The EU and languages: diversity in what unity?
Robert Phillipson
www.cbs.dk/staff/phillipson

Reaching agreement on language policies in the EU is hindered by many factors. The length of the list that follows makes it abundantly clear that the issues are not straightforward.

1. European history has led to different *cosmologies in national linguistic cultures*, making cross-cultural dialogue on language policy issues treacherous;
2. language is a *major political issue* in the EU but is treated as merely a pragmatic, instrumental matter (Kraus 2008);
3. language policy is *politically untouchable at inter-governmental level*: it was ignored by the Convention on the Future of Europe and in the draft Constitutional/Reform Treaty, despite pleas from NGOs from several countries for language rights to be strengthened;
4. *governments can and do ignore EU recommendations* on language policy (e.g. two foreign languages) and *Ombudsman* recommendations (e.g. languages on presidency websites);
5. *the European Parliament* has been influential in promoting rights for national minority languages, but progress is uneven because of monolingual linguistic nationalists;
6. *the right to use specific languages in EU contexts* exists on paper for a range of functions, in speech (via interpretation) and writing (Eurolaw, other communications), but are constrained in many ways, poorly disseminated and often neither understood nor acted on;
7. the *rhetoric of EU multilingualism* and linguistic equality has virtually no historical roots in member states to build on (Wright 2000);
8. the EU *translation and interpretation services* are impressive in many respects, but are detached from international research, and subject to an economic rationale, seeing themselves essentially as *a service function* rather than policy-making (Phillipson 2003);
9. overall *responsibility* for language policy in the EU is *fragmented* (Council of Ministers, Directorates for Education & Culture, Multilingualism, Translation, …), and is ultimately an *inter-governmental* responsibility;
10. there is a *poor infrastructure nationally* in Ministries (except in Finland, Sweden, the Basque country and Catalonia) and *supranationally* for addressing language policy issues;
11. the *research community is small* and scattered, and while there are a few distinguished language policy specialists, most social scientists working on European integration ignore language issues;
12. neither the *Commissioner* responsible for multilingualism nor the eurocrats in his staff are experts in language policy;
13. *EU institutions* are inconsistent in living up to ideals of multilingual equality (on websites, in communications with member states, asymmetrical communication between proficient users of English and others) and in effect practise *linguistic apartheid*;
14. there are collisions of *terminology* (e.g. *lingua franca*, multilingualism, working language are understood in several different senses) in distinct discourses (politics, media, business etc), and in different academic disciplinary traditions, as well as in different countries;
15. the criteria for granting *co-official status* to Basque, Catalan, Galician, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic are clear (O´Rian 2009) but concepts in EU language policy declarations (e.g. 'mother tongue'; linguistic 'diversity') tend to be open to several interpretations;
16. the *language* that characterises EU texts is *banal, homogenised, culturally indistinct*, this contributing to the EU's *legitimation crisis* (Roberts 2006) and is unable to trigger loyalty or identification comparable to nationalism, either passionate or banal (Outhwaite 2006);

17. with English as the *de facto* default *in-house language* of the Commission, proficient users of English, whether as a first or second language, are at an advantage, whereas the 'bad' English of others promotes *inefficiency* and *inequality*;

18. the *prestige and use of German and French* have been reduced over time: '… le français tend à devenir une langue de traduction et non plus de conception' (Annual Report of the *Délégation nationale à la langue française et aux langues de France*, 2006);

19. schemes ('*Actions*') to promote European integration *strengthen English*: a) the Bologna process, creating a pan-European higher education and research 'area', functions as though '*internationalisation*' means '*English-medium higher education*', b) a recent report on the ERASMUS programme documents student mobility but neglects language issues;

20. *journalistic coverage* of EU language issues tends to be *ill-informed*, even in the quality press, often with a false emphasis on cost or the tired myth of Babel;

21. the EU can be seen as a European integration *project*, involving a range of *processes* and *products* (Morgan 2005), interlocking with the a *project* of making English *the dominant language* of the EU, entailing identifiable *processes* and *products*;

22. *identification with 'Europe'* is limited due to widespread ignorance about the EU and uncertainty about whether the project leads to a federal United States of Europe (Churchill, Monnet, the US corporate-political elite), which would strengthen the case for a special status for English, or to a 'Europe des patries' (de Gaulle, UK conservatives);

23. *criteria for guiding equitable supranational language policy* are under-explored, except by a few scholars;

24. *alternatives to market forces* (the comparative advantage of English in the European linguistic market) and linguistic nationalism (e.g. Esperanto for restricted bridging purposes internally in the EU, or in education) are *unexplored*, except in work by scholars (e.g. Grin 2005);

25. international *coordination among national language bodies* (for Danish, German, Spanish etc.) is in its infancy (Stickel 2009), and the processes for dialogue between scholars, interest groups, and policy-makers, nationally and internationally, are fragile;

26. some *new member states* are convinced that their languages are being treated as *second class*, at the mercy of market forces and not protected by international charters (Druviete 2009);

27. efforts to get language policy higher up on political agendas by *governments* (e.g. Slovakia, 2007) and *consultancies* (Yellow Window feasibility study concerning the possible creation of a European Agency for Linguistic Diversity and Language Learning, 2005) and *NGOs* are sabotaged by the Commission and ignored by most governments;

28. *analysis and recommendations* in book form by scholars for taking EU language policy issues forward (Grin 2003, Phillipson 2003, Kraus 2008) are ignored by politicians and eurocrats;

29. DG Education has funded some research on multilingualism, and the DG Research *Framework Programme 7* (Socio-economic sciences and humanities) is commissioning research into 'Vehicular languages in Europe in an era of globalisation: history, policy, practice', which includes *lingua francas* and language policy needs, but the competition for funding is fierce and the budget size modest compared with other fields;

30. *language rights* in international law tend not to create obligations on states (de Varennes 1999), provide weak protection for minorities (Thornberry 1997), and do not constrain 'international' languages;

31. *linguistic human rights* are evolving (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994), with a focus on education for Indigenous peoples (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar forthcoming).

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