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Resilience Discourse in IATE's Multilingual COVID-19 Terminology

Abstract: *This article focuses on resilience discourse in the EU and it sets out to address the following aims: the construction of a concise conceptual history of resilience discourse within the EU – from first definitions (ca. 2012) to the creation of a comprehensive resilience framework (ca. 2020); the description of the lexicalisation of resilience in EU terminological work, with particular reference to COVID-19-related terminology. To that end, it firstly traces the shifting semantics of the term "resilience" in time. Secondly, it highlights the growing ubiquity of the concept in EU policymaking. Thirdly, it investigates the conceptual and terminological relationship between EU resilience discourses and IATE's Multilingual COVID-19 Terminology.*

Introduction

This article aims to offer insight into EU resilience discourse from a conceptual-terminological perspective. Scholars have variously provided competing genealogies (Foucault 1977) for the concept of "resilience" in an effort to better understand its fast-growing ubiquity in the social sciences, in politics and in policymaking (Walker – Cooper 2011; Bourbeau 2018). While such genealogical work forms a pivotal background to what follows, the emphasis here is on the EU's definition of resilience, on the conceptual connection between EU-resilience discourse and the EU's post-COVID-19 recovery discourse, and on the presence of the term "resilience" (both as a single term and as part of complex terms (ISO 1087:2019: 3.4.9)) in IATE's Multilingual COVID-19 Terminology. The EU's resilience discourse transpires through the harmonisation of resilience terminology across EU languages, whereby official terminology work operationalises and reinforces resilience as one of the key tenets of current EU policies (Tocci 2020).

Research aims are presented in the first section; the second section opens with a concise literature review of resilience studies and then introduces resilience discourse in the context of the EU with particular emphasis on the post COVID-19 scenario; lastly, a critical description of the resilience-related entries in IATE's Multilingual COVID-19 Terminology is pro-

vided in order to assess the extent to which terminological harmonisation reflects and perpetuates the EU's political conceptualisation of resilience.

RESEARCH AIMS

In what follows, COVID-19 is referred to as a syndemic, i.e. a synergistic epidemic. The syndemics theory was originally put forward by medical anthropologist Merrill Singer (2009). It proposes that epidemics can co-occur in certain contexts, that they interact in meaningful ways through biological, social, and psychological processes, and that they share upstream factors (social, cultural, economic, educational, ecological) driving both their co-occurrence and interaction (Mendenhall et al. 2022)[1]. A cursory overview of well-known COVID-19 *corpora* shows that there is a lexical-conceptual interconnection between the syndemic and the concept of "resilience". The CORD-19 Dataset (COVID-19 Open Research Dataset) contains 203,386 occurrences of the term resilience (60.33 per million tokens)[2]. In 444 occurrences, resilience appears in the phrase "recovery and resilience", while in 273 it occurs in the phrase "resilience and recovery". Both word orders are common in language use. *The Coronavirus Corpus*[3] contains 56,616 occurrences of resilience in 34,623 texts; resilience co-occurs with "recovery" (recovery and resilience) in 674 of these instances in 466 texts; while in 252 occurrences in 228 texts, resilience occurs in the phrase with the reverse word order, resilience and recovery. Not only do these numbers point to the lexical-conceptual connection between the COVID-19 syndemic and resilience, but they also show how recovery measures tend to be juxtaposed with resilience in the syndemic context.

The COVID-19 crisis has been called «a harbinger of a new global risk landscape in the Anthropocene» and has exposed «the vulnerability of our global society to systemic risks» (Rockström et al. 2023, 897). That is why many political response strategies to COVID-19 tend to integrate resilience thinking by building uncertainty, risk and adaptability into their policymaking. Since response strategies are effected as recovery plans, the concepts of recovery and resilience in the context of COVID-19 are interconnected. This article proposes a preliminary exploration of such interconnection and pursues the following research aims:
1. The construction of a concise conceptual history of resilience discourse within the EU –

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[1] The present author has employed the "syndemics approach" in previous publications (ANSELMO 2021; 2022 a e b; 2023) to address COVID-19-related terminological issues and language inequality during health crises.

[2] The dataset is available on www.sketchengine.eu (last accessed: 11 December 2023). The version used for the data reported above is "CORD-19 with reduplications", last updated in 2022.

[3] *The Coronavirus Corpus* is available here: www.english-corpora.org/corona/ (last accessed: 11 December 2023). The *corpus* contains data collected from January 2020 to December 2022.

from first definitions (ca. 2012) to the creation of a comprehensive resilience framework (ca. 2020); 2. The description of the lexicalisation of resilience in EU terminological work, with particular reference to COVID-19-related terminology.

In order to achieve these aims, the following steps are taken:

- Regarding aim 1: a short resilience literature review is offered to build a definitional baseline in the fields of politics and policymaking. The subsequent concise conceptual history of EU resilience discourse shows how the semantics of resilience across different disciplines are drawn on to build a EU definition that is not only theoretically complex, but also fully operationalised into four interconnected dimensions. The concise conceptual history is based on the following *corpus* of texts: *The EU Approach to Resilience. Learning from Food Security Crises* (2012), *Council Conclusions on EU Approach to Resilience* (2013), *Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries, 2013-2020*, *A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy* (2016), i.e. *The EU Global Strategy*, *Joint Communication* (2017), *The Strategic Foresight Report* (2020). These have been selected following Tocci (2020) – who traces the recent history of EU resilience discourses – and the EU Science Hub's "resilience" glossary entry – which offers an overview of current EU resilience actions. These texts are thus recognised as part of the genealogy of EU resilience thinking both internally (these texts cross-reference each other) and externally – Tocci (2017; 2020), in particular, refers to these texts as key in the development of EU resilience discourses.
- Regarding aim 2: IATE's COVID-19 Multilingual Terminology is briefly introduced and, subsequently, interrogated to identify resilience-related entries and their formal features. This approach is intended to highlight the political role of terminology work in harmonising resilience-related terms across member state languages and, consequently, in naturalising EU resilience discourse. In other words, centralised terminology management and harmonisation aims at uniformity in terminology use and, consequently, naturalises – i.e. makes ideas seem "normal" and "natural" (Kellner et al. 2019, 21) – EU policies and political perspectives.

RESILIENCE DISCOURSE: A CONCEPTUAL SKETCH

The OED's entry for "resilience" lists five different acceptations. Acceptation five reads: «The quality or fact of being able to recover quickly or easily from, or resist being affected by, a misfortune, shock, illness, etc.; robustness; adaptability» (OED 5). This acceptation is first found in Cassell's *Illustrated History of England* and dates back from 1857, effectively

marking the semantic shift from material to figurative bouncing back. Resilience, more than its cognate word form "resiliency", has become ubiquitous in academia (across several disciplines), as well as in politics and policymaking. In time, different viewpoints of resilience have emerged. In some strands of psychology, resilience refers to an individual's ability to adapt positively after a traumatic event, while ecology studies use resilience to describe how an ecosystem can return to a state of equilibrium and maintain its functions after a disturbance (Bourbeau 2018, 19). The genealogy of the term has been the object of debate, with Bourbeau noting that the term was used in psychology literature – in both word forms, resilience and resiliency – as early as 1955 (Ivi, 23), and Walker and Cooper (2011) claiming that resilience has increasingly become ubiquitous in world politics and security due to 1970s ecology discourses. Nowadays, resilience is argued to have replaced, on the one hand, stability as the predominant trope within security discourses (Zebrowski 2016) and, on the other hand, sustainable development as the focus of social-ecological discourses (Frankenberger et al. 2014; Ferguson 2019, 105).

The semantic core of resilience can be found in the emergence of trauma or crisis as events[4] (Zizek 2014) disrupting an entity (e.g. the financial market, the ecosystem, a child...). Resilience is thus «the capacity of the entity to anticipate, adapt to and recover from the event such that it resumes its original configuration, shape, functional relationships or trajectory afterward» (Welsh 2014, 3). This conceptualisation points to resilience as the capacity to return to the status quo *ante* a crisis, but the concept has increasingly shifted focus, especially in policymaking, going from a bouncing back semantic core to a more sustained emphasis on the semantics of change and transformation. In particular, resilience has come to bridge both prevention and response to hazards (Chmutina et al. 2016), and to conceptualise them in terms of bouncing forward, i.e. «reacting to crises by changing to a new state that is more sustainable in the current environment» (Shaw 2012). In politics and policymaking, resilience has become useful in naturalising a "risk society", i.e. normalising awareness of ontological risk, uncertainty, contingency and insecurity, according to the paradigm first advanced by Beck (1992)[5]. Resilience has thus increasingly internalised the bouncing forward semantics. Its success is due precisely to its focus on uncertainty: contemporary challenges such as «climate change, pandemics, economic meltdowns, or even certain kinds of terrorism [...] are based primarily on uncertainty, are located in the future, and often lack clear adversaries» (Corry 2014, 256). Therefore, resilience is now argued to involve «the capacity to absorb

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[4] Zizek defines an event as an amphibious notion: «an effect that exceeds its causes» (2014, 2); that is, as something that emerges seemingly out of nowhere and that manifests a circular structure, whereby the causes can never fully account for the synergistic energy of the event itself.

[5] See also Ekberg (2007).

shocks, avoid tipping points, navigate surprise and keep options alive, and the ability to innovate and transform in the face of crises and traps» (Rockström et al. 2023, 897). Seen in this light, resilience is key to articulating policies that address uncertainty, change, and complexity across diverse epistemic communities (Welsh 2014). The appeal further lies in the term being a metaphorical frame that is sufficiently malleable to cut across the so-called «"grey area" between academic, policy and practice discourse» (Bristow 2010, 163).

Such versatility implies a common metaphorical/semantic core which can then be inflected according to the specific discipline or epistemic community. Resilience is, therefore, employed as part of agendas pushing for acceptance and management of novelty, adaptation, unpredictability, transformation and vulnerability as constitutive of governance. Such approach sees flexibility and adaptability as pivotal in developing the capacity to seek out unforeseen opportunities in crisis and trauma (Seville 2009; Shaw 2011). Precisely because of these characteristics, resilience has also recently been associated with neoliberal and technocratic turns in policymaking (Jacobs et al. 2022) as it displaces authority and responsibility from the centre (governments) to the periphery (local communities and individuals) (Chmutina et al. 2016, 71).

Resilience Discourse: the EU, COVID-19, and Recovery Plans

The EU's progressive adoption of resilience as a policymaking paradigm can be read against the theoretical-practical, academic-governmental backdrop sketched above. Resilience discourses within the EU have their origin in the early 2010s. In 2012, the European Commission (henceforth the EC) published a relevant document, *The EU Approach to Resilience. Learning from Food Security Crises* (henceforth EUAR 2012). In this document, resilience is defined as «the ability of an individual, household, community, a country or a region to withstand, adapt to, and quickly recover from stresses and shocks such as drought, violence, conflict or natural disaster» (EUAR 2012, 5). The document further delineates the concept in terms of prevention, preparedness, risk and disaster management strategies. The "resilience paradigm" [Fig. 1] supports the visual conceptualisation of resilience as a return to the status quo *ante* a crisis. In 2013, two key documents were produced. The first was issued by the Council of Europe, titled *Council Conclusions on EU Approach to Resilience* (henceforth CCR 2013), as a response to the Commission's EUAR. The CCR do not define resilience, rather, they operationalise[6] it by listing key principles in the implementation of resilience strategies.

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[6] On definitions operationalising a term, see Brooks (1992, 30), who sees the possibility of defining certain concepts by specifying «a set of measurable criteria such that individuals and groups [...] could agree whether the criteria are being met in a concrete development program». While Brooks was specifically

The CCR highlight the horizontal, overarching nature of resilience and emphasise the need to adopt a holistic approach in implementing policies. The second document was issued by the EC: *Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries, 2013-2020*. Here, too, resilience is defined as "bouncing back", the same definition as the EUAR is provided verbatim.
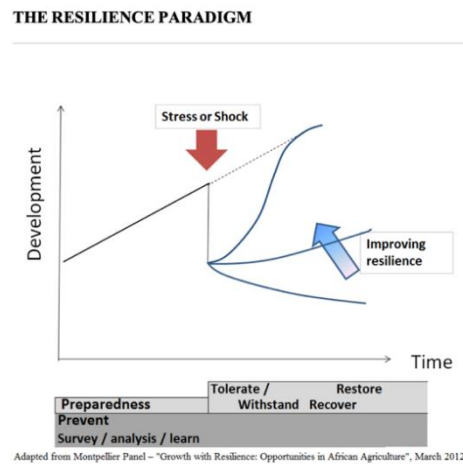

Figure 1 – The *Resilience Paradigm* in *The EU Approach to Resilience: Learning from Food Security Crises* (2012, 4).

It was the 2016 EU Global Strategy (henceforth EUGS 2016) that took resilience beyond the domains of humanitarianism and food security and across EU policy silos. Furthermore, the 2016 EUGS took the concept from the bouncing back semantics to a far more comprehensive definition that built risk and uncertainty into EU policies (Tocci 2020), as well as including the semantics of renewal through reform. In particular, resilience began to co-occur with the pre-modifiers "state" and "societal", thus developing the multisystemic and cross-policy nature of the concept. Resilience was thus defined as: «the ability of states and societies to reform, thus withstanding and recovering from internal and external crises» (EUGS 2016, 23). Not only did the EUGS identify resilience as key in EU policymaking, but they also provided a definition that upturned the semantic focus: resilience is primarily about reform and change, and only secondarily is it about "withstanding" and "recovering".

The EUGS paved the way for the 2017 "Joint Communication" by the High Representative of the EC, which combined the EUAR and the EUGS definitions to place heavy emphasis on the semantics of change. Therefore, resilience was defined as interconnected with democracy, sustainable development, and the capacity to reform. Here, too, is the definition

writing about definitions of sustainability, the present author believes Brooks' observation is also applicable to resilience.

operationalised as a set of key objectives to be achieved:

> the adaptability of states, societies, communities, and individuals to political, economic, environmental, demographic, or societal pressures; the capacities of states to build, maintain, or restore core functions and cohesion; and the ability of societies, communities, and individuals to manage risk and opportunities in peaceful and sustainable ways. (Tocci 2020)

Resilience discourse as a way of "bouncing forward" and embracing change and transformation started to take root: after trauma or crisis there can be no actual return to the status quo *ante*, states and societies will and should be different after a crisis (Joseph 2018). The non-linearity of resilience approaches emphasises reorganisation, renewing, the ability to change in response to external shocks, retaining core functions but seizing opportunities to acquire new features and assets (Walker et al. 2004).

The COVID-19 syndemic has brought resilience discourse into even sharper relief. The EU's first response to the syndemic has been dubbed «uncoordinated» (Wolff – Ladi 2020). Several months into the health crisis, the EU rearticulated resilience discourse and effectively turned resilience into a master trope for post-COVID-19 governance. To that effect, a concise yet comprehensive introduction to EU resilience discourses is represented by the EU Science Hub's glossary of scientific activities[7] (henceforth EUSHG), which is part of the EC's Joint Research Centre website, and whose primary objective is to provide science and data for implementation into policymaking. The glossary entry for "resilience" defines it as «a new compass for EU policies» (EUSHG), and states that the EC's effort is to build "resilience thinking" into "policymaking" (EUSHG). Resilience is here defined holistically: «the ability not only to withstand and cope with challenges but also to undergo transitions, in a sustainable, fair, and democratic manner» (EUSHG), with a specific focus on «strengthening the mechanisms of shock absorption and enhancing the capacity for adaptation and transformation» (EUSHG). In particular, the EU Science Hub entry provides the multiword term "transformative resilience", dubbing any residual "bouncing back" semantics of resilience "undesirable", and opting for policies that "bounce forward". The EUSHG is founded upon two distinct documents that effected the definitive transition to current EU resilience discourse: *Building a Scientific Narrative towards a More Resilient EU Society* (Manca et al. 2017) and the *Strategic Foresight Report* (2020).

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[7] See the EU Science Hub's website here: https://joint-research-centre.ec.europa.eu/index_en (last accessed: 20 February 2024). For the glossary entry concerning resilience see: https://joint-research-centre.ec.europa.eu/scientific-activities-z/resilience_en (last accessed: 20 February 2024).

Building a Scientific Narrative towards a More Resilient EU Society is a Joint Research Centre article aimed at mapping the scholarly and scientific evolution of resilience, with particular emphasis on social resilience. It proposes a tripartite definition of a resilient society, whereby resilience is here articulated into layers of absorption, adaptability, and transformation:

> A *resilient society* is able to cope with and react to shocks or persistent structural changes by either resisting to it (absorptive capacity) or by adopting a degree of flexibility and making small changes to the system (adaptive capacity). At the limit, when disturbances are not manageable anymore, the system needs to engineer bigger changes, which in extreme cases will lead to a transformation (transformative capacity). (Manca et al. 2017, 5)

The *Strategic Foresight Report* is expressive of the EU's transition-led political agenda subsequent to the first wave of COVID-19. It describes resilience as enabling both processes of recovery and processes of strengthening and intensification of transitions. The report envisions a framework within which resilience can be both mapped and measured, and recovery starts to become a buzzword. Vulnerability is key to the report, as uncertainties as well as vulnerabilities become inherent to governance in resilience discourses: both vulnerabilities and resilience capacities within the EU are measured according to fourteen megatrends – long-term driving forces that impact the future, i.e. diversification of education and learning, the changing nature of work, growing consumption, etc. – and a four-dimensional framework for assessing resilience is proposed.

Each dimension is articulated into sub-categories (capacities, vulnerabilities, and opportunities): the first is the social and economic dimension of resilience; the second is the geopolitical dimension; the third is the green dimension; the fourth is the digital dimension. These dimensions contribute to the EU's definition of resilience as they are multisystemic (Wernli et al. 2021), that is, they not only bridge different policy silos, but also address the societal, the political, the economic, the sustainable, and the security elements in governance. The dimensions aim to provide a view of strengths (capacities), weaknesses (vulnerabilities), and chances of growth (opportunities), which frames the EU COVID-19 crisis *vis-à-vis* resilience as a complex scenario, containing capacities for response and management as well as windows for opportunity and growth.

The four-dimensional framework is also aimed at implementing transitional policies towards effective recovery and is coupled with a policymaking and analytical perspective dubbed strategic foresight, in other words, «the discipline of exploring, anticipating and shaping the future» to «build and use collective intelligence in a structured and systematic way to anticipate developments and better prepare for change» (SFR 2020). Strategic foresight includes «Horizon scanning, the assessment of megatrends, emerging issues and their policy implications, as well as the exploration of alternative futures via visioning and scenario planning, [which] are key to informing strategic political choices» (*Ibid*.). Resilience thus emerges as a

multisystemic, multidisciplinary, multifaceted concept, interconnected with processes of assessment of preparedness and vulnerabilities, and achieving recovery as a form of successful transition to renewal and regeneration.

RESILIENCE DISCOURSE IN IATE'S COVID-19 MULTILINGUAL TERMINOLOGY

Terminological work within the EU is instrumental in the popularisation and naturalisation of cultural-political ideas. Terminological work and standardisation have been fruitfully used in multilingual contexts such as Catalonia to «coordinate terminological activity [...], to promote and create terminology resources and ensure their availability, and to promote the development of linguistic engineering products»[8]. Institutional terminological departments continue to collect terminology and recommend its use via termbases to ensure correct and consistent use. When multiple languages are involved, as is the case in the EU, terminology work can also imply harmonisation, that is, a process aimed at «*la désignation, dans plusieures langues, d'une même notion par des termes qui reflètent les mêmes caractères ou des caractères similaires dont la forme est la même ou légèrement différente*» (ISO 869:1996 in Chiocchetti 2008, 24). Terminology management and harmonisation in the EU are implemented thanks to the Terminology Coordination Unit (TermCoord) and to the IATE termbase. IATE was initially intended for EU professionals, and it was aimed at «the collection, the dissemination and shared management of EU-specific terminology»[9]. A further aim was the harmonisation of terminology to «support the multilingual drafting of EU texts»[10]. In particular, harmonisation is effected thanks to the implementation of reliability values and evaluations into the termbase (IATE User's Handbook, 94-96). Reliability values are graphically expressed using stars, which indicate the reliability of the match between term and concept as well as the reliability of the sources used in the terminological entry. Evaluation, on the other hand, indicates the degree to which a term and its use are deemed appropriate and correct. Evaluations are expressed through the following terms "preferred", "admitted", "deprecated", "obsolete", "proposed". Evaluation, in particular, manifests the aim to offer harmonised terminology. Once IATE was released to the public, its target audience widened (e.g. language profession-

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[8] See TERMCAT Terminology Centre: https://llengua.gencat.cat/en/direccio_general_politica_linguistica/02_organismes_vinculats/01_centre_de_terminologia_termcat/ (last accessed: 31 May 2023).

[9] See https://www.europarl.europa.eu/translation/en/terminology/about-iate (last accessed: 10 April 2023).

[10] See IATE User's Handbook: https://iate.europa.eu/assets/handbook.pdf (last accessed: 10 April 2023).

als, academia, national experts, public administration, policy advisers, private sector companies, and the general public) and the termbase became a reference resource[11] that offered validated – i.e. harmonised – terminology. The value of harmonisation is both communicative and political: while harmonised terminology aims at optimising communicative processes (i.e. the drafting, editing, and translating of documents), it also functions as an officiously standardising force[12] that language service providers at all levels refer to, and, consequently, facilitates the spread and naturalisation of specific concepts and their lexical designations.

IATE's Multilingual COVID-19 Terminology was first drafted in April 2020 as an emergency response to the proliferation of technical and semi-technical terms surrounding COVID-19, to fulfil the need for consistent use of terminology and, therefore, effective communication (Callegari 2020). This was due to the realisation, early in the syndemic, that communication was one of the most important tools at the disposal of health practitioners and governments to contain the spread of the virus (Bowker 2020). Many medical or public health terms went through processes of de-terminologisation – i.e. specialised terms were integrated into everyday lives and knowledge – (Meyer – Mackintosh 2020); at the same time, the rapidity and severity of the syndemic predicament only allowed for very little formal language planning and consensus building (Bowker 2020, 2). There ensued the need for clarity and lack of conceptual ambiguity when communicating vital syndemic-related information across different contexts and fields, and the health and political value of doing so effectively was and is of primary importance. The fact that IATE (and the COVID-19 terminology within IATE) were recognised as instrumental in the joint European roadmap towards lifting containment measures is evidence of the inherent political values of terminology harmonisation. Effective and unambiguous communication to counter the spread of the virus is not the only purpose for harmonising COVID-19-related terminology. Syndemic-related policies and policymaking strategies also require clear conceptualisations and unambiguous terminology, which, in turn, can facilitate the transmission of the political thinking underlying their production. In other words, the conceptualisation and lexicalisation of resilience thinking, and the insertion of COVID-19-related resilience policies in IATE's COVID-19 Terminology served to naturalise resilience thinking as it conceptually and lexically trickled down member state policies, media, and into the everyday.

IATE's Multilingual COVID-19 Terminology was specifically conceived to benefit IATE users by offering comprehensive coverage of COVID-19-related terms and by providing access to accurate and harmonised multilingual content[13]. As a subset of the IATE general

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[11] See https://cdt.europa.eu/en/news/covid-19-multilingual-terminology-available-iate (last accessed: 10 April 2023).

[12] On the formal definition of terminology standardisation see CHIOCCHETTI – RALLI (2013).

[13] See https://cdt.europa.eu/en/news/covid-19-multilingual-terminology-available-iate (last accessed: 1 September 2023).

termbase, it consists of an Excel spreadsheet listing all single and multi-word terms related to COVID-19 and SARS-Cov-2 contained in IATE. The terminology was first drafted in April 2020 and included 270 entries; it grew to count 730 entries in March 2021, when it was last updated. Here reference is made to the March 2021 update. It is not a glossary, per se, but an English-only list of terms; this means that term variants, spelling variants, synonyms and abbreviations are included in the list as independent items. Each independent item redirects to the terminological entry in the IATE general termbase. This relative overlapping is explained by the concept- rather than term-oriented rationale for IATE entries: while the list contains terms, each of them is listed with a URL that redirects to a IATE entry, which, being concept-oriented, will contain synonyms, spelling variants, and abbreviations.

The IATE general termbase contains four distinct entries for "resilience" belonging to the fields of health, social questions, earth sciences and materials technology, and IT and data processing[14]. As a component of multi-word terms, it appears in 65 further entries, spanning fields as disparate as information security, the environment, the economy, finance, and migration, among many others. The focus in what follows is on resilience as conceptualised within recovery discourses related to the COVID-19 crisis. To that effect, the presence of the term "resilience" has been assessed in the Excel spreadsheet listing IATE's COVID-19 terms, yielding the following results, here arranged in alphabetical order:

- European Recovery and Resilience Facility
- Health System Resilience
- National Recovery and Resilience Plan
- Recovery and Resilience Facility
- Recovery and Resilience Plan
- Recovery and Resilience Task Force
- Recovery and Resilience Tool
- Resilience[15]

Several of these are synonymous and are dealt with accordingly in the analysis below. The terminological results afford the following preliminary observations:

- Except for the single term resilience, all other occurrences present "resilience" as part of multi-word terms.

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[14] See https://iate.europa.eu/home (last accessed: 12 Decmber 2023).

[15] A further search was carried out for the term variant "resiliency" and the adjective "resilient", yielding no results. The Excel sheet contains abbreviations which are reported in the detailed analysis section.

- Resilience is primarily used in connection with the noun "recovery", forming the pre-modifying adjectival collocation "recovery and resilience", which appears to be the preferred word order in EU texts.
- Resilience is only used as a noun in two instances (Health System Resilience and Resilience); in all other instances it is used as a premodifying adjectival qualifier.

Commentary on the terms does not focus on the formal characteristics of the terminological entries (e.g. the type, number, and uniformity of term descriptors), but on the term definitions (reference is made to the "term in context" and "notes" descriptors if considered relevant to the analysis of definitions). The aim is to assess the extent to which the terms and their definition are manifestations of hegemonic EU resilience discourse.

1. The "European Recovery and Resilience Facility" is a lookup form – a variant form – of "Recovery and Resilience Facility". IATE's COVID-19 terminology Excel list redirects to a single entry in which both term variants are listed, as well as the abbreviated form "RRF". "Recovery and Resilience Facility" is defined as a:

> financial support mechanism in response to the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic to support investments and reforms to make EU economies more *resilient* [my italics], mitigate the economic and social impact of the crisis and support *recovery* [my italics], while fostering green and digital transitions.

The multiword term juxtaposes recovery and resilience processes, syntactically representing their conceptual connection via the conjunction "and". The two concepts are also addressed in the definition: while the adjective "resilient" is only used with reference to the economy of EU member states, the entire definition has a resilience subtext: firstly, the RRF is meant to mitigate the economic and social impact of the crisis – this is in line with the social and economic dimension of the EU's resilience framework; secondly, the RRF is said to be in place to sustain and facilitate green and digital transitions, which is an explicit reference to the green and digital dimensions of the resilience framework. The multi-word term "Recovery and Resilience Tool" is another lookup form of "Recovery and Resilience".

2. "Health System Resilience" is defined as «health systems' capacity to adapt effectively to changing environments, sudden shocks or crises». While the definition is concise, the "term in context" descriptor in the terminological entry offers a more detailed definition in the form of an example sentence:

> Health system resilience can be defined as the capacity of health actors, institutions, and populations to prepare for and effectively respond to crises; maintain core functions when a crisis hits; and, informed by lessons learned during the crisis, reorganise if conditions require it. Health systems are resilient if they protect human life and produce good health

outcomes for all during a crisis and in its aftermath. Resilient health systems can also deliver everyday benefits and positive health outcomes. (Kruk et al. 2015, 1910)

Thanks to the scholarly definition included in the terminological entry, "health system resilience" appears to align with the EU's resilience framework, specifically with the bouncing forward semantics – the verbs "prepare", "maintain", "reorganise" indicate the tripartite semantic organisation of resilience intended as processes of absorption, adaptability, and reform. The term points to the social and economic dimension of the EU's resilience framework, insofar as health is connected with considerations of well-being at both individual and societal level. It also points to the multisystemic implication of both health systems and resilience frameworks, which address "health actors", "institutions" and "populations". Health System Resilience is a lookup form of Resilience as conceptualised in the domains of "organisation of healthcare" and "healthcare system". It is connected to, but narrower than the entry for resilience in the domain of "social questions". The latter is defined as the «ability of a social, ecological, or socio-ecological system and its components to anticipate, reduce, accommodate, or recover from the effects of a hazardous event or trend in a timely and efficient manner». This definition predates the EU's resilience framework as laid out in the 2020 *Strategic Foresight Report* (the "term reference" and "term in context" descriptors date from 2012 and 2008, respectively; the entry itself was first created in 1997 and last updated in May 2015) but is aligned with the EU's first forays into defining resilience as preparedness and response. The entry for health system resilience dates from 2019 and was last updated in 2020. The concept was tackled in the *Strategic Foresight Report* as health systems in the EU were severely hit by the syndemic in terms of structure, preparedness and ability to manage and prevent the spread of disease (SFR 2020). The terminological entry for health system resilience both draws on the specificity of resilience in the domain of healthcare and on the broader EU definition of resilience as absorption, adaptability, and reform.

3. "National Recovery and Resilience Plan" is a lookup form of "Recovery and Resilience Plan"; it is abbreviated as RRP. IATE defines it as «a plan prepared by an EU Member State, to be submitted to the European Commission in the framework of the "Recovery and Resilience Facility"». The terminological entry contains a note descriptor, listing the expected contents of any national R&R plan; in practice, the plan «will contain the Member State's investment and reform agenda, as well as the investment and reform packages to be financed under the Facility». The multiword term is thus associated with the domains of finance, economic recovery, and EU membership, and is therefore a manifestation of the social and economic dimension of the resilience framework. This is exemplified by the nouns "investment" and "reform" in the note: the former is intended to designate practical economic support, which must be supplemented by reform plans; the latter manifests the "bouncing forward" semantics, whereby resilience is not merely implementing economic support, but it entails

planning for structured change leading to renewal and regeneration.

4. "Recovery and Resilience Task Force" is defined as:

> [An] entity, reporting directly to the President of the European Commission, created in the wake of the coronavirus crisis to support Member States with the elaboration of their recovery and resilience plans, ensure that plans comply with the regulatory requirements, deliver on the objectives of the green and digital transitions, monitor the implementation of financial support and coordinate the European Semester in this period of time.

The "RECOVER" [*sic*] is another accepted designation for the task force. The entry was first created in September 2020 as plans for a recovery and resilience framework that could tackle the multisystemic damage caused by COVID-19 were underway. The term thus designates structured support offered member states to work towards a way out of the crisis. The task force is expressive of the EU's resilience framework and it operates with a focus on financial support aimed at reform, which also facilitates the green and digital transitions. The task force thus appears as a direct emanation of the four-dimension resilience framework as outlined in the 2020 SFR.

Concluding Remarks

This article has analysed the conceptual evolution of resilience in time, tracing its conceptual contours and highlighting its versatility. Subsequently, it has analysed the evolution of the concept in the context of EU policymaking, with two specific aims in mind:

1. The construction of a concise conceptual history of resilience discourse within the EU in the timeframe 2012-2020;

2. The description of the lexicalisation of resilience in EU terminological work, with particular reference to COVID-19-related terminology and COVID-19 recovery plans.

Firstly, a concise resilience literature review was presented; secondly, the evolving semantic features of EU resilience discourses were traced through select key resilience texts with the aim to document the change and complexification in resilience thinking; thirdly, the connection was drawn between EU resilience thinking and COVID-19 terminology through EU terminological work provided by IATE.

The EU focuses on multilingualism and the implementation language equality, in an effort to guarantee EU citizens access to institutional documents, laws, education and training programmes, and health information in their own languages. This is all the more relevant since lack of access to terminology and LSPs (languages for special purposes) in one's native language has proven discriminatory (UNESCO 2005). Managing a health crisis such as the

COVID-19 syndemic, requires the management of specialised terminology regarding all aspects of the crisis, from policy guidelines, medical information, health guidance, to actual regulations and recovery programmes. IATE was instrumental in a top-down approach to managing COVID-19-related terminology. The present analysis of resilience-related IATE entries is founded on the contention that the elaboration of a EU resilience framework avails itself of IATE as a tool for the harmonisation of terminological designations across languages, and, consequently, puts the dissemination and naturalisation of hegemonic policy thinking across member states into effect. While this is neither a prescriptive nor a legally binding process – the EU does not actively engage in language planning and standardisation[16] and IATE is partly crowd-sourced[17] – the harmonisation of terminology in a public forum such as IATE achieves the semi-fixed connection of concept and term, and, therefore, facilitates the naturalisation of concepts – i.e. resilience – as policy compasses at a supranational and, subsequently, national level. In fact, language policies have been recognised as instrumental in implementing political strategies (Krzyzanowski – Wodak 2011). With reference to the present article, resilience-related terminological entries in IATE's COVID-19 Multilingual Terminology show the juxtaposition of the concepts of resilience and recovery in multi-word terms and their interconnection as far as policymaking is concerned. Resilience-related entries have thus been discussed in terms of their definitions and how these definitions were expressive of the EU resilience framework delineated in the *Strategic Foresight Report*.

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[16] For more information on language planning and standardisation see Chiocchetti – Ralli (2013).

[17] See https://yourterm.eu (last accessed: 12 December 2023).

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