0	38,79
12	(THE) REFORMS	24	6	56,89	35	THE UNION	10	2	25,20
13	PROGRESS(direct translation)	24	1	76,63	36	CAPACITY	10	1	28,94
14	NEGOTIATIONS	23	3	63,66	37	(THE) REMARKS	10	1	28,94
15	ASSESSMENT(S)	23	3	63,66	38	CONSENSUS	10	1	28,94
16	THE JUDICIARY	23	1	73,19	39	MILOSHOSKI	10	0	35,26
17	THE OPOSITION	20	8	40,05	40	(THE) FUNCTIONING	10	0	35,26
18	THE PART	20	4	50,42	41	AREAS	9	1	25,61
19	(THE) PROGRESS(Mac.equivalent)	19	0	67,01	42	KONESKA-TRAJKOVSKA	9	0	31,74
20	ECONOMY	18	10	30,75	43	ABILITY	8	0	28,21
21	MEMBERSHIP	18	8	34,40	44	IMPLEMENTATION	7	0	24,68
22	FULFILLING	18	0	63,49	45	ZONES	7	0	24,68
23	STANDS	17	12	25,13	46	STABILISATION	7	0	24,68

When contrasting the two tables which contain key words originating from the same year of publication and carrying the same focal topic, i.e. the accession of the Republic of Macedonia at the time, as perceived by the two Macedonian daily newspapers, some similarities can be

discerned and mostly in the notions that pertain constant throughout both corpus *Dnevnik* and corpus *Utrinski* analyses, such as in the countries or regions involved in the process of accession, *EU, Macedonia, the European, the Union*, in some of the general key words that prevail the enlargement and the elements of the process negotiations, membership however in the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* supplemented by *Stabilisation and implementation*, as well as in the institutions or bodies involved *EC and (the) Commission*. Other than the constant key word *Brussels and Fouere* in the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* the parties or actors involved engross *the Government, the opposition*, the Foreign Minister at the time *Miloshoski*, as well as the Deputy President of the Government in charge of European Integration *Koneska-Trajkovska*. The notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives which failed to be represented by the key words of the previous two sub-corpora B, in the 2007 sub-corpus B are being carried by an abundant number of words *criteria, (the) reforms, ability, (the) political, capacity, the corruption, fulfilling* and the elements of the Progress Report are once more present in *progress, (the) remarks, (the) report(s), stands, assessment(s)*. An additional distinction between the two sub-corpora of the two newspapers from 2007 is that the key words *the economic, market, economy, (the) functioning* refer to the economic aspects of the process of accession while the key words *areas, public, administration, (the) judiciary* attend to specific questions significant for the progress of the country on its path towards EU membership.

The seven terminological domains listed below enclose the relatively small number of word clusters generated by the 46 key words from Table 4b above. The calculating principle remains the same, i.e. only the word clusters with a minimum frequency of five times of occurrence in the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* have been taken into account for a further analysis.

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION – 6

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

THE EUROPEAN UNION – 11

3 Domain: Institutions involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 37

EC – 32

The occurrence of the single word cluster of the parties or actors involved terminological domain in six newspaper articles produced between September and December 2007, i.e. 4 months period,

the Government and the opposition, comes as a result of the disagreements between the governmental coalition and the oppositional parties in 2007, as well as the blockade of the work of the Parliament in the country resulting from these disputes. In this regard the 2007 Progress Report on the Republic of Macedonia elaborates upon the differences and calls for an intensified political dialogue and consultations between the Government and the opposition. The word clusters listed under the countries or regions, i.e. institutions involved terminological domains are constant throughout the corpus and bring no novelties in the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski*.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

STARTING NEGOTIATIONS – 9

(THE) DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – 9

NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP - 7

In terms of the enlargement and the elements of the process, and similarly with the circumstances in the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*, the only three word clusters pertaining to this domain center around the *date for starting the negotiations* thus accentuating on the negotiations as a single, most important concern in terms of the accession of the country in 2007.

In this respect, in June 2007 the State Secretary in the Ministry of Finance at the time elaborated that the:

7.135 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations a.

*Economic results point out that Macedonia may expect a positive Report from the European Commission and **date for negotiations**”*

Furthermore, another article from the same month conveys the welcoming of the improved political dialogue in the country by the European Parliament MPs:

7.136 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations for membership b.

*Generally, the Members of the European Parliament greeted the success of the political dialogue in Macedonia, asking that once the results from the already agreed are implemented, Macedonia to receive **a date for negotiations for membership**, i.e. as soon as possible*

However, an article originating from September 2007 conveys that:

7.137 Table of concordances: Date for starting the negotiations c.

*Macedonia does not expect **date for starting the negotiations** with the EU in the November Report of the European Commission*

As expected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and conveyed by the spokesperson of the Foreign Ministry at that time, coming as a result of the ‘commitments of the Macedonian Government in every area with specific aims and agenda’:

7.138 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations d.

*as a result of that we expect serious step forward in 2008, i.e. **date for negotiations** with the EU and invitation for NATO membership”, adding that “we remain dedicated to the implementation of the reforms in the country”.*

Finally, in October 2007, the expected positive Report from June, and the expected negotiations for 2008, turned into a black-white Report with severe remarks in terms of the political criteria:

7.139 Table of concordances: No date for negotiations for membership e.

*Macedonia received a black-white Report from the European Commission, with the biggest minuses in the area most important for the Union, i.e. the political criteria and with **no date for negotiations for membership**.*

Based on the contradicting statements presented in Tables of concordances 7.135 – 7.136 above, ensuing from the events that marked specific months of the year 2007, ranging from pure optimism in June to determination on the lack of negotiations and deficiency in fulfilling the political criteria in October, one of the reasons why the country did not receive a date for negotiations in 2007 was the poor political dialogue among the Government and opposition at the time.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 14
THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 11
FUNCTIONING MARKET ECONOMY – 10
(THE) FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION – 8
(THE) JUDICIAL REFORMS – 8
POLITICAL CONSENSUS – 6
COPENHAGEN CRITERIA – 5

The remarks and assessments of *the public administration, the fight against corruption, the judicial reforms and the functioning market economy* had been specifically addressed in the

Progress Report of 2007. Their occurrences in this sub-corpus *Utrinski* are due to the conveyances and analysis conducted in the analysed newspaper articles on the progress made or lack of progress in these specific areas as reported by the Commission and as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.140 here:

7.140 Table of concordances: Public administration/Corruption/Judicial reforms/Functioning market economy

*a. supports the economic growth. Still, the EU considers that in order for the **market economy to be fully functional** it should be able to deal with the weaknesses of the judiciary*

*b. The part on the **public administration** is actually the heftiest in the part with the political obligations of Macedonia, with a general remark that the reforms are being conveyed but the results in this area are limited*

*c. The Government had been praised for the results in the **fight against the corruption** with a message that the corruptions should be destroyed as a system and thus the efforts in this area ought to continue further.*

*d. Because of that, the areas to which we ought to commit are the **judicial reforms**. In all countries this was a slow and painful process, since the matrix of the system changes.*

In all of its 11 occurrences, the word cluster *the political criteria* has been set in a ‘dissatisfactory’ context. Some of the applications of the cluster have already been illustrated above related to the date for negotiations. Others, as presented in Tables 7.141, 7.142 and 7.143 below, convey the disappointment of the Commissioner Rehn in the lack of the fulfilment of the political criteria:

7.141 Table of concordances: Political criteria a.

*a. Progress in Macedonia can be detected, but that he is disappointed from the unfulfilling of the **political criteria**, and especially in the inability to reach a political compromise*

*b. Olli Rehn is disappointed from the unfulfilling of the **political criteria**. Brussels expects functioning cohabitation between the President and the Prime Minister*

The negative assessment influenced both the Progress Report and the date for negotiations:

7.142 Table of concordances: Political criteria b.

*a. The bad evaluation of the **political criteria** coloured the EU Report. What is required from Macedonia is to implement what the country has adopted as a law*

*b. The message from the Brussels diplomats is that Macedonia could become Taiwan, but still the **political criteria** are decisive in giving a date and have been the first to be mentioned in the Report*

These criteria were apparently deemed critical to joining the EU:

7.143 Table of concordances: Political criteria c.

*internal political issues. For approaching the EU it is necessary to fulfil the **political criteria**, but there are others as well, not only them.*

The outcomes of the examinations conducted above in the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski*, and especially the environments encircling the date for negotiations, further supported by the disagreements between the Government and the opposition at the time resulting in lack of political dialogue further imply that the political criteria, which are pivotal in advancing towards the European Union, had not been fulfilled.

The *Copenhagen criteria* on the other hand, in the current sub-corpus, as shown in Table of concordance 7.144, have been called upon twice, once highlighting the failure of the Macedonian authorities to fully grasp the meaning of focusing on them and once in an article providing an analysis of the significance of the economic aspect being the second of the so-called Copenhagen criteria:

7.144 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria

*a. understand sufficiently the meaning on focusing to fulfil the **Copenhagen criteria** and the full implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. that report of course, starts from*

*b. the essence of the economic (or the second) of the so called **Copenhagen criteria** that every country ought to fulfil in order to become member*

The other applications of the cluster involve the statements given by the Deputy President of the Government in charge of European Integration at the time, Bocevski, reiterating that the name issue is not a part of the Copenhagen criteria furthermore reflecting upon the attitude of the Macedonian Government at the time treating this matter on a bilateral level:

7.145 Table of concordances: Name issue/Copenhagen criteria a.

*a. inclusion of the **issue** in the documents of the EU stated that **the name** is not a part of the **Copenhagen criteria** of the EU and “if we literally interpret the conclusion, the phrase ‘mutually’ which concerns a mutually acceptable solution, means a bilateral approval of both parties, i.e. that the problem is bilateral, between Macedonia and Greece*

*b. The **name** is not a part of the **Copenhagen criteria**. “It is expected that Greece should use its membership, including its EU membership as well, to promote and spread its attitude towards the **name issue***

The question that had occupied the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia in the overall corpora analysis so far and especially in the later period, i.e. 2008 – 2009, in the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* is being rather strongly held as opposed to the low frequency in the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*. The ideological approach towards the rights of every country to its own name provided by the newspaper *Dnevnik* (see above), in the *Utrinski vesnik* has been abandoned i.e. the newspaper addressed this matter from different angles.

In the several Tables of concordances below, the newspaper summarises the findings of the 2007 Progress Report concerning this issue:

7.146 Table of concordances: Name issue b.

*a. constructive approach, for finding a mutually acceptable solution to the **name issue** with Greece, under the auspices of the UN. The Commission determines that*

*b. we have close relations that cover many areas with Greece, which are still being disturbed due to the **name issue** in which area no progress has been achieved. The recommendations is that*

Furthermore, the newspaper provides an analytical overview of the situation by interpreting the statement given by the Portuguese Foreign Minister at the time (see Table 7.147) upon which the Macedonian Foreign Minister once more restated the bilateral side of this matter (7.148):

7.147 Table of concordances: Name issue c.

*a. Brussels – The European Union requires from Macedonia to find a solution to the **name issue with Greece** and that attitude, that had so far been a phrase in the Brussels documents has now been given a realistic political weight.*

*b. Portugal did not make a name for itself much in the past with the **name issue** of Macedonia, but the response of the European Commission, which stated that they completely agree with the attitude of Antunes (Foreign Minister), confirmed that a wider position on this issue is being built and Greece is no longer that lonely.*

7.148 Table of concordances: Name issue d.

*“The Macedonian Government is happy because of the EP’s Resolution according to which the bilateral **name issue** is not part of the criteria for acceding the EU. But we are prepared to constructively approach the Greek sensitivity upon this issue”*

Finally, the newspaper interprets the situation as welcomed by the member countries, which are not very much in favour of further enlargements, and takes that Macedonia had no support from Brussels leading to the unsolved status of the name question.

7.149 Table of concordances: Reservations towards new enlargements

Unlike Croatia, which at the time being has also problems with the Union because of the big corruption and the dispute with Slovenia and Italy over the borders, but no one is giving any weight to that, Macedonia has no protection from Brussels, so this kind of draw backs are welcomed for the countries which have reservations towards the new enlargements.

Greece had been referenced 12 times in the sub-corpus in relation to the name issue and to the expected reaction upon the renaming of the Skopje Airport into “Alexander the Great” by the Macedonian authorities in 2007.

What can be concluded from the above results and compared to the treatment of this issue in the corresponding sub-corpus of *Dnevnik* is that in the examined articles deriving from 2007 the two newspapers provided unlike views. Namely, the pro-governmental *Dnevnik* referred to the renaming of the airport once, treated the name issue as a right of the country objectively stipulating that the issue will be solved soon and generically stated that the rapporteur from the European National Party uses the name Macedonia everywhere. On the other hand, the oppositional *Utrinski vesnik* passed statements from Macedonian Governmental officials, interpreted the insinuations provided by EU representatives and provided an explanation of the treatment of the matter in terms of the ongoing situation in the Union at the time. This state of affairs in the two newspapers had been separately reaching a wider readership audience of which many read both newspapers on daily bases.

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

(THE) REPORT OF (THE)(EUROPEAN) COMMISSION – 20
THE PROGRESS OF MACEDONIA – 6
THE ECONOMIC PART – 5

7 Domain: Agreements

THE STABILISATION (AND ASSOCIATION) AGREEMENT - 5

The last two terminological domains of this sub-corpus bring no novelties in the word clusters generated. The word clusters pertaining to the elements of the Progress Report domain occur in contexts examining the findings in the published Report and the five referrals to the *Stabilisation*

and Association Agreement make reference to the achievements or lack of achievements that the Government had made in terms of fulfilling the provisions of the Agreement itself.

7.5.4. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* – 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski*

The fourth sub-corpus of the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper corpus (henceforth 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski*), is consisted of 20 newspaper articles published by the newspaper in 2008. The total number of words in this sub-corpus is 14,219. Upon the calculation of the key words once comparing the word list of the 2008 sub-corpus to a randomly generated newspaper article word list, a total of 67 key words emerged. Table 5b below includes 53 key words in the English language, ordered according to their frequency of occurrence, once the prepositions and the repetitive words have been exempted.

Table 5b: Key words of the 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	MACEDONIA	169	240	114,64	28	MEMBERSHIP	19	8	34,59
2	EU	110	32	233,35	29	PARTIES	18	6	36,22
3	REHN	52	0	175,63	30	MILOSHOSKI	15	0	50,63
4	(THE) REPORT	50	9	122,14	31	MIREL	15	0	50,63
5	THE EUROPEAN	49	26	79,29	32	RECEIVE	14	4	29,82
6	(THIS) COUNTRY	44	28	63,79	33	THE CONDITIONS	14	1	40,31
7	THE NAME	44	17	83,34	34	OLLI	14	0	47,25
8	BRUSSELS	42	8	101,13	35	THE FIGHT	13	2	32,92
9	THE GOVERNMENT	40	42	38,59	36	REMARK(S)	13	0	43,88
10	STATED	39	19	66,08	37	FULFILLING	13	0	43,88
11	(THE) POLITICAL	36	11	74,90	38	BOCEVSKI	13	0	43,88
12	DATE	35	0	118,18	39	ADMINISTRATION	12	4	24,14
13	CRITERIA	34	5	86,97	40	THE PART	12	4	24,14
14	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	33	3	91,99	41	THE UNION	12	2	29,84
15	COMMISSION	30	11	58,09	42	THE COMMITTEE	11	1	30,65
16	THE DISPUTE (name issue)	30	8	65,44	43	THE EURO INTEGRATION	11	1	30,65
17	EC	30	5	74,62	44	THE EURO	10	1	27,46

						COMMISSIONER			
18	SAID	29	33	25,70	45	FILFILL	10	1	27,46
19	DIALOGUE	27	7	59,44	46	STABILITY	10	0	33,75
20	FOUERE	27	0	91,15	47	SENT A MESSAGE	9	1	24,28
21	(THE) REFORMS	26	6	59,34	48	LAWS	9	1	24,28
22	(THE) PROGRESS (lit. translation)	26	1	79,63	49	THE JUDICIARY	9	1	24,28
23	GRUEVSKI	24	19	29,76	50	THE EIGHT	9	0	30,37
24	SOLUTION	24	15	35,18	51	IMPLEMENTATION	8	0	27,00
25	(THE) ELECTIONS	24	8	48,30	52	ERWAN	8	0	27,00
26	THE OPPOSITION	23	8	45,51	53	STABILISATION	8	0	27,00
27	(THE) PROGRESS (Mac. equivalent)	20	0	67,51					

39 out of 54 key words of the 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* can also be found in the key words table of the entire third corpus *Utrinski* and 35 are identical with the ones from the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik*.

Therefore, the key words of the 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* that indicate the countries or regions involved i.e. *Macedonia, EU, (this) country, the European, the Union*, the parties or actors involved *Brussels, Olli, Rehn, Erwan, Fouere, the Euro Commissioner, Miloshoski, Bocevski* with the novelty in the inclusion of the name of the Prime Minister *Gruevski* as well as the institutions or bodies involved *EC, Commission, the Government, the opposition* supported by *the Committee* remain constant. The key words defining the enlargement and the elements of the process are widely held by *membership, the negotiations, Stabilisation, Euro integration, implementation*. The identifiers of the notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives are being carried by the key words: *reforms, political, criteria, fulfilling, conditions, the eight* and the key words *the Report, (the) progress, remarks*, involve the elements of the Progress Reports.

The seven terminological domains below encircle the fairly small number of constant word clusters of the 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* which have been generated through the key words listed in the above table:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

(THE) POLITICAL PARTIES – 15

OLLI REHN – 14

ERWAN FOUERE – 8

THE EU DELEGATION – 6

EURO COMMISSIONER OLLI REHN – 6

THE PRIME MINISTER GRUEVSKI – 5
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION - 5

Most of the word clusters pertaining to the parties or actors terminological domain of the 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* are constant throughout the corpora. In that regard, the quotations or interpretations of the messages, statement or comments of the EU institutions in the country as represented by *Erwan Fouere*, the EU Ambassador in Macedonia at the time and (*the Euro Commissioner*) for Enlargement at the time *Olli Rehn* bear no elements of surprise. The introduction of the word cluster the *EU Delegation* results from the visit that the delegation, led by Pierre Mirel, Director in the Directorate General for Enlargement at the time, paid to the country in September 2008 before the publication of the Progress Report in order to inspect the current state of affairs in the Republic of Macedonia. *The political parties* in this sub-corpus have been called upon in reference to their influence on the media in the country, the regulations on their financing, as well as their part in the disputes that had been going on in the Parliament at the time between the *Government and the opposition*, which further led to a ‘black’ Report and made the Commission openly express their opinion that the country has failed the basic democracy test as shown in Table of concordances 7.150:

7.150 Table of concordances: Government and the opposition

- a. The black prognoses about the Report came true. The **Government and the opposition** are seeking the culprit for the non-fulfilled political criterion*
- b. The responsibility for the EC Report is split between the **Government and the opposition**. You don't need to be a rocket scientist in order to see where the inconsistencies are, said Erwan Fouere*
- c. This year the **Government and the opposition** obviously reached a big progress – they made the European Commission take off its diplomatic gloves and tell us most directly that we have received the lowest grades at the basic test of democracy.*

The introduction of the *Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski* word cluster has been connected to both the findings of the Progress Report and to the application for NATO membership of the country, further linked to the name issue that shall be explored in depth under the 7th terminological domain below:

7.151 Table of concordances: Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski

a. The **Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski** yesterday, after receiving the document, came out with a conclusion that “**the Report** is realistic and generally contains what has been going on in Macedonia during the past 12 months, with a recommendation about the weaknesses and their overcoming”

b. The **Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski** yesterday during the meeting of the **North Atlantic Council** received encouraging signals about the chances to receive an invitation for membership in Bucharest, but with discouraging messages from half of the participants – that a mutually acceptable solution to the **name issue**

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

THE EUROPEAN UNION - 10

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION - 28

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

TO (RECEIVE) DATE (FOR NEGOTIATIONS) – 25

EU MEMBERSHIP – 6

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION - 6

NEGOTIATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP – 5

The word clusters of the second and the third terminological domain bring no novelties in this sub-corpus’s analysis.

The 35 occurrences of the key word *date* in all of their contexts relate to the key word *negotiations* hence forming the most frequent word cluster of the fourth terminological domain (*to receive*) *date for negotiations* and *negotiations for membership*.

In January 2008, in order for the country to be given a date for negotiations it had to strengthen the reforms, adopt laws and implement them according to the message sent from the EU Ambassador Fouere and presented in Table of concordances 7.152 below:

7.152 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations a.

*Strengthening of the reforms, adoption of the important laws, but also their effective implementation are the arguments that Macedonia ought to give to the European Union so that Brussels can set a **date for negotiations**.*

Upon the disagreements between the Government and the opposition leading to a negative image of the political situation in the country as reflected in the Progress Report and the non-fulfilling of the political criteria, in March 2008 the Prime Minister called the opposition to cooperate in order for the country to be granted the negotiations date as shown in Table 7.153:

7.153 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations b.

*He asked the opposition for a political unification in the country and cooperation in order to come to **date for negotiations**. “We require that the opposition shows constructiveness and to stand behind the state interests” said Gruevski.*

Additionally, during the same month, i.e. March 2008, Commissioner Rehn delivered the eight benchmarks for the country that ought to have been fulfilled by October the same year in order to get the desired date:

7.154 Table of concordances: Receive date for negotiations c.

*The European Commission Commissioner for Enlargement, Olli Rehn, yesterday delivered the eight conditions that the Macedonian Government has to fulfil if she wants to **receive date for negotiations** this year.*

In September 2008, according to the statement of the Commissioner for Enlargement Rehn, in order to receive date for negotiations the country needs to achieve stability provided by the Government, Parliament and the judicial system:

7.155 Table of concordances: Receive date for negotiations for membership d.

*According to him, it is a responsibility for everyone that wants us to **receive date for negotiations for membership** to achieve stability, and the Government, the Parliament and the judiciary have a specific responsibility in providing systematic conditions for free and fair elections.*

However, in October 2008, upon the fourth ‘no’ by the European Commission, the newspaper, clearly frustrated with the state of events, posed the question whether the Macedonian authorities have the will and intention whatsoever for a negotiations date or are simply using the situation for mutual cross fires and for alienation of the country from the European objective, as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.156 here:

7.156 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations e.

*That is why, it is the high time, that after fourth “no” to be a reason to ask the question whether anyone in Macedonia has the will and the intention at all to receive **date for negotiations** or the conditions required by the EU are to be used to blackmail each other and to further us from the goal.*

Even though the newspaper clearly found the Government to be responsible for the failure to receive the date for negotiations, the Prime Minister elaborating upon the remarks from the

Progress Report on the recommendation for the name issue with the southern neighbour to be solved in the spirit of the good neighbourly relations, passed the guilt to the unsolved name issue to the partner countries, i.e. EU members that tolerate such statements from one EU member in November 2008:

7.157 Table of concordances: Not receive date for negotiations f.

*In that context, Gruevski said that it is discouraging to hear some of the statements of one EU member that **without a solution to the name issue** the country will **not receive date for negotiations** “and it is even more discouraging that its partners have no reactions to this”*

During the same month, upon the publication of the Report and of the fact that there is no assignment of the negotiations date, the EU Ambassador Fouere brought the message that:

7.158 Table of concordances: Date for starting the negotiations g.

*The criteria, above all the political criteria for European Union accession are not being fulfilled in a way that would allow the European Commission to recommend **a date for starting the negotiations** with Macedonia.*

He encouraged the state leaders to work together in order to achieve the aim in getting the needed date:

7.159 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations h.

*“I am convinced that the state has capacities to fulfil that and the political leaders should work together to achieve the following phase which would mean getting a **date for negotiations**”.*

Based on the statements by the EU as well as Governmental officials, and the interpretations provided by the newspaper, illustrated in Tables of concordances 7.154 – 7.159 above, in March 2008 the EU institutions called for implementation of reforms and brought eight conditions that ought to have been fulfilled in order for the negotiations date to be assigned to the country, and the Prime Minister called for an constructive behaviour by the opposition. In September the ‘dream’ of getting a date for negotiations had still been alive in the Commissioner Rehn’s call for the Government, Parliament and judicial system to provide stability. In October, once the failure to receive a date had become obvious the newspaper found the Government to blame. In November the Prime Minister found the guilt in the unresolved name issue and the statements

given by the Greek authorities while the EU Ambassador reconfirmed that the political criteria had not been fulfilled, the date had not been granted but encouraged the leadership of the country to work together towards that aim.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

THE POLITICAL CRITERIA – 17
THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – 11
POLITICAL DIALOGUE – 10
THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CORRUPTION – 8
(THE) JUDICIAL REFORMS – 7
THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA – 5

Based on the results from the analysis conducted in the terminological domains above, it is obvious that there was none or *the political dialogue* had been *unconstructive* and *unsustainable* and the country did not fulfil the *political criteria*. As shown in Table of concordances 7.160 below, the dissatisfaction of the newspaper with the circumstances in the accession progress of the Republic of Macedonia in 2008 had been openly directed towards the Government and the parties involved in the process as can be seen from the illustrated examples deriving from October and November that year:

7.160 Table of concordances: Political criteria a.

*a. Practically, there was no key recommendation from the EU that was not incorrectly conveyed and there was almost no party or institution that did not contribute last year towards us receiving the lowest marks in the **political criteria**, even though everyone was aware that they are decisive for a date.*

*b. When the European Commission announces that you are not satisfying the **political criteria**, that is a really heavy formulation and it speaks of*

*c. necessary for receiving a date for starting the negotiations with the Union, mostly in the part of the **political criteria** with a remark that they have not been fulfilled.*

The discontent is further detectable in the Commissioner Rehn's statement upon the publication of the Report that the good progress in the other areas had been wasted with the inability to achieve progress in the political criteria, presented in Table 7.161:

7.161 Table of concordances: Political criteria b.

*but those good results went down the drain with the inconsistencies in the fulfilling of the **political criteria** which are fundamental for the Euro integration", said Rehn – November 2011*

Following poorly conducted Parliamentary elections in 2008 Mirel accentuated on the importance of the political criteria and stated that:

7.162 Table of concordances: Political criteria c.

*“The **political criteria** are the ones that require stable institutions, i.e. guarantee of democracy and the rule of law”, stated Mirel and added that “one cannot say that the political institutions function in an undisturbed and effective manner”*

The *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper in October 2008 quoted the statement from the not officially published Report at the time that:

7.163 Table of concordances: Political criteria d.

*That, “the country still does not fulfil the **political criteria**” which are key for starting the negotiations with the Union.*

Finally, as shown in Table of concordances 7.164, the newspaper concluded its view on the current state of affairs stating that the country did poorly with the key conditions and there was no worse mark than the one the country had received:

7.164 Table of concordances: Country did not pass the other key conditions

*With this kind of mark there was no need to mention that the country is **not qualified to receive a date for negotiations**, because there is no worse that one can get, and there was also no need to accentuate on the name issue because **the country did not pass the other key conditions** of the European Commission.*

As per the Copenhagen criteria, Commissioner Rehn stated that:

7.165 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria a.

*The fulfilling of the **Copenhagen criteria** is a basic condition for the Euro integration*

and therefore called upon the Government to ensure a proper functioning of the democratic institutions and enforced political dialogue.

On the other hand, as illustrated in Table of concordances 7.166, the Macedonian Foreign Minister at the time made a connection between the Copenhagen criteria and the name issue and

stated that the Union should not burden the country with additional criteria other than the ones set in Copenhagen thus foretelling the future developments in this regard:

7.166 Table of concordances: Copenhagen criteria b.

*Macedonia is determined to fulfill the set tasks for EU membership, but as a small country is concerned not to be faced with addition unprincipled conditions and obstructions which are not part of the **Copenhagen criteria**. EU should respect the principles that she has set herself and the progress of the candidate countries should be evaluated on that base.*

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

THE REPORT OF THE EC – 8

REPORT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION - 6

7 Domain: Other

NAME ISSUE – 22

(TO FIND) SOLUTION TO THE NAME ISSUE – 11

MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION – 5

The sixth terminological domain above entails the word clusters which occur in contexts dealing with the finding of the Progress Report.

As per the name issue that had already been examined in contexts linking it to the date for negotiations or the criteria for starting the negotiations, the newspaper reports with a dosage of scepticism, criticism and a dosage of mockery. Namely in an article entitled “Macedonia got a Veto from the EU as well, Sarkozy is recommending us to love Greece and to find a compromise to the name issue” from June 2006, referring to the unresolved issue which led to Macedonia not receiving an invitation for joining NATO during the Bucharest Summit:

7.167 Table of concordances: Name issue a.

*The European Union conditioned the progress of Macedonia towards membership with solving the **name** of the state, with the famous announcement that if the **issue is solved** and if the other conditions are fulfilled, a step further would be possible even by the end of this year*

In November 2008, once the Progress Report had been published, Commissioner Rehn stated that the Union had set eight conditions on which the country has made progress, however the unsatisfactorily conveyed elections came as a negative surprise for the Union. The newspaper further informed about Rehn’s assertion that the name issue is not enclosed with the negotiations

and that he encouraged both sides to solve it. Finally, the newspaper concluded that upon his statements, Rehn used the same phrases heard many times on the matter within the previous months:

7.168 Table of concordances: Name issue b.

*and added that the **name issue** is separated and is not a part of the negotiations package, but still he encourages both sides to solve it, with all phrases afterwards that we here for months now on this topic.*

In this direction, the European Union encouraged both Macedonia and Greece to find a fair and *mutually acceptable solution* to the name issue.

The Macedonian side, i.e. the Macedonian governmental officials stated this matter as a bilateral issue and out of the Copenhagen criteria as illustrated above.

Based on the frequency of occurrence of the word clusters dealing with the topics of the date for starting the negotiations analysed under the fourth terminological domain, the criteria for accession explored under the fifth terminological domain and the name issue of the seventh terminological domain prevail the 2008 sub-corpus of the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper similarly to the focal point of interest treated in the *Dnevnik* newspaper as well.

7.5.5. Newspaper articles from the Macedonian Daily newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* – 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski*

The remaining 20 articles of the entire third corpus *Utrinski* compose the last sub-corpus of the *Utrinski vesnik* subjected to in depth exploration here. The 2009 sub-corpus's *Utrinski* word list holds a total of 15,014 words, which further generated a total of 50 key words once compared to a word list of the randomly assembled newspaper articles. Upon exemption of the repetitive words and of the prepositions contained in the list, the remainder 40 key words, listed according to their frequency in the sub-corpus have been listed in Table 6b below in English language:

Table 6b: Key words of the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (English version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
<i>I</i>	MACEDONIA	163	240	95,53	<i>2I</i>	BRUSSELS	17	8	27,97

2	EU	138	32	303,7 3	22	PAPANDREU	17	0	55,88
3	(THE) NEGOTIATIONS	55	3	158,5 8	23	FULFILLING	16	0	52,59
4	THE NAME	43	17	77,17	24	(THE) RECOMMENDATIO N	15	0	49,31
5	GREECE	42	36	45,89	25	REPORT	14	5	26,26
6	THE COUNTRY(IES)	42	28	55,90	26	OLLI	13	0	42,73
7	THE GOVERNMENT	40	42	35,92	27	VETO	13	0	42,73
8	DATE	39	0	128,2 4	28	BALKANS	12	3	25,72
9	GRUEVSKI	37	19	58,07	29	WESTERN	12	3	25,72
10	REHN	37	0	121,6 6	30	THE ENLARGEMENT	12	2	28,82
11	THE EUROPEAN	35	26	43,01	31	THE RESOLUTION	11	0	36,15
12	(THE) ELECTIONS	28	8	57,35	32	THE CONDITIONS	10	1	26,60
13	(THE) REFORMS	26	0	85,48	33	THE PROGRESS	10	0	32,87
14	MEMBERSHIP	25	8	49,07	34	FOUERE	10	0	32,87
15	THE ISSUE (name)	25	8	49,07	35	LIBERALISATION	9	0	29,58
16	MEIJER	24	1	70,93	36	START (lit. translation)	9	0	29,58
17	COMMISSION	21	11	32,57	37	EUROPEAN MPs	9	0	29,58
18	PARLIAMENT	19	8	33,08	38	PATTEN	8	0	29,58
19	THE UNION	19	2	50,11	39	PILI	8	0	26,29
20	START (Mac. equivalent)	17	9	26,20	40	STARTING	8	0	26,29

Upon a comparison of the key words table of the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* to the key words table of the entire third corpus *Utrinski* table (see above), 24 identical key words can be discerned. Furthermore, once compared to the key words table of the 2008 sub-corpus, the two tables bear 24 identical key words and compared to the 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* key words table, further 22 corresponding key words can be detected.

Namely, based on the above findings, there are no major alterations in the constant key words that refer to the countries or regions involved i.e. *Macedonia, EU, (the) country(ies), the European, the Union* in 2009 enlarged with *Western, Balkans*, the ones referring to the parties or actors involved *Brussels, Olli, Ren, Fouere* in 2009 strengthened by the presence of the Prime Minister *Gruevski* once again, as well as *Meijer, Patten* (the former Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Chris Patten) and the *European MPs* (Members of the European Parliament) nor in the key words signifying the institutions or bodies involved *Commission, the Government* supported

by the *Parliament*. The enlargement and the elements of the process key words remain widely held by *membership, recommendation, starting, the negotiations, start* and *membership*. The notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives bear their representatives in the key words *reforms, fulfilling, conditions, elections* and *liberalization* and the constant key words which define the elements of the Progress Reports *the Report, (the) progress* remain the same. The presence of the rather vast number of key words *Greece, Veto, Papandreu* (Prime Minister of Greece at the time), *the issue, the name, Pili* (location in Greece where the Macedonian and the Greek Prime Minister met for the first time to discuss the name issue) indicate the risen importance of this issue and further designate a spotlight to this matter in 2009. The 40 key words listed in the table above generated a limited number of word clusters with the application of the Word Smith software tool, classified under the following seven terminological domains:

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

OLLI REHN – 13

THE PRIME MINISTER NIKOLA GRUEVSKI - 6

PAPANDREU AND GRUEVSKI – 5

(EURO) COMMISSIONER FOR ENLARGEMENT OLLI REHN - 5

The two word clusters of the parties or actors involved terminological domain of the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski*, *(Euro) Commissioner Olli Rehn* and *Olli Rehn* are constant throughout both third corpus *Dnevnik* and third corpus *Utrinski*. Their regular occurrence is rather anticipated, bearing in mind the role and the institution, as well as the importance of the position that the Enlargement Commissioner bore at the time, primarily for the Republic of Macedonia and for the whole region as well. Consequently, the high occurrence of this word cluster collocates principally with the statements that the Commissioner gave and the interpretations and analysis of these statements that the newspaper(s) provided.

Unlike the consistency of the above cluster, the word cluster *the Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski* occurs merely in the 2008 and 2009 sub-corpora *Utrinski*. In the previously analysed sub-corpus the Prime Minister had been called for in reference to the Progress Reports and to the name issue. In two of the total of 6 applications in the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* the word cluster occurs in technical settings, i.e. in terms of a meeting held with the Commissioner Rehn and reference to a letter that had been sent regarding the elections that had been conducted at the time

passing a message that if the country wants a progress towards the EU the elections had to be conveyed in a free and fair manner.

Apart from the two occurrences, in the 2009 sub-corpus, the name of the Prime Minister Gruevski occurs in harsher rhetoric. Namely, after the Bucharest summit in 2008 when the country was not invited to join NATO, in 2009 the country received a recommendation for starting the negotiations from the European Commission but without an assigned date for their commencement. As shall be further examined under the terminological domain to follow, the recommendation resulted from the acknowledgement of the progress that the country had made in terms of fulfilling the political i.e. the Copenhagen criteria. However, the newspaper stance on this account, as reflected in the illustration in Table of concordances 7.169 below, is that the non-official part of the Progress Report on the necessity to solve the name issue is more important than the reforms with which the Prime Minister praised himself:

7.169 Table of concordances: Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski a.

*It has actually shown that the second unofficial part of the EC Report which is nowhere written but was orally passed to Macedonia to find a solution to the name issue is actually of an essential importance, and not the acknowledgment of the reforms with which the **Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski** is praising himself. He should really try to give an explanation to the Macedonian citizens what are his intentions*

Furthermore, as shown in Table 7.170, the newspaper sees the visa liberalisation granted to the Republic of Macedonia as a sign of good will towards the citizens and not towards the Government thus expressing the dissatisfaction with the work of the officials:

7.170 Table of concordances: Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski b.

*What Macedonia can hope for is that it is almost certain that this year the decision about the visa liberalisation will be brought, packed as a gesture of good will towards the citizens of our country, and not towards the Government of the **Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski**.*

The impression of discontent following the final two applications of the cluster remains present. Namely, upon the decision of the Council of Ministers to postpone the assigning of a date for starting the negotiations, the newspaper poses several questions in terms of the future course of actions that the Government is planning to take, whether the state ought to revise the existing course in terms of the name issue and finally how long could the country sustain itself outside of

the Union politically and economically. The newspaper elaborates on the answers of these questions ironically quoting the statement of the Prime Minister on hoping for better days:

7.171 Table of concordances: Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski c.

*on the contrary, consistent to the behaviour so far they continued in the same style, the President Gjorge Ivanov is angry with Europe, the **Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski**, as he stated during his first reaction upon the Brussels decision “ waits for better winds from Greece ”*

It finally concludes that PM Gruevski must reach important decisions:

7.172 Table of concordances: Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski d.

*A recommendation with a clear message. The **Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski** undoubtedly needs to reach important decisions in the next period*

The freshly introduced word cluster *Papandreu and Gruevski* in its five occurrences elaborates on the brief meeting between the two prime ministers in Pili. In four of the total of five cases, the contexts that encircle the word cluster state that the meeting was held behind closed doors, that the solution would not be reached that fast or that the journalists might never find out the content of the conversation. In the final application illustrated in Table of concordances 7.173 below, what follows the meeting of the two prime ministers is the possibility for a second international failure that the country is facing in less than two years, referencing the results from the NATO summit the previous year:

7.173 Table of concordances: Papandreu and Gruevski

*The fact that **Papandreu and Gruevski** during their second tête-à-tête meeting concluded that the long-standing problem cannot be solved overnight is a small consolation for Macedonia which for the second time in less than two years is faced with the danger to bill an international failure.*

The tone, the reactions and the offered interpretations of the newspaper on the failure to once again receive a negotiations date connected to the name issue, which can be forecasted from the above illustrations, shall be further explored under the fourth and the seventh terminological domain to follow.

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – 15
WESTERN BALKANS – 12
THE EUROPEAN UNION – 8
(THE) COUNTRIES FROM THE WESTERN BALKAN - 5

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – 20
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – 18

The countries and regions or the institutions involved terminological clusters bear no novelties in the listed word clusters. The *(countries from the) Western Balkans* word cluster has been applied in circumstances reiterating the importance that the perspective of a membership in the European Union holds for these countries, as well as the fact that the region must not be a victim to the economic developments within the Union and in the world. Furthermore, the cluster has been applied in contexts concerning the name issue between Macedonia and Greece once in the statement of the Macedonian Prime Minister asking for the country and for the countries in the region to be assessed according to their individual merits and the progress made in fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria as presented in Table 7.174:

7.174 Table of concordances: Countries from the Western Balkans a.

*“enabling each candidate country to progress towards an EU membership on an individual basis, in accordance to the rate of fulfilling the known Copenhagen criteria for membership, is a step that influences the internal reform processes on one hand and motivates the other **countries from the Western Balkans** on the other, and at the same time it is a step that leads towards making Europe complete.”*

Moreover, the newspaper reiterated the findings of the Resolution on the Macedonian progress and additionally indirectly addressed the name issue as a bilateral matter that ought not halt the progress of the Western Balkan countries towards the Union:

7.175 Table of concordances: Countries from the Western Balkans b.

*The European MPs will have to repeat what has been written in the Resolution on the Progress of the Republic of Macedonia as well – that the questions connected to bilateral issues must not halt the beginning or the course of the negotiations for membership of the **countries from the Western Balkans** to the European Union.*

As can be perceived from the several examples of the analysed word clusters under the first and third domain above, the seemingly unrelated clusters to the name issue such as the Western

Balkans have been positioned in reference to the matter that tormented the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia as reflected by the analysed articles of the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper.

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(THE) DATE FOR (START OF) (THE) NEGOTIATIONS – 30

(THE) EU MEMBERSHIP – 18

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EU – 8

STARTING (OF THE ACCESSION) NEGOTIATIONS – 8

(THE DATE FOR) START OF THE NEGOTIATIONS – 7

RECEIVE DATE FOR (START) – 5

In 2009 the Republic of Macedonia received a recommendation by the European Commission to start the accession negotiations. However, the Council of Ministers in December decided otherwise, because the country had not been granted with the long desired and expected date. The enlargement and elements of the process terminological domain, and based on the word clusters listed above, seem to have been taken over by the *date for (starting) negotiations with the EU*. The harsh rhetoric over the failure to receive one prevails the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as can be perceived by the examples listed below. Many of the applications of the word cluster(s) which dominate the accession process proportionally relate the negotiations date with the name issue and further assign a notion of failure as experienced during the NATO summit in 2008. Namely, once chronologically examined, and as presented in the following Tables of concordances below, the date for setting or receiving a date in July 2009 had been assigned with a portion of optimism i.e. possibility in the Commissioner Rehn's statement that the Commission is prepared to make a 'leap' and propose to the Council to set a date if the country accomplishes the required benchmarks, further stressing that the name issue is not one of the conditions:

7.176 Table of concordances: Date for a start of the negotiations/Name of Macedonia a.

Rehn told Ivanov that the EC is prepared to make a leap and to propose to the European Council to set a date for a start of the negotiations but only if Macedonia fulfill the set conditions. He also sent a message to the President of the state that the already given benchmarks will not be supplemented and the name of Macedonia is not one of them.

However, this possibility in October 2009 had been diminished with the fact that the recommendation has arrived but will most probably remain simply on paper if the country does not receive the most wanted date:

7.177 Table of concordances: Date for starting the negotiations b.

*The yesterday published Report by the European Commission on the progress of Macedonia on its way towards EU, brought the long expected recommendation for starting the negotiations. But, even though that is exceptionally good news, if we do not receive **date for starting the negotiations** during the EU summit the recommendation will remain only on paper.*

The fact that the country will not receive the date can be further sensed in the statement of the Commissioner Rehn from October 2009 that without the decision of the Council the short lived optimism deriving from the Commission's recommendation will pass into disappointment:

7.178 Table of concordances: Date for starting the negotiations c.

*A recommendation without a decision of the Council of the EU (which must be unanimous) for **date for starting the negotiations**, will be only a consolation and not a success. The satisfaction and the optimism will be short living and the disappointment will dominate.*

Once more, the date for negotiations has been linked to the name issue between Macedonia and Greece thus accentuating on the conditionality between the two, i.e. the date would come as a consequent result upon the reached solution:

7.179 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations d.

*and to deliver in Brussels a strong announcement on the compromise name of the state. Either that or there is no **date for negotiations**. Unless the new Government of Greece and the Prime Minister Georgios Papandreou deducts a bit and give up another veto.*

Furthermore, the following two illustrations in Table of concordances 7.180, from November 2009, communicate the attitude of the newspaper. The general frustration that could have been discerned from the language in which *Utrinski vesnik* addressed the matter in this and in the previous sub-corpus, reached its peak in 2009 and crossed into a position of open disdain towards the work of the Government and with the general state of affairs at the time. The newspaper conveys the message that the Government can celebrate once the country receives date for negotiations, everything other than the date is a failure for the country and disappointment for its citizens:

7.180 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations e.

a. *The messages of triumph that could be heard yesterday in the Macedonian Parliament that the Report of the European Commission is a compliment on the work done by the Government are an expression of shortsightedness of the Macedonian political elite. The glasses with champagne could be filled when Macedonia gets a **date for negotiations**, although even then the country will be far from effective membership in the EU.*

b. *Let us use the recommendation! If we remain with recommendation, and we don't **receive a date for starting the negotiations** – we have done nothing. Macedonia will enter its fifth year with candidate status and the lack of **start of the negotiations** will be a big disappointment for all of our citizens.*

As shown in Table of concordances 7.181 below, in November 2009 the newspaper gave in to predictions on what could happen during the December meeting of the Council characterizing the situation as an 'enchanted circle':

7.181 Table of concordances: Date for negotiations f.

*"Zero solution" for Macedonia from the European Council. Neither **date for negotiations** with EU nor veto on the progress of Macedonia in the euro integration process. The country could find itself in such an enchanted circle during the December meeting of the European Council.*

Finally, once the decision about the non-granting of a date for the country in December 2009 became apparent, the newspaper clearly directed the general notion of disappointment towards the state leadership and the governmental activities, posing the question whether the Government is once again going to announce its dedication to the reforms:

7.182 Table of concordances: No date for negotiations g.

*What is the Government going to announce to the Macedonian public the day after tomorrow after the meeting of the Council of the EU Ministers? There is **no date for negotiations**, but we are continuing with the reforms?*

It stated that the pro-governmentally oriented media have already embarked upon preparations of the public on the failure to obtain a date for the negotiations:

7.183 Table of concordances: Will not receive date for negotiations h.

*The pro-governmental media have included themselves in the run to prepare the public for the disappointment that is to follow next week, of which some during their breaking news the day before yesterday reported that all hopes are gone and Macedonia **will not receive date for negotiations**. – December 2012*

It also transmitted the general impression of failure on the attempts of the Government to administer the ‘fiasco’ following the non-received date:

7.184 Table of concordances: (Non) receiving of date for negotiations i.

A general impression is that the attempts of the Government to politically manage the possible fiasco about the (non) receiving of date for negotiations are not that successful since the evaluations of the entire state leadership are not unanimous. Gruevski shams integrity over the name issue

The above illustrated situation on this matter in the *Utrinski vesnik*’s 2009 sub-corpus differs on a large scale from the circumstances and the approach as reflected in the *Dnevnik*’s sub-corpus of 2009 (see above). Namely, the recommendation given by the European Commission in the 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* has been the spotlight as opposed to the lack of the date for negotiations, as well as the dissatisfaction both with the decision and with Government in the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski*.

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

(THE) VISA LIBERALISATION – 9

The single word cluster of the terminological domain which carries the notions of conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives, *(the) visa liberalization*, results from the decision made on the granting of a visa free travel of the Republic of Macedonia to the EU countries in 2009. Upon this matter, the Commissioner for Enlargement Rehn in July 2009, additionally related to his optimistic statement delivered on the possibility of granting a date if Macedonia manages to fulfill the conditions (see above), stated that:

7.185 Table of concordances: Visa liberalization

*The positive attitude of Rehn that Macedonia may finish the reforms, as he said himself, came as a result of the impressiveness from the speed and the effects of the reforms that led to **visa liberalization** of the country.*

In reference to the word that in the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* did not reach a key word status, *criteria*, out of the total of its eight occurrences in the sub-corpus it collocates four times with the word *Copenhagen*. Some of the applications of the word, mostly in contexts questioning the amount to which the Union is being guided by the Copenhagen criteria in evaluating the accession process of a country, and in this case of the Republic of Macedonia, the importance of

the Copenhagen criteria before the interests of the Union or stating the fact that the countries which joined the EU in 2007, Bulgaria and Romain had not been fully prepared but the accession happened regardless of that fact, have been illustrated in Table of concordances 7.186 here:

7.186 Table of concordances: (Copenhagen) criteria

- a. promises and from how much the EU will allow the countries that have fulfilled the **Copenhagen criteria** to receive membership in the Union, whether there is a Lisbon Agreement or not.*
- b. to absurd and sticks to the formal explanations that it is conducting itself according to the **Copenhagen criteria** for EU membership. But, it should be known that it is a tactic*
- c. a reasonable analytic would not claim that Bulgaria and Romania had fulfilled all **criteria** in order to achieve full membership into the EU in 2007. That happened still.*
- d. the EU interests had been more important than the fulfilling of the so-called **Copenhagen criteria** by the Republic of Macedonia.*
- e. whether a positive decision will be reached by the end of this year. Whether these **criteria** are final or it is possible for Macedonia to get another one that the country ought to fulfill.*

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

THE PROGRESS OF MACEDONIA – 5

7 Domain: Other

DISPUTE (issue) WITH GREECE – 7

DISPUTE (issue) ABOUT THE NAME - 5

The *Progress of Macedonia* word cluster of the 6th terminological domain above occurs in environments assessing the developments the country has made in reference to specific or general areas.

Finally, the *dispute with Greece* or *the dispute about the name* of the country for which attempts have been made to be treated as a bilateral matter between the two countries, i.e. the long analysed and examined *name issue* in the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* has been applied in circumstances addressing the most significant event at the time, the date for negotiations and in contexts demeaning the significance of the recommendation given by the European Commission treating it as a simple encouragement for the country to provide a solution over the name issue with Greece, as shown in Table of concordances 7.187:

7.187 Table of concordances: Dispute/Name issue with Greece

- a. for us to publish the recommendation“, said Rehn. At the same time he admitted that the **dispute (issue) with Greece** is a problem and during today’s conference*

b. Even the **name issue with Greece** entered the Report. Is that the new condition for the Macedonian integration?

c. The recommendations means nothing else but a call to the Macedonian government to **solve the name issue with Greece**. Rehn himself even directly said that the recommendation is a “boost

7.6. Summary and conclusions of Chapter 7

The key accession or enlargement terminology applied by *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik* in the analyzed articles is fairly comparable. However, the views demonstrated by the two daily newspapers are rather different upon analysis of articles written and published about the progress and development that the Republic of Macedonia has made on its path towards the European Union, as well as on the future enlargements of the Union, within the examined five-year period from 2005 to 2009.

Namely, in 2005 the concept of enlargement and the scope of activities of the European Commission had been given a general approach on the part of the *Dnevnik* newspaper as opposed to the rather case-specific and more thorough inspection of Macedonia's accession process provided by the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper. *Dnevnik* provided information on the granted candidate status for the country stating that a date for negotiations had not been assigned yet, while *Utrinski vesnik* gave the negotiations a wider and rather consistent coverage, highlighting the lack of date for their commencement, stressing that the negotiations shall depend on the progress made by the country (requiring substantial development), and observing the optimism and the statements provided by the Governmental representatives on the quick date with a dose of reservation. *Dnevnik* tackled the Copenhagen criteria as something that ought to be done in order for the final aim to be accomplished, whereas *Utrinski vesnik* paid closer attention to the reforms and the areas in which the country ought to mark improvements and the efforts necessary in order to achieve them. The tender issue over the name of the country had not been mentioned in *Dnevnik* as opposed to the thorough examination provided by *Utrinski vesnik* on the matter, further quoting the statement of the EU Ambassador in the Republic of Macedonia according to whom the matter has been deemed bilateral on the part of the EU (in the *Utrinski vesnik*'s article: “EU Ambassador, Erwin Fuere, presented the opinion of the Union yesterday, By fulfilling the reforms, closer to negotiations”, published on 10.11.2005) :

Ambassador Fouere in terms of the name stated that the EU “always considers that the name issue is a bilateral question that ought to be solved between Macedonia and Greece

Based on the above findings it can be concluded that *Dnevnik* was rather sparing on accession particulars and the reporting of the newspaper was fairly general in 2005 when compared to the more informed approach towards the specific aspects of the accessions process and a more thorough penetration on the part of *Utrinski vesnik*.

In 2006 both of the newspapers reported on the reiteration about the European perspective of the Western Balkan countries however, the excitement and anticipation about the forthcoming publication of the strategic document, i.e. the Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006 – 2007 document, widely explored in the 2006 *Dnevnik* articles, had not been shared by the *Utrinski vesnik* newspaper that did not declare the aforementioned document at all. Furthermore, in 2006 *Dnevnik* brought speculations on the content of the document that might allow the countries to determine the date for accession themselves, on the halting of the Union’s enlargement for three to five years as well as on the fact that after the two candidate countries, Croatia and Macedonia, the other Western Balkan countries the EU might close its doors for five to seven years. Once inspected, the document in question brought no confirmation on the stated assumptions. What the document did bring was a European perspective for the countries once they fulfill the necessary conditions and the conclusion that the EU should restrain from setting dates until the accession negotiations are close to completion assessing the progress made by every country individually. In contrast, *Utrinski vesnik* directed its focus towards the absorption capacity, which was declared as a new criterion or a fourth Copenhagen criterion in May 2006, downgraded to a non-criterion in June, but became a condition again for the future enlargements, which in November had been declared as a scary expression by the Special coordinator of the Stability Pact and finally taking over the form of an integration capacity interpreted by the newspaper as yet another invention of the Union which could serve as an excuse for withdrawing promises already given to the countries from the Western Balkan. In terms of the date for negotiations, *Dnevnik* demonstrated its interest merely as part of the reforms process while *Utrinski vesnik* softened the rhetoric and stated that the time has not come yet. In 2006, *Dnevnik* maintained the momentum of not mentioning the name issue at all and *Utrinski vesnik* once more conveyed the bilateral nature of the issue this time communicated through the statement of the Commissioner for Enlargement Olli Rehn (in the *Utrinski vesnik*’s article: “Brussels will not

respond positively to Prodi's letter, Olli Rehn says there is a consensus among EU members that the time for negotiations with Macedonia has not come", published on 12.12.2006):

*According to Rehn, the **name issue** is a bilateral question between Macedonia and Greece and ought to be solved bilaterally*

The 2007 sub-corpora exerted similarities in the general key terminology and differences in the economic aspects and the specific areas requiring development represented in the *Utrinski vesnik*'s sub-corpus. *Dnevnik* came aboard in reference to the issue of negotiations date predicting their possible commencement, interpreting Commissioner Rehn's statements further reaching a conclusion that the situation at the time was alienating the country from its path. *Utrinski vesnik* introduced the word cluster the *Government and the opposition* due to the state of affairs at the time and transmitted the optimism as conveyed by the State Secretary in the Finance Ministry in June as well as the impressions on the improved political dialogue during the same month. In September they reported on the lack of expectations and in November brought the impression of a black-white Progress report bringing no date for negotiations. *Dnevnik* in 2007 was unsatisfied with the enlargement developments in the Union and expressed its view that the Union, due to previous experiences drawn from the preceding enlargements, refuses to assign dates for the country and is reluctant towards the region. On the other hand, *Utrinski vesnik* gave a dissatisfactory mark to the achievements in reference to the *political criteria* in all of the occurrences of the cluster and dedicated more space to the reforms necessary for the functioning market economy, public administration, fight against corruption and for the judiciary. *Dnevnik* gave the Copenhagen criteria a general call and tackled the progress of the country in regards to their fulfilling without providing particulars while *Utrinski vesnik* called upon them in the context of the name issue and once more restated the bilateral aspect through the statement of the Vice Prime Minister for European Integration at the time, Ivica Bocevski (in the *Utrinski vesnik*'s article: "The name is not part of the Copenhagen criteria", published on 12.12.2007):

*inclusion of the **issue** in the documents of the EU stated that **the name** is not a part of the **Copenhagen criteria** of the EU and "if we literally interpret the conclusion, the phrase 'mutually' which concerns a mutually acceptable solution, means a bilateral approval of both parties, i.e. that the problem is bilateral, between Macedonia and Greece*

Further to the *name issue*, *Dnevnik* introduced the word cluster for the first time in its 2007 articles and gave it an ideological position as opposed to the political weight given to the dispute

by *Utrinski vesnik*, furthermore directing accusations towards the Union and stating that as opposed to the issues that Croatia had faced with its neighbours, Macedonia has no support from Brussels and therefore this issue is in favour of the countries which have doubts towards further enlargements.

With the events leading to Macedonia not obtaining an invitation during the NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008, the situation in the country reached a 'boiling point'.

In this regard, *Dnevnik* linked the member states to their role in the decision making process, to the visa liberalization, to their involvement in setting an accession negotiations date finally to the name issue and passed the statement of the special rapporteur on Macedonia about the right of one member state to exert power on a new comer leveling this right with the Copenhagen criteria (in the *Dnevnik*'s article: "We want negotiations with the EU, Brussels seeks compromise with Greece", published on 04.09.2008):

*The rapporteur on Macedonia, the Netherlander Eric Meyer, agrees that the fulfilling of the **eight conditions** is important, but he considers that the right of one EU member state to block a decision must be respected. That right is as important as the **Copenhagen criteria***

Utrinski vesnik on the other hand in the examination of the role of the political parties, as well as the Government and the opposition in the failure to yet again receive a date for negotiations stated that the country has failed the basic democracy test and called upon the Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski on several occasions. The date for negotiations reached its peak in the *Dnevnik* sub-corpus and was being risen to a level of anything but a date for negotiations is considered a failure. Furthermore, the newspaper linked the date to the name issue, poorly conducted elections, lack of fulfillment of the political criteria which in all of their contexts of occurrence, along with the Copenhagen criteria, collocate with the cluster *does not fulfill* additionally mirroring the statements given by the EU Ambassador Fouere and the Commissioner Rehn. As per the situation in *Utrinski vesnik*, in January Ambassador Fouere asked for strengthened reforms so that Brussels could set a date. In March PM Gruevski asked the opposition to cooperate upon the events in the country and during the same month Commissioner Rehn delivered the eight benchmarks for the country and in September he kept the hope alive in his call for stability provided by the Government, Parliament and the judiciary. Once Ambassador Fouere informed that upon unfulfilled political criteria the country will not get assigned a date, i.e. after the fourth 'no' in October the same year, the hope turned into irritation directed towards

the Government asking whether the leaders have any intention into bringing the country to the EU. The PM Gruevski passed the blame to the name issue and EU Ambassador gave an encouragement of the political leaders to work together. In terms of the Copenhagen criteria, Commissioner Rehn stated that they are the basic conditions and the Macedonian Foreign Minister at the time asked for no additional criteria to be imposed. *Dnevnik* passed the statement of the Prime Minister that the name issue is the only reason the country did not receive a date, a statement contested by Ambassador Fouere. *Utrinski vesnik* reported Rehn's repetitive phrases heard many times before on the name issue, reported his statement that the name issue is not part of the negotiations package but that finding a solution would be favorable.

Finally, in 2009 Macedonia received the long desired recommendation for a negotiations date by the European Commission, but the Council of Ministers decided otherwise and the date was not assigned. The recommendation by the EC came as a result of the fulfilled economic and political criteria as stated by *Dnevnik*, further stressing that Commissioner Rehn confessed that the country had fulfilled the eight assigned benchmarks. *Utrinski vesnik* openly attacked the Government and stated that the recommendation had not been given as a result of the reforms for which the Prime Minister was praising himself, but as a boost towards solving the name issue, further stating that the Government was not responsible for the visa liberalization but the citizens of the country were given a visa free travel as a sign of good will. *Dnevnik* associated the EC recommendation to the date for negotiations in calculating contexts, explanatory contexts on the authorities of the EU bodies in granting a negotiations date, further linked the two to the name issue. Furthermore, the newspaper elaborated upon the given recommendation ensuing from the fulfillment of the Copenhagen political criteria. On other hand *Utrinski vesnik* remained focused on date for negotiations stating that if the country fails to receive a date the recommendation shall remain simply on paper and is to be considered as a consolation price but not a success. In the statements given by Commissioner Rehn in the *Dnevnik's* articles from 2009, the Commissioner assigned a notion of keyness to many different aspects, i.e. to the good neighbourly relations, name issue, mutually acceptable solution, free and fair elections, Copenhagen criteria, and stressed that the entire energy should be focused on solving the name issue. *Utrinski vesnik* directed the frustration with the situation towards the leadership of the country, characterized the state of affairs as a zero solution, examined the achievements of the countries that entered the Union, i.e. Bulgaria and Romania in regards to their lack of fulfilling

the Copenhagen criteria and passed the statement of Commissioner Rehn that the name issue is a problem. Upon the circumstances with the yet again unassigned date for negotiations, *Dnevnik* explored the state of affairs in Croatia when the country was given the date in 2004 due to fulfilled Copenhagen criteria, posing the question why the same courtesy does not apply to the Republic of Macedonia openly accusing the European Union of double standards.

The interpretation of the data acquired upon the conducted analyses on the newspaper articles further support the common established knowledge on the sympathies of the two printed media i.e. the pro-governmental versus the pro-oppositional stances of the two newspapers.

Once grasping the general picture as portrayed by the newspaper, a certain repetition of patterns of behavior can be discerned. Upon the granting of the candidate status of the country, and upon the publication of every Progress Report and the lack in assigning a date for negotiations, the optimistic statements either on the part of the Governmental representatives, official EU representatives or of the newspapers themselves at the beginning or during the middle of the year, pass into pessimistic prognoses and finally result in irritation over lack of dates by the end of the year.

Furthermore, the conflicting statements of the newspapers and of the officials, within a period or a year or even just a few months create a confusion on the part of the receiving end i.e. readership public which in terms of the two analysed newspapers overlaps on daily bases.

Finally, the results of the analysis, conducted on the selected articles, lead to the conclusion that what started as different aspects of the accession process of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the Copenhagen criteria and accession conditions, the accession negotiations with the Union, the reforms and the progress in reaching the reforms got intertwined with the name issue between Macedonia and Greece in a form of an 'enchanted circle,' to a point of not being able to distinguish between the importance of each aspect of the country's progress towards its European Union membership. In that regard, what started as a bilateral issue in the statements of both Macedonian representatives and of the EU representatives turned into a key issue and a problem within a five-year period.

8. Summary and conclusions

This dissertation has aimed to examine the enlargement process of the European Union as observed from three perspectives. On one hand, it looks at how the European Union official institutions and bodies define and approach the enlargement process and how the objectives, criteria, conditions and prospects were officially communicated to the countries seeking full membership in the Union. On the other hand, it looks at how the EU-authorized institutions assessed and evaluated the progress of a specific country on this path (Macedonia). Finally, it analyzes how the country's print media perceived this long journey, how they saw the country's progress and how these perceptions were communicated to the general readership, thus influencing public opinion on a matter that is of a national interest and of utmost importance for the future of the country.

All of the above has been examined diachronically and chronologically, showing the terminological and attitudinal alterations in this area through a corpus-based approach. The advantages of this research methodology were elaborated in Chapter 2. However, as a brief point of reference here, it should be pointed out that this approach allows not only for a large amount of data to be investigated, but allows for the key information deriving from the corpuses analysis to be inspected in their contexts of occurrence, supported by a background knowledge of the matter at hand, i.e. the process of enlargement of the Union on one hand and the process of accession for a specific country on the other. The division of the acquired key data into terminological domains allows for an additional facilitation in the managing of the information, thus opening the possibility for their in-depth study, and offers the prospect for their further association with other information from the corpuses themselves or from the circumstances at the specific moment of the enlargement process.

A summary and conclusions section follows every of the three corpuses analysis, i.e. Chapters 5, 6 and 7. This portion of each of the core chapters contains not only an overview of the major findings but their interpretation as well. In this regard, apart from the most striking findings, this final chapter of my thesis will not go into any in-depth explorations of the results as they have already been elaborated previously.

In reference to the major findings of the first corpus, one of the most striking aspects of the enlargement terminology used in the corpus documents is what seems to be a 'cut' in the

“enlargement era” before and after 2005, the earlier period being the accession of the Western and Central-Eastern European countries, and the later period being the Western Balkan region and Turkey. Furthermore, the later introduction of the word clusters *enlargement strategy* and *enlargement policy* lead one to question whether there was no enlargement strategy or policy prior to 2005.

The general conduct of the word clusters of the first corpus could be categorized under the elements of conditionality, the communicational element, and the newly introduced clusters. In this regard, another noteworthy feature in the conduct of the word clusters is their more recent manifestation as of 2005 and especially in the clusters bearing the communicational aspects, conditionality and capacity aspects, as well as the formulation of the newly introduced ones, as well as their application in the contexts of their occurrence.

In regards to the second corpus, what attracts an immediate attention when looking at the compilation of terminological domains, even when just observing the first one named the parties and actors involved, is the “copy-paste phenomenon”. Namely, just in the *general public* word cluster, the first one to be analysed in the overall corpus, the cluster has been used in three documents, entirely identically in documents originating from 2005, 2006 and 2009 respectively. Furthermore, same word clusters have been used differently in different corpuses and have been awarded with different attitude. Another novelty, as already elaborated above, introduced in the second corpus appears in the form of ‘qualifying evaluations’ which are abundant in ‘buts’, ‘yets’ and ‘nots’. An additional observation is the lack of ‘density’ in the key words expected to carry the process itself. Namely, the key words, shared by both corpuses, anticipated to entail the many aspects of the enlargement process as was the case with the first corpus, in the second one have little or nothing to do with the enlargement agenda, are either being used as titles of documents, chapters or sub-chapters or in contexts not disclosing a true enlargement signification. Furthermore the key words between the two corpuses correspond to a large degree, and the differences are rather inconsequential. Thus, one could say that the terminology in the second corpus is present, what is absent is the enlargement meaning behind the terminology in the more conventional sense.

The third corpus, containing articles from the two Macedonian newspapers, *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik* offers one angle, a brief glimpse into the manner in which the accession process was observed by a candidate country within the examined five years time period. It is notable that

many of the fixations of the newspapers differ from the ones highlighted in the other two corpuses. One of the most remarkable inconsistencies lies in the accession negotiations notion of the enlargement process. In the first corpus these were mentioned as a mere portion of the process, serving the candidate countries to better equip themselves for membership and the obligations that come with it. In the second corpus the accession negotiations were mentioned only with regard to the fact that they had not commenced. However, in the newspaper corpus, the accession negotiations grow to become a preoccupation and one of the major, most significant apprehensions of the country. Another aspect of the utmost significance that was treated with different approaches, different tones and different levels of significance is the issue of the name of the country, which was a matter of dispute with EU member state Greece. As anticipated, the name issue does not come up in the first corpus, and as has been the case with many of the accession process matters, in the second corpus it was simply mentioned as an ongoing issue that ought to be resolved. In the third corpus, however, within a short time period it was magnified to one of the crucial enlargement concerns in the accession process of the country. This trend of elevating, modifying or interpreting specific aspects of the enlargement process, can be further be detected in the manner in which the word clusters *absorption capacity* and *integration capacity* were awarded with negative connotation.

Another discernible feature is the inconsistency and disarray in reporting some of the directives and messages of the official EU bodies. This can be discerned in the manner in which the newspapers communicate the Copenhagen criteria, the key priorities or the benchmarks.

Furthermore, one of the mutual features in the coverage of the newspapers is the manner in which both of them consider the EU to practice double standard policy. Additionally, both *Utrinski vesnik* and *Dnevnik* create confusion when conveying messages from the documents or reports, statements given by both local and EU officials. While this is in part caused by the differing remarks provided by the officials themselves, it is also true that the newspapers intertwine matters related to the criteria, directives, name issue or negotiation initiation.

One of the most significant characteristics, shared by all of the corpuses, revolves around the *criteria* as both a word and notion. The chronological development and the contexts of its occurrence, its tight correlation to the Copenhagen Council document, the manner in which it has been employed in all of the corpuses and its analogue associations such as *obligations*, *conditions* have been analysed in-depth throughout this dissertation. What can be discerned is

that in the many applications and contexts of occurrences, the *criteria* have been subjected to varying applications, and in each of the corpuses these applications have been adapted to serve the purpose of the document or message at hand. Thus the indistinctness and the ambiguity in the treatment of the notion of ‘what are the criteria that ought to be met’ persist.

The analysis reveals several findings. The enlargement process and the enlargement terminology have been developing alongside the evolution, expansion and development of the European Union. The enlargement policy was formed and carved out based on the ongoing circumstances globally, in the European Union and in the acceding regions or countries. Despite the fact that the rules for becoming a full member of the Union have remained the same, they have been bent to suit the needs of the Union, and are to some degree contingent on the country in question. That is to say, it appears that the goal posts have shifted over time. Bearing in mind the ongoing developments both in the EU and on a global level, as well as the power struggles and exchanges among world forces, this trend of adaptation and acclimatization is expected to remain in the future. The conducted analysis on the written media reveals some inconsistencies in the reporting on enlargement events, as well as confusing reporting about enlargement notions, thus influencing the public opinion on a matter of utmost importance for the future of the country.

9. EU – Macedonia relations: 2009-2016

In October 2009, the Republic of Macedonia received its first recommendation by the European Commission to start accession negotiations for full membership. However, an actual realization of this recommendation was hindered due to the unresolved name issue with Greece (see Chapter 6).

Moreover, the aspirations of the Republic of Macedonia towards a membership in the European Union were further thwarted by the Republic of Bulgaria in October 2012 when the “Bulgarian President Rossen Plevneliev told EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Füle... that Macedonia is “not ready” to start accession negotiations” (see EurActiv, 2016).

As per the statement of the Macedonian Foreign Ministry, “the direct and most important priority of the Republic of Macedonia is to commence the pre-accession negotiations as soon as possible” (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia (MFA), 2016).

The open issues with the two neighbouring countries have not yet been resolved.

The European Commission launched a High Level Accession Dialogue (HLAD) with the Government of the Republic of Macedonia in March 2012. This High Level Accession Dialogue is intended for the country “to focus on a number of priorities that can help the social and economic development of the country” in the following five key areas: “the rule of law, the reform of public administration, freedom of expression, electoral reform and strengthening the market economy” (see European Union, 2015h).

According to a poll conducted by the International Republican Institute in July 2015, the support of the Macedonian people for joining the European Union remains at 80 percent (see International Republican Institute (IRI), 2016). Furthermore, “full-fledged membership of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union” is one of the highest strategic priorities for the country (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia (MFA), 2016).

From 2009 onwards the country has received a total of seven recommendations by the Commission without an actual date for starting the accession negotiations. The last one, given in November 2015, is a “conditional” recommendation (see European Parliament Think Tank,

2016). This is because the country, as of February 2015, is in a political crisis due to tapes leaked by the opposition that indicate that the government and ruling party were involved in illegal wiretapping. This resulted in EU involvement in March 2015 and the initiation of talks among political leaders. In July 2015, the four major political parties in the Republic of Macedonia reached the so-called “Przino Agreement” mediated by the EU. Hence, the last recommendation of the European Commission is conditioned on implementation of the Przino Agreement in order to ensure credible, free and fair elections.

This was the state of affairs in reference to the aspirations, achievements, and developments of the Republic of Macedonia to join the European Union, as well as in the Union itself as of May 2016 when this dissertation was finalized.

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Abstract in English

The aim of this dissertation is to portray the general enlargement terminology of the European Union and more specifically, the enlargement terminology concerning the Western Balkans. It delves into the development, transformation and evolution of the enlargement language both, in official EU documents and in the local written media. Additionally, it intends to evaluate, compare and interpret the 'real life' application of the terminology.

This dissertation examines the enlargement process of the European Union from three perspectives. Primarily, it observes the enlargement process as defined and approached by the official EU institutions, as well as the manner in which the objectives, criteria, conditions and prospects were officially communicated to the candidate countries. Second, it studies the methodologies used by the EU institutions to assess and evaluate the progress of a specific country on this path. Finally, it reviews how the country's publishing media perceived and communicated this progress to the general readership.

For that purpose three specific corpora have been compiled. The first one entails official documents on the EU enlargement policy in the period from 1992 until 2009, including key articles, enlargement criteria documents, protocols on enlargement, enlargement strategies, treaties and roadmaps. The second corpus encloses documents on the candidature of the Republic of Macedonia for EU membership, granted candidate country status and progress on this path. It covers a period starting from the year Macedonia received its candidate status in 2005, until 2009. The third, most specific corpus encompasses two sub-corpora containing newspaper articles from the two Macedonian daily newspapers *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*, published during a five years period 2005- 2009.

The development of the analysis conducted on the three corpora is divided in two parts. The first part provides an overview of the general terminology applied in the corpus' documents through exploration of the key words, word clusters and their collocations. The second part of the analysis, investigates the chronological development in the applied terminology, studying the contexts of occurrences and illustrating the persistence or alteration of the progress language. All of the above has been examined diachronically and chronologically, depicting the terminological and attitudinal alterations in this area subjected to analysis, via a corpus-based approach.

The findings in this study show that the enlargement process and terminology have been developing alongside the expansion and evolvement of the European Union. Albeit the rules for becoming a full membership into the Union have remained the same, they have been interpreted time and again through the needs of the Union, and contingent on the country in question. This trend is expected to preserve in the future, especially when bearing in mind the ongoing developments both in the EU and on a global level. The conducted analysis on the written media reveals some inconsistencies in the reporting, enlargement events centered coverage, as well as puzzling transfer of the enlargement notions thus influencing the public opinion on a matter of utmost importance for the future of the country.

Abstract in German

Das Ziel dieser Dissertation ist es, die Terminologie des Erweiterungsprozesses der Europäischen Union im Allgemeinen und im Spezifischen die Terminologie der Erweiterung in den westlichen Balkanstaaten nachzuzeichnen. Es werden hierfür die Entstehung, Veränderung und Weiterentwicklung der auf die Erweiterung bezogenen Sprache sowohl in offiziellen EU-Dokumenten als auch in der lokalen Presse erforscht. Zusätzlich wird ein Versuch unternommen, die Anwendung der Terminologie „im wirklichen Leben“ zu erklären, zu beurteilen und zu vergleichen.

Diese Dissertation betrachtet den Erweiterungsprozess der EU aus drei unterschiedlichen Perspektiven: Vorerst wird untersucht, wie der Erweiterungsprozess in offiziellen EU-Institutionen angegangen und definiert wird und, außerdem, wie die Ziele, Kriterien, Bedingungen und Erwartungen aus offizieller Seite an die Beitrittskandidaten vermittelt wurden. Zweitens wird die Methodologie dargestellt, die die EU-Institutionen verwenden, um den Fortschritt eines spezifischen Staates auf diesem Weg zu bewerten und zu benoten. Und schließlich wird überprüft, wie die Verlagsmedien eines konkreten Staates diesen Fortschritt wahrnehmen und dem allgemeinen Publikum vermitteln.

Zu diesem Zweck wurden drei Korpora erstellt. Das erste Korpus beinhaltet offizielle Dokumente der EU-Erweiterungspolitik im Zeitraum von 1992 bis 2009, und zwar die wichtigsten Artikel, Dokumente über die Beitrittskriterien, Erweiterungsprotokolle, Erweiterungsstrategien, Verträge und Pläne. Das zweite enthält Dokumente über die Bewerbung der Republik Mazedonien um eine EU-Mitgliedschaft, die Verleihung des Status eines Bewerberlands und den Fortschritt des Landes auf diesem Weg. Es deckt den Zeitraum von 2005 (als Mazedonien den Kandidatenstatus erhielt) bis 2009 ab. Das dritte, sehr spezifische Korpus besteht aus zwei Teil-Korpora, und zwar aus Zeitungsartikeln der beiden mazedonischen Tageszeitungen Dnevnik und Utrinski vesnik aus dem Fünfjahreszeitraum 2005-2009.

Die Analyse der drei Korpora gliedert sich in zwei Teile. Der erste Teil stellt einen Überblick der allgemeinen Terminologie dar, die in den Korpora verwendet wird, und zwar mittels Stichwörtern, Wortclustern und ihren Kollokationen. Der zweite Teil der Analyse untersucht die chronologische Entwicklung der verwendeten Terminologie, indem der Kontext der Vorkommen dokumentiert wird und die Beständigkeit bzw. Veränderung der Sprache im Zusammenhang mit

dem Fortschritt des Landes illustriert wird. All dies wurde sowohl diachronisch als auch chronologisch untersucht, wobei mittels eines korpusbasierten Ansatzes besonders die terminologischen Änderungen und veränderte Verhaltensweisen auf dem analysierten Gebiet dargestellt wurden.

In dieser Untersuchung konnte demnach gezeigt werden, dass sich der Erweiterungsprozess und die darauf bezogene Terminologie durch die Ausweitung der Europäischen Union laufend verändert haben. Obwohl die Regeln für einen Eintritt in die Union als vollberechtigtes Mitglied die gleichen blieben, wurden sie immer wieder anhand der Bedürfnisse der Union interpretiert und sind nur bedingt vom jeweiligen Beitrittskandidaten abhängig. Dieser Trend ist auch in Zukunft zu erwarten, besonders wenn man die laufenden Entwicklungen sowohl innerhalb der EU als auch auf einer globaleren Ebene berücksichtigt. Die ausgeführte Analyse der gewählten Printmedien zeigt zudem einige Widersprüche bei der Berichterstattung und einen verwirrenden Gebrauch der Erweiterungsbegriffe auf, womit wohl die öffentliche Meinung über ein für das Land höchst wichtiges Thema entscheidend beeinflusst wurde.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Titles of the newspaper articles

Titles of the articles from the newspaper *Dnevnik* in Macedonian language

2005

1. Барањето за членство во ЕУ влегува во процедура, Брисел ќе ни испрати прашалник, Откако ЕК ќе го изработи мислењето за земјава и ако тоа биде позитивно, Македонија ќе добие статус на „кандидат“ за членство, 23.01.2005
2. Европа бара компромис за Македонија, Кандидатски статус сега, преговори некогаш, 18.03.2005
3. Европските задачи поголеми од желбите на Македонија, 18.05.2005
4. Стеснети рамките за проширување на ЕУ, Нашата земја на "мала" врата, 28.06.2005
5. Европа сфати дека носи погрешни одлуки, 18.07.2005
6. Донато Кјарини, шеф на делегацијата на Европската комисија, Премногу сте очекувале од Солун, 29.08.2005
7. Брисел во среда ќе ни го испорача мислењето, Билет за ЕУ со прецизно упатство за употреба, 07.11.2005
8. Колумна - Радмила Шеќеринска, Замаец, Во таа смисла проширувањето на ЕУ е алатка што катализира процеси и ги забрзува и истовремено има суштина, која не е запишана во копенхагенските критериуми, а тоа е човечката димензија на однесувањето во заедница, 23.12.2005

2006

9. По самитот во Брисел, Македонија – дел од европската визија, 18.03.2006
10. ЕУ ќе ги затвори вратите за нови членки, 30.05.2006
11. Грција и регионот, Балканот отсекогаш му припаѓал на европското семејство, 14.07.2006
12. Совет во Брисел, Од новата влада се очекуваат решителни реформи, 17.07.2006

13. Колумна, Македонија мора да убеди, Ангелика Бер (Авторката е европарламентарка и од редовите на Зелените – Европска слободна алијанса и нивен координатор за Балканот) 13.10.2006

14. Според вицепремиерката, Европската комисија реално ќе не' прикаже, 2.11.2006

15. ЕК ќе го објави стратегискиот документ, Реформите ќе ја внесат Македонија во ЕУ, 7.11.2006

16. Трет совет за стабилизација и асоцијација ЕУ – Македонија, Реформите ќе ни донесат преговори во 2007, 23.11.2006

2007

17. Извештајот на советот на Европа за Македонија, Без партизација до цврста демократија, 30.03.2007

18. Рен бара напредок во политичкиот дијалог, 08.05.2007

19. Ги губиме шансите за почеток на преговорите со Европската Унија, На Македонија и' бега датумот за преговори со Брисел, 28.05.2007

20. Се подготвува извештајот за евроинтеграциите, Скопје не подготвено за политички бокс-меч со ЕУ, 06.06.2007

21. Разгледан извештајот на Мејер за Македонија, Европарламентарците очекуваат и резултати од дијалогот, 06.06.2007

22. Одгласи на самитот на ЕУ, Шансата на Македонија е во реформите, 25.06.2007

23. Новата ЕУ повелба и проширувањето, Кризата помина – на потег е Македонија, 25.06.2007

24. Интервју: Оли Рен, Еврокомесар за проширување, Договорот меѓу ВМРО-ДПМНЕ и ДУИ треба да се спроведе без одлагање, 13.07.2007

25. Колумна, Патот кон ЕУ, Дорис Пак (Авторката е европарламентарка и претседателка на Делегацијата на Европскиот парламент за односи со Југоисточна Европа) 18.07.2007

26. Брисел незадоволен од Македонија, Тешко до преговори со ЕУ и во 2008, 22.07.2007

27. Словенија предлага итна европска акција на Балканот, Јанша за ЕУ-преговори со Македонија, 01.10.2007

28. Ние и ЕУ по лисабонскиот договор, Шанса во последната минута, 2.11.2007

29. Брисел денеска ќе го објави извештајот, ЕУ привремено ги затвора портите за Балканот, 6.11.2007

30. Коментар, Корисен извештај, 7.11.2007
31. Стратегија или страв од проширување, Се оддалечува ли Балканот од ЕУ?, 11.11.2007
32. Еврокомесарот нема да кажува шеги, Оли Рен ни ја искритикува смислата за хумор, 21.11.2007
33. Словенија сака да ја надгради солунската агенда, 3.12.2007
34. Словенија подготвена за претседавањето со ЕУ, Балканот во приоритетите на Љубљана, 3.12.2007
35. Бриселскиот самит ги подгреа шпекулациите, Се подготвува ли балкански пакет за во ЕУ?, 17.12.2007

2008

36. Комисија за европски прашања, Словенија очекува историска година за Македонија, 17.01.2008
37. Датум за преговори со ЕУ ако продолжат реформите, 21.1.2008
38. Оптимизам за перспективата на регионот, Европска пролет за Балканот, 28.01.2008
39. Клучна година за евроинтеграциите, Европските амбасадори ја храбрат Владата, 30.01.2008
40. Мајкл Ли, директор на Директоратот за проширување на ЕУ, Македонија ги разбрала европските пораки, 11.02.2008
41. Ерик Мајер, известувач на Европскиот парламент, Македонија доби поправен од Брисел, 8.06.2008
42. Неисполнети стандарди во изборниот процес, ЕК најавува негативен извештај за Македонија, 17.06.2008
43. Министерот Милошоски на Самит во Дубровник, Подготвени за исполнување на критериумите од ЕУ, 6.07.2008
44. Собраниска делегација во Европски парламент, 04.09.2008
45. Ние сакаме преговори со ЕУ, Брисел бара компромис со Грција, 4.9.2008
46. Непријатна порака од ЕУ, Брисел не' оцени како политички нестабилни, 05.09.2008
47. Се' освен датум за преговори со ЕУ е неуспех, 06.09.2008
78. Владата ја спушти топката со ЕУ, 17.09.2008
49. Комитет за стабилизација и асоцијација на Македонија и ЕУ, Политичките критериуми најслаба точка, 20.9.2008

50. Бриселски бележник, Информирање, 22.09.2008
 51. Планови на Европската комисија за Балканот, Брисел ни токми утешна награда, 01.10.2008
 52. Претседателот Црвенковски во Брисел, И изборите критериум за датум за преговори, 3.10.2008
 53. Боцевски не сака да лицитира со датум за преговори со ЕУ, 14.10.2008
 54. Интервју: Ерван Фуере, Претставник на ЕУ во Македонија, За проблемите дома не барајте алиби надвор, 18.10.2008
 55. Ништо од датумот за преговори со ЕУ, Според комесарот, Македонија не ги исполнила осумте критериуми, како ни деветтиот, кој се однесува на изборите, 21.10.2008
 56. Од нацрт-извештајот на Европската комисија, За економијата плус, за политиката минус, 31.10.2008
 57. Брисел денеска со извештај за Македонија, 5.11.2008
 58. Брисел ни даде лоша оценка за политиката; Реално, не сме за во Европа, 6.11.2008
 59. Европската комисија обвинета за двојни стандарди, 08.11.2008
 60. Европската Унија ги подготвува политичките насоки за 2009 година, Изборите нов европски тест за Македонија, 9.12.2008
- 2009**
61. За практичното и рационалното во ЕУ, Европски примери, 09.01.2009
 62. За новиот извештај за Македонија, Втора рунда, Јован Деспотовски (Авторот е аналитичар во Секретаријатот за европски прашања), 23.01.2009
 63. Избори не се избор, 5.03.2009
 64. Рен: Изборите – момент на вистината, Европарламентарците сметаат дека билатералните спорови не треба да бидат пречка за преговорите за членство во ЕУ, 12.3.2009
 65. Демократијата е повеќе од избори, 15.03.2009
 66. Европското законодавство само на хартија, 12.04.2009
 67. Преговори без датум, 22.07.2009
 68. Датумот не зависи од името, 23.07.2009
 69. Конечно пофалби од Брисел, 13.10.2009
 70. Препорака со порака, 15.10.2009

71. Да се искористи шансата, Извештај и поттик, 16.10.2009
72. Се гони само ситна корупција, 18.10.2009
73. Рен и без глас испрати громогласна порака, 28.10.2009
74. Бидете толерантни и вие и вашите соседи, 8.11.2009
75. Балканот останува лакмус-тест за ЕУ, 16.11.2009
76. Рен: Македонија оди кон преговори, 30.11.2009

Titles of the articles from the newspaper *Dnevnik* in English language

2005

1. The application for EU membership enters into procedure, Brussels will send us a questionnaire, Once the EC prepares an opinion on the country, and if it is positive, Macedonia will get a status of a "candidate" for membership, 1.03.2005
2. Europe seeks a compromise for Macedonia, a candidate status now, negotiations someday, 18.03.2005
3. European tasks bigger than the wishes of Macedonia, 18.05.2005
4. EU enlargement framework tightened, our country at the "back door", 28.06.2005
5. Europe realized that it is making the wrong decisions, 18.07.2005
6. Donato Chiarini, Head of Delegation of the European Commission , You expected too much from Thessaloniki , 29.08.2005
7. Brussels will deliver us its opinion on Wednesday, EU ticket with a precise instruction manual, 07.11.2005
8. Column - Radmila Sekerinska, Flywheel, In this respect the EU enlargement is a tool that catalyzes and accelerates processes and at the same time bears essentiality, which is not written in the Copenhagen criteria, and that is the human dimension of behavior in a community, 23.12.2005

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9. After the Brussels Summit, Macedonia - part of the European vision, 3.18.2006
10. EU will close its doors to new members, 30.05.2006
11. Greece and the region, the Balkan has always belonged to the European family, 14.07.2006

12. Council in Brussels, What is expected from the new government is decisive reforms, 17.07.2006
 13. Column - Macedonia must convince, Angelika Beer (The author is (was) a MEP from the ranks of the Greens - European Free Alliance and their coordinator for the Balkans), 13.10.2006
 14. According to the Deputy Prime Minister, the European Commission will present us really, 2.11.2006
 15. EC to announce the strategic document, The reforms will bring Macedonia into the EU, 7.11.2006
 16. Third Council for Stabilisation and Association, EU - Macedonia, The reforms will bring us negotiations in 2007, 23.11.2006
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17. Report of the Council of Europe on Macedonia, Without partisanship (installing representatives of a political party on important positions in the state) to a solid democracy, 30.03.2007
 18. Rehn requires progress in the political dialogue, 08.05.2007
 19. We are missing the chance to start negotiations with the European Union, the date for negotiations with Brussels escapes Macedonia, 28.05.2007
 20. A report on European integration is being prepared, Skopje is not ready for a political boxing match with the EU, 6.06.2007
 21. Meyer's report on Macedonia has been reviewed, MEPs expect results from the dialogue as well, 6.06.2007
 22. Reactions to the EU Summit, Macedonia's chance lies in the reforms, 25.06.2007
 23. The new EU Charter and the enlargement, the crisis has passed – it's Macedonia's move, 25.06.2007
 24. Interview: Olli Rehn, European Commissioner for Enlargement, The agreement between VMRO - DPMNE and DUI should be implemented without delay, 13.07.2007
 25. Opinion, Journey to the EU, Doris Pack (the author is a MEP 's and was president of the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with South East Europe), 18.07.2007
 26. Brussels dissatisfied with Macedonia, It would be difficult to start negotiations with the EU in 2008, 7.22.2007

27. Slovenia proposes urgent European action in the Balkans, Jansha for EU negotiations with Macedonia, 1.10.2007
28. We and the EU after the Lisbon Treaty, A last minute chance, 2.11.2007
29. Brussels will publish a report today, the EU temporarily closes its gates for the Balkans, 06.11.2007
30. Comments, Useful report, 7.11.2007
31. Strategy or enlargement fear, Does the Balkans alienate itself from the EU?, 11.11.2007
32. The Euro Commissioner will not tell jokes, Olli Rehn criticized our sense of humor, 21.11.2007
33. Slovenia wants to build up the Thessaloniki agenda, 3.12.2007
34. Slovenia ready for the EU presidency, the Balkans in Ljubljana's priorities, 3.12.2007
35. The Brussels summit has fueled speculation, Is a Balkan package in the EU being prepared?, 17.12.2007

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36. Committee on European Affairs, Slovenia expects a historic year for Macedonia, 17.01.2008
37. Date for negotiations with the EU if the reforms continue, 21.01.2008
38. Optimism for the perspective of the region, European spring for the Balkans, 28.01.2008
39. Crucial year for the European integration, the European ambassadors encourage the Government, 30.01.2008
40. Michael Lee, Director of the Directorate for Enlargement of EU, Macedonia understood the European messages, 11.02.2008
41. Eric Meyer, Rapporteur of the European Parliament, Macedonia got corrective (exam) from Brussels, 08.06.2008
42. Unfulfilled standards in the electoral process, the EC announces a negative report on Macedonia, 17.06.2008
43. Minister Milososki at a Summit in Dubrovnik, prepared to meet the EU criteria, 06.07.2008
44. Parliamentary delegation at the European Parliament, 04.09.2008
45. We want negotiations with the EU, Brussels seeks compromise with Greece, 04.09.2008
46. Unpleasant message from the EU, Brussels evaluated us as politically unstable, 05.09.2008
47. Everything except a date for negotiations with the EU is a failure, 06.09.2008
48. The government dropped the ball with the EU, 17.09.2008

49. The Stabilisation and Association Committee of Macedonia and EU, The political criteria are the weakest point, 20.09.2008
50. Brussels notepad, Briefing, 22.09.2008
51. The European Commission's plans for the Balkans, Brussels is preparing a consolation prize for us, 01.10.2008
52. President Crvenkovski in Brussels, The elections are also a criterion for a negotiations date, 03.10.2008
53. Bocevski does not want to auction with a date for negotiations with the EU, 14.10.2008
54. Interview: Erwan Fouere, The EU envoy in Macedonia, Do not seek an alibi outside for the problems you have at home, 18.10.2008
55. So much for the date of negotiations with the EU, According to the Commissioner, Macedonia failed to meet the eight criteria, as well as the ninth one which refers to the elections, 21.10.2008
56. From the draft report of the European Commission, Plus for the economy, minus for the politics, 31.10.2008
57. Brussels today with a report on Macedonia, 05.11.2008
58. Brussels gave a bad note on the politics; Realistically, we are not for Europe, 06.11.2008
59. European Commission accused of double standards, 08.11.2008
60. The European Union prepares the policy guidelines for 2009, Elections a new European test for Macedonia 09.12.2008

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61. On the practical and rational in the EU, European examples, 09.01.2009
62. On the new report on Macedonia, Second round, Jovan Despotovski (The author is an analyst in the Secretariat for European Affairs), 23.01.2009
63. The elections are not an option, 05.03.2009
64. Rehn: Elections - moment of truth, MEPs believe that bilateral disputes should not be an obstacle to negotiations for EU membership, 12.03.2009
65. Democracy is more than elections, 15.03.2009
66. European legislation only on paper, 12.04.2009
67. Negotiations without a date, 22.07.2009
68. The date does not depend on the name, 23.07.2009

69. Finally, praises from Brussels, 13.10.2009
70. A recommendation with a message, 15.10.2009
71. To seize the opportunity, A report and an incentive, 16.10.2009
72. Only petty corruption is being prosecuted, 18.10.2009
73. Rehn even without voice sent a loud message, 28.10.2009
74. Be tolerant, both you and your neighbours, 08.11.2009
75. Balkans remains a litmus test for the EU, 16.11.2009
76. Rehn: Macedonia moves towards negotiations, 30.11.2009

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1. По три години ратификација од земјите-членки на Европската унија, Спогодбата за стабилизација и асоцијација стапи во сила, 02.04.2005
2. Интервју - Алексис Брунс, специјален пратеник на ЕУ, за солунските очекувања, за темпото на реформите и за радикализмот во Македонија, 08.07.2005
3. Оценка на Советот на Европа, Западен Балкан се уште далеку од ЕУ, 06.08.2005
4. Европската комисија вчера се изјасни позитивно за кандидатурата на Македонија за членство во Унијата, Македонија кандидат за ЕУ, Унијата не утврди датум за почеток на преговорите, 10.11.2005
5. Амбасадорот на ЕУ, Ервин Фуере, вчера го презентираше мислењето на Унијата, Со исполнување на реформите, поблиску до преговорите, 10.11.2005
6. Извадоци од мислењето на Европската комисија за апликацијата на нашата земја, Македонија ја очекува исполнување на многу тешки задачи, 10.11.2005
7. Николас Вајт, експерт за Балканот, за драмата околу кандидатскиот статус, Македонија направи се што бараше ЕУ, Одложувањето би било од погрешни причини, 16.12.2005
8. Македонија доби кандидатски статус, Франција ќе притиска за дебата за проширувањето, Голема одлука за Македонија и регионот, 17.12.2005

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9. Апсорпциониот капацитет, нов критериум за влез во ЕУ, По состанокот на министрите во Виена дипломатите велат дека се прошируваат критериумите од Копенхаген, 29.05.2006
 10. Европската унија привремено ги затвара вратите, 30.05.2006
 11. ЕУ ги омекнува условите за членство, Апсорпциониот капацитет веќе не е дополнителен критериум за влез во ЕУ, 17.06.2006
 12. Баросо: ЕУ нема прецизен календар за Македонија, Баросо инсистираше ЕУ да остане отворена за балканските земји, 16.10.2006
 13. Учење без научување?!, Ванчо Узунов, Да не дозволиме колективни етикетања, обвинувања без докази, кршење на принципите на правната држава, 06.11.2006
 14. ЕУ не најавува датум за преговори за Македонија, Во Македонија никој не сака да го коментира извештајот на Брисел, 07.11.2006
 15. Премиерот сака Македонија да влезе во ЕУ со Хрватска, 09.11.2006
 16. Брисел нема да одговори позитивно на писмото на Проди, Оли Рен вели дека има консензус меѓу членките на ЕУ дека не е дојдено време за преговори со Македонија, 12.12.2006
 17. ЕУ ќе се проширува, но со зголемена контрола на условите за прием, Секоја земја од Западен Балкан ќе биде оценувана врз основа на сопствениот напредок и заслуги, 14.12.2006
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18. Брисел се откажа од идејата за избор на влада по Баденгер, ЕУ се' уште не дава гаранции за одредување датум за почеток на преговорите, 06.06.2007
 19. Владата попушта пред барањата на Брисел, Законот за слободни зони ќе се ревидира, а за регулаторите ќе се бара заедничко решение со ЕУ, 16.06.2007
 20. Македонија може да очекува позитивен извештај од ЕК, 30.06.2007
 21. Македонија во цајтот за датумот за преговори, Новиот вицепремиер за европски прашања очекува конкретни резултати во наредните недели, 13.07.2007
 22. Брисел ни испорача барања и охрабрувања ЕУ сака преговори со Македонија „што поскоро“, но нема најави кога ќе биде тоа, 25.07.2007

23. Македонија во ноември не очекува датум за старт на преговорите со ЕУ, Владата очекува во 2008 година да има датум за преговори, но и покана за членство во НАТО, 04.09.2007
24. Лоши вести за Македонија од Брисел, Португалското претседателство најави дека ноемврискиот извештај нема да биде позитивен, 15.09.2007
25. Коневска-Трајковска, ЕУ не' води низ правилата на играта, Преку исполнување на критериумите се бориме ЕУ да ја внесеме во Македонија, вели вицепремиерката за евроинтеграции, 19.09.2007
26. Оли Рен е разочаран од неостварувањето на политичките критериуми, Брисел очекува функционална кохабитација меѓу претседателот и премиерот, 18.10.2007
27. Македонија доби црно-бел извештај од ЕУ, Генерално Европската комисија оценува дека Македонија направила прогрес во имплементацијата на Спогодбата за стабилизација и асоцијација и одговорила на повеќето од бараните обврски, 30.10.2007
28. Администрацијата црна точка на патот кон ЕУ, За да биде целосно функционална пазарна економија, Македонија треба да се справи со слабостите на судството, 31.10.2007
29. Судството и администрацијата повторно на тапет од ЕУ, Извештајот на Европската комисија, според високи владини извори, дава реална и објективна слика за состојбите во земјава, 06.11.2007
30. ЕУ бара консензус за исполнување на реформите Фуере побара да не се бараат виновници, Груевски одговори дека опозицијата има своја вина за тоа што не сме добиле преговори, 07.11.2007
31. Лошата оценка за политичките критериуми го обои извештајот на ЕУ, Од Македонија се бара да го имплементира она што го усвои како закон или како одредба и акционен план, 08.11.2007
32. Трите последни извештаи, Ванчо Узунов, Работите во трите извештаи ги знае(в)ме и сами, но требаше да бидат објавени „однадвор“ за да ги послушаме, 10.11.2007
33. Правдата излезе низ прозорец од македонските судници, Европската комисија и во овој извештај го посочи судството како најкритична точка во државата, 10.11.2007
34. Името не е дел од Копенхашките критериуми, 12.12.2007

35. Државава останува под лупата на Советот на Европа, Укинувањето на мониторингот ќе биде потврда дека Македонија цврсто зачекорила на патот кон Европската унија, 20.12.2007

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36. Еу ќе ги даде условите за преговори во март, НАТО подготвува покана за членство, но бара да се најде решение за името, 24.01.2008

37. Време е за реформи, а не за избори, Европската тројка на вчерашната средба со Владата: Бернар Валеро, Ален Бергант и Ерван Фуере, За нас е важно реформскиот процес да продолжи и тоа што е можно поскоро, изјави вчера Фуере, 30.01.2008

38. Стразбур го поздравува напредокот во Македонија, Секоја држава треба слободно да си го избира своето име, смета известувачот во Парламентарното собрание, 30.01.2008

39. Усвоена резолуцијата за одредување датум за преговори со ЕУ, Документот на Мејер бара од Европската комисија да ги одреди домашните задачи за Македонија, 28.02.2008

40. Рен ги донесе условите за преговори, Груевски повторно ја искара опозицијата дека таа била кочничар на нашиот пат кон ЕУ, 07.03.2008

41. Оли Рен ни продава рог за свеќа, зошто?, 10.03.2008

42. Македонија доби вето и од ЕУ, Саркози ни порачува да ја сакаме Грција и да најдеме компромис за името, 21.06.2008

43. Македонија не сака нови услови за ЕУ, 25.06.2008

44. Македонија подготвена за европските критериуми, Проблемот со Грција за уставното име е наша работа и со сопствени напори ќе го надминеме, вели Милошоски, 07.07.2008

45. Рен не споменува датум за преговори, Прогрес е направен, но не е доволен за да се пречкртаат сите осум услови, вели ЕУ, 05.09.2008

46. Македонија ги доби забелешките од ЕУ пред финалниот извештај, Изборите нарушија многу работи во државава, а се пофалува напредокот на економијата, 19.09.2008

47. Политизацијата најголем проблем на Македонија, Средбата на Комитетот ќе помогне во добивање слика за напредокот на земјава во реформите пред извештајот на ЕК, 20.09.2008

48. Што по четвртото „не“ од Брисел?, Неделава ќе се навести дали ќе има утешителна одлука за Македонија, 22.10.2008

49. Македонски состојби, Со „Тешкото“ кон ЕУ - чекор напред, три назад!, 27.10.2008

50. Од ЕУ добивме единица за демократија, Македонија последнава година покажа незрело однесување, па затоа не може ни да се зборува за датум за преговори, 31.10.2008
51. Се исполнија црните прогнози за извештајот, Власта и опозицијата го бараат виновникот за неисполнетиот политички критериум, но не во своите редови, 01.11.2008
52. Одговорност за Извештајот на ЕК имаат и власта и опозицијата, Не треба да си ракетен физичар за да видиш каде имаше недостатоци, рече Ерван Фуере, 06.11.2008
53. Рен не' остави со празни раце, Македонија има напредок, но е недоволен за преговори со ЕУ. Реформи во сенка на политичките критериуми, 06.11.2008
54. Власта се оглуши на прашањето: каде оди државава?, 18.11.2008
55. Мајер побара датум за Македонија, 29.11.2008

2009

56. Мрачни прогнози за Македонија од известувачот на ЕУ, Судањето во Хаг драматично ќе го одложи членството на нашата земја во ЕУ, прогнозира Ерик Мејер, 20.02.2009
57. Став на партијата на Меркел: Хрватска во ЕУ, па стоп! Укинување на визниот режим, гест спрема граѓаните на нашата земја, а не спрема Владата на Груевски, 10.03.2009
58. Европскиот парламент побара датум за преговори за Македонија, Претстојните избори ќе бидат момент на вистината за нашата земја, 12.03.2009
59. Мејер: Климата за започнување преговори со ЕУ е поволна, 06.03.2009
60. Крис Патен: Прво исполнување на критериумите, потоа во ЕУ, 17.03.2009
61. Западен Балкан мора да има европска иднина, Европратениците во заминување бараат да не запре проширувањето на ЕУ, 24.04.2009
62. За датум ќе се чека крајот на годината, 01.05.2009
63. Интервју, Законите не треба да се во интерес на една партија, Ерван Фуере, шеф на мисијата на Европската комисија во Македонија, 13.05.2009
64. Десет години исчекувања, 23.06.2009
65. Стразбур бара реформи во правосудството, Советот на Европа смета дека е потребна систематска ревизија на севкупниот правосуден систем, 25.06.2009
66. На Македонија и' треба реформски спринт за датум, И Оли Рен замина со оптимизам од Македонија, но бара да се исполнат задачите, 23.07.2009
67. Едиторијал, Препорака со Јасна порака, 14.10.2009
68. Македонија регионален шампион во партизација, 14.10.2009

69. 5 прашања 5 одговори, Без датум ништо не сме сториле, Не смееме да глумиме дека пораката од Брисел за спорот со името не сме ја разбрале, вели Радмила Шекеринска, 16.10.2009
70. Македонија доби шанса, Некогаш од погрешни причини се добива вистинскиот резултат! Во извештајот на Европската комисија, Република Македонија го доби вистинскиот исход, 20.10.2009
71. Кој е подготвен да ја испие горката чаша? Македонската реакција дојде во форма на уште едно писмо на премиерот Груевски до шефовите на државите од ЕУ, 29.11.2009
72. Европа чека добри вести од Преспа, Ако датумот за преговори не дојде во декември, дефинитивно, ќе биде во март, 26.11.2009
73. „Нулта решение“ за Македонија од Европскиот совет, 29.11.2009
74. Едиторијал, Каква е таа битка до последен здив, Владата објави битка до последен здив за добивање датум за старт на преговори за членство во ЕУ, 04.12.2009
75. Едиторијал, Што понатаму, 09.12.2009

Titles of the articles from the newspaper *Utrinski vesnik* in English language

2005

1. Three years after ratification by the Member States of the European Union, the Stabilisation and Association Agreement entered into force 02.04.2005
2. Interview - Alexis Bruns, Special EU Representative, on the Thessaloniki expectations, on the reforms pace and on the radicalism in Macedonia, 08.07.2005
3. Assessment of the Council of Europe, the Western Balkans still far from the EU, 06.08.2005
4. European Commission yesterday declared positive on Macedonia's candidature for EU membership, Macedonia EU candidate, the Union did not set a date for the start of negotiations, 10.11.2005
5. EU Ambassador, Erwin Fuere, presented the opinion of the Union yesterday, By fulfilling the reforms, closer to negotiations, 10.11.2005
6. Excerpts from the opinion of the European Commission on the application of our country, Macedonia is expected to meet the very demanding tasks, 10.11.2005

7. Nicholas Whyte, an expert on the Balkans, on the the drama over the candidate status, Macedonia did everything asked by EU, Delay would be for the wrong reasons, 16.12.2005
8. Macedonia got a candidate status, France will push for a debate on enlargement, Major decision for Macedonia and the region, 17.12.2005

2006

9. Absorption capacity, a new criterion for EU accession, After the Ministers meeting in Vienna, the diplomats say that the Copenhagen criteria are being extended, 29.05.2006
10. European Union temporarily closes its doors, 30.05.2006
11. EU softens the membership conditions, Absorption capacity is no longer an additional criterion for entry into the EU, 17.06.2006
12. Barroso: EU has no precise calendar for Macedonia, Barroso insisted that the EU remains open to the Balkan countries, 16.10.2006
13. Learning without getting to know? Vanco Uzunov, Let's not allow collective labeling, accusations without evidence, violating the principles of a legal state, 06.11.2006
14. EU does not announce a date for negotiations for Macedonia, Nobody in Macedonia wants to comment on the report from Brussels, 07.11.2006
15. The Prime Minister wants Macedonia to join the EU with Croatia, 09.11.2006
16. Brussels will not respond positively to Prodi's letter, Olli Rehn says there is a consensus among EU members that the time for negotiations with Macedonia has not come, 12.12.2006
17. EU will enlarge, but with an increased control over the admission requirements, Each country from the Western Balkans will be evaluated based on its own progress and merits, 14.12.2006

2007

18. Brussels abandoned the idea to elect government according to the Badenter principle, the EU still does not guarantee a date for the start of negotiations, 06.06.2007
19. The Government gives in to the demands from Brussels, the Law on free zones will be reviewed, and for the regulators a joint decision with the EU will be sought, 16.06.2007
20. Macedonia can expect a positive EC report, 30.06.2007
21. Macedonia runs out of time for a date for negotiations, the new Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs expects concrete results in the coming weeks, 13.07.2007

22. Brussels delivered us requests and encouragement, EU wants negotiations with Macedonia "as soon as possible", but did not announce when it will be happen, 25.07.2007
23. Macedonia does not expect a date for starting the EU negotiations in November, the government expects a date for negotiations in 2008, as well as an invitation for membership in NATO, 04.09.2007
24. Bad news for Macedonia from Brussels, Portuguese presidency announced that the November report will not be positive, 15.09.2007
25. Konevska-Trajkovska, EU leads us through the rules of the game, By meeting the EU criteria we are fighting to introduce EU to Macedonia, said Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration, 19.09.2007
26. Olli Rehn was disappointed with the failure to achieve political criteria, Brussels expects functional cohabitation between the President and the Prime Minister, 18.10.2007
27. Macedonia got a black and white report from the EU, Generally, the European Commission assessed that Macedonia has made progress in the implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and responded to most of the required obligations, 30.10.2007
28. The administration is a black point on the road to the EU, In order to achieve fully functioning market economy, Macedonia has to deal with the weaknesses in the judiciary, 31.10.2007
29. Judiciary and administration again on the pick by the EU, the European Commission report, according to high governmental resources, gives a realistic and objective picture about the situation in the country, 06.11.2007
30. EU seeks consensus in fulfilling the reforms, Fuere asked not to seek culprits, Gruevski replied that the opposition has its own fault that we have not received negotiations, 07.11.2007
31. The poor assessment of the political criteria painted EU's report, Macedonia is required to implement what has been passed as a law or provision and action plan, 08.11.2007
32. The last three reports, Vanco Uzunov, We knew/know the things in the three reports ourselves, but they had to be published from "outside" so that we listen to them, 10.11.2007
33. Justice left the Macedonian courtrooms through the windows, the European Commission pointed the judiciary as the most critical point in the country in this report as well, 10.11.2007
34. The name is not part of the Copenhagen criteria, 12.12.2007

35. Our country remains under the magnifying glass of the Council of Europe, The abolition of the monitoring will be a confirmation that Macedonia stepped firmly on the road towards the European Union, 20.12.2007

2008

36. EU will give the conditions for negotiations in March, NATO prepares an invitation, but asks for a solution to the name issue, 24.01.2008

37. Time for reforms, not for elections, the European three at a meeting with the Government yesterday: Bernard Valero, Alan Bergant and Erwan Fouere, For us it is important to continue the reform process as soon as possible, said Fuere 30.01 . 2008

38. Strasbourg welcomed the progress made by Macedonia, each state should be free to choose its own name, according to reporter from the Parliamentary Assembly, 30.01.2008

39. The resolution on a date for negotiations with EU adopted, Meyer's document calls on the European Commission to set homework for Macedonia, 28.02.2008

40. Rehn brought the conditions for negotiations, Gruevski again scolded the opposition that it was obstacle on our path towards the EU, 07.03.2008

41. Olli Rehn "sells us horn for a candle", why ?, 10.03.2008

42. Macedonian got a veto from EU as well, Sarkozy tells us to love Greece and to find a compromise about the name, 21.06.2008

43. Macedonia does not want new EU conditions, 25.06.2008

44. Macedonia ready for the European criteria, The problem with Greece over the constitutional name is our own affair and with our own efforts we will overcome it, says Milososki, 07.07.2008

45. Rehn does not mention a date for the negotiations, progress has been made, but not enough for all of the eight conditions to be crossed-out, says EU 05.09.2008

46. Macedonia received comments from the EU before the final report, The elections marred many things in this country, and the progress of the economy has been praised, 19.09.2008

47. Politicization the biggest problem of Macedonia, The meeting of the Committee will help in getting a picture of the progress of the reforms in the country before the EC report, 20.09.2008

48. What after the fourth "no" from Brussels? This week there will be indications whether there will be a consolatory prize for Macedonia, 22.10.2008

49. Macedonian conditions, with "Teskoto (Macedonian folklore dance)" towards EU – one step forward, three steps backwards, 27.10.2008

50. We got an 'F' in democracy from the EU, Macedonia showed immature behavior last year, so there is not even a talk about a date for negotiations, 31.10.2008
51. The black prognoses about the report came true, The government and the opposition seek someone to blame for the unfulfilled political criteria, but not in their own ranks, 01.11.2008
52. Both the government and opposition share responsibility about the EC report, One does not have to be a rocket scientist to see where there the shortages are, said Erwan Fouere, 06.11.2008
53. Rehn left us empty-handed, Macedonia has progress, but insufficient for negotiations with the EU. The reforms are in the shadow of the political criteria, 06.11.2008
54. The government deafened itself about the question: Where is this country going?, 18.11.2008
55. Meyer requested a date for Macedonia, 29.11.2008

2009

56. Grim prospects for Macedonia from the EU reporter, The trial in the Hague will dramatically delay the country's membership in the EU, predicts Eric Meyer, 20.02.2009
57. Attitude of Merkel's party: Croatia in EU and then stop! Lifting the visa regime, gesture towards the citizens of our country, and not towards Gruevski's government, 10.03.2009
58. The European Parliament demanded a date for negotiations for Macedonia, The upcoming elections will be a moment of truth for our country, 12.03.2009
59. Meyer: The climate for EU accession negotiations is favorable, 06.03.2009
60. Chris Patten: First meet the criteria, then in the EU, 17.03.2009
61. Western Balkans must have an European future, outgoing MEPs ask for the EU enlargement not to stop, 24.04.2009
62. We will wait for a date until the end of the year, 01.05.2009
63. Interview, The laws should not be in the interest of one party, Erwan Fouere, head of the European Commission mission in Macedonia, 13.05.2009
64. Ten years of anticipation, 23.06.2009
65. Strasbourg requires reforms in the judiciary, the Council of Europe considers that a systematic review of the entire judicial system is necessary, 25.06.2009
66. Macedonia needs a reform sprint for a date, and Olli Rehn left with optimism from Macedonia, but also requires for the tasks to be fulfilled, 23.07.2009
67. Editorial, A recommendations with a clear message, 14.10.2009
68. Macedonia regional champion in partisanship, 14.10.2009

69. 5 questions 5 answers, We have done nothing without a date, We must not act as if we haven't understood the message from Brussels on the name issue, says Radmila Sekerinska, 16.10.2009

70. Macedonia got a chance, Sometimes for the wrong reasons the right result is being achieved! The Republic of Macedonia got the right outcome, in the European Commission report, 20.10.2009

71. Who is ready to drink the bitter cup? Macedonian reaction came in the form of yet another letter of the Prime Minister Gruevski to the EU Heads of States, 29.11.2009

72. Europe awaits good news Prespa, If the date for negotiations does not come in December, definitely, it will be in March, 26.11.2009

73. " Zero solution" for Macedonia by the European Council, 29.11.2009

74. Editorial, What kind of a battle is that to the last breath, The government announced a battle to the last breath to get a date to start negotiations for EU membership, 04.12.2009

75. Editorial, What further on/now, 09.12.2009

Appendix 2 – Key words tables in Macedonian language

Table 1a: Key words of the entire Third Corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	503	240	185,36	31	ДИЈАЛОГ	49	7	48,42
2	ЕУ	497	32	636,22	32	ОЧЕКУВА	48	8	44,12
3	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	217	3	338,57	33	СТАТУС	47	3	60,05
		73	4	96,35					
4	БРИСЕЛ	199	8	277,68	34	РЕШЕНИЕ	44	15	24,26
5	ЕК	172	5	250,83	35	СОВЕТОТ	43	10	32,52
6	ЕВРОПСКАТА	153	26	139,40	36	ДОБИЕ	42	4	48,24
		53	15	34,60					
		51	11	40,53					
		49	14	48,42					
7	ЧЛЕНСТВО	125	8	159,72	37	ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ	41	0	69,24
8	РЕН	113	0	190,93	38	ПРЕПОРАКА(ТА)	37	3	44,54
9	ЗЕМЈАТА	108	28	75,60	39	НАДВОРЕШНИ	35	4	37,81
10	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)	102	5	137,55	40	ЗЕМЛИТЕ-ЧЛЕНКИ	35	3	41,49
		100	9	116,92					
11	КОМИСИЈА	98	11	106,61	41	КОРУПЦИЈАТА	33	3	38,45
12	ИМЕТО	96	17	85,56	42	КОНСЕНЗУС	33	1	47,83
13	ДАТУМ	93	0	157,12	43	ПОЗИТИВЕН	32	3	36,93
14	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	90	0	152,05	44	ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА	31	2	39,51
15	ВЛАДАТА	89	42	33,15	45	ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО	30	0	50,66
16	ЗЕМЈА/И	83	42	27,78	46	ФУЕРЕ	29	0	48,93

		81	33	36,70					
17	ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ТЕ)	80	21	55,46	47	УНИЈАТА	27	2	33,29
		56	11	47,10					
		48	14	30,56					
18	МОРА	79	28	41,88	48	ДОКУМЕНТ	27	1	38,09
19	КРИТЕРИУМИ(ТЕ)	79	5	101,16	49	ЗАКОНИ	26	1	36,47
20	РАБОТИ	76	38	25,92	50	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ	26	0	43,90
21	ГРЦИЈА	76	36	28,14	51	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	25	0	42,22
22	БАЛКАН(ОТ)	73	7	83,70	52	КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИ ТЕ	24	0	40,53
23	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	69	0	116,55	53	СПРОВЕДУВАЊЕ	22	1	30,05
		60	6	67,87					
24	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ(ТО)	68	8	72,70	54	КАНДИДАТСКИ	22	0	37,15
		56	2	79,43					
25	СПОРОТ	66	8	69,77	55	ОБЛАСТИ	21	2	24,12
26	ИЗБОРИ(ТЕ)	65	8	68,31	56	КАПАЦИТЕТ	20	1	26,85
27	ПРОЦЕС(ОТ)	61	7	65,81	57	УСЛОВИТЕ	20	1	26,85
		53	2	74,58					
28	ДОГОВОР	57	16	37,47	58	ОЦЕНКА	20	1	26,85
29	ПОЧЕТОК	55	9	51,02	59	БОРБАТА	20	0	33,77
30	КОМЕСАРОТ	51	0	86,14	60	СУДСТВОТО	19	1	25,27

Table 1b: Key words of the entire Third Corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	605	240	223,32	31	ДИЈАЛОГ	47	7	39,45
2	ЕУ	447	32	494,96	32	СТАТУС	44	3	49,20
3	ЕВРОПСКАТА	192	26	168,97	33	АДМИНИСТРАЦИЈА	41	4	41,13
4	ИЗВЕШТАЈОТ	159	9	186,1	34	КОРУПЦИЈАТА	41	3	44,98

				0					
5	ЗЕМЈАТА(ВА)(ИТЕ)	151	28	112,26	35	ОЦЕНИ	41	3	44,98
6	ВЛАДАТА	141	42	72,33	36	УСЛОВИТЕ	41	1	54,95
7	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	123 85	3 4	164,95 103,31	37	ОЧЕКУВА	39	8	27,14
8	БРИСЕЛ	117	8	140,80	38	ПРОЦЕСОТ	39	7	29,54
9	КОМИСИЈА(ТА)	114	11	114,88	39	БАЛКАН	37	3	39,41
10	РЕН	113	0	174,15	40	ЗАПАДЕН	35	3	36,65
11	ДАТУМ	103	0	158,73	41	БОРБАТА	35	2	40,84
12	ИМЕТО	102	17	80,69	42	ПАРТИИ	34	6	26,01
13	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	100 86	0 6	154,10 95,61	43	КАПАЦИТЕТ	33	1	43,05
14	ЧЛЕНСТВО	92	8	95,95	44	ЈАВНАТА	32	4	29,15
15	УНИЈА(ТА)	91	2	123,40	45	СОВЕТ	31	4	27,85
16	ГРЦИЈА	83	36	26,73	46	НАПОРИ	31	3	31,19
17	ЕК	83	5	95,71	47	ЗАКОНИ	31	1	40,09
18	КРИТЕРИУМИ(ТЕ)	81	5	92,87	48	ПРЕПОРАКА(ТА)	29	3	28,49
19	ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ	78	11	67,27	49	ОБЛАСТИ	29	1	37,14
20	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	69	0	104,77	50	МЕЈЕР	29	1	37,14
21	СПОРОТ	65	8	59,62	51	ЧЛЕНКИ	28	4	23,99
22	ИЗБОРИ(ТЕ)	65	8	59,62	52	ОХРИДСКИОТ	27	3	25,81
23	ПРОГРЕС	65	1	91,02	53	ЕВРОКОМЕСАРОТ	26	1	32,74
24	ФУЕРЕ	63	0	97,06	54	ЗАБЕЛЕШКИ	25	1	31,27
25	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ	55	0	84,73	55	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	24	0	36,97
26	РЕШЕНИЕ	54	15	29,58	56	ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА	24	0	36,97
27	ОПОЗИЦИЈАТА	52	8	42,93	57	КОНСЕНЗУС	23	1	28,36
28	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ(52	8	42,93	58	СТАБИЛНОСТ	23	0	35,43

	ТО)								
29	БАРА	49	15	24,43	59	ЕКОНОМСКИТЕ	22	1	26,90
30	СУДСТВОТО	49	1	66,93	60	ПАЗАРНА	21	0	32,35

Table 2a: Key words of the 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	ЕУ	57	32	199,20	10	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ	11	8	35,16
2	МАКЕДОНИЈА	48	240	34,73	11	КРИТЕРИУМИ	10	5	36,07
3	ЧЛЕНСТВО	22	8	86,22	12	КАНДИДАТСКИ	7	0	38,14
4	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ ТО	16	2	74,92	13	МИСЛЕЊЕТО	7	2	28,88
5	БРИСЕЛ	16	8	57,74	14	ПРЕГОВОРИ	7	3	26,33
6	ЗЕМЈА	16	42	24,57	15	ЕКОНОМСКАТА	6	1	27,08
7	СТАТУС	14	3	60,86	16	ДУСТ-БЛАЗИ	5	0	27,24
8	БАЛКАНОТ	13	7	45,90	17	ПРОДИ	5	0	27,24
9	ЕК	11	5	40,75					

Table 3a: Key words of the 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	ЕУ	67	32	258,71	12	ДОКУМЕНТ	9	1	44,47
2	МАКЕДОНИЈА	44	240	33,17	13	ЧЛЕНСТВО	8	8	23,99
3	РЕФОРМИТЕ	15	0	84,76	14	СОРАБОТКА	8	7	25,32
4	ГРЦИЈА	14	36	24,21	15	РОМАНИЈА	6	1	28,27
5	БАЛКАНОТ	14	7	53,23	16	СТРАТЕГИСКИОТ	5	0	28,24
6	ЕВРОПСКАТА	13	26	26,98	17	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	5	0	28,24
7	БРИСЕЛ	13	8	46,52	18	ПРОГРЕСОТ	5	0	28,24
8	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ ТО	12	2	56,56	19	БАЛКАНСКИТЕ	5	0	28,24
9	ПРЕГОВОРИ	11	3	47,97	20	ЗАКЛУЧОЦИТЕ	5	0	28,24
10	ЕК	10	5	38,01	21	ЛЕХТОМАХИ	5	0	28,24

11	ПРОЦЕСОТ	9	7	29,77
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Table 4a: Key words of the 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	ЕУ	132	32	348,60	23	КРИТЕРИУМИ	15	5	35,84
2	МАКЕДОНИЈА	106	240	53,13	24	СЛОВЕНИЈА	15	4	38,45
3	БРИСЕЛ	55	8	162,71	25	ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ	15	0	56,70
4	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	52	3	174,39	26	ОЛИ	15	0	56,70
5	ТРЕБА	46	90	29,35	27	ПОЧЕТОК	14	9	25,07
6	ЕВРОПСКА(ТА/И ОТ)	39	26	68,49	28	ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО О	14	0	52,92
7	КОН	37	57	32,52	29	СЛОВЕНЕЧКОТО/И ОТ	13	0	49,13
8	ЕК	35	5	103,84	30	НОЕМВРИ	12	4	28,67
9	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)	33/30	9/5	84,07/ 86,35	31	КОРУПЦИЈАТА	12	3	31,32
10	ЧЛЕНСТВО	32	8	83,58	32	СТАТУС	12	3	31,32
11	БАЛКАН(ОТ)	30	7	79,82	33	ЈАНША	12	0	45,35
12	РЕН	27	0	102,08	34	ХРВАТСКА	11	4	25,49
13	ЗЕМЈАТА	25	28	30,37	35	БОРБАТА	10	2	27,64
14	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	24/18	6/0	62,67/ 71,82	36	УНИЈАТА	9	2	24,24

15	ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ТЕ)	23	21	32,91	37	КОНСЕНЗУС	9	1	27,84
16	ДОГОВОР	23	16	39,38	38	ПОВЕЛБА	9	1	27,84
17	КОМИСИЈА	21	11	41,80	39	КОМЕСАРОТ	9	0	34,01
18	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ(ТО)	21	8	47,84	40	ПЕРСПЕКТИВА	8	1	24,28
19	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	21	0	79,38	41	СЕНЧАР	8	0	30,23
20	ДИЈАЛОГ	18	7	40,68	42	БАЛКАНСКИТЕ	7	0	26,45
21	ДАТУМ	18	0	68,04	43	МИСИРОЛИ	7	0	26,45
22	ОЧЕКУВА	15	8	29,60					

Table 5a: Key words of the 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keynes ss		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keynes s
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	189	240	120,2 7	32	НАДВОРЕШНИ	18	4	37,90
2	ЕУ	152	32	326,2 6	33	РЕЖИМ	17	4	35,15
3	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	79	3	225,6 9	34	ФЕР	16	2	38,96
4	БРИСЕЛ	76	8	191,3 8	35	ЗАКОНИ	16	1	43,45
5	ЕК	66	5	174,9 9	36	МИЛОШОСКИ	16	0	50,59
6	ЕВРОПСКИ(ТЕ)/(А)ТА	53	26	79,54	37	НОЕМВРИ	15	4	29,72
7	ЗЕМЈАТА	48	28	64,70	38	СОВЕТ	14	4	27,04

8	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)	43	5	106,2 5	39	ХРВАТСКА	14	4	27,04
9	КОМИСИЈА(ТА)	43	11	86,49	40	ЗЕМЛИТЕ-ЧЛЕНКИ	14	3	29,81
10	ВЛАДАТА	43	42	37,52	41	ПОЗИТИВЕН	14	3	29,81
11	ДАТУМ	41	0	129,7 0	42	СТАНДАРДИ	14	2	33,13
12	РЕН	41	0	129,7 0	43	ОБСЕ	14	1	37,38
13	ИЗБОРИ(ТЕ)	40	8	86,96	44	ОСУМТЕ	14	0	44,27
14	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	40	0	126,5 3	45	ОЦЕНКА	14	0	44,27
15	ИМЕТО	37	17	57,58	46	ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА	13	2	30,25
16	КРИТЕРИУМИ	36	5	85,77	47	КОНСЕНЗУС	13	1	34,36
17	РАБОТИ	35	38	27,12	48	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ (ТО)	13	0	41,11
18	ИЗЈАВИ	35	19	49,40	49	КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИ ТЕ	13	0	41,11
19	ПОЛИТИЧК/АИ(Т Е)	33/33	11/21	59,95/ 41,87	50	ПРЕПОРАКИТЕ	12	3	24,31
20	ЧЛЕНСТВО	24	8	43,59	51	ПРИОРИТЕТИ	12	1	31,35
21	КОМЕСАРОТ	24	0	75,90	52	ДЕЛЕГАЦИЈА	11	1	28,36
22	СПОРТ	23	8	41,02	53	МЕЈЕР	11	1	28,36
23	ПРОЦЕСОТ	23	7	43,36	54	ЕРИК	11	1	28,36
24	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ(Т О)	22	8	38,46	55	ЛИБЕРАЛИЗАЦИЈА	11	0	34,78
25	ДИЈАЛОГ	22	7	40,74	56	БРОК	11	0	34,78
26	БОЦЕВСКИ	21	0	66,41	57	ОБЛАСТИ	10	1	25,38
27	ДОБИЕ	20	4	43,46	58	СУДСТВОТО	10	1	25,38
28	ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ	20	0	63,25	59	ВИЗНИОТ	10	0	31,62

29	ОЛИ	20	0	63,25	60	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	9	0	28,46
30	ФУЕРЕ	19	0	60,08	61	ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО О	8	0	25,29
31	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	19	0	60,08	62	ВИЦЕПРЕМИЕРОТ	8	0	25,29

Table 6a: Key words of the 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles – (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	116	240	64,33	18	ОЛИ	23	0	85,79
2	ЕУ	89	32	203,33	19	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	23	0	85,79
3	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	68	3	230,03	20	ИЗБОРИ(ТЕ)	18	8	37,73
4	ИМЕТО	55	17	132,29	21	ОДНОСИ	17	11	29,59
5	ЕК	50	5	154,78	22	СОВЕТОТ	17	10	31,18
6	РЕН	43	0	160,46	23	ПРОЦЕСОТ	17	7	36,79
7	СПОРОТ	42	8	115,45	24	КОМЕСАРОТ	16	0	59,67
8	ЕВРОПСКАТА	39	26	66,76	25	ХРВАТСКА	13	4	31,28
9	БРИСЕЛ	39	8	105,32	26	РЕФОРМИТЕ	13	0	48,48
10	ЧЛЕНСТВО	39	8	105,32	27	КРИТЕРИУМИ	12	5	25,84
11	ДАТУМ(ОТ)	31	0	115,65	28	КОРУПЦИЈАТА	10	3	24,26
12	ГРЦИЈА	28	36	28,84	29	СПРОВЕДУВАЊЕТО	9	1	27,40
13	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)	27	9	63,26	30	МЕЈЕР	9	1	27,40
14	ПОЧЕТОК	26	9	60,11	31	РЕЗОЛУЦИЈАТА	9	0	33,56
15	КОМИСИЈА	24	11	49,65	32	ТАЈЕР	9	0	33,56
16	РЕШЕНИЕ/АВАЊЕ	23	15	39,86	33	ДОБРОСОСЕДСКИТЕ	8	0	29,83
17	ПРЕПОРАКА(ТА)	23	3	68,21	34	ЛИБЕРАЛИЗАЦИЈА	7	0	26,10

Table 2b: Key words of the 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	89	240	74,69	17	КОМИСИЈА	12	11	25,39
2	ЕУ	64	32	177,68	18	МИСЛЕЊЕТО	11	2	39,57
3	ТРЕБА	43	90	48,60	19	ОБЛАСТИ	11	1	43,63
4	ЗЕМЈАТА	36	28	82,99	20	ПРОЦЕСОТ	10	7	24,19
5	УНИЈАТА	29	2	118,27	21	ОХРИДСКИОТ	10	3	32,32
6	СТАТУС	24	3	91,59	22	АСҚUIS АЦЉУИС	9	0	41,15
7	ЕВРОПСКАТА	23	26	43,02	23	КАНДИДАТСКИ (ОТ)	9	0	41,15
8	ЧЛЕНСТВО	21	8	63,60	24	ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА	8	2	27,00
9	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	19	0	86,90	25	ДАТУМ	8	0	36,58
10	НАПОРИ	17	3	61,48	26	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	8	0	36,58
11	ИЗЈАВИ	15	19	26,00	27	ЗАКОНИ	7	1	26,19
12	ДОГОВОР	14	16	25,99	28	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ	7	0	32,01
13	ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ	14	4	45,81	29	ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА	7	0	32,01
14	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ ТО	14	2	52,39	30	ПАРТНЕРСТВО	7	0	32,01
15	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	14	0	64,02	31	БАЛКАНСКИТЕ	6	0	27,43
16	ФУЕРЕ	13	0	59,45	32	СПОГОДБАТА	6	0	27,43

Table 3b: Key words of the 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	ЕУ	53	32	174,62	15	РЕГИОНОТ	9	8	25,56
2	ЕВРОПСКАТА/ИО Т	31	26	90,34	16	УСТАВОТ	9	5	30,39
3	УНИЈА(ТА)	21/18	2/12	98,55/ 57,21	17	ЗАПАДЕН	9	3	34,85
4	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ	17	8	60,34	18	НАПРЕДОК	9	0	47,91
5	ИЗЈАВИ	14	19	32,31	19	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	8/7	6/0	24,34/ 7,26

6	ЧЛЕНКИ	13	4	51,25	20	ПРЕГОВОРИ	7	3	25,48
7	КАПАЦИТЕТ	13	1	62,16	21	ЛИДЕРИТЕ	7	2	28,02
8	РЕН	13	0	69,22	22	БАРОСО	7	0	37,26
9	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)	12/8	9/5	36,51/ 25,99	23	РОМАНИЈА	6	1	26,34
10	КОМИСИЈА	11	11	29,66	24	СУДСТВОТО	6	1	26,34
11	ЗЕМЈИТЕ	10	8	29,67	25	ОЛИ	6	0	31,94
12	БРИСЕЛ	10	8	29,67	26	АПСОРПЦИОНИОТ	5	0	26,62
13	БАЛКАН	10	3	39,63	27	ДАТУМ	5	0	26,62
14	ЧЛЕНСТВО	9	8	25,56	28	ПРИБЕ	5	0	26,62

Table 4b: Key words of the 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	150	240	100,15	24	АДМИНИСТРАЦИЈА(ТА)	16	4	37,92
2	ЕУ	82	32	166,18	25	ДАТУМ	16	0	56,43
3	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)И	78/48	9/5	220,90/138,14	26	ГЕНЕРАЛНО	14	4	31,81
4	ЕВРОПСКАТА	54	26	99,44	27	ПАЗАРНА	14	0	49,37
5	ВЛАДАТА	45	42	54,05	28	ЈАВНАТА	13	4	28,80
6	КОМИСИЈА(ТА)	40	11	92,08	29	КОРУПЦИЈАТА	13	3	31,53
7	БРИСЕЛ	38	8	94,57	30	ЕКОНОМСКИОТ/ТЕ	13	2	34,82
8	ЕК	32	5	85,46	31	ЗАКОНИ	13	1	39,02
9	ИЗЈАВИ	27	19	40,01	32	ПОЗИТИВЕН/НИ	12	3	28,44
10	КРИТЕРИУМИ	27	5	69,38	33	ПРЕПОРАКА	12	3	28,44
11	ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ	26	11	50,81	34	ФУЕРЕ	11	0	38,79
12	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	24	6	56,89	35	УНИЈАТА	10	2	25,20
13	ПРОГРЕС	24	1	76,63	36	КАПАЦИТЕТ	10	1	28,94
14	ПРЕГОВОРИ	23	3	63,66	37	ЗАБЕЛЕШКИ(ТЕ)	10	1	28,94
15	ОЦЕНИ/А	23	3	63,66	38	КОНСЕНЗУС	10	1	28,94
16	СУДСТВОТО	23	1	73,19	39	МИЛОШОСКИ	10	0	35,26
17	ОПОЗИЦИЈАТА	20	8	40,05	40	ФУНКЦИОНИРАЧКА/ЊЕТО	10	0	35,26

18	ДЕЛОТ	20	4	50,42	41	ОБЛАСТИ	9	1	25,61
19	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	19	0	67,01	42	КОНЕСКА-ТРАЈКОВСКА	9	0	31,74
20	ЕКОНОМИЈА	18	10	30,75	43	СПОСОБНОСТ	8	0	28,21
21	ЧЛЕНСТВО	18	8	34,40	44	ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈАТА	7	0	24,68
22	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ	18	0	63,49	45	ЗОНИ	7	0	24,68
23	СТОИ	17	12	25,13	46	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	7	0	24,68

Table 5b: Key words of the 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	169	240	114,64	28	ЧЛЕНСТВО	19	8	34,59
2	ЕУ	110	32	233,35	29	ПАРТИИ	18	6	36,22
3	РЕН	52	0	175,63	30	МИЛОШОСКИ	15	0	50,63
4	ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ)	50	9	122,14	31	МИРЕЛ	15	0	50,63
5	ЕВРОПСКАТА	49	26	79,29	32	ДОБИЕ	14	4	29,82
6	ЗЕМЈАТА/ВА	44	28	63,79	33	УСЛОВИТЕ	14	1	40,31
7	ИМЕТО	44	17	83,34	34	ОЛИ	14	0	47,25
8	БРИСЕЛ	42	8	101,13	35	БОРБАТА	13	2	32,92
9	ВЛАДАТА	40	42	38,59	36	ЗАБЕЛЕШКА/И	13	0	43,88
10	ИЗЈАВИ	39	19	66,08	37	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ	13	0	43,88
11	ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ТЕ)	36	11	74,90	38	БОЦЕВСКИ	13	0	43,88
12	ДАТУМ	35	0	118,18	39	АДМИНИСТРАЦИЈАТА	12	4	24,14
13	КРИТЕРИУМИ	34	5	86,97	40	ДЕЛОТ	12	4	24,14
14	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	33	3	91,99	41	УНИЈАТА	12	2	29,84
15	КОМИСИЈА	30	11	58,09	42	КОМИТЕТОТ	11	1	30,65
16	СПОРОТ	30	8	65,44	43	ЕВРОИНТЕГРАЦИЈАТА	11	1	30,65
17	ЕК	30	5	74,62	44	ЕВРОКОМЕСАРОТ	10	1	27,46
18	РЕЧЕ	29	33	25,70	45	ИСПОЛНИ	10	1	27,46

19	ДИЈАЛОГ	27	7	59,44	46	СТАБИЛНОСТ	10	0	33,75
20	ФУЕРЕ	27	0	91,15	47	ПОРАЧА	9	1	24,28
21	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	26	6	59,34	48	ЗАКОНИ	9	1	24,28
22	ПРОГРЕС(ОТ)	26	1	79,63	49	СУДСТВОТО	9	1	24,28
23	ГРУЕВСКИ	24	19	29,76	50	ОСУМТЕ	9	0	30,37
24	РЕШЕНИЕ	24	15	35,18	51	ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА	8	0	27,00
25	ИЗБОРИ(ТЕ)	24	8	48,30	52	ЕРВАН	8	0	27,00
26	ОПОЗИЦИЈАТА	23	8	45,51	53	СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА	8	0	27,00
27	НАПРЕДОК(ОТ)	20	0	67,51					

Table 6b: Key words of the 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* as compared to a Word List of random generated articles (Macedonian version)

	Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness		Word	Freq.	RC Freq.	Keyness
1	МАКЕДОНИЈА	163	240	95,53	21	БРИСЕЛ	17	8	27,97
2	ЕУ	138	32	303,73	22	ПАПАНДРЕУ	17	0	55,88
3	ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)	55	3	158,58	23	ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ	16	0	52,59
4	ИМЕТО	43	17	77,17	24	ПРЕПОРАКА(ТА)	15	0	49,31
5	ГРЦИЈА	42	36	45,89	25	ИЗВЕШТАЈ	14	5	26,26
6	ЗЕМЈАТА/ИТЕ	42	28	55,90	26	ОЛИ	13	0	42,73
7	ВЛАДАТА	40	42	35,92	27	ВЕТО	13	0	42,73
8	ДАТУМ	39	0	128,24	28	БАЛКАН	12	3	25,72
9	ГРУЕВСКИ	37	19	58,07	29	ЗАПАДЕН	12	3	25,72
10	РЕН	37	0	121,66	30	ПРОШИРУВАЊЕТО	12	2	28,82
11	ЕВРОПСКАТА/ИОТ	35	26	43,01	31	РЕЗОЛУЦИЈАТА	11	0	36,15
12	ИЗБОРИ(ТЕ)	28	8	57,35	32	УСЛОВИТЕ	10	1	26,60
13	РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ)	26	0	85,48	33	НАПРЕДОКОТ	10	0	32,87
14	ЧЛЕНСТВО	25	8	49,07	34	ФУЕРЕ	10	0	32,87
15	СПОРОТ	25	8	49,07	35	ЛИБЕРАЛИЗАЦИЈА	9	0	29,58
16	МЕЈЕР	24	1	70,93	36	СТАРТ	9	0	29,58
17	КОМИСИЈА	21	11	32,57	37	ЕВРОПРАТЕНИЦИТ	9	0	29,58

						Е			
18	ПАРЛАМЕНТ	19	8	33,08	38	ПАТЕН	8	0	29,58
19	УНИЈАТА	19	2	50,11	39	ПИЛИ	8	0	26,29
20	ПОЧЕТОК	17	9	26,20	40	ПОЧНУВАЊЕ	8	0	26,29

Appendix 3 - Terminological domains in Macedonian language

7.2.2. Dnevnik Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ЗЕМЈИТЕ-ЧЛЕНКИ - 37
(ЕВРО)КОМЕСАРОТ ОЛИ РЕН - 26
ЕРВАН ФУЕРЕ – 13
МИНИСТЕР(ОТ/И) ЗА НАДВОРЕШНИ РАБОТИ - 19
(ЕВРО)КОМЕСАРОТ ЗА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ ОЛИ РЕН - 17
ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛОТ НА ЕК - 5
ДИПЛОМАТ ВО БРИСЕЛ – 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

НАШАТА ЗЕМЈА - 33
ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 20
ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН - 19
БАЛКАНСКИТЕ ЗЕМЈИ (ЗЕМЈИТЕ ОД ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН) - 19
РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА - 15
МАКЕДОНИЈА И ЕУ - 9
ПОРАНЕШНАТА ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА - 8

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА ЕК - 92
СОВЕТОТ НА ЕУ – 6
СОВЕТОТ НА ЕВРОПА - 6
СОВЕТОТ НА МИНИСТРИТЕ - 6
ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ ИНСТИТУЦИИ - 6
СОВЕТОТ ЗА СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА – 5

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 53
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 51
ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 31
ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ - 25
ДОБИ(Е)/ВАЊЕ ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 23
СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА - 21
ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ - 20
ПОЧЕТОК (ПОЧНУВАЊЕ) НА ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 18
ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ - 16
ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО - 15
ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО - 15
ПРЕГОВОРИ СО ЕУ - 15

ДАТУМ ЗА ПОЧЕТОК - 14
ЕВРОПСКА(ТА) ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА - 20
ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ(ТО) НА ЕУ - 15
ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ ВО ЕУ – 10
ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО - 7
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ - 7
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО СО ЕУ- 7
ПРЕГОВОРИ СО МАКЕДОНИЈА – 6
ДАТУМОТ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 6
ВО ПРОЦЕСОТ НА ЕВРОПСКА ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА - 6
ПРЕПОРАКА ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 6
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО СО МАКЕДОНИЈА - 5
ЗА ПОЧНУВАЊЕ ПРЕГОВОРИ - 5
ДА ПРЕПОРАЧА ПРЕГОВОРИ – 5
ЌЕ ДОБИЕ ДАТУМ – 5
ДАТУМ ЗА ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ – 5
ПРОЦЕСОТ НА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ - 22
МАКЕДОНИЈА (НА) ПАТОТ КОН ЕУ – 22
ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ - 19
КРИТЕРИУМИ(ТЕ) ОД КОПЕНХАГЕН - 14
БОРБАТА ПРОТИВ КОРУПЦИЈАТА – 12
СПРОВедување (НА) РЕФОРМИ(ТЕ) – 11
(МНОГУ) (РАЗНИ) ОБЛАСТИ – 10
МАКЕДОНИЈА ВО ЕУ - 9
РЕФОРМИТЕ ВО – 9
СЛОБОДНИ И ФЕР ИЗБОРИ - 7
УСВОЕНИ(ТЕ) ЗАКОНИ – 7
АДМИНИСТРАТИВЕН/ИОТ КАПАЦИТЕТ - 7
ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ НА КРИТЕРИУМИТЕ - 6
АПСОРПЦИСКИ/ИНТЕГРАЦИСКИ КАПАЦИТЕТ – 6
НЕ ГИ ИСПОЛНУВА ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ - 5
ПОМЕЃУ МАКЕДОНИЈА И ЕУ – 5
СУДСКИТЕ РЕФОРМИ – 5
ФЕР И ДЕМОКРАТСКИ ИЗБОРИ - 5
ПОЛИТИЧКИОТ ДИЈАЛОГ – 5
ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ОТ) КОНСЕНЗУС – 5

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ) НА ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА (ЕК) - 24
ИЗВЕШТАЈ ЗА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 6
ИЗВЕСТУВАЧОТ ЗА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 6
НАПРЕДОК ВО ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕТО – 6

ПРЕОДНА ОЦЕНКА – 5
НАПРЕДОКОТ НА МАКЕДОНИЈА - 5
ДОБИЕ ПОЗИТИВЕН ИЗВЕШТАЈ – 5
ИЗВЕШТАЈ ЗА НАПРЕДОКОТ – 5

7 Domain: Agreements and documents

ОХРИДСКИОТ ДОГОВОР – 21
СПОГОДБАТА ЗА СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА - 9
ОВОЈ ДОКУМЕНТ – 6

8 Domain: Other

(ПРАШАЊЕТО) (СПОРОТ) ЗА (СО) ИМЕТО - 51
КАНДИДАТСКИ СТАТУС – 22
СПОРОТ (ЗА ИМЕТО) СО ГРЦИЈА - 17
РЕШЕНИЕ (ЗА ИМЕТО)(НА СПОРОТ) – 14
ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО СО ЕУ - 9
КАНДИДАТ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО - 8
СЛОВЕНЕЧКОТО ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО СО ЕУ - 6
ЗАЕДНИЧКИ ПРИФАТЛИВО РЕШЕНИЕ – 5

7.3.2. *Utrinski* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ЗЕМЈИТЕ-ЧЛЕНКИ (НА ЕУ) - 20
ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ ПАРТИИ – 14
ЕВРОКОМЕСАРОТ ОЛИ РЕН - 13
ЧЛЕНКА/ И НА ЕУ – 13
ВЛАСТА И ОПОЗИЦИЈАТА – 11
НОВИ ЧЛЕНКИ – 10
ЕРИК МЕЈЕР – 9
ДЕЛЕГАЦИЈАТА ОД ЕУ - 6
СИТЕ ПОЛИТИЧКИ ПАРТИИ – 6
ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛОТ НА ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА - 5
ЕВРОКОМЕСАРОТ ЗА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕОЛИ РЕН – 5
ЕВРОАМБАСАДОРОТ ВО ЗЕМЈАВА ЕРВАН ФУЕРЕ – 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА - 52
ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН – 35
РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 25
ЗЕМЈИТЕ ОД ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН - 13
ПОРАНЕШНА(ТА) ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА - 10
МАКЕДОНИЈА И ЕУ - 6
МАКЕДОНИЈА И ГРЦИЈА - 5

ЗЕМЉИТЕ ОД РЕГИОНОТ – 5

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 107

ЕВРОПСКИОТ СОВЕТ – 13

СУДСКИОТ СОВЕТ – 11

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(ЗА) ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ (УНИЈАТА) – 56

(ДА ДОБИЕ) ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ – 55

ЗА СТАРТ/ПОЧНУВАЊЕ (ПОЧЕТОК) НА ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ - 47

ДОБИЕ/ВАЊЕ ДАТУМ ЗА ПОЧЕТОК/ЗАПОЧНУВАЊЕ НА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 43

(ЗАПОЧНУВАЊЕ) ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО - 37

СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА - 18

ДАТУМ(ОТ) ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО/ МАКЕДОНИЈА - 17

ПРЕГОВОРИ СО ЕУ - 12

ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ(ТО) НА ЕУ - 12

ЕВРОПСКАТА ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА - 9

ЧЛЕНСТВОТО ВО ЕУ - 7

ОТВОРАЊЕ НА ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ - 7

ДАТУМ ЗА СТАРТ НА ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ - 6

ПРЕПОРАКА ЗА (ЗА/ОТ)ПОЧНУВАЊЕ НА ПРЕГОВОРИ – 6

ПРЕГОВОРИ СО МАКЕДОНИЈА - 5

МАКЕДОНИЈА ДА ДОБИЕ – 5

ПРЕГОВОРИ СО УНИЈАТА - 5

ЗАПОЧНУВАЊЕ ПРЕГОВОРИ СО - 5

ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА МАКЕДОНИЈА - 5

ПРОЦЕСОТ НА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ – 5

АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА И СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 32

ЈАВНАТА АДМИНИСТРАЦИЈА – 32

БОРБАТА ПРОТИВ КОРУПЦИЈАТА – 26

ПОЛИТИЧКИОТ ДИЈАЛОГ – 20

ФУНКЦИОНАЛНА/РАЧКА ПАЗАРНА ЕКОНОМИЈА - 17

СУДСКИ(ТЕ) РЕФОРМИ – 16

КОПЕНХАШКИТЕ/ГЕНСКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 15

ВЛЕЗ(Е) ВО ЕУ – 15

ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ НА КРИТЕРИУМИТЕ/УСЛОВИТЕ - 14

АПСОРПЦИОНИОТ(НЕН/ЦИСКИ) КАПАЦИТЕТ – 12

НА ПАТОТ КОН ЕУ - 10

ЕКОНОМСКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 10

КРИТЕРИУМИ(ТЕ) ОД КОПЕНХАГЕН – 10

ПОЛИТИЧКА(ТА) СТАБИЛНОСТ – 8

ПОЛИЦИСКИ РЕФОРМИ – 7
МАКЕДОНИЈА ВО ЕУ – 7
ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ НА РЕФОРМИТЕ – 7
РЕФОРМИТЕ ВО СУДСТВОТО – 6
МАКРОЕКОНОМСКА(ТА) СТАБИЛНОСТ – 6
ПРОДОЛЖУВАЊЕ НА РЕФОРМИТЕ – 6
ЕФЕКТИВНА(ТА) ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА – 6
СТАНЕ ЧЛЕНКА НА ЕУ – 5

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ) НА/ОД ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА (ЕК) ЗА НАПРЕДОКОТ - 51
НАПРЕДОК(ОТ) НА МАКЕДОНИЈА ВО- 22
НАПРЕДОК(ОТ) НА ЗЕМЈАТА/ВА - 10
СТОИ ВО ИЗВЕШТАЈОТ - 8
ДЕЛ ОД ИЗВЕШТАЈОТ - 7
ВО ИЗВЕШТАЈОТ ОД ЕК– 5

7 Domain: Agreements

ОХРИДСКИОТ ДОГОВОР – 26
СПОГОДБАТА ЗА СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА – 7

8 Domain: Other

(ПРАШАЊЕТО)(СПОРОТ) (ПРОБЛЕМОТ) ЗА (СО) ИМЕТО - 54
(ДОБИ) КАНДИДАТСКИ(ОТ) СТАТУС(НА МАКЕДОНИЈА) - 46
СПОРОТ (ЗА ИМЕТО) СО ГРЦИЈА - 29
(ДА СЕ НАЈДЕ) РЕШЕНИЕ ЗА ИМЕТО - 12
ЗАЕДНИЧКИ ПРИФАТЛИВО РЕШЕНИЕ – 6
САМИТОТ НА ЕУ - 5
ИМЕТО НА ДРЖАВАТА – 5

7.4.1. 2005 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Countries or regions involved

НАШАТА ЗЕМЈА – 6

2 Domain: Institutions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА (ЕК) – 15

3 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ПРОШИРУВАЊЕТО НА ЕУ – 5
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 5

4 Domain: Requirements

КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 4

5 Domain: Other

КАНДИДАТСКИ СТАТУС – 7

7.4.2. 2006 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Countries or regions involved

БАЛКАНСКИТЕ ЗЕМЈИ/ДРЖАВИ – 5

БУГАРИЈА И РОМАНИЈА – 4

2 Domain: Institutions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 6

3 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

СТРАТЕГИСКИ(ОТ) ДОКУМЕНТ – 6

СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА - 5

СОВЕТ ЗА СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА – 5

ДАТУМ(ОТ) ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ – 4

7.4.3. 2007 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ОЛИ РЕН – 15

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ЗАПАД(ЕН/НИОТ) БАЛКАН - 12

БАЛКАНСКИТЕ ЗЕМЈИ – 6

3 Domain: Institutions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 21

ЕВРОПСКИОТ ПАРЛАМЕНТ – 6

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО/ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ - 24

ПОЧЕТОК/ПОЧНУВАЊЕ/ДА ПОЧНЕ ПРЕГОВОРИ - 22

ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) (ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО) - 18

ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 12

ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ ВО ЕУ – 5

ОТВОРАЊЕ/ОТВОРИ ПРЕГОВОРИ – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

(ПАТОТ) КОН ЕУ (ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА) - 17

ПОЛИТИЧКИОТ ДИЈАЛОГ – 14

БОРБАТА ПРОТИВ/СО КОРУПЦИЈАТА – 8

СУДСКИТЕ РЕФОРМИ - 7

КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИ/ХАШКИ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 7

ЕКОНОМСКИТЕ РЕФОРМИ – 5
ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 5
ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ОТ) КОНСЕНЗУС – 5

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Report

ИЗВЕШТАЈ НА (ЕК) ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 6

7 Domain: Agreements

ОХРИДСКИ(ОТ) ДОГОВОР – 6
РЕФОРМСКА(ТА) ПОВЕЛБА – 6

8 Domain: Other

СЛОВЕНЕЧКОТО ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО - 9
КАНДИДАТСКИ(ОТ) СТАТУС - 8
ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО СО ЕУ – 5

7.4.4. 2008 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ЗЕМЈИТЕ ЧЛЕНКИ – 14
КОМЕСАРОТ ОЛИ РЕН - 8
ЕРИК МЕЈЕР – 8
ЕРВАН ФУЕРЕ – 7
ИЗВЕСТУВАЧОТ ЗА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 6
КОМЕСАРОТ ЗА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ ОЛИ РЕН – 6
СОБРАНИСКА(ТА) ДЕЛЕГАЦИЈА – 6
ЕЛМАР БРОК – 6
МИНИСТЕРОТ ЗА НАДВОРЕШНИ РАБОТИ АНТОНИО МИЛОШОСКИ – 5
МИНИСТРИТЕ ЗА НАДВОРЕШНИ - 5
ИЗВЕСТУВАЧОТ ЗА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 6
РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА - 6
ПОРАНЕШНАТА ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 5

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА (ЕК) - 39

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 27
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЗАЧЛЕНУВАЊЕ/ЧЛЕНСТВО - 23
ПРЕГОВОРИ СО ЕУ – 14
ЕВРОПСКА(ТА) ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА – 10

СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА – 9
ДОБИЕ ДАТУМ ЗА ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 8
ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ - 7
ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ НА ЕУ – 5
ПРЕПОРАЧА ПРЕГОВОРИ – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 14
КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 13
ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ОТ) ДИЈАЛОГ – 12
ВИЗНА(ТА) ЛИБЕРАЛИЗАЦИЈА – 8
ВИЗНИОТ РЕЖИМ – 8
МЕЃУНАРОДНИ(ТЕ) СТАНДАРДИ – 8
ПОЛИТИЧКА ВОЛЈА – 8
ИСПОЛНУВАЊЕ НА ОСУМТЕ УСЛОВИ – 8
СЛОБОДНИ И ФЕР ИЗБОРИ – 6
МАКЕДОНИЈА ВО ЕУ - 5
НЕ ГИ ИСПОЛНУВА ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 5

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

ИЗВЕШТАЈ НА ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 5
5 НОЕМВРИ – 6

7 Domain: Other

СПОР(ОТ) ЗА/СО ИМЕТО - 15
СПОРОТ СО ГРЦИЈА - 5
СЛОВЕНЕЧКОТО ПРЕТСЕДАТЕЛСТВО – 5

7.4.5. 2009 sub-corpus *Dnevnik* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ОЛИ РЕН – 23
КОМЕСАРОТ ОЛИ РЕН – 7

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 8
ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 6

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 22
СОВЕТОТ НА ЕУ – 5
СОВЕТОТ НА МИНИСТРИ(ТЕ) – 5

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(ДАТУМ ЗА) ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) - 40
ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО - 26

ДАТУМ ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 12
ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ – 9
ПОЧЕТОК НА ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 9
ПРЕПОРАКА(ТА) ОД ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА (ЕК) – 6

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

ДОБРОСОСЕДСКИ(ТЕ) ОДНОСИ – 12
КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИ(ТЕ) КРИТЕРИУМИ/ОД КОПЕНХАГЕН – 7
ВИЗНА(ТА) ЛИБЕРАЛИЗАЦИЈА – 7

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

ПОЗИТИВЕН ИЗВЕШТАЈ – 5

7 Domain: Other

СПОРОТ ЗА/СО ИМЕТО - 26
РЕШЕНИЕ/ВАЊЕ ЗА СПОРОТ - 15
ПРАШАЊЕТО ЗА ИМЕТО - 10
СПОРОТ СО ГРЦИЈА – 7
РЕШЕНИЕ ЗА ИМЕТО – 6

7.5.1. 2005 sub-corpus *Utrinski* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ПОРАНЕШНА ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 7
ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 6

2 Domain: Institutions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 12

3 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 8
СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА - 6
ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ/УНИЈАТА – 6
ЕВРОПСКО(ТО) ПАРТНЕРСТВО – 5

4 Domain: Agreements

ОХРИДСКИОТ (РАМКОВЕН) ДОГОВОР – 11
СПОГОДБА(ТА)/ДОГОВОР ЗА СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА – 6

5 Domain: Other

КАНДИДАТСКИ(ОТ) СТАТУС (НА МАКЕДОНИЈА) – 16

7.5.2. 2006 sub-corpus *Utrinski* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

НОВИ(ТЕ) ЧЛЕНКИ – 9
ОЛИ РЕН - 6
(ЕВРО) КОМЕСАРОТ ЗА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ – 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ЕУ – 53
ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 17
(ЗЕМЈИТЕ ОД) ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН – 14
БУГАРИЈА И РОМАНИЈА – 5

3 Domain: Institutions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 10
ЕВРОПСКИОТ ПАРЛАМЕНТ – 5

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ДАТУМ ЗА (ПОЧНУВАЊЕ) ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ) – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

АПСОРПЦИСКИ(ОТ)/АПСОРПЦИОНИОТ КАПАЦИТЕТ (НА АПСОРПЦИЈА) - 10
РЕФОМА(ТА/И) НА СУДСТВОТО – 5

7.5.3. 2007 sub-corpus *Utrinski* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ВЛАСТА И ОПОЗИЦИЈАТА – 6

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 11

3 Domain: Institutions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 37
ЕК – 32

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

(ЗА)ПОЧНУВАЊЕ ПРЕГОВОРИ - 9
ДАТУМ(ОТ) ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ - 9
ПРЕГОВОРИ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 7

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

ЈАВНАТА АДМИНИСТРАЦИЈА – 14
ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 11
ФУНКЦИОНИРАЧКА/ФУНКЦИОНАЛНА ПАЗАРНА ЕКОНОМИЈА - 10
БОРБА(ТА) ПРОТИВ КОРУПЦИЈАТА – 8

СУДСКИ(ТЕ) РЕФОРМИ – 8
ПОЛИТИЧКИ КОНСЕНЗУС – 6
КОПЕНХАГЕНСКИ/ХАШКИ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 5

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

ИЗВЕШТАЈ(ОТ) НА (ЕВРОПСКАТА) КОМИСИЈА(ТА) - 20
НАПРЕДОКОТ НА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 6
ЕКОНОМСКИОТ ДЕЛ – 5

7 Domain: Agreements

СПОГОДБАТА ЗА (АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА И) СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА – 5

7.5.4. 2008 sub-corpus *Utrinski* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ПОЛИТИЧКИ(ТЕ) ПАРТИИ – 15
ОЛИ РЕН – 14
ЕРВАН ФУЕРЕ – 8
ДЕЛЕГАЦИЈАТА ОД ЕУ - 6
ЕВРОКОМЕСАРОТ ОЛИ РЕН – 6
ПРЕМИЕРОТ НИКОЛА ГРУЕВСКИ – 5
ВЛАСТА И ОПОЗИЦИЈАТА – 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 10

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 28

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ДА (ДОБИЕ) ДАТУМ (ЗА ПРЕГОВОРИ) - 25
ЧЛЕНСТВО ВО ЕУ – 6
СТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈА И АСОЦИЈАЦИЈА – 6
ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ ЗА ЧЛЕНСТВО – 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

ПОЛИТИЧКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 17
ЈАВНА(ТА) АДМИНИСТРАЦИЈА – 11
ПОЛИТИЧКИ ДИЈАЛОГ – 10
БОРБАТА ПРОТИВ КОРУПЦИЈАТА – 8
СУДСКИ(ТЕ) РЕФОРМИ – 7
КОПЕНХАШКИТЕ КРИТЕРИУМИ – 5

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

ИЗВЕШТАЈОТ НА ЕК – 8

ИЗВЕШТАЈ НА ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 6

7 Domain: Other

СПОРТ ОКОЛУ/СО ИМЕТО – 22
(ДА СЕ НАЈДЕ) РЕШЕНИЕ ЗА ИМЕТО - 11
ЗАЕДНИЧКИ ПРИФАТЛИВО РЕШЕНИЕ – 5

7.5.5. 2009 sub-corpus *Utrinski* Word clusters (Macedonian language)

1 Domain: Parties or actors involved

ОЛИ РЕН – 13
ПРЕМИЕРОТ НИКОЛА ГРУЕВСКИ - 6
ПАПАНДРЕУ И ГРУЕВСКИ - 5
(ЕВРО) КОМЕСАРОТ ЗА ПРОШИРУВАЊЕ ОЛИ РЕН – 5

2 Domain: Countries or regions involved

РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 15
ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН – 12
ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА – 8
ЗЕМЈИ(ТЕ) ОД ЗАПАДЕН БАЛКАН – 5

3 Domain: Institutions or bodies involved

ЕВРОПСКАТА КОМИСИЈА – 20
ЕВРОПСКИОТ ПАРЛАМЕНТ – 18

4 Domain: Enlargement and elements of the process

ДАТУМ(ОТ) ЗА (ПОЧЕТОК НА) ПРЕГОВОРИ(ТЕ)- 30
ЧЛЕНСТВО(ТО) ВО ЕУ - 18
ПРЕГОВОРИ СО ЕУ - 8
ПОЧНУВАЊЕ (НА ПРИСТАПНИ/ТЕ) ПРЕГОВОРИ - 8
(ДАТУМ(ОТ) ЗА) СТАРТ НА ПРЕГОВОРИТЕ – 7
ДОБИЕ ДАТУМ ЗА (СТАРТ/ПОЧЕТОК) - 5

5 Domain: Conditionality, requirements, compliances and objectives

ВИЗНА(ТА) ЛИБЕРАЛИЗАЦИЈА – 9

6 Domain: Elements of the Progress Reports

НАПРЕДОКОТ НА МАКЕДОНИЈА – 5

7 Domain: Other

СПОРТ СО ГРЦИЈА – 7
СПОРТ ОКОЛУ ИМЕТО – 5

Appendix 4 – List of officials

Foreign officials

1. Jose Manuel Barroso, former President of the European Commission
2. *Michael Lee, former General Director of the Directorate for Enlargement in the European Commission at the time*
3. Olli Rehn, former Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy
4. Erwan Fouere, former European Union Special Representative and Ambassador, Head of Delegation in the Republic of Macedonia
5. Angelica Beer, former Member of the Greens in the European Parliament
6. Eric Meyer, former European Parliament's Special Rapporteur of the Foreign Policy Commission within the European Parliament for *Macedonia*
7. Hannes Swoboda, former member of the European Parliament, President of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, representing the Social Democratic Party of Austria
8. Zoran Thaller, former Rapporteur for Macedonia in the European Parliament
10. Luís Filipe Marques Amado, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal
11. Nicholas Sarkozy, former President of the French Republic
12. Philippe Douste-Blazy, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic
13. Romano Prodi, former Prime Minister of Italy and the tenth President of the European Commission
14. Paula Lehtomaki, former Minister of Trade and Development of Finland
15. Antonio Missiroli, former Director of Studies at the European Policy Centre in Brussels
16. Janez Jansa, former Prime Minister of Slovenia
17. Igor Sencar, former Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the EU in Brussels
18. Elmar Brok, President of the Commission on Foreign Affairs in the European Parliament
20. Dr. Erhard Busek, former Special coordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
21. Reinhard Priebe, former European Commission's director for the Western Balkans
22. Pierre Mirel, Director of the European Commission's DG Enlargement Unit for Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo Issues

23. Chris Patten, former European Commissioner for Foreign Affairs
24. Georgios A. Papandreou, former Prime Minister of Greece

Local (Macedonian) officials

1. Petar Pop Arsov, Chief of the Parliamentary Delegation that went to Brussels at the time, 2008
2. Antonio Miloshoski, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia
3. Gabriela Koneska-Trajkovska, former Deputy President of the Government in charge of European Integration
4. Ivica Bocevski, former Deputy President of the Government in charge of European Integration
5. Nikola Gruevski, President of the Government of Macedonia

