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Multilingualism in the European Union: Unity in Diversity

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To you, Daddy, my love, my hero…

I wish I could hold you, I wish I could touch you.

I know you're always watching over me, but today I know you're smiling down on me.

CONTENTS

Introduction

Linguistic diversity and multilingualism are among the main values of the European Union. The EU language policy based on multilingualism, composed by 24 languages, is, indeed, unique in the world. "United in diversity" is the motto of the European Union: it means that Europeans are united in working together for peace and prosperity, and that the many different cultures and languages in Europe are a positive asset for the continent. Which language(s) should be used in the EU? This text investigates the relationship between law, official languages and translation in the European Union and is divided into three chapters; the first chapter provides an historical overview of the European Union and its treaties concerning language regimes, and analyses the EU's multilingualism policy which strives to protect Europe's rich linguistic diversity, to promote language learning, and explains the distinction between official and working languages in the EU organs, focusing on the European Commission case. The second chapter delves into the above mentioned difference and describes that the EU language policy is unique in the world, since there are 552 possible language combinations and each language can be translated into 23 others. Finally, the third chapter presents three diverse experts' opinions concerning the main issues dealt with in the previous chapters. The aims of my text are to analise the language policy within the European Union and its purpose to promote the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the EU; to understand how communication works between the EU organs and, to find out which languages are the most utilized within the EU bodies, with a particular focus on the European Commission, whose role is fundamental because is alone responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, and it also implements the decisions of the European Parliament and the Council of the EU. The text tries to understand whether English is becoming a "Lingua Franca" or this is already the case.

CHAPTER 1: Linguistic diversity in the EU

1.1 Historical overview

The European Union is an international organization that embraces 28 European countries[1] which share a common economic, political and social background. After the destruction provoked by the Second World War, six countries that are Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands on the devastated continent of Europe wished to build a stable organization, with the aim of ending the wars and to secure a lasting peace. In 1951 they signed the Treaty of Paris, establishing the ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community) and creating a free-trade area for primary resources such as coal, steel, scrap and iron.[2] It may seem strange that the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950, which can be considered the starting point of European Integration, does not contain any reference to language. Likewise, the ensuing Treaty establishing the ECSC did not provide for a language regime. In actual fact, the Treaty was drafted in French and although it is not expressly stated that French is the authentic language of the Treaty, such a conclusion is implicit. Later on official translations were provided for German, Italian and Dutch but with no doubt, French implicitly took precedence over the other languages of the original ECSC Member States. The fact that the Treaty remained silent about the language regime of the ECSC, can be explained by disagreement between representatives of the States during the negotiations. This delicate issue was therefore left aside and referred to a ministerial conference and, eventually, to an Interim Committee Lawyers (*Commissiòn intèrimaire*).[3] It took more than a year to reach a language compromise; several meetings[4] were organized and the German delegation wanted the German language to be treated on an equal footing with French. A proposal to have four official

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[1] (BE) Belgium, (BG) Bulgaria, (CZ) Czech Republic, (DK) Denmark, (DE) Germany, (EE) Estonia, (IE) Ireland, (EL) Greece, (ES) Spain, (FR) France, (HR) Croatia, (IT) Italy, (CY) Cyprus, (LV) Latvia, (LT) Lithuania, (LU) Luxembourg, (HU) Hungary, (MT) Malta, (NL) Netherlands, (AT) Austria, (PL) Poland, (PT) Portugal, (RO) Romania, (SI) Slovenia, (SK) Slovakia, (FI) Finland, (SE) Sweden, (UK) United Kingdom.

[2] http://www.http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm Accessed on 20 November 2015

[3] A legislative committee authorized by the Legislative Assembly to study a particular subject or subjects between sessions. Interim committees are appointed by leadership after the end of session. http://www.oregonlaws.org/glossary/definition/interim_committee Accessed on 21 November 2015

[4] Four meetings took place: Unkel (Bonn) 17-19 May 1951; Rome25-28 June 1951; The Hague, 12-14 June 1952 and Brussels, 4-5 July 1952 (Hemblenne, B., 112)

languages (Dutch, French, German and Italian) and two working languages (French and German) was rejected by the Italian and the Belgian delegations. Eventually, the Committee proposed to grant equal official and working languages status to all four languages. This compromise was confirmed at the Paris Conference on 23-25 July 1952, in the Protocol *"sur le régime linguistique de la CECA"*.[5] The Language Protocol, which was never published and exists only in French, lays down a number of "considerations" to be taken into account, which may be summarized as follows:

- French, German, Italian and Dutch are the official and working languages;

- Decisions, recommendations and opinions of the ECSC must be drafted in the language of the natural or legal persons to which they are addressed;

- Correspondence with the Community institutions takes place, at the choice of the correspondent, in one of the four official languages and replies to queries must be written in the same language;

- The Assembly may decide on practical issues concerning the use of languages; its Members must have the possibility to freely use any of the official languages;

- In proceedings before the Court of Justice, the national language of the defendant is used; the Court determines the language in which the draft judgment is written; the judgement shall be published in all official languages;

- Legislative acts must be published in the Official Journal in all four official languages;

- If a Member State has more than one official language, the language to be used shall, at the request of such State, be governed by the general use of its law.

All languages were therefore equally authentic. The distinction between official and working languages had in fact no real meaning so far, since all languages obtained equal status. Anyway, the dominant status of French can be explained by the international context in post-War Europe, with Germany and Italy being in a weak political position. Furthermore, Belgium and Luxemburg also had French as one of their official languages. French enjoyed in any case a great prestige as an international and diplomatic language.

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[5] *Protocole sur le régime linguistique de la CECA,* 24 July 1952, European Commission Archives Brussels, hereafter referred to as the "ECSC Language Protocol" http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/studies/translation_european_commission_fr.pdf Accessed on 23 November 2015

From an analysis of the inventory of the archives, it follows indeed that many documents were exclusively drafted in French. It is remarkable that quite a number of documents were translated into English, without it being an official language. The Treaties of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), were signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 and came into force in 1958. The national delegations were again reluctant to tackle the language issue. For this reason, rather than a language regime, the Treaties only determined the procedure to establish languages rules. Article 217 EEC Treaty, reads as follows:[6]

The rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall [...] be determined by the Council, acting unanimously.[7]

The language regime of the EEC and Euratom had therefore to be established by a unanimous Council decision, whereas that of the Court of Justice needed to be laid down in its Rules of Procedure. The latter could be amended only following unanimous consent of the Council. Where the ECSC Treaty was authentic in French only, now the EEC and Euratom Treaties are authentic in all four languages; such a multilingual Treaty was unprecedented in international law. Article 248 EEC Treaty and Article 225 Euratom are identical and read as follows:

This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Dutch, French, German and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Italian Republic, which shall transmit a certified copy to each of the governments of the other signatory States.

On 15 April 1958, the regulations adopted by the Councils of Ministers of the new Communities were devoted to the language regime. These regulations are still in force: all languages are official and working languages.[8] All languages must/may be used in dealings between EEC and Euratom institutions, on the one hand, and Member States and

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[6] Art. 217 of EEC (European Economic Community) became Art. 290 of TEC (Treaty Establishing the European Community) and is now Art. 342 TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union)

[7] Currently, the phrase concerning the Court of Justice reads as follows: "(…) without prejudice to the provisions contained in the Statute of the Court of Justice of the European Union (…) [Art. 342 TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union)]

[8] Art.1, Regulation 1/1958: determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community (…) Having regard to Article 217 of the Treaty which provides that the rules governing the languages of

citizens, on the other.[9] Legislation, as well as the Official Journal, must be published in all official languages.[10] In 1973 Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community, raising the number of member states to nine. This enlargement announced a new era: as to the language issue, the policy was maintained and all the languages presented by the new Member States were simply added as Treaty languages (i.e. Danish for Denmark, English for the United Kingdom and Ireland, but also Irish for the latter). Irish did not acquire the status of official/working language.[11] In 1981 Greece became the 10th member of the European Community. In 1986 Portugal and Spain joined the European Community. The latter enlargement led to an escalation of the costs of translation and the issue became even more topical. More and more, the European Parliament raised its voice defending multilingualism. For the very first time the border between East and West Europe was opened because on 9 November 1989 the Berlin Wall was pulled down: this fact not only aspired to the reunification of Germany in October 1990, but also inaugurated a constant desire of East European states to adhere to the EU. The Treaty of Maastricht, signed on 7 February 1992, motivated the members in the creation of the European Union as we see it today: this Treaty did not radically alter the language regime, but there was a desire to develop a European dimension in education, particularly through teaching and dissemination of the languages of the now EU Member

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the institutions of the Community shall, without prejudice to the provisions contained in the rules of procedure of the Court of Justice, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously. Whereas each of the four languages in which the Treaty is drafted is recognised as an official language in one or more of the Member States of the Community; (…) Done at Brussels, 15 April 1958. For the Council, The President V. LAROCK http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31958R0001 Accessed on 26 November 2015

[9] Art. 2 and 3, Regulation 1/1958: 2) 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. 3) Documents which an institution of the Community sends to a Member State or to a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State shall be drafted in the language of such State. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31958R0001 Accessed on 26 November 2015

[10] Art 4 and 5, Regulation 1/1958: 4) Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the four official languages. 5) The Official Journal of the Community shall be published in the four official languages. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31958R0001 Accessed on 26 November 2015

[11] The Irish government sought to obtain official language status for Irish, but did not insist on working language status, which arguably, would have given rise to serious practical problems (O Riagain, D., The European Union and Lesser used languages, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies,* 2001, vol.3, no.1 33-44 UNESCO) http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001437/143789m.pdf#page=35 Accessed on 29 November 2015

States.[12] The accession of Austria, Sweden and Finland in 1995 brought the number of Treaty languages to a total of twelve. As to the internal language use, the 1995 enlargement set in motion a huge shift in favor of English as a working language, especially in the European Commission. At the same time, German growing confidence after the reunification increased pressure to use German as a working language in the European Commission.[13]The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), granted European citizens the right to write to EU institutions in their own language and to receive an answer in that language. The Treaty of Nice (2001) laid down a prohibition of discrimination based on language and thereof enshrines that the Union respects the principle of linguistic diversity. On 1st May 2004 nine languages were added to the Union: Czech, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese[14], Polish, Slovak and Slovenian. They all became EU Treaty languages and official/working languages.[15]On 1st January 2007, the accession of Bulgaria and Romania brought the total number of Treaty and official/working languages to twenty-three.[16]In 2007 the Treaty of Lisbon embraced the principle of linguistic diversity. Finally, the accession of Croatia on 1st July 2013 made Croatian the twenty-fourth Treaty and official/working language of the EU.

The following graph gives a clear idea of the evolution of the main working languages in the documents of the European Commission.

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[12] Art. 126 (2) TEC (Treaty Establishing the European Community) later Art. 149 (2) TEC, currently Art. 165 (2) TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union)

[13] In 1993, Bundeskanzler Kohl requested that German should become an internal working language of the Commission, on an equal footing with English and French (the full letter that Chancellor Kohl addressed to Gaston Thorn, president of the European Commission, is available in Estudes sur la tradiction 2009/2,66)

[14] For Maltese, at the request of the Maltese government, transitional measures were taken (Council Regulation (EC) No 930/2004 of 1 May 2004 on temporary derogation measures relating to the drafting in Maltese of the acts of the institutions of the European Union, OJ L 169/1 of 1.5.2004). Indeed, because of the lack of qualified translators (see third recital of Regulation 930/2004). It was not possible to guarantee the drafting in Maltese of all acts adopted by the EU institutions. The Council decided that, on an exceptional and transitional basis, the EU institutions were not obliged to draft all acts in Maltese and to publish them in that language in the Official Journal of the European Union (Art. 1, Regulation 930/2004). However, Regulations adopted jointly by the European Parliament and the Council were excluded from the derogation, and had to be translated. These transitional measures were in force for three years, until 1 May 2007 (Art.2)

[15] Art. 61 Treaty of Accession of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, OJ L 236/1 of 23.9.2003

[16] Art. 60 Treaty of Accession of the Republic of Bulgaria and Romania, OJ L 157/1 of 21.6.2005
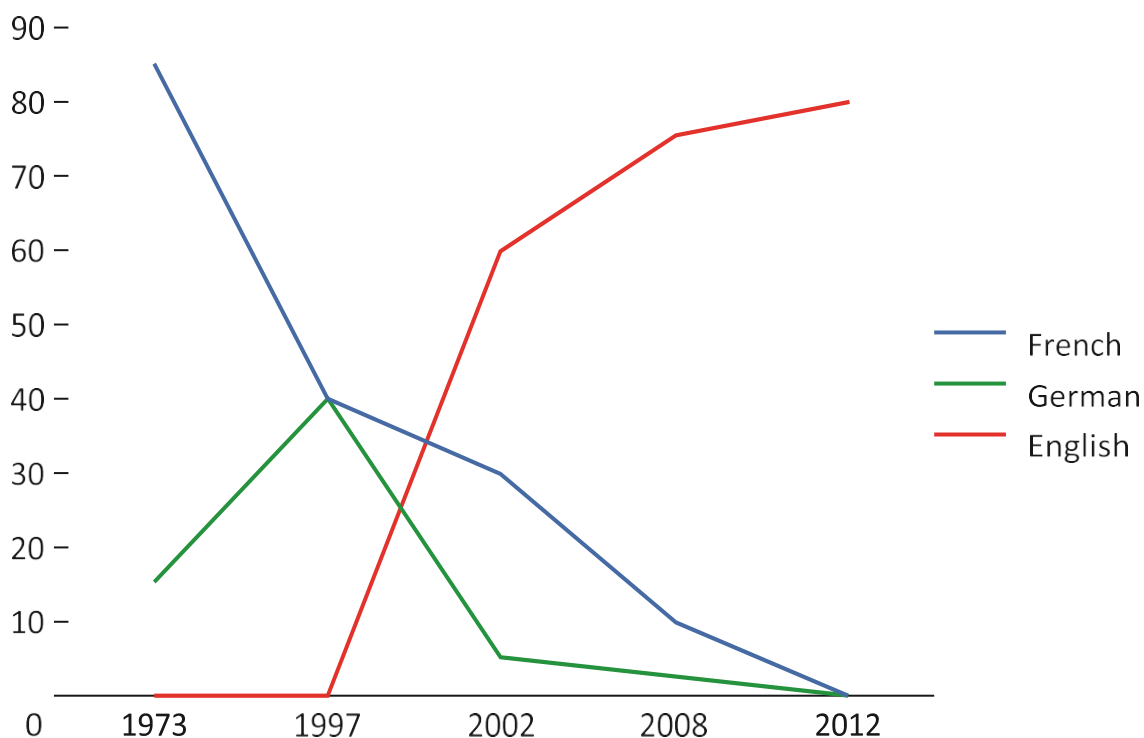
Estimations are that, in 1973, about 85% of Commission documents were drafted in French, against 15% in German.[18] In the mid-nineties the use of English reached the same level as that of French, placing both languages at around 40% in 1997. A few years later, English had clearly become the most important working language: in 2002 already more than 57% of Commission documents were drafted in English, against 29% in French, and only 4,6% in German.[19] In 2008, English was the source language for 72,5% of all Commission documents, against 11,8% for French and 2,7% for German.[20] Data of 2012 confirms that English is the source language for 80% of documents that need translation by the Commission translation Service (DGT) whereas French only accounts for 5%.

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[17] EU Language Law, S. van der Jeught, p.64, September 2015

[18] Gualdo, R., Una politica linguistica per le amministrazioni europee?, in Chiti , E. and Gualdo, R., Il regime linguistico dei sistemi comuni europei – L'Unione tra multilinguismo e monolinguismo, Rivista Trimestrale di diritto pubblico, Giuffrè Editore, Milano, 2008

[19] Hoheisel, R., Die Rolle der Deutschen Sprache in der Europaischen Union, Nomos Verlag, Baden-Baden, 2004, 81

[20] European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation, Translating for a multilingual community, 2009, available at http://biblio.central.ucv.ro/bib_web/bib_pdf/EU_books/0059.pdf Accessed on 2 December 2015

OFFICIAL EU LANGUAGE	SINCE
DUTCH, FRENCH, GERMAN, ITALIAN	1958
DANISH, ENGLISH	1973
GREEK	1981
PORTOGUESE, SPANISH	1986
FINNISH, SWEDISH	1995
CZECH, ESTONIAN, HUNGARIAN, LATVIAN, LITHUANIAN, MALTESE, POLISH, SLOVAK, SLOVENIAN	2004
BULGARIAN, IRISH, ROMANIAN	2007
CROATIAN	2013

Table 1

1.2 EU Language Policy

It is possible to make a distinction between institutional language policy, which defines the use of languages in and between the EU institutions, and the non-institutional one, which refers to the languages used in individual Member States and between the citizens. Multilingualism stands as the basic principle of EU language policy. The legal basis was initially established in the Treaty of Rome in Article 248 which stated:

The Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Dutch, French, German and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic (...).

According to Regulation 1/1958 concerning the language regime, each Member State has the right to request the status of EU language to all of its national official languages. This status means that all EU regulations and documents are translated into that language and any official EU language can be used in EU parliamentary debates with interpretation

provided into all other official EU languages. The EU considers multilingualism as a fundamental concern and tries to ensure that all members of the EU may communicate with the Union and have access to the EU legislation in their own language. The EU promotes respect for linguistic diversity and avoids discrimination between EU languages. The main principle concerning the EU language policy is that:

everyone 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[21]

Concerning the efficiency in communication in the multilingual EU, working in different languages may slow down work. How to solve this case? The following solutions have been recommended:

1) use of a single working language, English. In a keynote speech on the future of European integration in February 2013, Joachim Gauck[22] suggested English should become the EU's official language:

It is true to say that young people are growing up with English as the lingua franca. However, I feel that we should not simply let things take their course when it comes to linguistic integration. [...] With English spoken in the corridors of Brussels, the EU would become more streamlined and more efficient. [23]

2) use of only three working languages.

Nevertheless, the 24 official languages should remain without any change.[24] Around 508 million people from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds are currently living within the European Union and linguistic diversity is a relevant part of it. The EU pursues a policy for the preservation and promotion of multilingualism, which refers to a variety of European languages and to the capability of a person to speak in different languages.

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[21] Article 41(4), Title 5, CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12012P%2FTXT Accessed on 1 May 2016

[22] Joachim Gauck (born 24 January 1940) is the President of Germany, serving since March 2012.

[23] http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/24/europa-english-official-language-eu Accessed on 5 April 2016

[24] Mari, I., Strubell, M. (2002). The linguistic regime of the European Union: Prospects in the face of enlargement, Mercator. Barcelona: Ciemen Working Papers. Retrieved June 18, 2014 from http://www.euro-padiversa.org/eng/pdf/strubellmarieng.doc Accessed on 5 April 2016

The European Organs stipulated a policy to promote multilingualism as a notable element of Europe's heritage. EU language policies aim to protect linguistic diversity and promote knowledge of languages, for reasons of cultural identity and social integration.

1.2.1 Differences between Official and Working languages

EU Treaty languages include both official and working languages of the EU institutions, bodies and agencies. The Council of the EU, acting unanimously, has the task of approving a candidate language as an official and working one: each applicant Member State specifies which language wants to use as an official and working language for EU purposes. Any succeeding change must be authorized by all Member States in the Council. *The rules governing the language arrangements applicable at the Court of Justice of the European Union shall be laid down by a regulation of the Council acting unanimously. This regulation shall be adopted either at the request of the Court of Justice and after consultation of the Commission and the European Parliament, or on a proposal from the Commission and after consultation of the Court of Justice and of the European Parliament. Until those rules have been adopted, the provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the Court of Justice and of the Rules of Procedure of the General Court governing lan- guage arrangements shall continue to apply. By way of derogation from Articles 253 and 254 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, those provisions may only be amended or repealed with the unanimous consent of the Council.* [25]Although all Treaty languages have equal official and working language status, in practice, this happens only in a few areas. Regulations 1/1958 allow for the establishment of restricted language regimes. The range of Regulations 1/1958 is limited to the EU institutions, they do not apply to EU bodies and agencies. Article 55(1) of TEU (Treaty on the European Union) [26], provides for all EU Treaty languages an equal status. Article 55(2) of TEU[27] stipulates

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[25] Protocol (n.3) on the Statute of the Court of Justice of the European union, Article 64 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012M/TXT&from=EN#page=11 Accessed on 11 May 2016

[26] This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the 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 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. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A12012M%2FTXT Accessed on 21 April 2016

[27] This Treaty may also be translated into any other languages as determined by Member States among those which, in accordance with their constitutional order, enjoy official status in all or part of their territory.

that the Treaty has to be translated into any other language that joins the EU. Whether a language obtains the status of EU Treaty language depends on the EU Member State taken into consideration: it's up to every EU Member State candidate to declare to the EU during the accession negotiations which language(s) are to acquire EU language status. For instance, Maltese is, together with English, an official language on the Island and every law is promulgated in both languages. Irish did not become an official language in 1973, when Ireland joined the Community, but only in 2007. Theoretically all official languages of the EU Member States have equal status and equal rights in EU institutions. In practice some languages are more equal than others.[28] Luxembourgish does not have EU language status, as all laws in Luxembourg are enacted in French only. Moreover, Luxembourg has never made an official request in this sense. The co-official languages of Spain (Catalan, Galician and Basque) and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (Russian), weren't declared as official languages by the EU Member States concerned. A language must have nation-wide official status to become EU Treaty language. Indeed, neither Catalan, Galician and Basque nor Russian may be used on a national level, but only on a local level. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish have equal official language status. However, the position of Turkish as an official language of the EU is still argued: the European Commission drafted a proposal to grant Turkish EU official and working language status. The Commission proposal reads as follows:

Turkish should be an official and working language of the institutions of the EU (…)[29]

A certified copy of such translations shall be provided by the Member States concerned to be deposited in the archives of the Council.

http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A12012M%2FTXT Accessed on 21 April 2016

[28] "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" maxim from Animal Farm (G.Orwell) seems particularly apt when it comes to the European Union's attitude towards Irish. Even though it is one of the Union's 24 official languages, Irish has been placed under so-called 'derogation'. However, on 3 December 2015, the Council announced that it would draft a Regulation that would increase the number of areas in which Irish translation is required, with an aim of ending the derogation phase completely by 1 January 2022. Irish language became a full working language of the EU. http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/gaeilge-to-become-a-full-working-language-of-the-european-union-386308.html , http://www.euractiv.com/section/languages-culture/news/irish-to-be-given-full-official-eu-language-status/ Accessed on 11 April 2016

http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/gaeilge-to-become-a-full-working-language-of-the-european-un- ion-386308.html Accessed on 11 April 2016

[29] Article 8(1), Proposal for an Act of Adaptation of the terms of accession of the United Cyprus Republic to the European Union (7 April 2004), European Commission

No provision was made for the inclusion of Turkish as a EU Treaty language, as this takes time and requires an amendment of the Treaties. However, Turkish is very close to the acquisition of EU language status, especially after Turkey's application to join the Community. The Council of Europe has a primary function in setting up the EU language regime. Article 342 TFEU reads as follows:

The rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall, without prejudice to the provisions contained in the rules of procedure of the Court of Justice, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously.

Through Regulations 1/1958 (EEC), the Council established the official and working languages of the EU, which correspond to the Treaty languages. The Council makes a distinction between official and working languages, but gives no further details about the definition of either. It is often affirmed that official languages are used in external communication, while working languages are circumscribed to an internal context. Regulations 1/1958 clearly stipulate that in certain cases all the official languages have to be used. [30] On the other hand, under Article 6 of Regulations 1/1958, the EU institutions *may stipulate in their rules of procedure which of the languages are to be used in specific cases*. A rule stating exactly which languages have to be used in those *specific cases* as working ones does not exist, but the presence of working languages is implied here, although that term is not used. In this regard, to what extent EU institutions may determine *specific cases* in which they will use a restricted language regime? Most EU institutions do use only a limited number of official languages as working ones related to their internal communication. The several EU institutions (the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Commission, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank and the Court of Auditors) have all created limited language regimes for internal purposes. The degree of clearness of these regimes changes from one EU

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[30] Article 2: 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. Article 3: Documents which an institution of the Community sends to a Member State or to a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State shall be drafted in the language of such State. Article 4: Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the four official languages. Article 5: The Official Journal of the Community shall be published in the four official languages. (…) Article 8: If a Member State has more than one official language, the language to be used shall, at the request of such State, be governed by the general rules of its law. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31958R0001 Accessed on 21 April 2016

institution to another. EU institutions have the right to choose a limited number of languages of internal communication relating to its functional necessities.

1.2.2 The European Commission case

The choice of working languages is a matter of practice. Given the multitude of EU languages, it is clear that it would be impossible to draft legislation simultaneously in all 24 Treaty languages. When drafting a proposal, the European Commission uses only English, French and German for its internal activities. Although it is common knowledge that these languages are in fact the working languages, the EC prefers to be quite secretive about its internal language practice. Internal documents are drafted in the languages matching the actual needs of the Commission in order to ensure operational efficiency. The Commission's rules do not specify which languages are to be used. De facto, English, French and German are the so-called procedural languages. The use of other languages is limited to cases for which their use is required. The Commission does not give objective criteria which have led to the selection of those three working languages, but English, French and German seem to have been selected for economic and political reasons. What is more, there is even a hierarchy between the three mentioned procedural languages. In legal terms all three mentioned languages are on equal footing. However, English is far more important in the day to day affairs.

CHAPTER 2: English as the new Lingua Franca in the EU

2.1 Official and working languages in the EU

As already mentioned above, reducing the number of working languages seems to be the best solution. On the other hand, every EU citizen has the right of a language correspondence with the EU institutions. The EU still needs a practicable language regulation for communication with EU citizens. As said in the first chapter, the EU Commission has three working languages: English, French and German.[31]. Inequality is confirmed by the status of English, French and German as procedural languages in the Commission. The decreasing status of the French language is the result of market forces, political priorities and social change.[32] English has anyway a privileged status. The decision-making is carried out exclusively in English, French and German, with English domination. The most spoken language in the EU bodies is English. All 24 official languages of the EU are accepted as working languages, but in practice English, German and French are in wide general use and of these English is the most commonly used. French language still has a primary position being the official language in all three of the cities that are political centers of the Union: Brussels (Belgium), Strasbourg (France) and Luxembourg city (Luxembourg). Oppositions concerning EU working languages can be dated to the founding period of the EU when France tried to establish French as the only official and working language of the Community. In the 1970s France refused United Kingdom's enrolment because of fear of competition for official and working language status. The French President Pompidou[33] accepted the British participation only once the British Prime Minister Edward Heath[34] guaranteed that British EU officials would always be fluent in French

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[31] see the graph at p. 5

[32] The reasons for the decline of French are many, including geography. Francophone regions are spread out: think of France, Vietnam, Quebec, and Guadeloupe, to start. Many of these regions are without direct connections to other French-speaking countries. Across Europe, French has gradually declined from being the lingua franca to falling behind German and English. Gary Girod, August 8, 2011 http://www.newgeography.com/content/002387-the-decline-and-fall-french-language April 5, 2016

[33] Georges Pompidou, in full Georges-Jean-Raymond Pompidou (born July 5, 1911, Montboudif, France— died April 2, 1974, Paris), French statesman, bank director, and teacher who was premier of the Fifth French Republic from 1962 to 1968 and president from 1969 until his death. http://www.britannica.com/biography/Georges-Jean-Raymond-Pompidou April 5, 2016

[34] Sir Edward Heath, in full Sir Edward Richard George Heath (born July 9, 1916, Broadstairs, Kent, England—died July 17, 2005, Salisbury, Wiltshire), Conservative prime minister of Great Britain from 1970 to 1974. http://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Heath April 5, 2016

language. In spite of that, English has become a leading language in the EU.[35] EU Member States seem to recognize the supremacy of English.

2.2 The supremacy of English

The supremacy of a language over the communication across Europe is mainly influenced by historical reasons and by the economic power of a country. Today, English is the most important language of wider communication in the world due to the British colonial power between the 19th and the 20th century. In fact, at the beginning of the 19th century Britain was one of the most important countries in the industrial sector and by the end of the same century its leading role was taken by the U.S.A., which developed the most productive economy in the world at that time. It was indeed Britain which began the spreading of English through its colonies, but the U.S.A. reinforced the position of Eng- lish as a global language. The reason for the global spreading of English Language is linked to the power of people in speaking it. Today, English is the lingua franca. The concept of lingua franca in its original meaning is different from the role which the Eng- lish language plays today.[36] Lingua franca was simply an intermediary language used by Middle-Eastern with travelers from Western Europe. Today the term "English as a lingua franca" (ELF) refers to the communication in English between speakers with different first languages; what makes ELF interaction unique is the contact between individuals who share neither a common mother language nor a common culture, and for whom Eng- lish is the chosen foreign language of communication. Linguistic diversity in the EU maintains its prominence as the most distinctive feature the EU may show. The choice of English as the hypothetical official language for a future EU is still argued, but not yet rejected. EU Member States could possibly not accept it. Using only English as an official and working language certainly would accelerate the work within the EU. On the other

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[35] While documents for and communication with citizens are in every official EU language as a right, day-to-day work in the European Commission is based around its three working languages: English, French, and German. Of these English is used most often. The use of English vs. French depends a lot on the unit or directorate. Only a few of the Commissioners use a non-English language as their working language http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/linguistic-diversity/official-languages-eu_en.htm Accessed on April 5, 2016

[36] Lingua Franca: a language used for communication between groups of people who speak different languages **:** The international business community sees English as a lingua franca. http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/lingua-franca Accessed on April 5, 2016

hand, this solution would reject the linguistic diversity. EU Member States have confirmed the predominance of English in every country. English has been introduced in schools as medium of teaching and is the primary language in human, social sciences and technology publications. In business English has become indispensable for the companies. It should also be pointed out that English language is undergoing an evolution and has become, in other words, a hybrid language in the EU, the so-called "Euro-English".

2.3 Translation in the EU

The EU language policy is unique in the world. With 24 official languages, there are 552 possible language combinations since each language can be translated into 23 others. The everyday internal business of the Commission is conducted in English, French and, to a lesser extent, German. All official languages enjoy equal status. EU citizens in the 28 member countries can use any of them to communicate with the European institutions, which helps to make the Union more open and more effective. A multilingual organization like the EU needs high quality translation and relies on professional linguists to keep it running regularly. The role of the language services in the various EU institutions is to support and reinforce multilingual communication in Europe and to help Europeans understand EU policies. The Directorate-General for Translation (DG Translation) is the in-house translation service of the European Commission. It works in all the official languages of the European Union and, as new countries join, their main languages are added to the number. Of course, not everything is translated into every official language. At the Commission, the only documents produced in all 24 official languages are pieces of legislation and policy documents of major public importance, accounting for about a third of our work. Other documents such as correspondence with national authorities and individual citizens, reports or internal papers are translated only into the languages needed in each case. Internal and incoming documents are all translated into English, French and German.[37] Translation is a challenge for the EU. A huge amount of workforce is engaged as permanent or temporary staff, as trainees, freelancers and contractors. The first Community Regulation determining official languages was signed, as we know, in 1958. At the time Dutch, French, German and Italian were specified as the first official and work-

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[37] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/translationresources/index_en.htm Accessed on April 5, 2016

ing languages of the EU. Even though all official languages are also theoretically considered working languages, in practice only three languages are widely accepted as EU working languages – English, German and French. In 2013, the EU increased its official languages with one more, after Croatia joined the Union on 1 July. Now they are 24 for the 28 member states. With the candidates countries Montenegro[38], Serbia[39], the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia[40] and Turkey[41] the official languages may one day reach 29. DG Translation's amount of work is consistently rising, since more official EU languages were added when new members joined the EU in 2004, 2007 and 2013. In order of priority, the type of documents translated are:

• proposed laws, policy papers and Commission consultation documents

• consultation documents to or from national parliaments and correspondence with national authorities, companies and individuals

• websites and press releases.[42]

Translations can be produced in two different ways:

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[38] In 2006 Montenegro's parliament declared independence from the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. In 2008, the new country applied for EU membership. (…) The accession negotiations with Montenegro started on 29 June 2012. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/montenegro/index_en.htm Accessed on 11 April 2016

[39] Serbia – along with 5 other Western Balkans countries – was identified as a potential candidate for EU membership during the Thessaloniki European Council summit in 2003. (…) On 21 January 2014, the 1st Intergovernmental Conference took place, signaling the formal start of Serbia's accession negotiations. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/serbia/index_en.htm Accessed on 11 April 2016

[40] The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – along with other Western Balkans countries – was identified as a potential candidate for EU membership during the Thessaloniki European Council summit in 2003. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/former-yugoslav-republic-of-macedonia/index_en.htm Accessed on 11 April 2016

[41] In 1987, Turkey applied to join what was then the European Economic Community, and in 1997 it was declared eligible to join the EU. Turkey's involvement with European integration dates back to 1959 and includes the Ankara Association Agreement (1963) for the progressive establishment of a Customs Union (ultimately set up in 1995). Accession negotiations started in 2005, but until Turkey agrees to apply the Additional Protocol of the Ankara Association Agreement to Cyprus, eight negotiation chapters will not be opened and no chapter will be provisionally closed. Turkey is seeing an unprecedented and continuously increasing influx of people seeking refuge from Syria which has exceeded 2.2 million to date. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey/index_en.htm Accessed on 11 April 2016

[42] Whatever the Commission and its departments need for their work is translated: legislation, policy documents, reports to other EU institutions, background papers on legal, technical, financial, scientific and economic issues, correspondence, webpages, press material, speeches and minutes. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/faq/index_en.htm Accessed on 12 April 2016

A.   In-house

- traditional method: translation by translator into their main language, often with the help of electronic translation tools (translation memories, IATE, voice recognition, etc.).

- 'two-way' method: translation by translator out of their main language. Obviously, the translator needs an excellent knowledge of the target language for this.

- relay: one translator translates a document into a "relay language" (usually English or French) and a second translator then puts it into the target language requested. Used for uncommon language combinations, e.g. Estonian into Greek.

- 'three-way' method: neither the source language nor the target language is the main language of the translator, e.g. when an Italian translator puts an Arabic text into English.

B. Freelance

 - the translation is sent to a contractor, who will have access to Commission translation memories and databases to improve productivity.

Before joining the EU, each new member country that will bring in a new official language sets up a Translation and Coordination Unit (TCU) under one of its ministries, to translate almost 160,000 pages of EU law into its national language. In the run-up to joining, DG Translation helps the new country integrate by providing technical assistance, training, professional advice and support. The cost of translation in the EU is around €330m a year (estimated). Since 2004, the Commission has been able to handle vastly increased demand for translations as new countries have joined the EU and continue its primary duty of providing legislation in all official languages. Between 2004 and 2013, the number of official EU languages raised from 11 to 24, but Commission translation costs increased by only 20%. According to certain estimates, the cost of all language services in all EU institutions amounts to less than 1% of the annual general budget of the EU. Divided by the population of the EU, this comes to around €2 per person per year.

The following charts allow us to verify the actual percentage of translation made for the European Commission through years.[43]

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[43] Research made by the European Commission, *Production by source Language*, Directorate-General for Translation, Communication and relations with stakeholders

2000

original texts	Pages	% by language per year
DE	51 016	4,08 %
EN	688 008	55,08 %
FR	405 923	32,49 %
NPL	102 548	8,21 %
non EU languages	1 697	0,14 %
Total:	**1 249 192**	**100,00 %**

Table 3

2005

original texts	Pages	% by language per year
DE	49 748	3,76 %
EN	906 823	68,48 %
FR	217 103	16,39 %
NPL	141 541	10,69 %
non EU languages	9 016	0,68 %
Total:	**1 324 231**	**100,00 %**

Table 4

2010

original texts	Pages	% by language per year
DE	41 667	2,24 %
EN	1 433 209	77,04 %
FR	132 592	7,13 %
NPL	249 326	13,40 %
non EU languages	3 553	0,19 %
Total:	**1 860 347**	**100,00 %**

Table 5

2015

original texts	Pages	% by language per year
DE	55 686	2,80 %
EN	1 612 220	80,95 %
FR	72 662	3,65 %
NPL	247 089	12,41 %
non EU languages	3 976	0,20 %
Total:	**1 991 632**	**100,00 %**

Table 6

As we can see, the use of working languages of the EU saves a lot of translation efforts as it is not possible to translate all EU documentation into all the 24 official languages. Especially regarding the working documents, such a translation is often not necessary. The European Commission uses English, French and German in general as procedural languages. But we can observe above that, as the years progressed, English has become the most translated language within the European Commission. The increase is clear through years: for instance, the percentage of documents translated from English was 55,08% in 2000, 68,48% in 2005 and 77,04% in 2010. Focusing on the most recent source, in 2015 the Translation Directorate General of the European Commission translated a total of 1 991 632 pages. The greatest percentage of translated pages was into English – 80,95%, followed by French (3,65%) and German (2,80%).
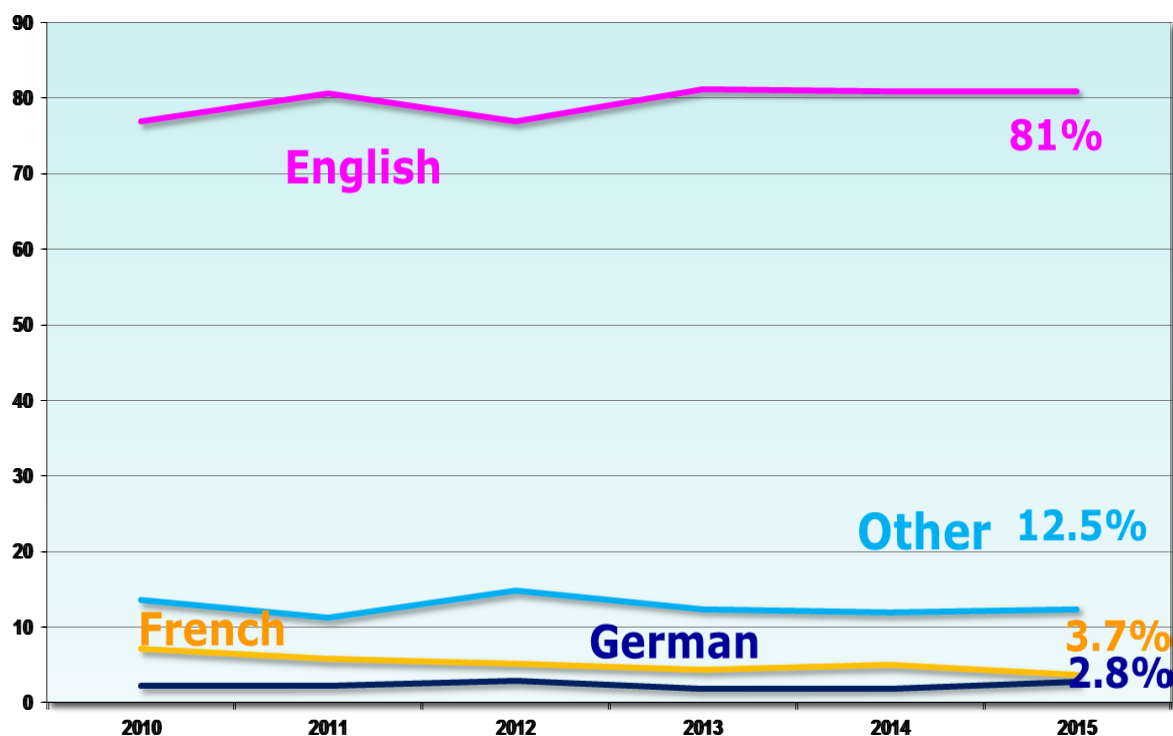
CHAPTER 3: Experts' point of view

3.1 Konrad Fuhrmann: Policy Officer at DG Education and Culture of the European Commission

1. What is your thought about all the work standing behind Europe? Every day hundreds of meetings, conferences, and congresses take place within the European Organs: the role of the translator/interpreter is, therefore, essential to make this system work day by day. In relation to your own experience, what is your consideration about that? Does the communication through 24 languages, in the European Commission as in the rest of European Organs, represent a social boundary or a treasure?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "This task is very easy to carry out and till now it works pretty well, even with so many and so diverse languages. The costs are manageable. It's less the 1% of the Union's budget while Agriculture as far as I know still (after 100+ reforms) takes more than 35% with much less convincing results. Of course, in the everyday life in the institutions most is going on in English and to a lesser degree in French, but this does not concern the citizen directly. And I think the translation, interpretation and terminology work done by the institutions is extremely important for the different languages, especially for the less distributed ones. And for the development of the language industry which is a very important business in Europe (look at our Study on the size of the language industry: http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/study-on-the-size-of-the-language-industry-in-the-eu-pbHC8009985/?CatalogCategoryID=SIIKABst.SEAAAEjGJEY4e5L). Thanks to our databases of translations machine translation becomes more reliable even from and to very small languages like Maltese."

2. Does Linguistic Diversity, in your opinion, form a barrier in creating a European identity?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "Far from being a barrier, linguistic and cultural diversity is an essential element of European identity. "E pluribus unum" is the phrase on the seal of the United States. This is NOT the aim of the European project of an ever closer community: Europe will always stay linguistically and culturally diverse and has the devise – "united in diversity". All attempts in the past to unify Europe neglecting this fundamental fact were started by dictators and failed. Even the often quoted "United States of Europe" is a misleading concept, because the USA cannot be the model. It is, of course, difficult to

create a European identity based on more than twenty languages and multiple cultural traditions (at least the catholic, protestant and orthodox ones), but not impossible. Switzerland is the example of a multilingual country which has succeeded to create a common identity, the Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslavia have failed in the past and Belgium seems to be failing right now. This is a big task for researchers to study all these examples and identify the reasons for success and failure."

3. Recent studies showed that in 2015, the percentage of documents that the DG TRANSLATION translated for the Commission was:

- from English 81%

- from French 4%

- from German 3%

- from other EU official languages: 12%

According to this results, how would you comment on them?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "Internally, the Commission is working more and more in only one language – (mostly) bad English. This is the result of the mimimex-rule as expressed by the Dutch sociologist Abram de Swan [I have to check this], the rule of minimal exclusion in a multilingual environment: you will choose the language which excludes the least possible participants. The sea-change in the Commission started in 1995 with the accession of the Nordic countries Sweden and Finland and was concluded in 2004 with the accession of 10 new countries. Before this period French had been still the dominant language in some fields. On the one hand, this is a purely technical issue which does not concern the citizens, because they will continue getting all relevant texts in their language. On the other hand, it is a bad signal: the European institutions should somehow be a model of linguistic diversity also internally. However, it would be quite difficult to change this. If the institutions required from all candidates in competitions to speak at least the same big languages, this would first limit the number of available experts, especially in certain small countries, and then the question would inevitably rise: which ones? The triade English-French-German would not be accepted by the Italian and Spanish government and there is still Poland with more speakers in Europe than Castillano. Who, except some passionate polyglots, could learn all these languages and be still excellent experts in the

field of waste processing or health policy? I would be satisfied already with the choice English-French, to avoid complete monolingualism, but the Commission has nearly no influence on the school policy of the Member States which have less and less French in their curricula, even in border regions of France. Therefore, all the efforts of the Commission should go in the direction to strengthen the external multilingualism, to translate more and more and in time, even beyond purely legal contexts (for instance, the web sites, reports, tenders etc.)."

4. Does the EU resemble a king of Tower of Babel?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "The Tower of Babel is the negative myth of multilingualism and it is completely wrong, when we use it to describe the European Union. The Bible offers also the positive myth of Whitsun: thanks to translation and interpretation the Holy Gospel could be spread among all peoples. And as Umberto Eco put it rightly: the language of Europe is translation. This was already the case long before the European Union. Without translation there would be no Shakespeare, no Goethe, no Moliere, no Dostoievski (in order to take only literature) – they all took huge parts of their inspiration from sources in other languages and then influenced largely the public outside their countries. All thanks to (more or less successful) translation. And translation makes work the European Union very successfully. If it once will have perhaps 40 official languages, it will continue working efficiently. No chaos à la Babel in sight."

5. In the current seemingly monolingual communication in English, how should we understand unity in diversity?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "The overall trend to use English as language of communication is, of course, undermining the ideals of linguistic diversity and multilingualism. Nearly nobody is able to learn all official languages of the EU, but there are several concepts to create more linguistic diversity among non-natives: for example, intercomprehension should be promoted and taught at school. Most of the European languages belong to the Latin, Germanic and Slavic group and many languages inside these groups are mutually understandable, especially if you train the people. With some preparation, German- and Dutch-speakers easily understand each other, as well as Italians and Spaniards, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks etc. but an intercomprehension-friendly atmosphere is needed. Today

many communities with quite similar (or even equal) languages rather develop the differences (Serbocroatian, for instance, has split in 4 'languages') and were intercomprehension used to be in practice (between the Scandinavian languages, for instance) the trend goes into (the wrong, in my view) direction of always preferring English. Another concept would be to promote teaching of the languages of neighbouring countries, especially in border regions. In the past the implementation of the Barcelona principle of mother tongue plus two (foreign languages) was characterized by arbitrariness: everybody should learn another European language as the second one (presuming that the first one is always English), according to his/her taste. This will not really promote multilingualism, because a Portuguese learning Lithuanian and a Spanish neighbour learning Greek will be able to talk to each other only in English they had learnt both, though their languages are largely (with some preparation, especially for the Spanish-speakers) intercomprehensible and in any case can be very easily taught."

6. What is your attitude towards the fact that using English as an official and working language would certainly accelerate the work within the EU? On the other hand, do you agree that this solution would eliminate language diversity in the EU?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "Legally spoken, English has no special status compared with all other official languages of the EU. The status of "working language" does not exist le- gally. As I explained in my answer to question 2, the internal use of English is difficult avoid. Therefore, the European institutions should do much more than they do in the mo- ment to strengthen multilingualism in all their external communication."

7. Is English becoming a Lingua Franca in the EU?

Konrad Fuhrmann: "English is no lingua franca and will never be one. Lingua franca is the concept of a mixture of several languages serving very limited communication objectives, in the historical model it was a combination of several Mediterranean languages created to assure navigation. A modern version of the lingua franca would be Europanto as created by the Italian writer Diego Marani (http://www.europanto.be/), but here the aim is clearly a satirical one. English is a completely normal natural language which shares all its advantages and especially disadvantages with other natural languages: ambiguities, several terms meaning more or less the same, other ones meaning several completely different things etc. Every language conveys a vision of the world, a 'neutral use'

of natural language(s) remains impossible. Therefore, the concept of lingua franca is misleading. If one day all mankind will speak only one language, they will also think one way (la pensée unique). I hope this will never happen."

3.2 Ian Andersen: External Communications Adviser to DG Interpretation at European Commission

1. What is your thought about all the work standing behind Europe? Every day hundreds of meetings, conferences, and congresses take place within the European Organs: the role of the translator/interpreter is, therefore, essential to make this system work day by day. In relation to your own experience, what is your consideration about that? Does the communication through 24 languages, in the European Commission as in the rest of European Organs, represent a social boundary or a treasure?

Ian Andersen: "The language diversity in the EU is a given, not an option. Working in a single language, while convenient, especially for native speakers of that language, always contains a risk of group think or absence of diversity in the thinking. So the answer is both: diversity is a boundary which you will need to overcome - through interpretation and translation or through language learning."

2. Does Linguistic Diversity, in your opinion, form a barrier in creating a European identity?

Ian Andersen: "Language diversity is a barrier. It can be overcome as mentioned above, but there is always a cost, no matter how you organize it. However, the cost should be measured against the benefits of cooperation and the gains from the absence of armed conflict between the MS."

3. Recent studies showed that in 2015, the percentage of documents that the DG TRANSLATION translated for the Commission was:

- from English 81%

- from French 4%

- from German 3%

- from other EU official languages: 12%

According to this results, how would you comment on them?

Ian Andersen: "The interpretation is simple: more original drafts are produced in English than in the other languages mentioned."

4. Does the EU resemble a king of Tower of Babel?

Ian Andersen: "The Babel myth is only partially applicable. In Genesis 11 " 5 But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. 6 The Lord said, "If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. 7 Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other."" The construction of the EU started with everyone speaking different languages. The Interpreting and translation services are the anti-Babelizers."

5. In the current seemingly monolingual communication in English, how should we understand unity in diversity?

Ian Andersen: "As a representative of a Service that pumps out more than 100.000 days of interpretation per year I would not say that everything is in English. On the contrary. Unity in diversity is not necessarily about language. You can very well share a language and work together in your diversities. The Anti-Babelizers are there to ensure inclusiveness for those who do not share a common language."

6. What is your attitude towards the fact that using English as an official and working language would certainly accelerate the work within the EU? On the other hand, do you agree that this solution would eliminate language diversity in the EU?

Ian Andersen: "You speak of facts and acceleration. Both concepts are social constructs or subjective opinions. You are forgetting that the Member States internally still work in their national languages. You can move the language "transaction point" around, but you cannot eliminate it until all Europeans speak one language. Things take the time they take in terms of the political processes in the Member States. As for the Commission internally, it has always functioned with a reduced set of procedural languages. Until the 1980s, French was dominant in internal usage, after that English. But both languages are still very much part of the administrative culture - with differences between DGs and Institutions. German less so. But that has always been the case."

Speed in a political process inside the Commission is, among other things, attached to understanding what the participants really mean. Sometimes using just one language can work to slow down understanding, not least because of the cultural markers implicit in a language, which are not necessarily completely mastered by someone speaking a second or third language.

7. Is English becoming a Lingua Franca in the EU?

Ian Andersen: "Jean-Luc Dehaene, the late, former Belgian Prime Minister, famously said in 2002 that the shared language of Europe is "Le Bad English". I don't disagree with JLD. But we don't actually know whether English as Lingua Franca is more or less effec- tive in terms of speed and understanding than native languages with interpretation. A consortium of European Universities is trying to look at this as we speak. I would want to wait for their evidence before pronouncing myself on this question. Certainly, more people in Europe speak English than ever before, but 50% of the Europeans still speak no English at all. Clearly, *English only* is not a viable or legitimate solution for the Euro- pean Institutions. "

3.3 Stefaan van der Jeught: Officer at the Directorate Communication of the European Court of Justice

1. What is your thought about all the work standing behind Europe? Every day hundreds of meetings, conferences, and congresses take place within the European Organs: the role of the translator and the interpreter is, therefore, essential to make this system work day by day. In relation to your own experience, what is your consideration about that?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "The work of translators and interpreters is indeed essential in the daily work of the various EU institutions, bodies and agencies. Yet, at the same time, a huge gap between theory and reality exists. In actual fact, when looking at day-to-day working arrangements, full language regimes are not the general rule at all. In practice, decisions on internal linguistic arrangements (a limited set of working languages) are, for a large part, left to the various EU institutions, bodies and agencies. The legal basis for this is a broad interpretation of art. 6 of basic Regulation (1/1958) on the linguistic regime of the EU, which allows for the use of certain languages only, in specific cases. This gives in practice rise to the use of English, French and German only, in many, not to say all, EU institutions, bodies and agencies. In addition, a clear hierarchy between these three

languages exists as well (English being by far the most important). Coming back to your question about the role of translators, yes, their work is essential. At the same time, the use of working languages must also be taken into account, as without them, the smooth working of the EU would be impossible. An issue that is more and more raised in this sense is the usefulness of having three working languages. As I argue in my book "EU Language Law", for the purposes of communication, one language is enough. Three languages do not only make it more complicated, but they do not represent real language diversity or multilingualism either, which should also include all the other EU-languages."

1.2. Does the communication through 24 languages, in the European Commission as in the rest of European Organs, represent a social boundary or a treasure?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "Both, I would say... When talking about full multilingualism, we mainly mean external language use. Despite the general duties stipulated in Regulation 1/1958, the cases in which a real legal obligation exists to use all official EU languages are essentially limited to two fields of operation: legislation and direct communication with EU Member States and private persons. The EU courts, which fall outside the scope of Regulation 1/1985, also operate on a multilingual basis, allowing for cases to be brought in all EU official languages. The essential tension field here is between efficiency and diversity. For the former, you necessarily need a common language. You have not written your mail in Polish, and I am not replying in Dutch. For the latter, i.e. diversity, on the contrary, it would be nice to be able to use those languages, Polish and Dutch to stay with our example. To give another example, when an airplane is approaching the airport for take down, the pilot and flight control are not switching languages either for the sake of language diversity. No, rather, for the sake of efficient communication, and safety of all concerned (!), they use a common language, namely English. I think the treasure of our language diversity lies on the territories of the Member States or the regions thereof. It is essential for social cohesion within our societies that we preserve and protect our languages there. In that sense, language acquisition of newcomers in society should be strongly encouraged. It is clear that if you want to live and work in another country of the EU, on a long term basis, you have to learn the language(s) of the host State. This is not taken into account sufficiently in current EU legislation, in my opinion. Last but not least, allow me to remind you, as I abundantly mention in "EU Language

Law", that full multilingualism is far from being respected currently in external communication (for instance with regard to internet sites of many EU institutions, bodies and agencies)."

2. Does Linguistic Diversity, in your opinion, form a barrier in creating a European identity?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "Yes. I think it is doubtful that the EU can base its identity on sheer diversity alone. It should be admitted that language diversity also has negative consequences, as it forms a serious barrier to the full flourishing of the informal dimension of democracy, i.e. public discussion in a civil society. A major element, in my view, to creating a European identity. To a large extent, such an identity is developing though, thanks to exchange programs and work experiences or traineeships in other countries, where often (again...), English is used."

3. Recent studies showed that in 2015, the percentage of documents that the DG TRANS-LATION translated for the Commission was:

- from English 81%

- from French 4%

- from German 3%

- from other EU official languages: 12%

According to this results, how would you comment on them?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "This proves my point, in reply to the question under 1. It shows that working documents, discussion papers, draft legislation etc is mainly drafted in English only. It simply shows the strong position of English as a lingua franca in the Commission services. This may of course vary from institution to institution. The European Parliament, for instance, or the Court of Justice of the EU are different in this respect."

4. Does the EU resemble a king of Tower of Babel?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "It is not quite right to compare the EU to the Kingdom of Babel. I am convinced that coexistence is possible between, on the one hand, a lingua franca, and on the other, the local languages. By the way, throughout its history, Europe has

always used a lingua franca in addition to local languages: Greek (Koiné), Latin, French and currently de facto English."

5. In the current seemingly monolingual communication-in English, how should we understand unity in diversity?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "I think we must make a clear distinction between the protection of linguistic diversity, on the one hand, and efficient communication on the other. The latter inevitably requires a lingua franca. For the sake of efficiency, EU institutions, bodies and agencies need a common language. Likewise, if we want national administrations, judges or the police, for instance, to smoothly cooperate when recognizing administrative documents or judgments or when combating crime, we must also accept that a common language is required. In my view, it would be wrong to insist on diversity in that field, as it would only hamper achieving the common targets. Conversely, language diversity must be protected where it is really necessary, in EU legislation or access to the EU Courts, for instance. In the same vein, Member States must continue to have the possibility to implement their own language policy, not least with a view of attaining social cohesion in their societies. As you say, the language of a nation is most certainly a defining feature, which is recognized in the Treaty (TEU) as well as in the EU Charter of fundamental rights."

6. What is your attitude towards the fact that using English as an official and working language would certainly accelerate the work within the EU? On the other hand, do you agree that this solution would eliminate language diversity in the EU?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "To a large extent, as you show yourself under 3, this is already the case now. And no, it does not eliminate language diversity. To come back to our example of the pilots and flight control: it is not because they use a common language that language diversity as such is jeopardized. Once you are in the airport, the national language(s) are used as well (mostly together with English). I think the co-existence of languages and the preservation of language diversity in the EU should be seen in that sense. And anyway, legislation and access to the EU courts should always remain multilingual as well."

7. Is English becoming a Lingua Franca in the EU?

Stefaan Van der Jeught: "Looking at all the data and statistics on language use, not only in the EU but on a world scale, I would say that that is already the case, yes. Furthermore,

Europe has always had a common language to be used between its peoples (Greek, Latin, French, and currently English). The only real difference is the scale: while in the old days the lingua franca was spoken by an elite group only, English is now spoken by a far larger number of people. We should see the positive side of that development as well, namely the possibility for communication on an unprecedented scale."

Conclusions

With my text, I have widely dealt with the linguistic challenge that the European Union faces, vacillating between the need to respect the linguistic diversity while at the same time is striving to achieve European integration. I could verify that the European Union promotes multilingualism as a notable element of its heritage and aims to protect linguistic diversity for reasons of cultural identity and social union. However, working in 24 different languages may slow down work and communication in the multilingual EU requires efficiency, competence and rapidity. As I argued, official and working languages of the EU Member States have equal status and equal rights in EU institutions, though in practice some languages are more equal than others: official languages are used in external communication, while working languages are circumscribed to an internal context. Despite the general duties stipulated in Regulation 1/1958, the cases in which a real legal obligation exists to use all official EU languages are essentially limited to two fields of operation: legislation and direct communication with EU Member States and private persons. The choice of working languages in the EU bodies is a matter of practice and English is the most important language of wider communication. A recent research shows that English is the most spoken language in the EU bodies: English is the *lingua franca* and as I showed in Chapter 3, the experts do not all agree on this issue; for instance, Mr. Fuhrmann argues that *English is no lingua franca and will never be one*, and Mr. Andersen declares that *the shared language of Europe is Le Bad English*: according to him *we don't actually know whether English as Lingua Franca is more or less effective in terms of speed and understanding than native languages with interpretation*. In contrast, Mr. Van der Jeught states that there's no need to say that English is the lingua Franca, because *this is already the case now and it does not eliminate language diversity. In fact, this proves that working documents, discussion papers, draft legislation etc., is mainly drafted in English only. It simply shows the strong position of English as a lingua franca in the Commission services. This may of course vary from institution to institution. The European Parliament, for instance, or the Court of Justice of the EU are different in this respect.* Throughout history, Europe has always used a *lingua franca,* a common language enabling communities with different mother tongues to communicate: Greek in the ancient world, Latin in the Roman Empire and for centuries after its collapse, until the 18th century when French became the language of politics and diplomacy. In contrast with the

current situation, however, the necessity of a common language was felt only by a restricted group of people; what is new is the scale of international communication today. The past few decades have witnessed unparalleled increases involving all EU citizens, underlining the need for one vehicular language that can overcome language barriers. This role is mainly played by English at the moment and can scarcely be disputed. The EU aims to operate with an efficient amount of workload, while preserving linguistic diversity. About this matter and thanks to the above mentioned interviews, I finally reached a substantial verdict: according to Mr. Van der Jeught, it is very *important to make a clear distinction between the protection of linguistic diversity, on the one hand, and efficient communication on the other. The latter inevitably requires a lingua franca.* Shall we consider linguistic diversity as a social boundary or a treasure? Mr. Andersen believes that *the language diversity in the EU is a given, not an option. Working in a single language, while convenient, especially for native speakers of that language, always contains a risk of group think or absence of diversity in the thinking. So the answer is both: diversity is a boundary which you will need to overcome through interpretation and translation or through language learning.* As Umberto Eco said, *the language of Europe is Translation*: the EU considers translation as a fundamental concern, because of its importance in daily communication in Europe. The use of working languages in the EU saves a lot of translation efforts as it is not possible to translate all EU documentation into all the 24 official languages: the choice of English as the hypothetical official language for a future EU is still argued, but not yet rejected. On the one hand, using only English as an official and working language certainly would accelerate the work within the EU. On the other hand, this solution would reject the linguistic diversity.

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