



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI PADOVA

**Università degli Studi di Padova**  
Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in  
Lingue Moderne per la Comunicazione e la Cooperazione Internazionale  
Classe LM-38

Tesi di Laurea

# Status of English in the European Union after Brexit

Relatore  
Prof. Giovanni Poggeschi  
Co-Relatore  
Prof.ssa Katherine Ackerley

Laureando  
Anthony Dimitri Avigliano Policastro  
n° matr.1132247 / LMLCC

Anno Accademico 2016/2017



## **Abstract**

In the context of change in the European Union that led Brexit, this dissertation aimed to evaluate the consequences of this leave from the point of view of the officiality of English and its status in the European Union.

The discussion involved firstly a study of the European Union, presenting and discussing its evolution, its linguistic legislation, its practice of multilingualism that clashes with the recur to procedural languages both in internal and external communication.

Secondly it involved a study on the role of English. From investigating the events that made it emerge first as global lingua franca and then a lingua franca of the European Union, to considering its impact, its acceptance and discussing the issues led by English monolingualism in European Union.

In the end, defining Brexit and its mechanism, the status of English after Brexit was evaluated. The evaluation was conducted using a corpus of articles and a data collection. It emerged that the status English achieved in the European Union goes beyond the membership of the United Kingdom. English will remain an official language after Brexit and its status as a procedural language will continue. Moreover, Brexit may lead to consequences on recruiting in European Union, on exchange programs for English learning promoted by the European Union, on minority protection in the United Kingdom, on supporting a more technical use of English in European Union, departing from its norm in the United Kingdom.



# Table of contents

Abstract.....	3
Abbreviations used.....	7
Introduction .....	9
Chapter I The European Union .....	11
1.1 Brief history of European Union .....	11
1.1.2 Evolution of EEC to EU concerning Treaties.....	15
1.1.3 Main institutions of the European Union .....	19
1.2 Official Languages of the European Union.....	20
1.3 European Union and Multilingualism.....	24
1.3.1 Building multilingualism in European Union.....	25
1.3.2 Multilingualism and Institutions .....	27
1.3.3 Promotion and Maintain of Multilingualism in the European Union .....	28
1.3.4 Contradictions and critics of Multilingualism of the European Union .....	30
1.3.5 Multilingualism can be unnecessary .....	32
Chapter II The role of English Language .....	33
2.1 English Language in the global context .....	33
2.1.1 Main historical events behind the Globality of English.....	33
2.1.2 The Globality of English .....	34
2.1.2.1 Ideologies in World/Global Englishes paradigm .....	37
2.1.2.2 Lingua Franca and the ELF paradigm .....	38
2.2 English Language in the context of the EU: A Lingua Franca of the EU. 43	
2.2.1 Dynamic Lingua Francas of the EU.....	44
2.2.2 The raise of English in the European Union.....	46
2.2.3 English variety of Europe .....	48
2.2.4 The role of English in the EU.....	50
2.2.5 Discussion on the role of English in the EU.....	53
Chapter III Brexit and the Status of English .....	57
3.1 Brexit .....	57
3.2 Considerations on the status of English in the EU after Brexit .....	59
3.2.1 Analysis of a corpus of articles .....	60
3.2.2 Publications on English after Brexit in European Union .....	65

3.2.3 Further consequences of Brexit on English language .....	68
Conclusion .....	73
References .....	77
Appendix: .....	83
Summary in Italian .....	85

## Abbreviations used

ECC	European Economic Community
ECSC	European Coal and steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EPC	European Political Community
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Community for Atomic Energy
GE	Global Englishes
L 1	First Language
NES	Native English Speakers
NNES	Non-Native English Speakers
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
TFEU	Treaty of Functioning of the European Union
WE	World Englishes



## Introduction

In the context of change in European Union that led the exit of a State Member, a phenomenon never happened before, that is Brexit, this dissertation will try to evaluate the consequences of this leave from the point of view of the officiality of English and its status in EU.

The starting point is to state that English is believed to change its position after Brexit. This because the role that English achieved in the EU context is believed to be linked to the UK membership and without its membership it is believed that the role of English as an official language or as a procedural language shall be redefined.

In order to do so, this dissertation will be developed in three chapters.

The first one will present a short history of the EU and will introduce the linguistic legislation of EU, as the official languages of EU and their legal basis, plus the roles of working languages that is to a certain extend accepted. Moreover, the chapter will define and analyse Multilingualism as a specific feature of EU.

The second one will focus on the actual role of English in the global and in the EU context, drawing an history of the globality of English in the two contexts and analysing the changes on English language that this role followed.

The last chapter will introduce the context of Brexit relating it with the mechanism of withdrawing according to EU legislation, and evaluate the possible changes of Brexit on the Status of English in EU. The evaluation will be conducted on the base of articles that came out since Brexit plus a data collection done by interviewing some functionaries of the European Parliament (PE) that agreed to take part to this study.



# Chapter I The European Union

## 1.1 Brief history of European Union



The history of the European Union (EU) is the history of European integration, and the EU is the result of process that began with the European Coal and Steel Community (ESCC) in 1952. The map shows the State Members of the EU with different colours in accordance to the date they joined it. The European integration is not a recent event as even in the past it was believed that Europeans populations and countries were sharing something (Tesauro, 2012). This process intensified after the II World War. Indeed, this war represented something completely new and revealed to be even more deathful than the

previous world war. The context in which the new forms of cooperation in Europe started is mainly characterized by the devastations of the II World War, the Cold War between USA and URSS, the division of the Germany after II World War into the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, the loss of democracy represented by the several totalitarian regimes during the II World War. In this context peace and democracy had to be restored.

The starting of the history of the EU is usually represented by the image of the founding fathers: Konrad Adenauer, Joseph Bech, Johan Beyen, Winston Churchill, Alcide de Gasperi, Walter Hallstein, Sicco Mansholt, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Paul-Henri Spaak and Altiero Spinelli (The History of European Union, no date). Moreover, this process supported, also economically, by the US, not by case Churchill in a speech claimed the building of the creation of the United States of Europe based on the model of the USA.

The process began with the Declaration of Schuman, made by Schuman and Monnet. In 1950 the French foreign minister, Schuman, proposed a European control agency for coal and steel. In 1951 Belgium, France, West German, Italy, the Netherland and Luxemburg signed the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and steel Community (ECSC). This Treaty created a common High Authority for the control of coal and steel, a Special Council of Ministries, with representatives of each State Member, a Common Assembly, with representatives of National Parliaments, and a Justice Court. This was to enable peace, cooperation and integration, since the II World War had as one of its causes the tensions between France and Germany concerning the Ruhr Region, peace in ECSC has as its foundation the tools of war indeed, the Ruhr was contended for its richness of coal and steel was necessary for building weapons. After this experience of cooperation in Europe, the French prime Minister Pleven proposed a Plan that aimed to create a European Defence Community (EDC), the Treaty was signed on 27 May 1952 and provided the creation of a European Political Community (EPC) an institution that was particularly important for the Founding Fathers, like De Gasperi. Nevertheless, EDC was representing some issues because of the possible rearmament of West Germany, plus there have been changes in leadership in France and Italy in which emerged actors that

showed scepticism concerning the European integration (Giuseppe Pella in Italy and Georges Bidault in France), moreover, there were internal issues in the State Members. The USA was strongly supporting the ratification of the Treaty of the EDC, nevertheless, this pressure had the opposite effect in countries with anti-American feeling, such as France. The Benelux and West Germany did the ratification of the treaty of EDC but clashed with France that on the other hand was proposing some changes to the Treaty.

So, the EDC failed and so did the EPC. After the failure of the EDC, Monnet in 1954 proposed a new community for the peaceful use of atomic energy and the Benelux proposed a free market for industrial products. This led to a Summit of the Foreign Ministers of the Six Members of the ECSC held in Messina in 1955 with the Leadership of the Belgian Paul-Henry Spaak where were presented the projects to create the European Union for atomic energy (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC). This meeting was followed by another one in Venice, that proceeded to convocate an intergovernmental assembly in Rome in 1957. On March 1957 the Treaty of Rome established the two new European communities. These communities had in common with the ECSC the cooperation between France and Germany to avoid hostilities, and represented a valid element of stability in Europe. The three communities began as three diverse communities but in 1965 with the *Merger Treaty* were united, even if the three maintained their single fields they but working together.

As Gilbert (2007) stated, the UK in the early years of EEC did not show the will to take part to this process of integration (Gilbert, 2007). The UK, after the years of II World War did not take part in the leadership of West Europe, rather it supported its empire and shared the American views on the international field affairs. In 1950 the UK did not take part to the Schuman Declaration and its absence benefited France and Germany in having a position of leadership in Europe in the post war period. In the UK there were intellectuals supporting the establishment proposed by Schuman, but the Government instead of focussing on the Europe and joining the European custom union was aiming to maintain its colonies in Middle East and Asia. Moreover, the UK even if it was supporting the rearmament of Germany, was refusing the supranational power of EDC. When

applying to join the EEC in the 60s the UK had to face the veto of Charles de Gaulle, the French PM that was against the presence of the UK in EEC because he saw the UK as a “Trojan horse for American interests” (Phillipson, 2003: 53). In the 1968 the customs barriers were abolished, the common agricultural policy and the commercial policy started to delineate. When in 1969 De Gaulle left the French leadership, the EEC met in Aja to discuss its enlargement and decided that periodically the heads of state or governments shall meet, thus creating the Council of Europe. The enlargement discussed lead in 1973 the membership of UK, Ireland and Denmark to EEC. Norway did sign the treaty of adhesion to the EEC, but the decision was blocked by a referendum in which the citizens voted against. The enlargement changed some features of EEC that was less catholic, less bound to USA, more left-oriented. Indeed, EEC was looking for a new “identity” and its values started to be more defined. Since that in 1973 in Copenhagen the EEC indicated as its objective to establish a common political identity. In 1981 Greece joined the EEC thanks to the efforts of France. Joining ECC for Greece represented a possibility of modernisation and democratisation. In 1985 the French Jacques Delors became the Present of European Commission and under its leadership the Commission published the *White Paper* in which was expressed the need of free movement of goods, services, capitals and person in the internal market that lead to the creation of the Economic and Monetary Union. In 1986 the Single European Act was established, extending the competences of EEC and the Commission, establishing the Council of Europe, reinforcing the legislative power of the European Parliament and expressing the ambitions of Delors concerning the internal market and the freedoms of goods, services, capitals and persons. In the same year, Spain and Portugal joined the EEC.

In 1989-1991 two great event changed Europe: The fall of the Wall of Berlin, with the German unification in 1990, and the end of URSS in 1991, that created new democratic States in Central and Est Europe. In 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht the EEC evolved in the European Union (EU). This Treaty is the result of meetings in response to the unification of Germany and the end of Cold War that were opening a phase of hopes and ambitions in the European integration

process. In 1993 setting the Copenhagen Criteria, the EU established the rules that a country shall meet to be eligible to join the institution, these are: “democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with the competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate’s ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union” (Presidency Conclusion, 1993). In 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU, the three countries were embracing the values of EU, so the process did not presented issues. In 1999 began the process of creating the *euro*, the currency of EU. Since 2002 euro is the currency of Europe adopted by all State Members expect for Denmark, Sweden and the UK, Croatia still has its currency but will adopt euro later. In 2004 Hungary, Poland, Check Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovak, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus joined the EU. Tree years later Romania and Bulgaria joined. Last in 2013 Croatia became the 28<sup>th</sup> State Member of EU.

### 1.1.2 Evolution of EEC to EU concerning Treaties

As said in the introduction of this chapter the history of the EU is the history of the European integration, in addition it might be necessary to draw the evolution of EEC to the current EU listing the different Treaties and the roles of the diverse Institution that now compose the political apparatus of EU.

The Treaty of Maastricht or Treaty of The European Union (TEU) was signed in 1992, and entered into force in 1993. This Treaty, as the name remarks, established the European Union. This Treaty is the results of external changes, such as the collapse of communism, the German reunification, and internal changes achieved with the Inter-Governmental Conferences since 1988. The Treaty responds to five objective of the Community that are: “strengthen the democratic legitimacy of the institution, improve the effectiveness of the institutions, establish economic and monetary union, develop the Community

social dimension, establish a common foreign and security policy” (Treaty of Maastricht on European Union, 1992). Moreover, EU is established with the Treaty being composed by the so-called “three pillars” (ibid.):

- “The European Communities”,
- “common foreign and security policy”
- “juridical cooperation in criminal matters”

One must remark that with the Treaty of EU, the EU is established but not as a new community, rather than that the EU is grouping the three previous communities. Indeed, the first pillar “European Communities” groups EEC, ESCS and EURATOM, moreover in the Treaty, EEC is referred as European Community, thus to lose an exclusive economic connotation remarking the aim to include EU citizenship and create solidarity by social policies. The second pillar is establishing a common policy for foreign policy and security and the third is on justice affairs.

Concerning the EU institutions, the TEU expanded the role of the European Parliament, created the co-decision procedure between the European Parliament and the European Council, extended the duration of the Commission’s term of office from four to five years, and created the Committee of the regions made by the representatives of the regional authorities, playing in EU an advisory role.

Concerning policies, the TEU is establishing policies in: “Trans-European networks, industrial policy, consumer protection, education and vocational training, youth and culture” (ibid.). With this, EU is manifesting policies that are not exclusively for economy but also on social policies. Furthermore, concerning social policies EU has objectives concerning:

- “promotion and employment,
- improving of living and working conditions,
- adequate social protection,
- social dialogue, the development of human resources to ensure a high and sustainable level of employment
- the integration of persons excluded from labour market”

(ibid.)

On economic policies EU is establishing a single currency in three stages:

- liberalising “the movement of capitals” since 1990,
- from 1994 providing “convergence of the Member States’ economic policies”,
- from 1999 creating a single currency and establishing a Central European Bank (CEB)”.

(ibid.)

Nevertheless, the UK will not proceed to the third stage, and Denmark set a referendum that expressed the will to maintain the national currency. Last the Treaty established a Inter-Governmental conference in 1996. The result of that conference will be the creation of the Treaty of Amsterdam.

The Treaty of Amsterdam was signed in 1997 and went into force in 1998. The Treaty changed the numbers of all EU articles, and amended the three pillars of TEU. The Treaty integrated the *acquis* of Schengen signed in 1985 on harmonisation of controls in external borders and reinforced the police and judicial cooperation. By this integration of the *acquis* of Schengen, the biggest change is on the third pillar, that was named “Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters”. This new provision in on “visas, asylum, immigration and other policies related to free movement of persons” so refers to countries that do not belong to the EU.

In 2001 the Treaty of Nice was signed and went into force in 2003. This Treaty concerns the intervention of the Council in cases of violation of principles of freedom and democracy. The Treaty works as an amend on several articles of the previous treaties in provision of the enlargement, on the changes within the institution after it. In Nice EU did also proclaim the European Charter for Fundamental Rights in 2000. The charter is on “dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizens’ right and justice”. When the Charter was proclaimed it was not legally binding, but in 2009 when the Treaty of Lisbon went into force it became legally binding as the EU Treaties.

The Treaty of Lisbon, or Treaty of the Functioning of Europe (TFEU), was inspired by the attempts in establishing a “Constitution for Europe”. Since the Treaty of Nice Inter-Governmental conferences were convocated to discuss to prepare a “Constitution of Europe”. In 2004 the “Constitution of Europe” was

signed but was followed by issues with the ratification, clashing with the no of the referendums of France and the Netherlands. For this reason, the idea of Constitutions of Europe was abandoned, and negotiations took place to draw a new amending Treaty. This led to the drawing the Treaty of Lisbon, in which are included most of the reforms proposed by the “Constitution of Europe” “but using a different form” (The Treaty of Lisbon: introduction). The difference is that the “Constitution of Europe” had to replace all the founding Treaties, except for the EURATOM Treaty, whereas the Treaty of Lisbon, including the changes envisaged was amending all the previous Treaties without replacing them. The Treaty have been signed and ratified by all State Members and came into force in 2009. The Treaty:

- reforms of the EU institutions and improves the EU decision-making process
- strengthens the democratic dimension of the EU
- reforms the internal policies of the EU
- strengthens the external policies of the EU

(ibid.)

The Treaty follows the enlargements, and amends the rules on the composition of the Commission, the European Parliament, the Committee of the regions and the European Economic and Social Committee. In addition, the Treaty is introducing the President of the European Council and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

Concerning the European Parliament, the Treaty increased its power, and the role of the national parliaments. Moreover, the changes were on democracy, integration, co-operation.

On the internal field the treaty increased the powers of Eu in:

- “border control, asylum and immigration
- judicial cooperation in civil matters
- judicial cooperation in criminal matters
- police cooperation”

(ibid.)

On the external field the Treaty, enabled the EU to “negotiate and to be a contracting party in international Treaties” (ibid.). As we said before this Treaty assigned legal value to the Charter of Nice.

### 1.1.3 Main institutions of the European Union

The European Parliament is based in Strasbourg (France) but works also in Brussels (Belgium) and Luxemburg (Luxemburg). Its members are directly elected by the EU citizens every 5 years. The members meet by “plenary sessions” 12 times per year, and may have additional sessions. The Parliament has three main roles: sharing with Council to legislative power; exercising of democratic supervision over EU institutions; sharing with the Council the authority over budget.

The European Council, reunites the Heads of States or Governments of EU State Members and is based in Brussels. It does not adopt legislation but by the medium of a “conclusions” reflects the main issues that will be discussed with the Council. The European Council takes place twice every six months, in case of urgent issues it can be convocated additionally. The Treaty of Lisbon introduced the figure of the President of the European Council, that co-ordinates the works of the European Council. The President shares with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy the role of representing the EU in foreign affairs and security. The actual President of the European Council is Donald Tusk.

The Council, not to be confused with the European Council, is composed by the ministers of EU Member States, and is based in Brussels and Luxemburg. The Council is the EU apparatus for decision-making. It works by meeting in which one of each EU State Member minister takes part, depending on the subject. Every six months the Presidency rotates between the Member States. Its purpose is to “discuss, agree, amend [...] adopt legislation; coordinate the Member States’ policies; or define the EU’s foreign policy” (How the European Union works, 2012).

The European Commission, is composed by a college of Commissioner, one from each State Member and is based in Brussels. This institution is politically independent and represents the interest of EU. Its role is: “to propose legislation to Parliament and the Council; to manage and implement EU policies and the budget; to enforce European Law; to represent the Union around the World” (ibid.). The Commission is represented in the world by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security, position held in this moment by Federica Mogherini. The Commission also disposes of a President, role that is actually covered by Jean-Claude Juncker, that is the Head of Commissioner and contributes to represent EU in the World.

The Court of Justice of the European Union, “ensures that the EU legislation is interpreted and applied in the same way in each Member State”. It is composed by a Judge from each State Member (28), is assisted by eight “Advocated General” and is based in Luxemburg.

Last the European Central Bank, manages “European monetary policy in the euro area” (ibid.), is responsible to maintain the price stability, supports employment and “sustainable economic growth in the Union” (ibid.). It is set in Frankfurt (Germany) and its actual President is Mario Draghi. The other institutions of EU are: the European Court of Auditors, the European Economic and Social Committee, The Committee of the Regions, The European Ombusdam, The European Data Protection Supervisor, The European Investment Bank. For exigencies of conciseness it would be unnecessary to discuss all these institution, but focussing on the diverse institutions of EU was necessary to describe its composition and the roles of its institutions.

The next session will present the linguistic legislation of the EU and in general the languages involved in the functioning of the EU.

## 1.2 Official Languages of the European Union

After presenting the brief history of the EU, its Treaties and Institutions, an history of the officiality of the languages of the state members is due. Like said

before, the ECC was created by six state members: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands. According to the Regulation 1/58 four<sup>1</sup> were the official languages: Dutch, French, German and Italian. Moreover, the regulation “specifies that official documents should be drafted in all of these languages” (Truchot, 2003:101). The regulation with the enlargement conveyed the official languages of all members joining the institutions. This is a remarkable example of the uniqueness of the EU in language policy, as other international institutions do not assign such status to the languages of the state members. For example, “the United Nation with 193 state members has six official languages (Arabic, English, French, Chinese, Russian and Spanish)” (Kuzelewska, 2014:155), the World Trade Organisation with 157 members has three official languages (English, French and Spanish), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development has English and French the same as the Council of Europe.

Combining the years of the different enlargements and the Regulation No 1 we can draw an history of the official languages of EU. After the creation of the EEC, in the 1973 the UK, the Republic of Ireland and Denmark joined the Community, and English and Dutch became official languages of the EEC. In 1981 Greece joined the ECC and Greek became an official language of the EEC. In 1986 Portuguese and Spanish became official, as Portugal and Spain joined. In 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EEC, Finnish and Swedish became officials, for Austria German was already an official language. In 2004 Estonian, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Slovak, Hungary and Cyprus joining EU added Estonian, Latvian, Maltese, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian and Hungarian as official languages. Concerning Cyprus one of the official language is Greek, an official language of EU since 1981. In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania joined Bulgarian and Romanian became official languages of EU, plus the Irish. When Ireland joined the ECC, Irish (or Gaelic) did not become an official language of the EU, but was a Treaty language in the sense that Treaties had to be translated in Irish. But in 2005 the Council for “practical reasons” and on a traditional basis” conceded a five-year derogation for the Irish

---

<sup>1</sup> Luxemburg and Belgium are multilingual states, French and German languages having an official status in EU were satisfying the linguistics needs of both states.

that has been extended in 2010, and again until 2021. Later Irish will cease to be an official language of the EU (Manko, 2017:3).

The reason of Ireland was that Irish is the first official language of Ireland. Later the reasons of the extension were justified by the Council because of the “difficulties recruiting Irish translators, lawyer linguistics and interpreters” (ibid.). As Manko (2017) points out some State Members have more than an official language but there is no rule that permit the State member to “choose” which of its official languages will be official in the EU under the Regulation 1. This aspect will be extremely important in the third chapter during the evaluation of some articles concerning the exit of the UK from EU and the consequences on the status of the English languages. Last with the membership of Croatia since 2013, Croatian became an official language of the EU.

Concerning the languages of the EU some Treaties are concerned:

The article 217 of Treaty of Rome is giving the same value of the four linguistics versions of it, the official languages are equals (Truchot, 2003:101).

The Article 342 of TFEU states that: “The rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Union shall without prejudice to the provisions contained in the Statute of the Court of Justice of the European Union, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously by means of regulations”. Every decision on linguistic matters has to be agreed by all the State Members.

In accordance to the article 8d of the Treaty of Amsterdam "Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 4 in one of the languages mentioned in Article 248 and have an answer in the same language". The EU guarantee its citizens to write to it with the official language the prefer, even it is not the National language of the citizens and receive a reply in the same language.

The Article 55 of the TEU remarks the equality of the languages in which the Treaty is written: “This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish languages, the texts in each of these languages being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the

Italian Republic, which will transmit a certified copy to each of the governments of the other signatory States.”

According to the Article 342 of TFEU “The rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Union shall without prejudice to the provisions contained in the Statute of the Court of Justice of the European Union, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously by means of regulations” any change in the linguistic regime must be decided unanimously.

Even if the EU is promoting Multilingualism, some languages are more employed than others, those are referred as procedural or working languages. The scholar Phillipson (2003) is strongly against this division as the name of working languages is “falsely implying that other languages are not working languages” and restrict the use of official languages may lead to discrimination of the representative of State Members that might have to work with a foreign language (Phillipson, 2003:120). Furthermore, the division of official and working languages contrasts with what is provided by the Regulation 1/58, as the languages listed in it are referred both as official and working languages. Stating this in this study the terms “official languages” and “procedural languages” will be employed, avoiding the use of the term “working languages”.

Procedural languages are English, French and German, (in alphabetical order). English and French are the most used and used as lingua francas in the EU (Phillipson, 2003:120). French have been the first lingua franca of the EU and held this position for more than thirty years and have been replaced by English in the 90s.

German language has been disadvantaged as at the moment of joining EEC, Germany was wounded by Post War conditions. Even in institution set in Germany, like the European Central Bank in Frankfurt, English is the language of the decision-making, so even if German is a procedural language “its usage remains limited” (ibid.). Since 1990s Germany insisted and German achieved the status of a procedural language thanks to “German Unification [...] the membership of Austria in 1995” and thanks to its economy that was “superior in EU” (Kuzelewska, 2014:159). The different roles of procedural languages will be discussed in the next chapter.

### 1.3 European Union and Multilingualism

The EU is an international organisation that have features of a supranational institution. One of the main aims of the EU is to create an “European citizenship” (ivi. 102). This have been included with the Maastricht Treaty in 2002 with the Article 8 “Citizenship of the Union is hereby established”, since that moment all citizens of EU benefit a European citizenship, even if it’s not a shared idea, also because the Treaty is not clear about the definition of the concept. This idea of citizenship was already stipulated in 1997 with the Amsterdam Treaty as a complement instead of replacing the national citizenship of citizens.

Nevertheless, the idea of a complementary citizenship in addition to the prior national one is an atypical concept because generally we are more oriented to a national citizenship (or two in some cases of dual citizenship), because of the European experience of the national individualism. This supranational citizenship needs Multilingual policies to be achieved and to work. As underlined by Karoly (2008), the multilingual and multicultural character of the EU arose from the free movement of goods, persons, services and capitals (Kuzelewka, 2014). As stated before EU is not the first multilingual organisation but the first to adopt the languages of all the State Members as official and working languages.

“The European Union is committed to maintaining diversity, so seeing a variety of languages and cultures as a blessing rather than a curse” refraining the image of the Babel curse of the Bible. (Philipson, 2003:26). In EU’s Multilingualism all official languages of this organisation, benefit the same rights, and even more because some minority languages benefit the status of “semi-official” languages as Catalan, Basque, Welsh and others. As Pusillo (2013) pointed out, EU’s approach could be paradoxical as the EU aimed to integration and unity in market, currency, transport, policies but concerning languages, was aimed to maintain the diversity. But the EU needs multilingualism to work harmoniously and create the European citizenship, and multilingualism emerged as a consequence of the integration of market, goods, person and capitals.

Furthermore, having the language of all citizens given an official status<sup>2</sup> is a guarantee of belonging to what the Founders Fathers called “Family of Europe” but has also a more juridical explanation (Phillipson, 2003:112). Indeed, the necessity of Multilingualism is *inter alia* connected to the supranational power of rulemaking of the EU, multilingualism guarantees every citizen to understand laws, regulation and recommendations made by EU (Pusillo, 2013). In addition, the Regulation 1049/2001 is guarantying “Any citizen of the Union, and any natural or legal person residing or having its registered office in a Member State [...], [the] a right of access to documents of the institutions”.

All those aspects of EU’s multilingualism contribute to create a typical feature of the EU and will be presented in this section. It is important to remember that in EU Multilingualism concerns its organisms and its citizens.

This analysis on EU’s Multilingualism will focus on some research questions:

- How Multilingualism has been built?
- How Multilingualism interacts with different institutions?
- How is Multilingualism maintained and promoted?
- How is Multilingualism contradictory and criticized?
- Which are the issues associated with Multilingualism?
- When Multilingualism is unnecessary?

The answers to these questions will offer a frame of EU’s Multilingualism and will build a study on it.

### 1.3.1 Building multilingualism in European Union

EU’s Multilingualism has been built following articles of the Treaties and the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

---

<sup>2</sup> Only the official languages of the State in their standard variety, and only one in case of States with more than a language as in Cyprus where Russian is an official language but Russian is not official in the EU the same applies to Luxemburgish and for Irish that did not became official in 1973 when Ireland joined the EEC.

Concerning Treaties these “do not list official or working EU languages, but rather indicate which language version of the Treaties are considered original and authentic” (Manko, 2017:2), the fact that the Treaties are recognized to be authentic exclusively in the languages of the State Members is a guarantee of equality of the languages and a proof of Multilingualism in EU.

The legislative regulation of Multilingualism emerges from these articles:

The Treaty of Lisbon, made legally binding the Charter of Fundamental Right of 2000, and with the article 24 states that “Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 13 of the Treaty on European Union in one of the languages mentioned in Article 55(1) of the Treaty on European Union and have an answer in the same language”.

The article 55 of the Treaty of European Union (TEU) indicates the languages in which the Treaty is “legally authentic”, these languages are “Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish and Swedish languages”.

The Regulation 1/58 listed the official languages of EU, its original version comprehended the four languages of EEC Founding Members but then the number of languages was extended with the languages of the new State Members that joined. The Article 1 of the Regulation, in its latest version, is quoted below: “The official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Union shall be Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish and Swedish.”

Concerning the Charter of Fundamental Rights, Multilingualism is built in accordance with the:

- Non-discrimination based on language according to the article 21.
- The article 22 that claims that “The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.”

- The Article 41 (4) about the good administration states that “Every person may write to the institutions of the Union in one of the languages of the Treaties and must have an answer in the same language”.

### 1.3.2 Multilingualism and Institutions

Concerning languages and institutions in EU, according to the article 6 of the Regulation No 1, each institution stipulates its own Rule of Procedure which language to adopt.

In the European Parliament, according to the Rule 158 of the Rule of Procedure of European Parliament “All documents of the Parliament shall be drawn up in the official languages”, concerning the members of this institution they are guaranteed the right by the same rule to “speak in Parliament in the official language of their choice”. The rule is also providing interpretation in the official languages of EU.

The Council, according to the Article 14 of the EU Council Rules of Procedures, “shall deliberate and take decisions only on the basis of the documents and drawn up in the languages specified in the rules in force governing languages”, in practise the official languages, nevertheless the article is also stating that in cases of emergencies the Council unanimously can restrict the employ of these languages. The second paragraph of the article works as a guarantee for all members of the Council that can oppose in case of non-compliance of the first paragraph of the Article, and if a document is drafted in the procedural languages, it has to be translated in all official EU languages to be adopted.

The European Commission following the Rule of Procedure of the Commission, at the Article 17 states that “Instruments adopted by the Commission in the course of a meeting, in the authentic language or languages”, the fifth paragraph specifying that “authentic language or languages means the official languages of the European Union, without prejudice to the application of Council Regulation”. In this context interpretation is not provided.

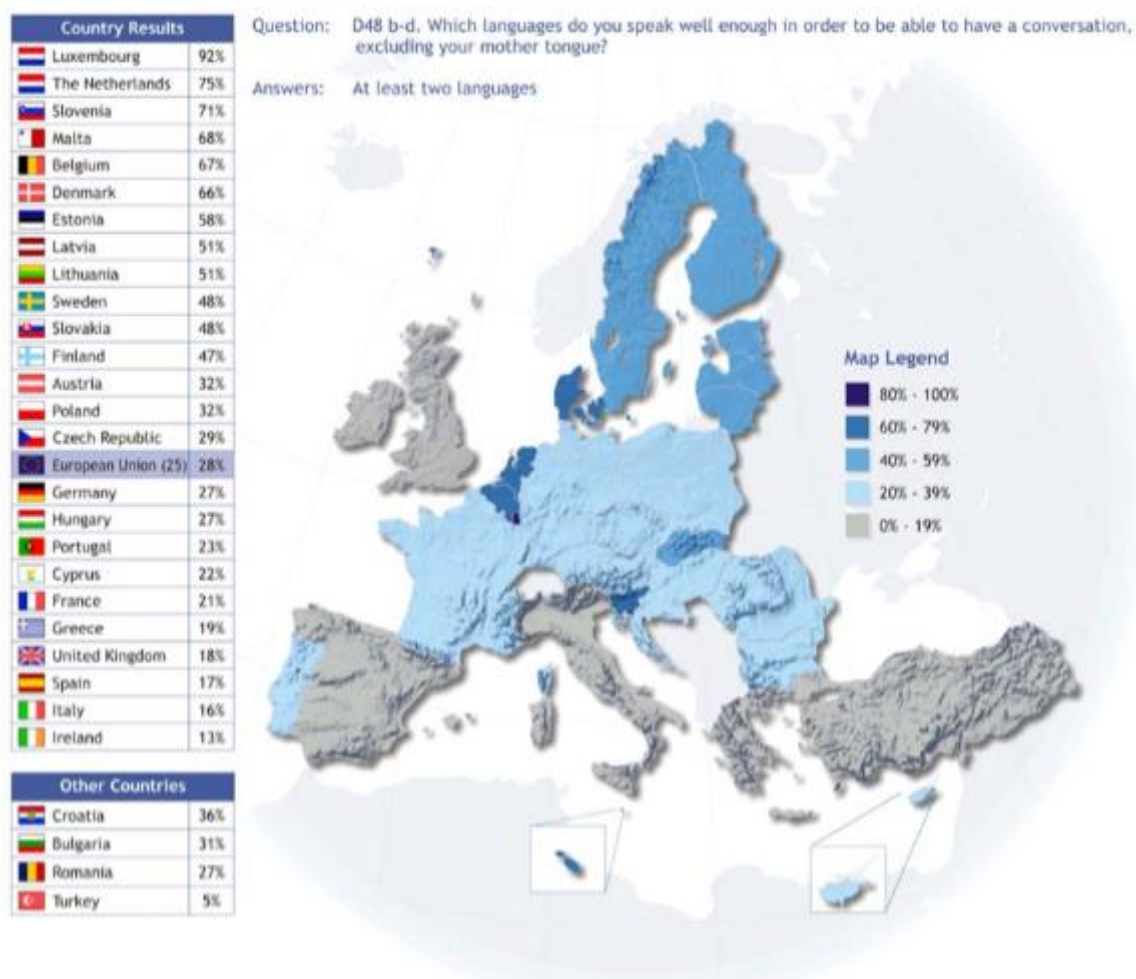
Concerning the Court of Justice, the Rule of Procedure of the Court of Justice (2012) devoted the chapter 8 that is entirely about languages. For our purpose we can refer to the article 36 that provides that “the language of the case shall be...” and lists the twenty-four official languages of EU, plus the publication may appear in all languages. Although this, French is the internal working language (Languages and interpretation at the Court of Justice of the European Union in Luxemburg, 2010)

Last, the language of the European Central Bank, even if this institution is set Frankfurt (Germany), is English. Nevertheless, in case of official publications of instructions and guidelines all official languages must be used.

### 1.3.3 Promotion and Maintain of Multilingualism in the European Union

The aim of EU to integrate citizens by the medium of learning foreign languages, have been made more explicit in 2002 with the Barcelona European Council calling for action in “teaching at least two foreign languages” and lead to the creation of a “linguistic competence indicator” in 2003 (Presidency Conclusions, 2002:44). EU setting the Barcelona goal asked European citizens to have skills in two foreign languages, plus the mother-tongue. It’s worth pointing out that in the Barcelona European Council the foreign languages are not clearly expressed, nevertheless one can expect that EU is referring to official languages, excluding semi-official languages of EU and minority languages. In 2005 with the creation of the linguistic competence indicator, the languages were included, as the text is listing “English, French, German, Spanish and Italian” as languages at the basic of the testing (The European Indicator of Language Competence, 2005). The reasons for choosing these languages is that these are “the most frequently taught in the Union” (ibid.). But it was specified that this was only a first cycle to gain experience to extend in the future the languages of learning. The

maps<sup>3</sup> indicated the results of a survey on linguistics competence in European State Members in a Foreign Language in 2005:



With the Barcelona goal, language policies in EU were made and English is learned as a second language by 90 % of EU students in upper secondary education (Modiano, 2009:215).

Moreover, with the establishment of the Eurobarometer, in 2012 EU did evaluate the attitudes on Multilingualism. The results were positive and remarked that the respondent think that mastering foreign languages is useful and benefits the children, share with the EU the goal of mastering 2 foreign languages and believe that language skills should be a priority of EU policies.

<sup>3</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_243\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf)

The promotion of multilingualism is intrinsically connected with its maintain, but we can list some instruments of EU to promote multilingualism, such as: the EU centre for Modern Languages that offers: “plurilingual education, tools for learning, evaluation and assessment”; the website of Multilingualism of the EU; the Socrates and Lingua programs; the Erasmus+ program (in which I myself participated this year) that celebrates its thirty years with 3.5 million of students that had the possibility to study and live abroad, learn a foreign language or improve language skills, this mobility programme is also in a certain way stimulating move of people, the feel of belonging to a European Community, and maybe the idea of EU citizenship.

#### 1.3.4 Contradictions and critics of Multilingualism of the European Union

Seidlhofer (2014) in her work about English in EU is highlighting some features of EU’s language policies that are contradictory. The starting point of her analysis is the slogan of EU “unity in diversity”. This slogan sounds particularly effective for the purpose of EU but in reality, it is really challenging. The biggest challenge is represented by the past of Europe. The continent of Europe has a deep-rooted ideology of “one language, one state, one people”. The official languages that we use to indicate the languages of State Members (could be more than one in multilingual states as Belgium and Luxemburg) are the result of a process of competition and standardisation, sometimes it is the variety of a single linguistic group or the most prestigious or powerful one to emerge and to be maintained. The powerful Europe’s multilingual aspect clashes with the role of English that has a huge demand for learners. Indeed, English is the predominant language of foreign language learners, in addition to other “big languages”, like French, German, Spanish, Russian. The Eurydice in 2008 presenting some statistical data proved that “English, French, German, Spanish and Russian represent over 95 per cent of all languages learnt in the majorities of countries” (Seidlhofer, 2010:360). This tendency, according to the Eurydice, is caused by “pressure from families or a lack of qualified teachers in other languages” (ibid.).

Multilingualism in EU obliges EU to recur to interpretation and translation that can be “complex and costly” and sometimes just “not practicable or convenient” goes with the tendency in EU’s for a single lingua franca that “increasingly is English” (ibid.). Moreover, Virginie Mamadouth in her study is stating that “The maintenance of the regime sustains institutional multilingualism formally but favours *de facto* linguistic homogenisation with the increasing use of international English” (Phillipson, 2003:107). As Phillipson (2003) observes EU is experiencing an “unification of a European linguistic market” and states that from the linguistics angle, instead of being multilingual, EU speaks different languages, having different languages having clear different languages that originated these (ibid.). To the scholar, EU with its linguistic tendency to prefer “big” languages is in a certain way ignoring that the official languages of the State Members (not all languages in case of multilingual States) have been made official languages of EU. Restricting the number of working languages is a huge issue of EU and is seen as a discrimination for other State Members and for representatives that have to operate in foreign languages (ibid).

The last issue of EU multilingualism, again pointed out by Phillipson but also by other scholars, is about minority languages. For the scholar, minority languages “play no role in EU” and being bilingual of a minority language is not recognized. This discrimination can be showed by the fact that the Barcelona goal and the EU linguistic competence indicator do not take in account any minority language. The choice of big languages by learners and the preference in EU institutions for a single lingua franca or few “big” languages (like the choice of procedural languages and the exclusion of minority languages) is the nexus of issues, critics and contradiction of EU’s multilingualism. English being the lingua franca in the European context is the most manifest representation of contrasts with EU’s multilingualism and will be analysed more deeply in the second chapter of this dissertation. In brief, the critics presented in this part do not refer to EU’s Multilingualism but on the way EU is conducting this choice.

To conclude EU is showing a huge interest in multilingualism and invests a lot of time and money in it but is also facing a lot of difficulties in translating the same message in all the official languages and sometimes has monolingual

tendencies relying on one working language that is mostly English. Nevertheless, it also has to be considered that translation in all official languages may be unnecessary as we will see later.

### 1.3.5 Multilingualism can be unnecessary

As stated before the EU is firmly believing in the equality of all official languages and Multilingualism is one of the cornerstones of EU but sometimes the translation in all official languages can be unnecessary. It is a responsibility of the Heads of department in the translation service to evaluate whether a document needs to be translated. Phillipson (2003) is giving us a clear example of unnecessary translation: "It is not really necessary to translate 450 pages on asparagus production into Swedish and Finnish, when the north European climate does not permit the growing of this crop. By contrast, the extensive regulations covering the transportation of dangerous goods should be available in all languages before they take effect, if lorry-drivers and their employers are to understand and follow them." (Phillipson, 2003:120). The EU has to be selective and to translate what really needs to be translated in all official languages, because translation can be long and inaccurate and may badly influence EU's functioning. EU may prefer to draft documents exclusively in English or French or both and provide the translation only in the case it is needed or demanded, in contrast in other contexts, like in dealing with treaties and regulations, translation has to be done in all official languages. Some critics and issues on the choices by EU have been presented in the section above.

To conclude this part presented the creation of EU, analysed the notions of officials and procedural languages, presented the main issues that EU is facing and the critics received. The next part will consider the biggest issue, that is the role of English as lingua franca and its interaction with the European context.

## Chapter II The role of English Language

### 2.1 English Language in the global context

Before analysing the status of English as a *lingua franca* in the European context, its role at the global level is noteworthy. This section will present the main historical events behind the globality of English, the paradigms of World Englishes and Global Englishes as part of linguistics that study the implication of English in the global context, discuss the term *lingua franca* and present the paradigm of English as a *Lingua Franca*.

World Englishes and Global Englishes are not interchangeable but differ only in one aspect. Jenkins in 2003 published a handbook on “World Englishes” but its third edition came out with the title “Global Englishes”. In the preface of the third edition, Jenkins (2014) explained this change of perspective on Englishes. In brief, World Englishes considers Englishes as “nation bound varieties”, referring to the Englishes with the adjective “Global” demarks the use of English with its “non-nation bound developments” and describes more the level that English achieved in the global context. In some case, in this analysis I will present theories that came out in the World Englishes paradigm even if now the paradigm changed its name. The theories belong to domains of Applied Linguistics that deserve books rather than pages and some arguments may differ from the purpose of this dissertation. So, the main arguments of these will be presented, but focussing more on the features that are useful for this part, re-arranging some arguments with the purpose of this study.

#### 2.1.1 Main historical events behind the Globality of English

According to Graddol (1997) the history of English as a global *lingua franca* began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the foundation of the American colonies. Later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the position of English was consolidated with the “mix trade and cultural politics”, creating a “language on which the sun never ends” (Graddol, 1997: 6). Crystal (2003) highlights the association between power and the global

English, stating that English became a global language as a consequence of the British imperialism. After the British empire, the newly independent states adopted English as an official or semi-official language. Countries for example India and Pakistan after becoming independent adopted English as a co-official language. In this context English had to be adopted for a fixed time of fifteen year, but that period was extended and English is still official. Furthermore, Crystal (2003) states that “It may take a military powerful nation to establish a language, but it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it” (p.6). So, one can say that the status of English as a global lingua franca has been maintained through economic power. This power has been supported by inventions in communication such as the telegram, the telephone, the radio, the TV and more recently the internet. Important technology industries are based in Anglophone countries and English is at the basis of the programming language of computers.

The turning point concerning the role of English, is that since the 19<sup>th</sup> century the economic power not held by the UK but by the USA. This “economic supremacy” was maintained in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and “the language behind the US dollar was English” (Crystal, 2003:10). Graddol (1997), and Crystal (2003) are stressing the importance of power even if concerning the future changes of lingua francas the nature of the power “ will be less clearly military power which provides the international backing for languages, because of the changes in the nature of national power” (Graddol 1997: 59). Indeed, it is considered that the nature of the power behind the globality of a language will be more economical, cultural and technological oriented. Nevertheless, a part of the history that made English achieve this status cannot be repeated, as imperialism represent a passed, and sad, page on the book of European history. In the part 2.2.1 will be discussed the historical events in favour if the role of English in European context.

### 2.1.2 The Globality of English

In the World Englishes paradigm the theory by Kachru offered a division on English. Kachru (1983) proposed a model of Englishes based on three circles.

These three “circles” indicate the territories in which the language is spoken. The first circle, called the “Inner Circle” includes the territories of the United Kingdom and the former colonies where English is “spoken as the (dominant) vernacular” (ibid.). The second, the “Outer Circle” denotes the territory “corresponding to the former exploitation colonies” where English is identified as a “second language”, functions as an official language and is used as a lingua franca for internal and external communication (ibid.). The last circle is the “Expanding Circle” where English is an unofficial language, that it is studied as a foreign language and is employed as a lingua franca for external communication. The Kachruvian model has been accepted by some scholars but is not without criticism, nevertheless in general this theory is acceptable for our purpose, as it is useful to divide World Englishes on the basis of its use to debate the diverse use English has in the World as a native, second, foreign or international language.

Behind a mere historical list of events in favour of the globality of English, which are the elements that contribute to make a language global? Crystal (2003) states that a language achieves this status when it develops a “special role that is recognized in every country” (p.3). This definition may seem simplistic, but the special role attributed to the global language is interesting. A language is not global because it has a large number of native speakers, for example Hindi has billions of speakers but this does not make Hindi a global language. The status of global language is achieved when countries give this language such a special status. This special status is achieved, according to Crystal (ibid.) in two ways: by being official or not. In the case of officiality of the language it is said that the language is a second language to be mastered to achieve high spheres in domains such as media, government, law courts, education. This is in line to what Kachru called Outer Circle. In the Outer Circle, English is a second language complementary to a first national language, in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, India, Singapore and so on (ibid.) mainly the former colonies of the UK. When the language is not official it is a foreign language. This foreign language is the one that is more likely to be taught in schools, considered useful to master to enact commercial, cultural or technological contact. These speakers of English in the

Kachruvian terminology belong to the Expanding Circle, and English is used as a *lingua franca* for external communication. The different roles and accesses of English are the explanation of what Crystal (2003) called “special status” (p.3). Furthermore, it is possible to express the ways in which English benefits this status: English is a native language in the UK, Ireland, the US, Australia (Inner Circle); it is a second, or co-official, language in some countries, especially in the former colonies named (Outer Circle); and it is the “most widely taught as a foreign language” in the rest of the world (Expanding Circle) (Crystal, 2003:5).

As stated before considering the globality of a language we cannot just consider the number of the speakers, we need other factors. Graddol (1997) suggests focussing on the language attractiveness for learners and on some indices such as: the Engco index and the “Global influence index” (ibid.). The factors involved in the creation of these indices are: The Gross Language Product, the Traded Gross Language Product, the Human Development Index and the demographic number (ibid.). The validity of the Engco index is not so strong but “it does seem to capture something of the relative relations between world languages which other indices, based crudely on economic factors or numbers of native speakers do not convey” (ibid.). These indices represent the factors involved in the globality of English. English achieved this “status” of global *lingua franca* and maintained this status also thanks to the politics of foreign countries and private institutions. Indeed “countries or private institutions world-wide gave upgraded English in their curricula for school or tertiary education. English has been made an obligatory subject of study often the only obligatory language, or the only one offered, or the one to which most study time has been allotted” (Ammon, 2010, p.117). Moreover, concerning the learning attractiveness Ammon (2010) states that the skills acquired by learners in English are “mostly superior to those acquired in other languages” (p.108)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the growing of technology, transport and communication made the contacts more “international and global (media, the internet)” so there was the need to decide one language in academic publication (Ammon, 2010). Writing in English guarantees to reach a considerable number of readers. Moreover, international organisations or financial institutions like

International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Trade Organisation have the English as official language. This confirms the “special status” assigned to English, as claimed by Crystal (2003).

The latest wave of globalization, intensifying the contact of people, goods, money plus the new ways of communication also intensified the contact between languages (Mauranen, 2017). Moreover, the English spreading in the former colonies went in interaction with native languages and made several languages of Englishes. These varieties will be discussed in the next part, introduced by the notion of language ideologies.

### 2.1.2.1 Ideologies in World/Global Englishes paradigm

In the World/Global Englishes paradigm the notion of ideology is fundamental. Ideologies are defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Milroy, 2007). Concerning language ideologies, the most important one is the Standard Language Ideology. In this ideology the varieties of a language are: Standard or Non-Standard. The standard variety of a language is the variety that is considered as the “norm”. This variety is the one that is institutionalized, employed in education and grammars are created. A grammar is necessary to codify the language, the language is categorized and its functioning is dictated by rules (ideology of correctness). If a speaker does not respect the rules s/he does a mistake, this to reiterate the idea of prestige because the Standard is the only “correct” variety (ideology of prestige of a singular form on the others). In the codification of a language, the standard variety of a language corresponds to the variety of the dominant social that holds the power. We can generally assume that nobody speaks a standard variety of a language, as languages are influenced by several factors as age, gender, geography, social class and so on. The standard variety is expressed only in writing in which the speaker generally adheres to the norms (with exceptions). The implications of the Standard Language imposition and codification are: all sounds need to be produced in the same way by all speakers, every speaker has to use the same grammatical rules

and the same vocabulary items (ideology of unity) (Armstrong, Makenzie 2013:12). All the varieties of a language that differ from the norm are called Non-Standard varieties. As the languages are influenced by several factors Non-Standard varieties are “shaped” by these factors that drive the speaker against the norm. Moreover, speakers are influencing the language, because they are active authors in the language change (or evolution/innovation).

The speakers shape the language, and the codification of the language shall accommodate to its use. This lead to language innovations dictated by the use and are usually bottom-up. Lexical innovation starts with the creation of a new form by a speaker or a group of speakers, or with a new use of a previous form. If the new form is employed by a larger number, it can rise to the Standard variety and be part of it. In this innovation institutions can slow or promote this change. The ideologies of prestige and non-standard varieties gave us a background to discuss the last aspect of World and Global Englishes: English varieties. English in its non-standard varieties is subject to changes, innovations, borrowings, contact with diverse native languages. This aspect merges with the ideology of prestige, as some varieties are more prestigious than others.

English in the world entered in contact with several first languages of the speakers and was influenced by these. This creating diverse varieties of Englishes in accordance with the diverse L1 of the speakers. This aspect generated the varieties of Chinese English (or Chinglish), Nigerian English, Singapore English (or Singlish) and so on. Each variety has its own features that emerge from the diverse L1, that have been described by scholars. English varieties benefit diverse degrees of acceptance and prestige. For example, Singlish in Singapore benefits a low degree of prestige, as English is an official language and Singlish is considered by the élites a bad use of English (Jenkins, 2015).

#### 2.1.2.2 Lingua Franca and the ELF paradigm

The term *lingua franca*, comes from the Arabic *lisa-al-farang* with the meaning of “an intermediary language used by speakers of Arabic with travellers

from Western Europe (Jenkins, 2013: 22). This term by extension of meaning indicates a contact language chosen when people that don't share the same first language wish to communicate.

Several languages such as Latin, French, Portuguese, Spanish have played this role, and each *lingua franca* may have its special context. For example, as seen in the previous chapter, French was a *lingua franca* of Europe, especially for diplomacy and international relations. Nonetheless, Latin, even after the collapse of Roman Empire, was the *lingua franca* of the Medieval period. A comparison between two *lingua francas* can be useful to analyse this phenomenon. Phillipson (2003) in a chapter of his work entitled "English is the new Latin" made some assumption concerning Latin and English, being *two lingua francas*. His starting point is recognizing that "Latin served for centuries in western Europe as a *lingua franca* in the sense of a written medium for religious and legal texts and many reference purposes. Moreover, Latin was the primary language of learning in educational institutions" (Phillipson, 2003: 39). Here the author claims that there is a link between the role of Latin as a *lingua franca* and power, in this quote the powers are religion and administration since legal aspects are involved. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that religion was a more inclusive term since religion was at the basis of the community, the Church was responsible of education and transcription of legal issues such as baptism, marriage, funeral.

Moreover, Phillipson (2003) claims that Latin and English share some features:

- "both languages offer an extensive range of written texts in many genres
- both languages access key domains of knowledge and influence (religion, science, medicine, history, politics, law, . . .)
- both languages permit contact across national borders
- both languages have been learned for several years in schools in many countries."

(Phillipson, 2003: 40)

On the other hand, Phillipson (2003) is offering some differences that we can sum as follows.

- English is connected to a “specific political and economic system”, like the “industrial capitalism of the British empire”, and “the neoliberal economic world order of USA” (p:40)
- The use of Latin for communication and technology was more limited than the one of English acquired. The spread of English is reinforced by innovation in the ways of communication. The news ways of communication also reinforced the use of English, because of the availability of content in English in the internet, in American TV programs, films, products, advertisement, publications.
- Latin after the collapse of Roman empire was not the mother-tongue for anyone, whereas English has native-speakers and learners of it as a foreign language. Thus, creating a dichotomy of native speakers and non-native speakers usually less skilled (ibid.). Latin was not the native of nobody but was the language of religion, power, science and technology. This made Latin the language of the dominant linguistic group.

Furthermore, we can add that Latin was a language learned and employed by upper classes, such as scholars or the clergy that exercised power whereas knowing English is not distinctive of a specific class and could be connected to the major access of piece of work in English, the ones in Latin were available exclusively to a restricted public. This wider access of research papers, news, books is permitted by the new ways of communications, like the internet, and it is thanks to the internet that English benefits a wider audience.

This comparison is meaningful to introduce the topic, but relying too much on the it could lend to untrue statements as the case of English as a lingua franca is something that achieved a level like no language before and emerged as a global language a consequence of specific historical events.

Moving to the field of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF), Jenkins (2009) states that English is "the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds". This is not a new phenomenon as English has been a *lingua franca* from the late sixteenth century (Jenkins,

2013:22). The totally new characteristic according to Jenkins (ibid.) is the level that this phenomenon acquired.

ELF belongs to the World Englishes paradigm, but the two have some similarities and dissimilarities. First these both are involved in the implication of the spread of English far beyond the its previous context of use. Secondly both ELF and WE explore the ways “new” Englishes differ from the norms of Native speakers and develop to express the speaker’s sociocultural identities. On the other hand, the domain of WE is restricted to the varieties of English albeit the ones of Non Native English Speakers, while ELF focus more on the interconnection of the world, and that English is bounded with the globalization process. In this view Jenkins (2011) states that a “traditional varieties orientation is no longer viable [...] we should instead focus on English as fluid, flexible, contingent, hybrid and deeply intercultural” (p. 284). Moreover, Pennycook (2007) claims that “World Englishes places nationalism as its core” on the contrary ELF has a “plurilithic” approach on English (as cited in Jenkins, 2011:284).

ELF from the 1980s experienced an evolution, until the notion of “Multilingua Franca” in 2015, always by her (Jenkins, 2015). Considering the paradigm of ELF, there are two principal views: Firth (1996) and House (1999) exclude Native English Speakers (NESs) in their contribution to ELF, while Jenkins (2007), Mauranen (2012) and Seidlhofer (2004. 2011) include both NESs and Non-Native English Speakers (NNEs) (as cited in Mauranen, 2018). The first view has been highly questioned in the ELF debate, and as Mauranen (ibid.) suggests a more comprehensive definition of ELF reflects English today and even more because, “English is spoken in situation with widely combination of participants, including first language speakers of different varieties” (Mauranen, 2018:8). So, taking the second view, to represent the wider combination of participants of ELF and to offer a more comprehensive context of ELF, we can adopt Mauranen’s view and report her definition of ELF as “a contact language between speakers or speaker groups when at least one of them users it (English) as a second language” (ibid.). Jenkins (2015) divided the history of ELF divided it into three phases, ELF 1, ELF 2 and ELF 3.

ELF 1 corresponds to early ELF studies, beginning with Jenkins in the late 1980s, when she started collecting empirical data on pronunciation of students in multilingual classes in the King's College where she was teaching. The term ELF was not in use, as it was first used in 1987 by Karfield Knapp in the piece of work "English an international lingua franca" but early ELF researchers were unaware of this title of this book. Indeed, these researchers, Jenkins included, started studying English as an International language, even if she proposed the Lingua Franca Core. As stated before the starting point of ELF studies is the contact between speakers of English that do not use as a native language but as a contact language, and was born from studying how international students interacted overcoming the difficulties by "means of accommodation" (Jenkins, 2015:52). That's why early ELF studies focussed on pronunciation and lexicogrammar. As stated before, Jenkins with her research proposed the so-called "Lingua Franca Core". This consisted in segmental and prosodic traits of English that if absent lead to "potential intelligibility problems in intercultural communication" (Jenkins, 2015:53). All other features that did not pose the problem of intelligibility issues were "non-core".

The above-mentioned term "accommodation" in this discussion is crucial as the test was on the "accommodation" of the international students. The speakers stated that some features of their pronunciation influenced by their first language (L1) led to intelligibility issues and adapted it to avoid these issues. Example of features are use of countable nouns that in native English are considered uncountable (i.e. informations, advices) and zero marking of the third person singular with -s (i.e. she think, he believe) (Jenkins, 2009). In the wake of World Englishes, ELF researchers believed they could collect and describe ELF varieties in accordance with the various L1 of the speakers. Later ELF with contributions by Seidlhofer, detached from the listing of regularities and focused on the fluidity in the negotiation of meaning leading ELF to its second phase (ELF 2).

The new approach of ELF expressed by Seidlhofer (2009) was on the ELF user's use of their "multilingual repertoires in a fashion motivated by the communicative purpose and the interpersonal dynamics of the interaction" (as

cited in Jenkins 2015). ELF having no more boundaries has no need to be studied as a variety. A solution proposed by Mauranen is the notion of “similect”. In brief similect arises from the contact between English and the L1 of the diverse speakers of ELF (Mauranen, 2017).

Last in ELF 3 the change concerns the perspective, as ELF is view within multilingualism. This is the reason why Jenkins called this “English as a Multilingua Franca”, but only to express the impact of multilingualism on ELF without proposing a change in terminology (Jenkins, 2015). And the definition of it is: “multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen” (ivi: 73). People knowing more than one language are influenced in the communication by all the languages they know, even if they believe to “separate” the diverse languages or they do not realize. So English in this multilingual communicative settings is always present as a language known by everyone even if not directly used. In this last case Jenkins is proposing rather than dealing with ELF speakers, ELF scholars should talk about “ELF-using multilingual” and “ELF-using monolingual” rather than NES and NNES (ibid.)

This last part was a brief conceptualisation and analysis of ELF, as stated in the introduction not all the arguments of WE, GE and ELF have been discussed because it would be not the case in this dissertation, but the main arguments have been introduced and simplified for the purpose of this study.

## 2.2 English Language in the context of the EU: A Lingua Franca of the EU

Moving to the context of Europe this part will present and discuss the role of English in Europe. In addition to the historical events that made English a global language, other made it emerge in the European context and later in the EU with the membership of the UK and Ireland since 1973. Since the membership of the UK and Ireland English earned the status of official language and its role with the evolution of the institution became even more important.

## 2.2.1 Dynamic Lingua Francas of the EU

In the first chapter the legal basis of the linguistic asset of EU has been analysed highlighting that, on the contrary of the equality of all language guaranteed by the Regulation No. 1 and Multilingual policies, for internal communication some languages are more used than others. These languages are English, French and German but as seen in before one can assume that the role of German is more limited than the use of the other two. French and English competed for the role of internal *lingua franca* of the EU. But how did English “win the competition against French” and emerged as the main *lingua franca* of EU? In this part French and English as lingua francas of EU will be presented and discussed.

French since the creation of the ECC had a “special” status in EU, a status that now seems to be held by English, despite the resistance of other countries (Troucot, 2003: 103). As a matter of fact, the European institutions since their creation always had a language that was privileged in international communication, this language could not be German due to the “decline of Germany in the post-war period (Krepelka, 2014: 142), and it became French. The factors that gave the French this status were:

- The prestige of the French language as the language of diplomacy even if this prestige started a decline after the First World War due to the presence of Americans in peace treaties demanded the “parity of English” (Phillipson, 2003:47);
- French speaking administrators in EU institutions, thanks to the officiality of French in Belgium, France and Luxemburg;
- The extension of the teaching of French in European countries;
- The set of “the main institutions [...] in Brussels and Luxembourg” (Truchot, 2003:103).

These factors designed French as the *lingua franca* of the early EEC. Nonetheless the factor of maintain of this status are worth pointing out, as English-speaking countries (the UK and Ireland) joined the EEC in 1973 and French as the main *lingua franca* was replaced in the 90s by English.

These factors are: “The great number of French-speaking people in administration”; the “French Government’s efforts to ensure that the use of French is maintained” (Truchot, 2003:103).

The second aspect of the wish to maintain French as an internal lingua franca is linked with the highly shared idea of the supremacy of French language in European Institutions based in French speaking countries. As stated by George Pompidou, the French Prime Minister in 1971, “French is the natural language of the peoples of Europe”. He was hoping that French would hold the status of lingua franca even after the entrance in 70s of the UK Ireland and Denmark (Phillipson, 2003: 47).

Third, France was one of the founding members, so French had a kind of predominant role, and resisted English hegemony until 90s even if the English presented started in 1973. France twice vetoed the entrance of the UK in 70s and accepted its joining only with the condition that “British EU officials would always be fluent in French language” (Kuzelewska, 2014:159). The vetoes of France were caused by the fear that Britain was a “Trojan horse for American interest” (especially by the President Charles de Gaulle) (Phillipson, 2003:53). The efforts of France against English were dictated by a shared idea in France of defence of language against anglicisation, a defence that went out from the national borders and reached EU State Members. French, becoming the lingua franca of early EEC, did great efforts to resist the English presence for more than thirteen years and this due to the great investment of French government that is particularly involved in language defence. This is the main reason of the metaphor of the competition between the two procedural languages.

Dealing with lingua francas in the EU can be challenging and a more restricted group of speakers can adopt diverse lingua francas in accordance to the interlocutors, it is impossible to forecast for certain but generally English is the main lingua franca of the Europe. Indeed, doing my data collection for the third chapter, the Former Head of English Translation at the European Parliament witnessed that he had noticed that groups of Czechs, Slovaks and Polish tend to use their native language for conversation, relying on the skill to understand the diverse *faux amis*.

## 2.2.2 The raise of English in the European Union

As seen in the previous paragraph several factors played a role in making English a global language and these are valid, also concerning the context of the Europe and the European Union. In particular the reasons that are central in Europe and valid for both contexts are: the use of English in diplomacy after I World War, the globalization process, the attractiveness of English for learners and the language policies of State Members that made English a compulsory languages, the training of functionaries, diplomats and officials in American and British Universities or in Universities in EU Nations offering courses in English and the spread of English in Europe by the medium of pop music and films (Truchot, 2003). Nonetheless other reasons for making English the *lingua franca* of Europe relate to internal EU circumstances:

The first reason that broadened the use of English in internal communication is linked to the enlargement. In 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden and these countries had no knowledge of French, and proved to be competent in English. On the other hand, the membership of Austria reinforced the role of German. Indeed, German is still the first language in Europe for native speakers with 90 million of native speakers. The accession in 2004 of East-Europe and Baltic Nations reinforced the role of English, as again the States that joined had skills in English and low knowledge of French. Concerning East Europe, the foreign language learning is particularly interesting, because these territories had been dominated by the Russian until 1989 even in language acquisition (Russian was compulsory at all levels), English was seen by anti-communist intellectuals with a strong positive political connotation, whereas French mostly conceived as the foreign language of intellectuals or aristocrats, even if this was not the case in Bulgaria and Romania where it was still attractive (Fodor, Pelau 2003). This little focus of the East-Europe experience is important for the value given to the English and to understand why their population where so competent in that specific language. Moreover, enlargement strengthened the role of English as an

internal language of the EU because the negotiations between the Applicant and the institutions were made in English (Truchot, 2003).

The second argument in favour of English is legislation. As stated in the first chapter the supranational powers assigned to EU in a certain way oblige it to translate all legal documents in all official languages because every citizen must be able to read and understand them. Nonetheless, 95 % of legal texts adopted in co-decision procedure are “drafted, scrutinised and revised in English” (Kuzelewska, 2014: 160). Moreover, Kuzelewska (ibid.) is pointing out that English became a sort of hybrid language being no longer associated with the English law concepts, because English law is based on the “common law” there has no place in the Community legislation<sup>4</sup>. Concerning “drafting” Phillipson (2003) arises an issue: The Regulation No 1/58 states that the four languages are drafting languages. With enlargement and addition of several languages the documents have been translated in the official languages, but it would be impossible to draft the Treaties in the “new” official languages, as they were previously drafted in four original languages. Moreover, a draft is a provisional document and its use in the Regulation 1 is not clear. The document shall be drafted in one language and later translated in all languages? Nevertheless, EU even if employing only English to draft documents have to translate it in all official languages. In this case English is merely a tool (maybe the simplest) to draft a document, that is written involving the participation of functionaries with diverse L1, using English for internal communication.

The last argument on English supremacy is its use as a pivot language in translation (Phillipson, 2003:131). Phillipson (2003) states the tendency in translating documents to translate them in English (in some cases French) and later in all other languages. Translation and interpreting in EU represent a grey area. EU if adopting all the official languages would have to cope with “506 language combination” in the area of interpreting and editing multilingual texts (Ritcher et al.104). Translation and interpretation can be costly and sometimes problematic because language mediation can lead to “misunderstanding and

---

<sup>4</sup> The argument here by Kuzelwska is linked to the previous debate on the variety of Euro-English.

questioning (democratic) discourse” (ibid.). As stated in the first chapter, the diverse Head of Translation in EU have to evaluate if the translation into all official languages is need by virtue of these issues.

All the factors presented concerning the supremacy do not involve the participation the UK or Ireland governments, while the factors that made French a lingua franca and maintained it for more thirty years also came from in part from the efforts of French government. In addition, the arguments in favour of German as a procedural language are politically oriented. This is strongly political issue cause French fears to be replaced by English, in the national context due to the huge amount of English borrowings, and in the EU context. Nevertheless, as stated before the role of English comes from mostly by the globalization process rather by the efforts of the UK and Ireland, this will be implemented in the second part of the third chapter in evaluating the consequences of the leave of the UK from EU.

### 2.2.3 English variety of Europe

As analysed above English in the global context, it has several varieties depending on the territories in which it is used. In Europe we may find that English is a fist language in the UK, where the variety is British English and a second language in Ireland and Malta. In the other territories English functions as a lingua franca for external communication, this gave birth of large variety of English called Euro-English. In this part the diverse view on Euro-English are listed and discussed quoting the work by Klimcaz-Pawlak (2014) that summed the diverse views on this variety.

Berns (1995) defines European English as the language employed by non-native speakers of English in Europe with some characteristic that made them different from other varieties of English (as cited in Klimczak-Pawlak: 23). Other scholars such as Carstensen (1986) listing the features of the Euro-English stated that this variety has two characteristics (as cited in Kilmczak-Pawlak22). The first is the “widespread of pseudoloans”, and the second is “transferability” of these

pseudoloans in European countries (Klimczak-Pawlak.2014:22) For example from the word *cakes*, German and Hungarian developed *keks* and *keks*.

Modiano (2001) refers to this variety as the “official language of the EU”. This variety is highly influenced by the European culture and gave birth to “new terms”, “expressions, conceptualization [...] structures” that are not understandable by Native English Speakers (as cited in Kimczak-Pawlak, 2014: 23). On the other hand, the term Euro-English also has a negative connotation, in some cases the term of Euro-English may be used in a different context, differing from Berns and Carstenses. For example, McArthur (2003) considered Euro-English as a “bad English perpetrated in Brussels”, or indicated the variety as “Eurospeak” (as cited in Klimczak-Pawlak, 2014). In this case Euro-English rather than expressing the variety of English in Europe, expresses the use that is done of English by functionaries in Brussels. Moreover, Emma Wagner, a European Commission member, in an article discussed whether Euro-English is a problem or a solution as it could lend to some issues like becoming the language of elite or a bad variety of English. In this case, Wagner seem to refer to a “hybridized jargon” used by the EU officials rather than a variety of English speakers as a foreign language (Klimczak-Pawlak: 23).

Berns’ (1995) contribution on Euro-English is particularly interesting because she attempted to adapt the Kachru’s theory of the three circles to the European context. In her view in the Inner circle are placed Great Britain and Ireland, in the Expanding/Outer Circle Germany Luxemburg and Netherlands and Belgium Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain in the Expanding Circle (ivi: 20). Applying the terminology of Kachru to the territories of Europe it can be assumed that, in the Inner Circle Berns (1995) places the territories in which English is the dominant vernacular, in a hybrid expanding/outer circle she places territories considered to have a high knowing of the language like it was a second language and in the expanding one the territories in which English is a lingua franca. Berns (1995) is expressing the validity of doing this adaptation with three argumentations: the first one is that this model is pointing the different function of the language in different countries, the second is the “process of nativization” or

“Europeanization” of English and the third is the “similar context and patterns” in which European are exposed and acquire English (as cited in Kilmzack-Pawlak). Berns is writing in 1995 and if her adaptation of the Kachru’s theory to the European Context is accepted it should be added the countries that joined the EU since then and in my opinion, change the position of some countries due to the skills these countries manifested in English according to the English Skills Ranking, including Norway, Denmark and Sweden in the Outer Circle.

Modiano (1999) criticized the adaptation of the theory by Kachru in the European context by Berns (as cited in Kilmzack-Pawlak). In his view it is wrong to place the native speakers in a “central” position and replace the image of three concentric circles with “centripetal circles” (as cited in Kilmzack-Pawlak). Nevertheless, as we have seen above the Kachru’s theory seem to describe various levels of acquisition of English and was useful to explain theories as ELF and (...) even with the limit of placing native speakers in the centre.

The validity of this variety will be discussed in the part 3.2.2.

#### 2.2.4 The role of English in the EU

The first chapter on the officiality of the 24 languages of the EU, the analysis of Treaties, Regulation and EU multilingualism offered a background of the Linguistic Regulation of the EU. Nevertheless, in the practice things go differently, Chiti and Gualdo (2008) in analysing the linguistic regime of the EU joining juridical and linguistical approaches made some consideration on the use of English. Their analysis consisted in analysing three EU organisms: environmental information, food and nutrition security and Europol. From this analysis the authors tried to draw a general context of plural administration of the EU. Here their work will be presented to show the role of English in the EU organism they are analysing.

This study is useful in this dissertation because of the tentative of the authors to draw an unitarian linguistic discipline of the EU. The two scholar starting from the analysis of three EU agencies believe the findings may indicate the practice of the EU.

In the comparison on the three organisations in analysis there are differences and similarities. The differences come from the variable solutions that can be adopted, searching for *ad hoc* solution based on the specific needs of single systems. For the similarities the two authors claim that for the three linguistic profiles of the EU administration are governed by juridical sources (as we saw in the first chapter) but the practice has a decisive role. The decisive role of the practice comes from two aspects: some aspects of the linguistic interaction have no strict formal regulations, and the use by functionaries that may depart from the dispositions. I.e. The environmental information has not a formal regulation in linguistic interactions, usually these must be in accordance with the article 2 of the regulation 1/58 that ensures that “Documents which a Member State or a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State sends to institutions of the Community may be drafted in any one of the official languages selected by the sender. The reply shall be drafted in the same language”, in this case there are wide linguistics possibilities and the choice of the language is subjective. On the other hand, the tendency of person responsible of the functioning of this organisms is to employ procedural languages.

The two scholars, in their research find out three main tendencies:

- English monolingualism in internal communication of the organisation in analysis with a switch to partial multilingualism in high administration’s activities
- English monolingualism “tempered” in relation of the components of the organisation
- English monolingualism with partial multilingualism for the communication between EU and the addressees of the activities.

Furthermore, the authors claim that EU is far from the multilingualism. Indeed:

- English is used, by the organisation in analysis, when dealing with technical-scientific communication, confirming the role of English as language of science.
- The use of a single language offers a good compromise in case the decisional process requires quick decision (i.e. the Europol in case of

emergencies). Even if English monolingualism restricts the degree of understanding, it could be useful in guaranteeing a minimum degree of it to produce effects.

- English is considered a prerequisite in recruiting functionaries of EU.
- English being the lingua franca of international communication, gives advantages to the administrative activities of EU.
- English in public administration is the source from acronyms or hybrid forms
- In the EU, that is relating with a half billion of citizens, there's the need for a, vehicular language, complementary to the different vernaculars.
- Recur to the English is practical and reduces the cost of translations.

Nonetheless they make some clarification or integration of the previous points:

- English offers a tool in technical-scientific communication but in dealing with the addressee, there's the need to switch to multilingualism to ensure transparency of the information.
- Monolingualism ensures the rapidity of decision making in emergencies but in high administration activities multilingualism is functional for the consensus of national authorities.
- The recur to English monolingualism can avoid the cost of translation, but one could object by evaluating the cost in which the nation incur to learn English to its citizens.
- EU is maintaining and promoting multilingualism. It shall be added that if EU requires its functionaries to have skills in English this is guaranteeing multilingualism because in doing so they are never monolingual, and that EU is offering job opportunities to "personally multilingual" people by asking its functionaries to have skills in more than a language.
- EU switches to multilingualism in communicating with its citizens, this guarantees transparency of the message. Every EU citizen must understand its public messages, because some EU communication may be legally binding or have to be understood by every citizen.

- EU is far from being perfectly multilingual, but there are different combination of multilingualism and monolingualism. EU is multilingual when involving democratic instances and monolingual to ensure efficiency of in dealing with other EU or international or national systems. Indeed, in EU the authors distinguish several practices: a) “pure” English monolingualism; b) “tempered” English monolingualism; c) “trilingualism” recurring to the three procedural languages, or “Enlarged trilingualism” adding the Italian language where Italian is used as a procedural language (i.e. in some organisation based in Italy); d) pentalingualism, indicating the recur to the three procedural languages plus Italian and Spanish; “variable multilingualism” that denotes the practise of some representatives to express themselves in the language they prefer but they receive a translation only in one of the big languages; g) “pure multilingualism”

This last point is interesting because it is presenting the diverse degrees of monolingualism and multilingualism. The diverse points present refer to EU and not only to the three systems the authors are analysing. This because they believe that their analysis may be extended to the EU, creating an unitarian linguistic discipline.

### 2.2.5 Discussion on the role of English in the EU

To sum up after presenting the linguistic legislation of the EU in the first chapter this chapter focussed on the role of English as an internal language of the EU. EU could in no way go against the rules and laws on multilingualism, proposing to work and function exclusively in English, even more any linguistic change in EU has to be accepted unanimously by all the State Members, and if a change like that would be proposed a State could veto the whole decision. A temporary restriction of working languages may occur in dealing with emergency decision. Moreover concerning some practices EU does not offer a formal regulation of linguistic interaction.

It is a shared idea that the use of few procedural language can be problematic because of the inequalities that this choice can generate. The Members State that have not their language employed as a procedural language have to work in a foreign language or recur to translation and interpretation that can be problematic practises as well.

On the other hand, the scholar Mufwene (2010) analysing the context of Europe concerning English, states that there is no possibility for English to replace the other languages. This view goes in contrast with the label assigned to English of a “killer-language” as it was the case in North America and in Australia where English eliminated the linguistic diversity (Phillipson, 2008). Even the work by Phillipson (2003) “English-Only Europe?” that contributed to this work, problematize the EU that is going in the direction of English monolingualism. Nevertheless, the point of view Mufwene (2010) is manifesting, is an attempt to eradicate the idea that the role that English has in Europe may drive to monolingualism. His point of view can be summed analysing the use of English in Europe keeping in mind the theory of the Three Circles by Kachru. English is the dominant vernacular only in the Inner Circle, that in Europe is the UK and Ireland. In the Outer Circle, English is the language of the “intra-national elite” (Mufwene,2010: 48). In the Expanding Circle English is a foreign lingua franca “for communication with outsiders”. Only when English becomes the dominant vernacular its role of “killer language” emerges. Moreover, Mufwene (2010) states that even in education, when English is learned its role is to be a subject just as the others as geography or history. For example. even if English is a foreign language in Germany, German will be the language of communication in Germany between Germans. In tourism or in communicating with foreigners English is likely to be the language, but then the speaker will switch to its first language.

On the spread of English in the State Members of EU the attitudes vary. Small countries may use English for international purposes in compensation of the limits of their national language. Even smaller countries, such as Iceland may express reluctance and consider English as a threat (Truchot, 1997). In Belgium English has been used as a medium “to counterbalance the influence of French”

(Truchot, 1997:73). In France like said before there is a high “linguistic resistance” to Anglicisation and Americanisation. In Germany English is more tolerated, and Germans try not to be considered as too much nationalist and open to foreign influences. In Denmark there is no intervention to limit the use of English and in general the language is accepted as a second language. In the Netherlands, the main foreign languages are learned to reach wider audience. As seen above in East Europe English went beyond the learning of a foreign language and was a medium to express political ideas.

This discussion offered the aspect of the variety of the acceptance of English varies. Most of the time English is considered a threat for its past of language killer. Nevertheless, English being a second or foreign language in Europe may not replace national languages, rather it is the preferred medium to access wider audience in film, song, publications, social medias, advertisements, international business, and so on in a globalising world. Concerning the EU, the use of English as a procedural language concerns its use as a lingua franca rather than a dominant vernacular.



## Chapter III Brexit and the Status of English

Brexit emerged from a complex situation in the UK, and it is not simple to deal and list all the facts that are involved. For example, Marine Le Pen in a speech said that the vote for Brexit was the “most important moment since Berlin Wall” (Dallison, 2016), Jean-Claude Juncker the President of the EU Commission referred to Brexit as a “tragedy” (Rankin, 2017). From its birth to now we assisted to Brexit, but we do not already know all the changes that this event will bring. In this part I will shortly present Brexit, and by analysing the article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon present the mechanism of exit from EU. Moreover, this part will present the nexus of this dissertation about the Status of English in the EU after Brexit, and other consequences on languages in EU. The choice of focussing on the “status” may seem a vague but it is employed with awareness of the certain status English has in Europe, beyond the attributes of “official”, “unofficial”, “working language” and so on.

### 3.1 Brexit

Brexit is a neologism made by the clipped form “Br” that stands for Britain and the word “exit”, in 2016 the term was added to the Oxford English Dictionary. Nevertheless, the construction of this term may be misleading as it is not Britain that leaves the EU but the UK. The UK is the first State Member to leave EU and the mechanisms of exit are provided by the article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon. The UK is the first State Member to withdraw from EU, although in 1982 there have been an attempt to leave EU by Greenland via referendum in which the majority wanted to leave EU, the only issue is that Greenland is not a State Member but part of it and the attempt failed.

On 23 June 2016, the UK voted the referendum to decide whether the UK should leave or remain in the EU. 51.89% voted Leave and 48.11% Remain, with the turnout of 71.8% of voters (Hunt and Weeler, 2017). After the results of the referendum in the UK there were several changes in leadership. David Cameron that was the UK PM before the referendum had stated that if UK-citizens had

voted to leave he would have resigned, and with the results in favour of leave he did resign. Later Theresa May, that was Home Secretary took the reins of the UK and became the PM until the elections scheduled in 2020. Nevertheless, Theresa May anticipated the elections in 2017 to have a higher majority in the Parliament but she failed. It may seem paradoxical but Theresa May even if she is euro-sceptical supported Remain, but to follow the will of the UK she is driving the UK to Brexit.

Following the Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon, the UK government needed an Act of the UK Parliament to confirm the withdraw. The UK government later had to notify the European Council for its intention to leave. After the notification by the UK Parliament the Union following the Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon shall “negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State setting out the agreements for its withdraw, taking account of the framework in its future relationship with the Union”. In line with the Article 50(2) the European Parliament has to express their consent, with qualified majority, to the EU Council to start the negotiations with the State member that withdraws from it. The Article 50(3) states that all the Treaties shall cease to apply to the State that is leaving from the date of withdraw of the State or two years after the notification, unless the EU Council and the State Member agree to extend that period. In line with the article 218 (3) of the Article of Functioning of the European Union the Council nominates the Union negotiator or the Head of the Union’s negotiating team. The Article 50(4) states that the Member State withdrawing shall not participate in the discussions of the EU Council concerning it and the paragraph 5 indicated the procedure if the State leaving wants to re-join the EU. Starting to deal with the possible changes concerning the status of English in EU we can say that the Article 50 does not take in consideration the possibility of loss of official status of the language of the State withdrawing from EU. Concerning linguistic regulation, we can invoke the article 342 of the TFEU that states that the rules concerning the language of the Union are determined by the Council unanimously. If there will be a change on the officiality of English, this would be determined by a decision of all the 27 Members of EU acting unanimously.

On 29 March 2017 the UK Government invoked Article 50, following the two years negotiation (with the possibility of an extension if both agree) aim to withdraw from EU by 29 March 2019. The European Parliament gave its consent to the EU council and the negotiations began on 19 June 2017.

Theresa May, the UK Prime Minister, in line with the results of the Referendum has sent a letter to the EU Council President Donal Tusk to notify the Exit of UK from EU. Michel Barnier was named chief negotiator of the Commission for Brexit, for the EP Guy Verhofstad was named EP coordinator for Brexit. The UK PM named David Davis as Secretary of State for Exiting the EU, Liam Fox as International trade secretary and Boris Johnson as the foreign secretary. These are the actors involved in the process of withdrawing from the EU by UK.

In the Brexit debate two types of it emerged: “Soft Brexit” and “Hard Brexit”. The “hard” one happens if UK refuses to compromise on issues like “free movement of people even if leaving the single market” (Hunt, Wheeler, 2017). The “soft” one may follow the case of Norway that is in the single market even not being in the EU (ibid.).

### 3.2 Considerations on the status of English in the EU after Brexit

The purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate the status of English in the EU after Brexit, status in this context do not refer exclusively to the official status, acknowledging that the level reached by English in the EU goes beyond the sole officiality.

This analysis will be articulated in three sections: the first will be an analysis of a corpus of articles that came out after Brexit that manifested a judgement on the future of English; the second will refer to the works of Modiano (2017) and Bolton et al (2017) that considered the role of English after Brexit in the EU; the third section of this chapter will evaluate further consequences of Brexit on English.

### 3.2.1 Analysis of a corpus of articles

To build this part of the dissertation, a corpus of articles that came out on the topic of Brexit and on the Status of English was created and discussed. Some were analysed with the support of a data Collection by the medium of a questionnaire sent to Mark Smith, Head of English Translation at the European Parliament and Philip Cole that had previously held that position<sup>5</sup>. The recur to two functionaries of the EU aimed to have an internal point of view from the EU even by recurring to an informal way, expressed by a questionnaire. The two interviewees answered on the basis of their experience as Head of English translation at the European Parliament, their answers do not represent an official statement of the institution. Their answers were in line with EU policies and treaties so the questionnaire was not extended to other EU institutions. Questions are showed in the Appendix

In the first article took in analysis, Danuta Hübner the Head of European Parliament's Constitutional Affairs Committee stated that with the withdraw from EU by the UK, it follows that English should cease to have an official status (Goulard, 2016). In this view some ideologies on English are manifested: (i) English is an official language in EU because of the Membership of the UK, (ii) With the withdraw of the UK there's no need to keep English as an official language. (iii) Ireland has Irish as an official language and has Malta Maltese. In this point of view, manifested by Danuta Hübner but shared also by other politicians, Irish and Maltese can be the only official languages for Ireland and Malta even if both countries have English as an official language. The point of view of the cease of official status by English may be countered by several argumentations: When joining the ECC in 1973 English became an official language of the institution thanks to the membership of the UK and Ireland. Irish was not an official language and was made a treaty language, in the sense

---

<sup>5</sup> I asked Philip Cole because I have meet him during a speech he did in Southampton where I did my Erasmus and he gave me the contact of Mark Smith to have also the point of view of the actual Head of English Translation. I am grateful and thankful to have their contributions in my work.

that all treaties had to be translated into Irish. Indeed, in part 1.2 it has been showed that the factors involved in the officiality of Irish in the EU were politically oriented and that the concession given to Irish will last until 2021, when Irish will cease to be an official language of the EU. Moreover, it took three years for Irish to be assigned an official status.

Concerning Maltese, the things went differently. Indeed, in 2004 when Malta joined the EU, Maltese was made an official language of EU, even if English was an official language in that country and was already official in the EU. The fact that Maltese was an official language despite Irish, reinforced the queries of Ireland to make its language official in the EU (Athanasios,2006.15).

Even after Brexit, English is an official language in Ireland and Malta, and in any case as Manko (2017) pointed out “there’s no rule to the effect that a Member States ‘chooses’ which of its official languages should be ‘assigned’ to it as its official language (p.4). Even if Ireland and Malta may claim the sole officiality of Irish and Maltese in EU, they could in no way ‘ask’ to exclude English from the official language of EU. As it emerged from the questionnaire Luxemburgish is an official language of Luxemburg and the mother tongue of all native Luxembourgers, but Luxemburgish is not an official language of EU. Not all the languages of the State Members have to be official languages of the EU. When in 2021 Irish will cease to be an official language of EU, English will be the only EU official language Ireland can employ. Furthermore, the view of Irish-only Ireland could be challenged by the level of knowledge of Irish: Ireland has 4,75 million inhabitants, 73803 of them has Irish as a native language and 1,7 million have various degrees of knowledge of it (The Irish language, 2017). Language policies in EU do not follow the number of speakers, nevertheless in Ireland most of the population have English as a native language. In Malta the situation is quite different as 92% (400000 out of 436000) of the population speaks Maltese and 88 % has English as a second language (Languages Across Europe, 2014). Even if Malta may claim the exclusion of English as an official language of EU the condition of Ireland could ‘legitimate’ the status of English in EU.

Another counter argument of the exclusion of English in EU, follows the Article 342 of the TFEU that states that any change on linguistic regime must be

conducted unanimously by the Council. Even if some countries may express reluctance to English, it is unlikely that all State Members decide to make English cease to be an official language of the EU. As remarked before the Article 50 does not take in consideration the exclusion of the language of the State withdrawing from the official languages of the EU. Maybe if other countries may leave the EU their languages could be no longer official, but this could be the case of States where there is an only official language that is not official in any other State Members (i.e. Italian, Bulgarian, Polish) but this is only a hypothesis. Nevertheless, even in adopting the point of view against the officiality of English one cannot deny the role of English in EU. Even if not being an official language of EU English might be an unofficial lingua franca of EU for internal communication and in external communication with other States or International institutions. The status of English as a lingua franca of the EU has been discussed in chapter 2 and it has been showed that this role held by English does not come from by the membership of the UK.

Furthermore, in translation English is used as a pivot language. With 24 official EU languages there are 506 combinations (Ritcher et al.104) and it could be nearly impossible to find translator and interpreters of some combination of language (i.e. a translator from Spanish to Swedish). Recurring to a pivot language can offer faster, and to some extent better, translations.

Moreover, English is a procedural language of the EU. Restricting the number of procedural languages could be problematic for EU functionaries that have no knowledge of German or French that will have to recur to translations and interpreters, not without loss of rapidity and quality of the translation. The choice of a new procedural language in this scenario could be also more problematic because of the political implications under the choice of a new procedural language. Nevertheless, after Hübner claimed to exclude English from the EU official languages, the EU Commissioner Günther countered her view and stated that English will remain an official language of EU, because of the membership of Ireland and the possible membership of Scotland if this country exits from the UK (Morgan, 2016).

The second article in analysis is an attempt to lessen the role in English in EU by Michel Barnier, the EU negotiator for Brexit (Guarascio, 2016a). In this article it was reported that Barnier wanted the negotiation for Brexit to be conducted in French as he is from France and wants to express himself in his mother-tongue. Theresa May rejected the position of Barnier and Barnier denied he had expressed that view on the language of negotiation (Guarascio, 2016b). Beyond a possible manipulation or misunderstood in media the point of Barnier may be irrelevant but it offers a position in a post-Brexit scenario of English that loses importance and has to negotiate with the EU in French. But even if Barnier aims to conduct the negotiation in his mother-tongue, even David Davis negotiating for the UK may use his native one, that is English. By the way, Barnier showed to have skills in English and even in using French they could recur to translation or interpreters. Nevertheless, this example is useful to discuss the position that could emerge after Brexit to reduce English, even if English still has an official status. The reduce of English is a strong ideology in the French context and the point of Barnier may conceal the wish of French to be (again) the lingua franca of EU. Not by chance the article by Francesco Guarascio is entitled “Parlez vous Brexit” with this calembour he is quoting the work by René Etiemble “Parlez vous Franglais” in which the author is denouncing the invasion of English words in French.

The third point of view there is contributing to the analysis is the one manifested by Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, in a speech he delivered in Florence about “English losing importance” (Rankin, 2017). Juncker commented on English losing importance as a preface for another speech he did in Florence to some European diplomats and experts. In his speech Juncker comments on Brexit as a tragedy and remarks that is the UK that is abandoning the EU and not the contrary. In his speech after this preface in English he did switch to French. This position even if was a preface to an unrelated topic can be the manifestation of the point of view of EU functionaries again to resist to the use of English. In any case we have to take in account Brexit

in dealing with the future of English as a Global lingua franca or with international relations in EU.

The last article that is involved in this section is given by Ginsburgh et al (2017) about ranking of languages in the EU before and after Brexit. In this study the authors recur to ranking methods involving statistics and mathematics tried to draw the impact of Brexit on the languages in EU<sup>6</sup>. One of the elements of this study involves the number of speakers. With the withdrawing of the UK, the EU will have a loss of 60 million of English native speakers. Considering that 182.5 million (out of 490 million) of EU citizens are fluent in English, Brexit may lessen this number to 122,5 million (Ginsburgh et al. 2017:147). Nevertheless, Brexit will influence also the number of other EU languages speakers, because of EU immigrants in the UK, Ginsburgh et al. (ibid.) count 2-6 million of speakers for French and German, 1 million for Italian and 1,3 for Spanish. After all these arrangements the authors calculate that English speakers will be 121 million in the EU, the same number as the speakers of German. Nevertheless, this data needs to be put in the context of ELF. Indeed, 6.5 million are English speakers as a native language, the other millions of speakers use it as a lingua franca. Applying this to German, 91 out of 121 million are native speaker from Germany and Austria while the other 30 million speak German has a foreign language. German is undoubtedly the first language in EU for native speakers, but English is the first lingua franca. Considering the languages only from the numbers of native speakers may be a mistake as the level that reached English made it a language used more by non-native speakers rather than native speakers. Indeed, focussing on only the 6.5 million of English native speakers (1% of EU citizens) would not make English “better” than other EU languages (ibid.). So, Brexit shall not change the status of English in the EU, as it will still be a lingua for internal and external communication, whatsoever official or not. Ginsburg et al. (2017) do not speculate on the conclusion that English will remain an official language of the EU or not but only try to describe the context of EU languages after Brexit.

---

<sup>6</sup> I would suggest consulting the study for the entire analysis as I am not taking in account all the arguments of the authors

On the other hand, in the questionnaire both the interviewees agree to state that English will remain an official language of the EU after Brexit because of the major role that English has in EU and by the membership of Ireland and Malta, As stated before, the status of English in EU may not belong to the membership of the UK. Nevertheless, it might seem that there is no direct intervention of the UK government in making English a procedural language of lingua franca of the EU, whereas Germany and France did intervene in upgrading their languages as procedural languages of the EU (see 2.2)

### 3.2.2 Publications on English after Brexit in European Union

In September and October 2017 two works on English after Brexit came out. The first work is by Mark Modiano and was published on 19 September 2017 in the World Englishes Journal. The second one is by Bolton and Davis and was published on 30 October 2017 in the same journal.

In the first article, Mark Modiano (2017) tries to evaluate the consequences on the status of English in the EU after Brexit, acknowledging the role of English as a procedural language. To do so the author addresses some questions:

- Will English keep its role of working language with French and German?
- If English will be both an official and working language what forms and functions in EU will compensate the absence of British English native speakers?
- If British subject working in interpretation and translation in the EU will lose their job, “how will English be conceptualized by the people who replace them? (p.3)
- How will English evolve in the continental Europe without the presence of British supporting the “educational standards” that regulate the learning of English?

The first point of the evaluation of Modiano is analysing the attitudes on the use of English in EU after Brexit. He states that there are two tendencies: one on the aversion to English, manifested by France but even in other countries, that believes that English should cease to be either an official and a working language, thus reinforcing French as the major working language; one on the acceptance of English as language necessary for communication in the EU. Moreover Modiano (2017) states that the use of English in the European Union rather than coming from the UK membership “is a component of globalization” (p.7). He thus claims that English will remain the most important language of the EU. Beyond this, the main argumentation by Modiano (2017) is that the exit of the UK will create “the sociolinguistic space for a European variety of English” because of the role of the UK as “arbiter for correctness and standardization” (p.2). The lack of native speakers of British English left will be compensated by speaker of English as a second language establishing their spelling, punctuation and grammar, without being judged by English native speakers. In his opinion the UK rather than being the actor involved in the promotion of English in the EU, was promoting its own variety of English. In addition, for Modiano (2017) it is unlikely that English speakers from the Republic of Ireland or Malta will take up this role of “bearer of standard English”. The variety of English in Europe or Euro-English was discussed in 2.2.

Concerning the second article, it is a transcription of a forum, in the World Englishes Journal, in response to the argumentations of Modiano (2017) by some linguists that accepted or challenged his views. The merit of Modiano in any case is to have started a debate on English after Brexit and on the possibility of a European variety to emerge. The main points of views emerged are summed below:

First, the exitance of the Euro-English by itself has been questioned. David Crystal remark that language varieties raise at the national rather than at the transnational (EU) level. Other denounce the absence of a regular set of features of this variety shared by Europeans. Gerritsen challenges the acceptance of the variety of Euro-English as across Europe there are diverse

levels of proficiency in English. Moreover, this variety may be hindered by the diverse families of languages of Europe: the Indo-European and the Finno-Ugric. In learning English as a foreign language, the mother tongue is involved and influences the use of the foreign language. Speaker in Europe having first languages that come from diverse families of languages will have major differences in features of their English variety. Rather than accepting Euro-English, some accepted the variety referred as “Eurospeak jargon”, expression that conveys the use of English by the EU institutions. This variety comes from the technical use of English in EU institutions and has a set of features than have been described. These features are mainly lexical and represent new meanings attributed to English words. The article offers a table of some lexical items of Euro-English with their transposition in the UK English. I.e. actorness for participation, control for check, note for procedure, travel for trip and so on. (p.309). This example demonstrate that the UK has no role in “correcting” Eurospeak and imposing British English. Moreover, Phillipson states that the level that English reached in the EU rather than coming from the UK membership comes from the policies of the EU Commission (p.306).

Second, Phillipson, goes against the claim of Modiano about English as a “common continental European language” (p.306) without taking in account that other languages may function as *lingua francas* in other contexts.

Third, other scholars do not share the dichotomy of Pro-English and Anti-English countries, or French “aversion to English” (p.306).

Nevertheless, some statements of Modiano are shared. Some share with Modiano that the exit of the UK will weaken the idea that “English belongs to its native speakers” and that English is “tied to native speaker culture” (p.305). With this it follows that new “values, traditions and norms” will shape the use of English in Europe (p.305). Nonetheless this without creating a large variety of Euro-English but a more accepted use of English as a Lingua Franca (p.307). Other accepted the analysis of English that goes beyond the membership of the UK and that English will continue to be the most important language in Europe. Furthermore, Schneider added that the use of English in Europe goes independently from EU policies. Another article in the corpus analysed expressed

the view of English as a more neutral language in the EU after Brexit, indicating English as a “more successful Esperanto” (Bonotti and Mac Giolla Chriolat, 2017). The Esperanto is an artificial language created in 1800s with the aim of creating a language to use as a contact language. Nevertheless, the spread hoped for its creator was not reached.

### 3.2.3 Further consequences of Brexit on English language

In addition to the consequences on the status of English in the EU after Brexit there might be other consequences. It may be remarked that these consequences are speculative, as such consequences are related with something that never happened before and that might be subject of derogation or changes.

The first consequence may concern the employment of officials in the EU after Brexit, that is the second part of the data collection done thanks to Philip Cole and to Mark Smith. The purpose was to evaluate to what extend Brexit will change the procedures of recruitment in the EU. In nearly all the application to work in the EU, English is a prerequisite. English is an internal language, it may be required to draft document, it might be the pivot language by the one proceed to the translation in the other 23 languages of the EU, and so on. As it comes out from several arguments that countered the views on the cease of the officiality of English after Brexit and the replies of the two interviewees, English will remain an official language of the EU, so it will still be a prerequisite in recruitment. The recruitment of officials in EU follow competitions managed by the EPSO (European Personnel Selection Office). One of the condition to be eligible is having the citizenship of an EU State Member. So, Brexit could have important changes on officials with the UK membership, and on the future recruitment for functionaries and English translator, that are recruited by EPSO. Indeed, all the staff with citizenship of the UK, unless derogation or changes are made, will not be eligible for such positions in the EU. Concerning the actual functionaries Philip Cole proposed that they could apply for the citizenship of Luxemburg. Indeed,

half of the translation services are based in Luxemburg (the other half in Brussels). Some functionaries in the experience of Philip Cole are eligible for the Luxemburgish citizenship and Luxemburg allows dual nationalities. The same may apply for those working in Brussels applying for Belgian citizenship. Another possibility according to Philip Cole is that it could be that current officials might cease to be eligible for promotions or their status might be changed from “permanent official” to “contract agents”. In any case officials with English as a first language may have Irish or Maltese citizenship or just be bilingual having an EU State Member citizenship. Moreover, there is nothing excluding that an Italian or Spanish or whatsoever official might not be proficient in English but if native speakers are required for any explanation these might come from Ireland and Malta or be bilingual or British with a dual nationality. Furthermore, if we consider a change in the language of the drafting of documents from English, the documents in this language would have to be translated into English in order to be later translated in the other EU languages, leading EU to need more English translators than before. Paradoxically Brexit could require more English translators, and the change in working languages may have a negative impact on times, and therefore on the cost, of translation. In addition, from the questionnaire it emerged that drafting documents without having native English speakers might be an issue because in this context due to the level of the document and require the highest skills possible.

Another consequence of Brexit on English might be linked with language learning. As presented in chapter 1, EU disposes of some tools to promote multilingualism, one of them is the mobility program Erasmus+. The UK withdrawing from the EU might not be part of the Erasmus+ program that involves the mobility of students in the European countries. Brexit will not influence the mobility of people for the EU but might impact the agreement between EU universities under the Erasmus+ program. There's another agreement between EU and countries that not belong to EU, named Erasmus Mundus. The UK might join the Erasmus Mundus, but with an inferior number of students. This might have consequences on the learning of English, as a common ideology is that for

improving or learning a language one shall study for a period in the country where that language is a native one. An opportunity for students might be choose Ireland as a preferred destination for learning English in English universities.

The last possible consequence of Brexit in this part, is not merely on English but on minority languages of the UK. As pointed out in an article analysed, it emerged that the UK under the EU with different treaties increased the protection of minority languages (English could be a more successful Esperanto in a post Brexit.EU, 2017). The protection of these groups belonging to the EU member arises from the interpretation of EU Treaties objectives or preambles, some are legally binding, and some are not. A case study by Tawida Ahmad (2011) is evaluating the impact of EU law on Minority languages. EU adopted these provisions to “reduce discrimination and obstacles to participation in the economic and social life of minorities” (Ahmad, 2011:59). With the Article 2 of the Treaty of European Union, EU affirming the citizenship of the Union affirmed the rights and protections of its member (ibid.). Minority groups in the EU State Members benefit some rights and protection. Furthermore, the protection of minorities was placed in the EU conditionality, as a peculiar feature on the EU. Withdrawing from the EU in accordance with the Article 50 (2) all treaties shall cease to apply to the State withdrawing, also the treaties made in protection and recognition of minority languages. The UK is concerned as minority languages as Scottish, Irish, Cornish, Welsh under the EU Treaties started benefiting protection and even interest over the UK borders. The UK withdrawing from the EU, will have to re-negotiate its position concerning these languages under its regulation. Nevertheless, organisations as the European Court of Human Rights or the Council of Europe may make the UK recognise these languages. Indeed, the UK under the Council of Europe (there is not under the EU) signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, this could be an argument in favour of keeping the actual minority protection, but Brexit may oblige the UK to spend time re-affirming the rights of these languages.

Beyond the linguistic point of view Brexit may have consequences on European integration. Even without entering too much in the theme of European integration, that is object of entire books. Brexit by itself may represent a defeat of European integration, because the UK population voted for leaving the EU. Secondly in the post Brexit Europe, it shall be evaluated if the European will miss a “piece” without the English membership, or maybe if there will be changes concerning British people without EU.



## Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to evaluate the Status of English in the European Union after Brexit. The question raised because of some articles that came out right after the results of the Referendum of Brexit, questioning the role of English both as an official language and a procedural language in the European Union. In order to evaluate the status of English after Brexit the discussion focussed on the EU and on the role of English.

The starting point was introducing the dynamics which led to the creation of the European Economic Community to the European Union (EEC). This in the context of the evolution of the Treaties regulating the institution and with the creations of common institutions at the basis of the functioning of the European Union. The founding members of the EEC were Belgium, France, Germany Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. From the beginning a typical feature of the EEC was multilingualism as with the Regulation No 1/58 was stated that EEC had four official and working languages, Dutch, French, German and Italian. The official languages of the State Members were made official and working languages of the EEC. It has to be pointed out that Belgium and Luxemburg are multilingual countries, in Belgium Dutch, French and German are official languages, and in Luxemburg the official languages are French, German and Luxemburgish. Not all the official languages had been made official as Luxemburgish was not included as an official or working language. Since the 1970s the EEC started discussing the possibility of other countries to join it. This lead to the enlargement of the EEC in which first joined the UK, the Republic of Ireland and Denmark. With the enlargement under the Regulation No 1 the languages of new State Members were assigned the status of official and working languages, and English and Danish became official and working languages of the EEC. Irish that is the first language of Ireland was made a Treaty language rather than an official language, that means that EEC Treaties had to be translated in Irish. In 1992 with the Treaty of Maastricht and the EEC changed into the European Union and Multilingual is a typical feature of the EU. Other international organisations do not have the official languages of the State Members assigned an official status in the

institution, rather that few major languages are official in these (English and French). Since 2013 EU has 28 State Members and 24 official languages. Some countries share the same official language as Austria and Germany, Cyprus and Greece even if Cyprus is a multilingual state that has Turkish and Greek. Turkish like Luxembourgish are official languages of EU State Members but do not have an official or working language status in the EU. The EU Multilingualism has been analysed from its legislative construction and have been analysed in practise. The Regulation No 1 lists 24 official and working languages of the EU but in practise not all EU languages are working languages. Some languages are more employed than other, these languages are referred as procedural or working languages<sup>7</sup>. The procedural languages are: English, French and German. This raises issues concerning the discrimination of some EU officials that have other first languages different from the procedural ones and have to work with a foreign language. Nevertheless, procedural languages are believed to be essential for internal and external communication. Even between procedural languages a hierarchy exists, and English is the most used one.

The discussion then moved to the role of English. Its role in the EU is partly derived by its role in the Global context, so the use of English at the global context has been discussed. The actual role of English is being a global lingua franca. English is the common contact language between speakers that do not share the same first language. This role privileged English, that became the language of academic, advertisement, the internet, the media, international communication, diplomacy. In the context of the European Union, since its creation French was the main internal lingua franca, while English became an official and working language when the UK and Ireland joined in 1973. Nevertheless, the role of English as a lingua franca of the EU, emerged with the enlargement of the EU in which joined countries of East and Central that had no knowledge of French but had knowledge on English. Concerning the internal communication, the EU needs an internal working language, because officials from several State Members are involved with its functioning, most of the documents are drafted in

---

<sup>7</sup> As the regulation states that all EU languages are both official and working languages the *de facto* working languages shall be referred as procedural languages.

English and then been translated into all the other languages. The use of English in the EU is reinforced by the practise of using it as a pivot language in translation. The EU having 24 official language has 506 combinations of languages, doing a preliminary translation in English permits to have a document that can be later translated into all official language. Concerning the external communication EU recurs to a contact language for the same reason. Nevertheless, all treaties must be translated into all EU languages, and each EU citizen have the right to address the EU using one official EU language and have the answer in that language.

The discussion then involved the context of Brexit and its implications on the status of English. The evaluation involved analysing a corpus of articles on the topic, two case-studies on the status of English in a post-Brexit EU, and a data collection by the medium of a questionnaire to some functionaries of the European Parliament. The evaluation led to some findings:

English will still be an official language and procedural language. English will still be official thanks to the membership of Ireland and Malta. Moreover, every change in the linguistic regime of the regime according to the article 342 of the TEU must be determined by the Council acting unanimously, even one State Member against this change could veto the whole decision. Nevertheless, the use of English as the main procedural language could continue even if this language ceases to be official.

English will still be a procedural language (even if in the future other languages may be used as working languages and replace it). English is used for external and internal communication in the EU. Concerning external communication, English is used with other institutions that have it as a working language, it is the actual language of diplomacy and international communication. Moreover, English is used as an internal contact language between functionaries having diverse native languages.

Even if the recur to procedural languages is problematic, any change in this system could led to issues concerning which language to choose as a new procedural language and the political implication this choice may involve. On the contrary Brexit could be followed by a neutrality of use of English in EU, while the

use of German and French may be politically oriented and favour a specific linguistic group.

It has been showed that the level reached by English rather than coming from the membership of the UK, comes from the enlargement of the EU, the globalization process and from EU practises.

In the EU apparatus there will be a lack of English native speakers that will contribute to reinforce the English variety that emerged in the EU, referred as Eurospeak or EU jargon, that will differ even more from UK English.

Beyond the status of English, Brexit may have implication on the recruitment of EU officials, on exchange programs for learning languages in the UK promoted by the EU, on minority protection in the UK, and on European integration.

## References

- Ammon, U. (2010) *World Languages: Trends and Futures* in Coupland, N. (2010) *The language of Globalization*, Wiley-Blackwell: Singapore.
- Armstrong, N. Makenzie I. (2013) *Standardization, Ideology and Linguistics*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Athanasius P. (2006) *The Application of Multilingualism in the European Union Context* ECB Legal Working Papers, No. 2
- Berns, de Bot, Hasebrink (2007) *In the Presence of English: Media and European Youth*, Spingers
- Bolton, K. David, D (2017) *Brexit and the future of English in Europe*, in *World Englishes*, Vol. 36 pp. 302-3012.
- Bonotti M. Mac Giolla Chriolat, D. (2017) *English could be a more successful Esperanto in a post-Brexit EU* Available at: <https://theconversation.com/english-could-be-a-more-succesful-esperanto-in-a-post-brexit-eu-77375> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Charter of Fundamental Rights of European Union, 2000.
- Chiti, E. et Gualdo, R. (2008), *Il regime linguistico dei sistemi comuni europei, l'unione di multilinguismo e monolinguisimo*, Milano: Giuffrè Editore.
- Crystal, D. (2003) *English as a Global Language*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dallison, P (2016) *Marine Le Pen: Brexit "most important moment since Berlin Wall"* Available at: <https://www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pen-brexit-most-important-moment-since-berlin-wall/> (Accessed: 19/10/2016)
- Fidrmuc, J., Ginsburgh, V. & Weber, S. (2007), "Ever closer Union or Babylonian discord? The official-language problem in the European Union", *CORE Discussion Papers*.
- Fodor, F. Pelau S: *Language geostrategy in eastern and central Europe: Assessment and perspectives* in Maurais, J. Morris M (2003) *Languages in a Globalising World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fontaine, P (2010) *Europe in 12 lessons*, European Union:Germany
- Ghilbert, M. (2007) *Da nemici a partner: la politica della cooperazione 1945-1957* in Ganapini, L. (2007) *Dall'Europa divisa all'Unione Europea*, Milano: Guerini e Associati

- Ginsburgh, V., Moreno, J.D. & Weber, S. (2017), "Ranking Languages in the European Union: Before and After Brexit", in *European Economic Review* (93) 139-151. Elsevier B.V
- Goulard, H. (2016) *English will not be an official language after Brexit, says senior MEP* Available at: <http://www.politico.eu/article/english-will-not-be-an-official-eu-language-after-brexit-senior-mep/> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Graddol, D. (1997) *The Future of English?* The British Council: London
- Guarascio, F. (2016a) *Eu's Brexit negotiator demands all talks are conducted in French* Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/brexit-negotiator-talks-french-michel-barnier-negotiation-insists-eu-article-50-conducted-a7373556.html> (Accessed: 19/10/17)
- Guarascio, F. (2016b) *Exclusive Parlez-vous Brexit, Eu Negotiator wants Brits to talk French* Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-language-exclusive/exclusive-parlez-vous-brexit-eu-negotiator-wants-brits-to-talk-french-idUSKCN12L1E0> (Accessed: 19/10/17)
- Hunt, A. Wheeler B, *Brexit all you need to know about the UK leaving the EU* Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887#> (Accessed: 19/10/17)
- Jenkins, J. (2009) English as a lingua franca: interpretations and attitudes in *World Englishes* (2009) Vol.28 No 2 200-207
- Jenkins, J. (2013) *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University: The politics of Academic English Language Policy*, London/New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, J. (2014) *Global Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*, London/New York: Routledge
- Jenkins, J. (2015) Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca in *Englishes in Practice* (2015) 2(3), De Gruyter :49-85
- Jenkins, J. et al, (2011) Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca, in *Lang. Teaching* (2011) 44.3 Cambridge University Press: 281-315
- Kachru, B. (1983) *The Indianization of English: The English Language in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Kaiser, W. Varsori, A. (2010), *European Union history. [electronic resource]; Themes and debates*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Klimczak-Pawlak, A. (2014) *Towards the Pragmatic Core of English for European Communities: The Speech Act of Apologising in Selected Euro-Englishes*, Springer
- Krepelka, F. (2014), "Dominance of English in the European Union and in European Law", *Studies in Logic, Grammar and Rhetoric*, Vol 38, No. 1, Pp 137-150 (2014),
- Kuzelewska, E. (2014) Unity in Diversity. The Language Policy of the European Union, in *Studies in Logic, Grammar and Rhetoric* 38 (51).
- Languages across Europe (2014) Available at: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/european\\_languages/languages/maltese.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/european_languages/languages/maltese.shtml) (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Languages and interpretation at the Court of Justice of the European Union in Luxemburg (2010) available at: <http://eulita.eu/sites/default/files/Interpreting%20at%20the%20Court%20of%20Justice%20of%20the%20EU.pdf> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Manko, Rafal (2017) *Legal aspects of EU multilingualism*, European Parliamentary Research Service.
- Mauranen, A. (2017) *Conceptualising and positioning ELF in Jenkins et al. (2017) The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, London/New York: Routledge
- Milroy, J. (2007) *The ideology of the standard language in Llamas C et al. The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*, Routledge: New York.
- Modiano, M. (2009) Inclusive/exclusive? English as a lingua franca in the European Union, in *World Englishes*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 208-223.
- Modiano, M. (2017) English in a post-Brexit European Union, in *World Englishes*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 313-327.
- Morgan, S (2016) *English will remain an official language of the EU* Available at: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/languages-culture/news/english-will-remain-an-official-language-of-the-eu/> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Mufwene, (2010) *Globalization, Global English and World English(es): Myths and Facts in Coupland, N. (2010) The language of Globalization*, Wiley-Blackwell: Singapore
- O' Grady, C (2017) After Brexit, EU English will be free to morph into a distinct variety Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2017/sep/25/without-uk->

[influence-eu-english-will-be-free-to-morph-into-a-distinct-variety](#) (Accessed: 19/10/2017)

- Phillipson, R. (2003) *English-Only Europe?* London New York: Routledge
- Phillipson, R. (2008) Lingua franca or lingua frankensteina? English in European integration and globalisation, in *World Englishes*, Vol. 27, No 2 pp. 250-267.
- Presidency Conclusion, Barcelona European Council 15 and 16 March 2002
- Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council 1993, 7.A.iii  
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/ec/pdf/cop\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/ec/pdf/cop_en.pdf)
- Pusillo, E. (2013) Il regime giuridico delle lingue dell'Unione Europea, in *Lingua e Diritto. La Lingua della Legge, la Legge della Lingua*, Publifarum N° 18
- Rankin, J. (2017) *Brexit: English is losing its importance in Europe, says Juncker*, Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/05/brexit-english-is-losing-its-importance-in-europe-says-juncker> (Accessed: 19/10/17)
- Regulation 1/58 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community.
- Richter D. et al (2012) *Language Rights Revisited- The Challenge of Global Migration and Communication*, Berliner Wissenschaftes Verlag: Berlin
- Rule of Procedure of the Court of Justice Available at: [https://curia.europa.eu/jcms/upload/docs/application/pdf/2012-10/rp\\_en.pdf](https://curia.europa.eu/jcms/upload/docs/application/pdf/2012-10/rp_en.pdf) (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Rule of Procedure of the European Commission, Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:o10004> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Rule of Procedure of the European Parliament, Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getLastRules.do?language=en&reference=RULE-198> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)
- Seidlhofer (2010) in Kirkpatrick, A (2010) *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*, London/New York: Routledge
- Tesauro, G. (2015) *Diritto dell'Unione Europea*, Cedam
- The European Indicator of Language Competences (2005) Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:c11083> (Accessed: 23/08/2017)

The Irish language, Available at: [http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2017/7\\_The\\_Irish\\_language.pdf](http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2017/7_The_Irish_language.pdf) (Accessed: 19/10/2017)

Treaty of Lisbon Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12007L%2FTXT> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)

Treaty of Maastricht on the European Union available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0026&from=EN> (Accessed 19/10/2017)

Treaty of Rome Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0023> (Accessed: 19/10/2017)

Truchot, C. (1997), The spread of English: from France to a more general perspective, in *World Englishes*, Vol 16. No 1, pp. 65-76

Truchot, C. (2003), Languages and supranationality in Europe: The linguistic influence of the European Union, in Maurais, J. Morris M. (2003) *Languages in a Globalising World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Unione Europea (2012) Un'unione di diritto: da Parigi a Lisbona, Luxemburg

Varsori, A (2015) *Storia Internazionale: Dal 1919 a oggi*, Il Mulino: Bologna



## **Appendix:**

- 1) Do you think there will be changes on the officiality of English after Brexit, due to the officiality of Irish and Maltese in Ireland and Malta?
  
- 2) As the citizenship of an EU State Member is a prerequisite for being eligible for the position of EU translators and officials, do you think Brexit will have consequences on those with UK citizenship?
  
- 3) If we assume English could have no official status in the EU, do you think there will be changes of its use as a procedural language?



## Summary in Italian

Nel contesto di grandi cambiamenti che sta apportando l'uscita dall'Unione Europea del Regno Unito, questa tesi ha lo scopo di valutare le conseguenze del fenomeno sullo status dell'Inglese in Unione Europea. Questa tesi nasce dal presupposto che l'assenza del Regno Unito come garante dell'uso dell'inglese debba portare a dei cambiamenti. Come sarà oggetto di discussione più avanti, nei giorni successivi ai risultati del referendum del Regno Unito l'ufficialità dell'Inglese dopo la Brexit è stata messa in discussione. Nonostante ciò, il focus è sullo status dell'inglese oltre la sua ufficialità, in quanto il livello che l'inglese ha raggiunto in Unione Europea va di certo oltre lo status di lingua ufficiale.

Il primo passo della discussione è analizzare le dinamiche susseguitesi in Europa dal secondo dopo guerra che hanno portato alla creazione della prima comunità europea e hanno dato una veloce accelerata al processo di integrazione europea. Questo processo di integrazione, benché sia un'idea presente nel passato, ha subito un'accelerata in risposta alle devastazioni del secondo conflitto mondiale. Dalle ceneri del conflitto infatti è nata la prima comunità europea, la Comunità Europea del Carbone e dell'Acciaio. Questa prevedeva la cooperazione di Francia e Germania, le cui rivalità avevano contribuito al conflitto e gli strumenti di questa comunità erano proprio quelli che avevano contribuito al conflitto: carbone e acciaio. La Comunità Europea del Carbone e dell'Acciaio era formata da un'Alta Autorità per il controllo di carbone e acciaio, da un Consiglio dei Ministri, da un'Assemblea comunità formata da membri dei parlamenti nazionali e dal una Corte di Giustizia. Il contesto in cui questa prima forma di cooperazione europea si è formata, è caratterizzato dalla guerra Fredda tra USA e URSS, la divisione della Germania e dai regimi totalitari in Europa che avevano soppresso la democrazia dei popoli. L'Europa doveva ricostruirsi sulla pace e sulla democrazia. Nel 1951 venne istituita la Comunità Europea del Carbone e dell'Acciaio da parte di Belgio, Francia, Germania Federale, Italia, Lussemburgo e Olanda. La Comunità Europea del carbone e dell'acciaio è stata indicata come la prima comunità perché a questa se ne affiancarono altre due: la Comunità per l'Energia Atomica e la Comunità Economica Europea istaurate entrambe nel 1957 con la firma del Trattato di

Roma. Il Trattato creò inoltre una nuova istituzione comune, la Commissione Europea che con il Parlamento Europeo (inizialmente Assembla Comune) condivide il potere legislativo. A partire dal 1965 con il Trattato sulla fusione degli esecutivi le tre comunità vennero riunite pur rimanendo con funzioni autonome. Come è stato sottolineato dallo storico Mark Ghilbert, in questi anni il Regno Unito non ha preso parte alle iniziative comuni europee e non poté prendere parte alla leadership della Comunità che venne contesa da Francia e Germania. Invece di dedicarsi alla creazione di istituzioni europee il Regno Unito benché favorevole al rilancio in Europa basato sulla cooperazione tra Francia e Germania si occupava di mantenere il suo impero coloniale. Quando a partire dagli anni sessanta il Regno Unito volle accedere alla Comunità Europea, questi dovette scontrarsi con il veto della Francia guidata da Charles de Gaulle. Quando nel 1968 de Gaulle si ritirò, si aprirono i negoziati per l'allargamento dei paesi membri. Nel 1973 aderirono il Regno Unito, la repubblica d'Irlanda e la Danimarca. La Norvegia nonostante avesse firmato il trattato d'adesione dovette scontrarsi con il No al referendum da parte dei suoi cittadini. Nel 1981 aderì alla Comunità la Grecia, per il paese la comunità rappresentava una possibilità di democratizzazione e modernizzazione. Nel 1986 venne istituito l'Atto Unico Europeo, che estese le competenze della Comunità Economica Europea, i poteri del Parlamento Europeo, creò il Consiglio Europeo e istituì nel mercato interno la libertà di beni, servizi, capitali e persone. Nello stesso anno aderirono Spagna e Portogallo. Nel periodo che va dal 1989 al 1991 due eventi stravolsero il quadro europeo: la caduta del muro di Berlino nel 1989, con l'unificazione della Germania nel 1990 e nel 1991 la fine dell'URSS, dando vita alla restaurazione dell'indipendenza nei paesi baltici e all'indipendenza delle province sovietiche. Con la firma del Trattato di Maastricht nel 1992, entrato in vigore nel 1993 Le tre comunità si evolvettero nell'Unione Europea. Nel 1993 i paesi dell'UE riunitisi a Copenaghen stipularono i criteri per aderire all'Unione: la democrazia, lo stato di diritto, i diritti umani, e il rispetto e la protezione delle minoranze. Nel 1995 aderirono Austria, Finlandia e Svezia. Dal 1999 iniziò il processo per la creazione della valuta comune europea, culminato nel 2002 con l'entrata in vigore dell'euro, ad eccezione che per il Regno Unito, la Svezia e la Danimarca che mantennero

la propria valuta locale. Nel 2004 aderirono all'Unione Europea, Ungheria, Polonia, Repubblica Ceca, Estonia, Lituania, Lettonia, Slovacchia, Slovenia, Malta e Cipro, nel 2007 aderirono Romania e Bulgaria e nel 2013 la Croazia.

Considerando la sfera linguistica in Unione Europea emerge un aspetto caratterizzante dell'unione: il plurilinguismo. Il Trattato di Parigi firmato nel 1951 che istituì la Comunità Europea del Carbone e dell'Acciaio venne stipulato nelle lingue dei paesi firmatari: francese, italiano, olandese e tedesco. Le lingue erano quattro in quanto Belgio e Lussemburgo sono Paesi plurilingui. In Belgio sono ufficiali francese, tedesco e olandese, in Lussemburgo, francese, tedesco e lussemburghese. Inoltre l'articolo 217 del Trattato di Roma istituì il regime linguistico garantendo l'eguaglianza delle quattro lingue in cui fu redatto: francese, italiano, olandese e tedesco. Nel 1958, venne stipulato e firmato il Regolamento 1 che stabiliva il regime linguistico della Comunità Economica Europea. Le lingue contenute nel Regolamento sono quattro, francese, italiano, olandese e tedesco, queste vengono definite come lingue ufficiali e di lavoro della Comunità. Negli anni con l'adesione di nuovi membri le lingue di questi sono stati aggiunti al Regolamento.

- Nel 1973 inglese e danese
- Nel 1981 greco
- Nel 1986 spagnolo e portoghese
- Nel 1995 finlandese e svedese
- Nel 2004 ceco, estone, lituano, lettone, maltese, polacco, sloveno, slovacco e ungherese
- Nel 2007 rumeno, bulgaro e irlandese
- Nel 2013 il croato

L'irlandese quando l'Irlanda aderì alla Comunità Economica Europea non diventò automaticamente ufficiale, nonostante questo i trattati europei dovevano essere tradotti in irlandese. A partire dal 2004 le domande sull'ufficialità dell'irlandese si fecero più pressanti e l'irlandese divenne ufficiale nel 2007 per un periodo limitato che è stato in seguito esteso per "ragioni pratiche" fino al 2021, anno in cui l'irlandese cesserà di essere una lingua ufficiale dell'unione europea. Il plurilinguismo dell'unione Europea è definito come un aspetto caratteristico

dell'Unione in quanto le lingue degli stati membri sono lingue ufficiali dell'Unione. Altre istituzioni internazionali invece non assegnano lo status di ufficialità a tutte le lingue dei paesi membri. Per esempio l'Onu che conta 193 membri ha solo sei lingue ufficiali: arabo, cinese, francese, inglese russo e spagnolo.

Il regime linguistico dell'Unione Europea è basato sui seguenti articoli: l'articolo 55 del TEU indica la versione del trattato in cui esso è autentico e indica le 24 lingue contenute nel Regolamento 1; l'articolo 24 del Trattato di Lisbona, prevede che qualsiasi cittadino dell'Unione può scrivere all'Unione usando una lingua contenuta nell'articolo 55 del TEU e ricevere risposta nella medesima lingua. La Carta europea dei diritti fondamentali, resa giuridicamente vincolante con il Trattato di Lisbona, prevede all'articolo 21, la non-discriminazione basata sulla lingua, all'articolo 22 l'obbligo da parte dell'Unione di rispettare le diversità culturali, religiose e linguistiche. Infine l'articolo 342 del TFEU stabilisce che i cambiamenti nel regime linguistico nell'Unione devono essere determinati dal Consiglio che vota all'unanimità.

Nonostante l'Unione sia caratterizzata dal plurilinguismo, alcune lingue sono impiegate più di altre. Queste lingue sono indicate come lingue procedurali o lingua di lavoro. La pratica dell'Unione di restringere le lingue di lavoro, è stata largamente criticata, in quanto attribuire a certe lingue lo status di lingua di lavoro implica in maniera impropria che altre lingue non siano lingue di lavoro. Restringere l'uso delle lingue ufficiali rappresenterebbe un fattore di discriminazione per i funzionari che si troverebbero a lavorare in una lingua straniera. Le lingue procedurali sono francese, inglese e tedesco. Ad oggi l'inglese è la lingua più usata in quanto la stesura di oltre 95% dei documenti dell'Unione avviene in inglese. Per rispettare il principio del plurilinguismo ogni comunicazione col cittadino, anche se redatta in una lingua procedurale viene poi tradotta in tutte le lingue ufficiali. La discussione si è poi spostata sul ruolo dell'inglese e sui fattori che hanno fatto emergere la lingua come principale lingua di lavoro in Unione.

Lo studio del ruolo dell'inglese ha coinvolto sia il contesto globale che quello europeo. Il ruolo dell'inglese come lingua franca globale è emerso da un insieme di dinamiche e dalla loro interazione. Questo ruolo è iniziato con

l'indipendenza delle colonie americane nel 15 esimo secolo, ed è stato poi ampliato con l'imperialismo inglese. Anche quando è cessato il dominio britannico, l'inglese è diventato una seconda lingua ufficiale delle ex colonie. Dal 19esimo secolo il ruolo dell'inglese come lingua globale è influenzato maggiormente dagli Stati Uniti più che dal Regno Unito dato il potere americano in ambito economico e tecnologico. Inoltre, dal 1919 nella stesura del Trattato di pace di Versailles (che diede fine al secondo conflitto globale) venne richiesta la parità linguistica di inglese e francese e il trattato venne redatto in entrambe le lingue. Fino a quell'anno il francese era la principale lingua della diplomazia ma a partire dal Trattato di Versailles, l'inglese iniziò a sostituirlo (Kuzelewska, 2014). Il ruolo dell'inglese come lingua delle relazioni internazionali iniziò ad affermarsi e in supporto a questo entrarono in causa le diverse Università in paesi Anglofoni in cui si formavano i diplomatici. Inoltre le maggiori organizzazioni internazionali o finanziarie hanno l'inglese come lingua ufficiale, per esempio l'Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite, il fondo monetario internazionale, la banca mondiale, ecc...L'inglese si è poi affermato come lingua globale attraverso le innovazioni tecnologiche dei mezzi di comunicazione: iniziando col telegrafo, per poi arrivare alla televisione e a internet. Nel considerare lo status globale di una lingua non ci si può limitare a considerare solo il numero di parlanti ma serve che la lingua goda di un certo status riconosciuto a livello globale. Questo status è stato assegnato all'inglese in due modi. Nel primo caso l'inglese è stato scelto come seconda lingua ufficiale di Stato (in particolare nelle ex colonie britanniche), necessario per raggiungere le alte sfere dei diversi ambiti (media, politica, educazione, economia). Nel secondo caso, negli Stati in cui l'inglese non gode di ufficialità, esso è stato designato come prima lingua straniera nell'insegnamento. Un altro elemento che emerge nella globalità di una lingua è l'attrazione che questa possiede su coloro che studiano le lingue (Graddol, 1997). Le abilità sviluppate in inglese sono considerate essere migliori di quelle sviluppate con l'apprendimento delle altre lingue (Ammon, 2010).

I fattori che hanno portato alla globalità dell'inglese sono validi anche nel contesto europeo. Allo stesso tempo, alcune cause interne all'Unione Europea hanno esteso l'uso dell'inglese in Unione Europea. Infatti sin dalla creazione della

prima Comunità il francese si affermò come principale lingua di lavoro. Nonostante questo a partire dagli anni 90 l'inglese iniziò gradualmente a sostituire il francese. L'inglese è diventato una lingua ufficiale dell'Unione a partire dal 1973 ma il suo ruolo come principale lingua franca si è affermato con l'allargamento dell'Unione. Infatti con l'allargamento aderirono Paesi europei con conoscenza limitata del francese, che invece conoscevano l'inglese. Tra l'altro l'adesione dell'Austria ha rinforzato il ruolo del tedesco come prima lingua in Europea per numero di parlanti nativi. Con l'adesione nel 2004 dei Paesi dell'Europa dell'Est e dei Paesi Baltici venne rinforzato ulteriormente il ruolo dell'inglese in quanto di nuovo questi Paesi erano competenti in quella lingua a scapito del francese. Nei paesi ex-sovietici il ruolo dell'inglese è stato particolare in quanto era usato dagli intellettuali anti-comunisti, al contrario il francese era visto come una lingua legata all'aristocrazia (anche se nel caso di Romania e Bulgaria il francese era più apprezzato) (Fodor-Plau, 2003). L'allargamento dell'Unione ha inoltre favorito l'inglese in quanto questi era la lingua usata per la negoziazione tra lo stato candidato e l'Unione. (Truchot:2003). Il secondo argomento a favore dell'estensione dell'uso dell'inglese è la legislazione. Nonostante la politica del plurilinguismo in legislazione e nella comunicazione con il cittadino, la stesura di documenti legali in Unione avviene in inglese. L'inglese è usato come lingua interna in cui nella stesura di documenti sono coinvolti funzionari con diverse lingue madri che per comunicare devono ricorrere o ad una lingua di contatto o alla traduzione. Dopo la stesura i documenti vengono tradotti in tutte le lingue ufficiali dell'Unione. Questo porta all'ultimo argomento che ha portato all'estensione dell'inglese. L'inglese infatti è usato come lingua pivot, o "lingua intermedia" nella traduzione. L'Unione avendo 24 lingue ufficiali dispone di 506 combinazioni di lingue, nella traduzione la pratica più efficace è di tradurre il documento in inglese e poi successivamente tradurlo nelle restanti 23 lingue. In questi fattori che hanno portato ad un maggior impiego dell'inglese apparentemente non c'è nessun intervento del Regno Unito. Al contrario dietro l'uso di francese e tedesco come lingue procedurali si celano ragioni prettamente politiche. Come è stato analizzato l'uso dell'inglese in Unione è di natura più tecnica, ed è risultato essere composto da impieghi propri

dell'Unione che possono essere diversi dagli impieghi nell'uso dell'inglese dai parlanti nativi (Kuzelewka, 2014). In questo caso questa varietà è stata indicata come “gergo dell'Unione Europea” o *Eurospeak*.

Il ruolo dell'inglese in Unione Europea scaturisce dal suo ruolo generale nel contesto globale, che ha raggiunto poi il contesto europeo, e da dinamiche prettamente europee. In particolare l'inglese è usato internamente nell'Unione quando il lavoro viene svolto da parlanti con diverse lingue madri, è usato come “lingua intermedia” per poi permettere la traduzione nelle restanti lingue dell'Unione; in agenzie europee di carattere tecnologico-scientifico l'inglese essendo la lingua globale di questi due ambiti lo è anche in sede Europea. Nella comunicazione esterna con altre organizzazioni internazionali o con altri Stati l'Unione impiega l'inglese in quanto esso è la lingua predominante nelle relazioni internazionali. Al ruolo dell'inglese in Europa corrispondo diversi atteggiamenti. Alcuni paesi accettano questa lingua e non ne limitano l'uso, altri vedono nell'inglese una minaccia alle lingue nazionali (Truchot,1997). Questa visione negativa dell'uso dell'inglese può essere confutata specificando l'impiego dell'inglese. In Unione Europea e nel contesto Europeo, l'inglese è la lingua prediletta nelle relazioni internazionali, nel turismo, nelle pubblicazioni accademiche, nei media, in internet ecc... ma il suo uso è limitato a questa sfera. Il ruolo dell'inglese come minaccia alle lingue nazionali si potrebbe manifestare se l'inglese dovesse diventare la lingua vernacolare, ma questo non è il caso in quanto il suo impiego è legato ad ambiti ben definiti (Ammon, 2010). Nella comunicazione giornaliera tra parlanti nativi, l'inglese non potrà mai sostituire le lingue nazionali.

Spostando l'attenzione sull'uscita del Regno Unito, essa è stato deciso tramite un referendum il 26 giugno 2016. Dopo la vittoria del sì con il 51,89 % dei voti (con la partecipazione del 70% dei votanti) il Primo Ministro Theresa May, ottenendo l'approvazione del Parlamento, ha notificato l'uscita dall'Unione al Consiglio Europeo. La possibilità per un Paese Membro di uscire dall'Unione avviene invocando l'articolo 50 del Trattato di Lisbona. Il Regno Unito ha invocato l'articolo 50 nel marzo 2017 e ha dato inizio ai negoziati di uscita con l'Unione della durata di 24 mesi. Trascorso questo tempo le due parti possono

all'unanimità estendere il periodo. Quando i risultati del referendum sulla Brexit sono stati resi pubblici alcuni funzionari dell'Unione Europea hanno dichiarato che l'inglese dopo la Brexit cesserà di essere una lingua ufficiale (ad esempio Danuta Hubner presidente della commissione per gli affari costituzionali) e di lavoro dell'Unione. Nonostante ciò da una prima analisi dell'articolo 50 del Trattato di Lisbona emerge che non ci sono disposizioni in ambito linguistico che prevedono che la lingua dello stato uscente cessi di essere ufficiale in Unione. Per valutare l'impatto della Brexit sull'inglese l'analisi è stata condotta in tre parti: nella prima parte è stato presentato e discusso un corpus di articoli in cui sia l'ufficialità dell'inglese sia il suo ruolo come lingua di lavoro sono stati messi in discussione dopo la Brexit; nella seconda parte sono state presentate e discusse due pubblicazioni del mese di settembre e ottobre del 2017 che hanno valutato l'inglese nell'Unione dopo la Brexit; la terza parte ha cercato di valutare altre possibili conseguenze della Brexit sull'uso dell'inglese. A supporto di quest'analisi è stata condotta una raccolta dati in cui sono stati intervistati due funzionari del Parlamento Europeo: l'ex Capo della Traduzione Inglese e l'attuale funzionario che ricopre quella posizione (Le domande sono indicate nell'Appendice). Dalla valutazione è emerso che:

L'inglese rimarrà una lingua ufficiale dell'Unione in quanto è ufficiale in Irlanda e Malta. Ogni cambiamento nel regime linguistico deve essere deciso dal Consiglio che vota all'unanimità, anche un solo veto andrebbe contro la decisione di eliminare l'inglese come lingua ufficiale dell'Unione. Anche nel caso in cui l'inglese non fosse più una lingua ufficiale dell'Unione potrebbe continuare ad essere la principale lingua procedurale.

L'inglese rimarrà una lingua procedurale (anche se nel futuro altre lingue potranno essere impiegate come lingue procedurali e forse sostituire l'inglese). L'inglese è considerato essere essenziale nella comunicazione in Unione Europea sia nella comunicazione interna che esterna.

Nonostante l'uso di lingue procedurali sia questionabile, un cambiamento in questa pratica potrebbe portare problemi in merito a quale lingua scegliere come principale lingua procedurale. Al contrario l'uso dell'inglese dopo la Brexit potrebbe essere più "neutrale", data l'assenza del Regno Unito (Manko, 2017).

Al contrario estendere l'uso di tedesco e francese come lingue procedurali potrebbe favorire un gruppo linguistico ristretto.

Lo status che l'inglese ha raggiunto va oltre l'adesione del Regno Unito, deriva invece dalla globalizzazione, dall'allargamento dell'Unione e da politiche dell'Unione.

In Unione ci sarà un vuoto lasciato dai parlanti nativi dell'inglese che potrebbe rinforzare il "gergo dell'Unione", che si allontanerà sempre più dalla norma linguistica del Regno Unito (Manko, 2017)

Insieme alle conseguenze sullo status dell'inglese, la Brexit potrebbe avere altre ripercussioni: sul reclutamento di funzionari europei dato che un fattore per essere eleggibile è essere cittadini di uno stato membro; sull'insegnamento della lingua inglese tramite programmi di scambio organizzati dall'Unione; sulla protezione delle minoranze linguistiche nel Regno Unito, dato che questi in seno all'Unione ha firmato trattati sulla tutela delle minoranze linguistiche. Il Regno Unito dovrà rinegoziare nel suo regolamento interno la tutela e protezione delle minoranze linguistiche; infine la Brexit potrebbe dimostrarsi come una sconfitta del processo di integrazione europea nel Regno Unito.