

# **EUROSPEAK and ELF – English as a current global Lingua Franca**

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## **0 Introduction**

It is estimated that nearly 400 million people consider the English language their mother tongue and another nearly 300 million speakers use it as their second language. Hundreds of millions interlocutors use English in tourism, during business negotiations, in international academic programmes and institutions, and in many other fields of the 'third sector', where English is used as a lingua franca. The authors Krupa-Genzor (1996: 73) assert that since the 1950s use of the English language in the world has increased by 40 percent and the accelerating process still continues. From the purely geographical point of view, English is the most used (extended) language in the world.

## **1 Lingua Franca**

From Mistrík's Encyklopédia jazykovedy (1993: 265) we learn that in the Middle Ages the term *lingua franca* was used to denote a kind of Arabic language mixed with the features of another language(s) mostly used in the Mediterranean harbours. The term came to cover all so-called 'hybrid' languages in the course of time. In pragmatic-communicative terms it was either necessary or at least useful for interlocutors coming from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. English has become today's lingua franca, and it is English, too, that may be considered a kind of Esperanto of our times. It is also obvious

that, at least in a European context, English plays the dominant role that used to be characteristic of Latin in previous centuries.

### **1.1 Differences between EFL, ESL and ELF**

In linguistic science and language teaching we distinguish between EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca).

#### **1.1.1 EFL and ESL**

EFL refers to the teaching of English to students whose first language is not English and the official language of whose country is not English. It means that pupils/students/learners usually learn/study English at schools. To complicate things even more another type of English should be mentioned here, namely ESL, which means simply English as a Second Language. ESL refers to the teaching of English to speakers of other languages who live in a country where English is an official or significant language. In the context of our discussion EFL and ESL are not immediately relevant. We are mostly interested in ELF, because this is the only variety that has to do with the global use of the English language.

#### **1.1.2 ELF**

The abbreviation ELF stands for English as a Lingua Franca. ELF has a number of specific features. There is a pragmatic approach used in ELF teaching because, its main goal is to make communication as effective and successful as possible. However, it depends on the specific interlocutors. To put it simply: a native speaker of English almost subconsciously adapts his or her way of speech (grammar, vocabulary, diction and speed) to the level of their foreign listener (interlocutor). When there are non-native interlocutors involved in the

conversation, it is more relevant to make the other interlocutor understand the contents of the discourse than to speak perfect English. Some 'mistakes' in pronunciation, such as non-use of the phoneme schwa (@), can make English more easily comprehensible to foreign and/or non-native speakers. On the other hand, there is one important fact to realize – a native speaker may (and surely will) make the most of his better command of the language.

On the international scale English (ELF) is widely spoken by experts and scientists who are familiar with the discussed issues and terms connected to them.

## **1.2 Ogden's BASIC**

In short, ELF is as diverse as its speakers are diverse. We may talk of a considerably simplified system of the language developed from the so-called *language stripped bare* introduced in the 1930s by a British linguist, Charles Ogden, who named it *Basic English*. BASIC is an acronym for *British – American – Scientific – International – Commercial*. Ogden reduced its vocabulary to 600 nouns, 150 adjectives and 100 so-called structural expressions (pronouns, prepositions and so on). In fact, it is quite a reduced form of proper English grammar. Although Ogden's *Basic English* has not become an international language, as the author wished, a similar language has since his time become globally used – ELF.

Jennifer Jenkins (King's College, University London) was one of those who has done research on *language stripped bare*, and based on her research she found out that intercultural ELF communication is in general very fruitful despite the non-existence of fixed norms.

We have to emphasise again the significant fact that ELF is a pragmatically reduced form of the English language. It is not the language of Shakespeare or Virginia Woolf, though paradoxically in this context it is characteristic that it lacks a kind of 'pragmatic easiness', which can be achieved by means of scarcely used so-called

*gambits* (expressions or sentences used for starting a conversation), i. e. routine sentences by means of which the topic of discussion, taking turns, and so on are introduced in a polite and formal way. For example: *I'm afraid I don't understand... True, but... Quite simply, the question is... Are you suggesting... Excuse me, if no one objects... We're beginning to lose sight of the main point... May I draw your attention to a more important question? Perhaps we could return to your point later. Would you like to comment on the last point? Let's remember that... Don't you agree that... You will have to recognize that... Can't you see that... Even so... Granted, but... The fact of the matter is that... I take your point.*

## **2 Kachru's three circles of English speakers**

In 1985, the American linguist Braj B. Kachru divided English speakers (users) into three circles which became the basis for the classification of English speaking (use) in the world. However, many anglophone linguists point out that Kachru's classification has its disadvantages in disregarding various sociolinguistic aspects of the spread and use of the English language. On the other hand, Crystal (1996: 107) accepts this classification, and posits three circles of aspects of English spoken on a global scale. The fields of all three circles are not fixed, and they may overlap.

### **2.1 The Inner Circle**

There are traditionally English speaking countries in *the Inner Circle* such as the U.S., the U.K., Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. At the moment of publishing Crystal's Encyclopaedia, the total number of English speakers ranged between 320 and 380 million inhabitants. However, today the number is much higher – approximately 400 million people use English as their mother tongue.

## **2.2 The Outer Circle**

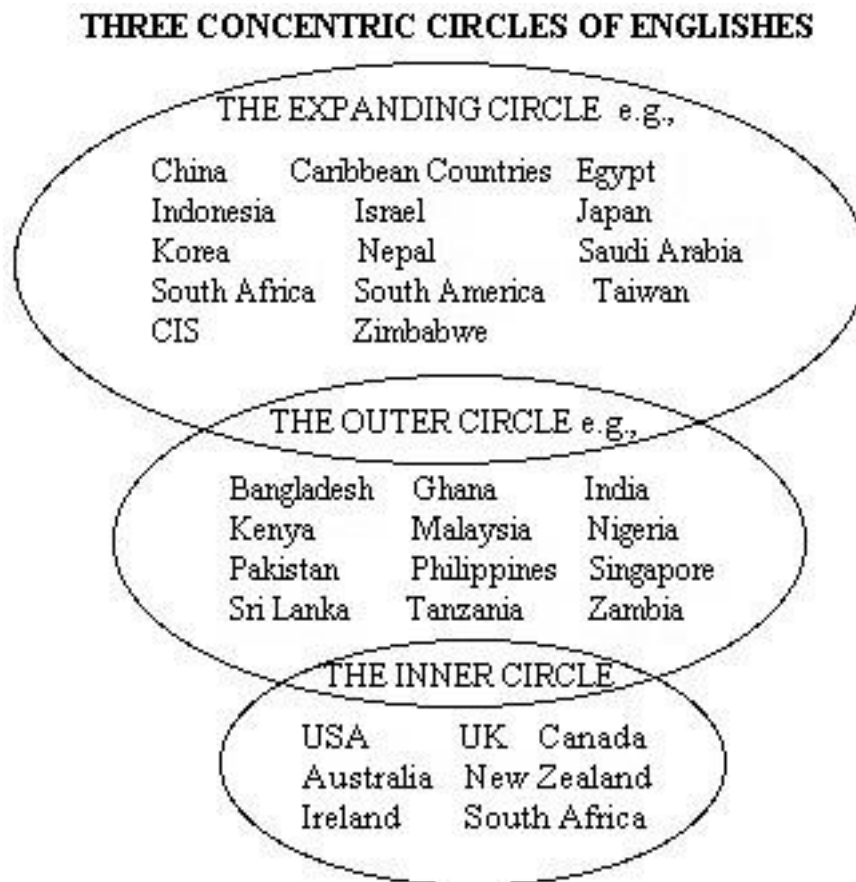
*The Outer Circle* goes back to the early days of the English language boom in non-English environments where English has now become an official language of the main state institutions and plays an important role as the second language in a multicultural country. Mostly this is true of former colonies and dominions in which English has become a lingua franca because citizens come from diverse ethnic groups speaking various languages. This includes countries such as Singapore, India, Malawi and over 50 other countries around the world. The number of English speakers ranges between 150 and 300 million users.

## **2.3 The Expanding Circle**

*The Expanding Circle* represents about 100 million – 1 billion English speakers and includes all those nations and countries which know the global and international importance of English, though they have not had direct historical experience of the anglophone colonisation of those countries belonging to the Inner Circle, and they have not let English become dominant in their national language policy. This is the situation in countries of central and eastern Europe, China, Japan, Israel, Greece and many others. English is being taught as a foreign language in these countries. Anglicists have been wondering whether this kind of international English is acceptable or not. It is highly likely they will accept it for the plain reasons that it turns out that people speaking English as a foreign language outnumber those who use it as their mother tongue.

The following picture depicting all three circles of the English speakers has been taken from the website <http://jalt-publications.org/tlt/files/96/oct/englishes.html#1> (05/09/2006):

Figure 1. Three Concentric Circles of English according to Kachru.



One of the basic features of the English language is its great ability to borrow lexical units from an enormous number of languages. After many centuries of language and cultural interactions it has developed into a language with prevailing a Germanic grammar and a dominant Roman vocabulary (words having Old French, Latin or Greek background) which approximately makes up 75 percent of the whole English vocabulary. English has borrowed words from about 120 different languages. This open-mindedness towards other language influences and impacts has also contributed to its global dominance all over the world.

### **3 Pointing to an analogy between Latin and English**

In the course of the centuries Latin, as the language of science, scholarship and education, contributed to the development of several European languages which had been existing simultaneously with itself, although at the beginning they were considered too outlandish or even vulgar. Latin created a solid ground for its new varieties and later on the new languages. The analogy with English is obvious: nowadays there is no single standard English. We know several kinds of standard Englishes (or varieties of English) such as British, American, Australian, African and Indian (the English spoken in India). Each of them has its own specific pronunciation, morphological, grammatical, lexical, syntactic, stylistic and cultural features, although the core of the lexicon is more or less the same.

Latin has been the language of the Roman Catholic Church, scholarship and education in the course of the centuries, while English has reached its dominance only recently and has usually been connected with the language of business and diplomacy (superseding French). English is a secular language, and this fact is very important in connection with the spread of English both in tourism and in the worldwide communication of everyday life.

### **4 Europe and a universal language**

All attempts to create a single universal language have failed; however, taking 6, 000 languages<sup>1</sup> into consideration, one has to admit that those attempts have their justification. For example, there are about 400 languages and dialects spoken in Papua New Guinea, while 18 million Amerindians speak 1, 200 different languages. In Russian Dagestan there live about 1.5 million people speaking approximately 40 various languages. In the Russian peninsula of Cola there live only 1, 700

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<sup>1</sup> To define the term 'language' is a difficult task, and even to distinguish it from a dialect or dialects is very complicated, because some languages are spread only by oral means. The demise of several languages, mostly in Asia and Oceania, is a continuous process that also influences a number of other languages in the world. However, linguists have come to an agreement that there are around 6, 800 languages all around the world.

Saams using their own language and alphabet (Rybár, 1992:61). In Ghana about 45 languages are spoken. In Nigeria, the country with the highest population density in Africa, around 100 languages are spoken. People in Cameroon use about 170 languages and dialects. Mainly English and French were used as unifying and official languages during the times of colonisation and imperial hegemony. Both languages, English and French, remain official in a considerable number of states where considerations of language and politics are problematical (Pisárčiková, 1988: 262).

Attempts to create the only artificial, logical, universal and/or international language spoken on a global scale are as ancient as a human society itself, considering the power potential that can manipulate a human mind. Moreover, in the 20th century a certain doctor developed several artificial languages some of which had a vocabulary of up to 10, 000 lexical units. Since Francis Bacon's time human society has chalked up approximately 700 attempts to create an artificial language common to as many countries and societies as possible.

The first noticeable success was posted when a German priest called Schleyer introduced a 'world language' known as *volapük* in 1879.

- 1 In 1907 there was published the very first *Esperanto* textbook for Slovaks in the town of Martin. The publication contributed to the increasing popularity of Esperanto in Slovakia. It is believed that its 'father' was a Polish doctor called L. Zamenhof. Esperanto is very probably the most successful artificial language in which congresses are held and into which literary works of art are translated (for example, Sládkovič' Detvan).
- 2 Esperanto was followed by *Ido* – new elaborate version of Esperanto.



- 3 *Interlingua* (IALA<sup>2</sup>) was introduced by an American think tank in the years 1924 – 1951, and it was meant to supersede Latin. *Interlingua* is a set of 10,000 expressions adapted from Latin. The association believed in the reabsorption of Latin into languages of the world – that is why they introduced its modernised form enriched by many expressions from living languages.
- 4 *Basic English* (1930s) is a simplified version of British and American English (more information can be found in 1.1). Its vocabulary has 850 words, necessary to make communication possible and comprehensible. However, it is a paradox that a minimum number of words limits the number of interlocutors, and even the easiest expressions are described by means of a long set of lexical units. For example, instead of a single word *selfish* the following description is necessary *without thought for others* (bez myslenia na druhých). Another extreme case may be mentioned: *a cut from the back end of a male cow kept on the fire long enough* (odrezok z chrbta konca samčej kravy nechaný na ohni dosť dlho) describing nothing else than *beefsteak* (hovädzí rezeň)<sup>4</sup> (Krupa-Genzor, 1996: 302).

#### **4.1 Official languages of the EU and language equity – reality or chimera?**

Ten new member countries (among them Slovakia) entered the EU on May 1st, 2004 and the number of official languages accordingly increased from 11 to 20. It has been the greatest Euro-enlargement ever. Until the May enlargement the following eleven languages were notionally all equally spoken in the EU institutions: Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish.

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<sup>2</sup> The International Association for an Artificial Language

## **4.2 Looking for a neutral language**

Although the Eurorepresentatives try to enforce a symmetrical language model that could be applied on every communicative occasion, it is obvious that their attempt is in vain. Today's English enjoys the significant position of a (neutral) working Eurolanguage, despite the fact that its dominant status has been prompting lively discussion in political and other circles of society. In English's favour is its globalism (i.e. world use) conditioned by historical context and neutral specifications without British, American or Australian cultural/political backgrounds or allusions. The term *neutral English* indicates international English divested of regional varieties containing political, social and cultural connotations. A formal form of international English prevails at universities, and among scientists where English merely functions as a communicative-cognitive language, because its aim is not to fulfil emotional or aesthetic functions. It is this form of English that has been preferred in the language culture of the western world. Although British colonialism laid the foundations for global English, international English is a result of forming world culture (i.e. western culture), the intensive influence of the U.S. also contributes, but decisive influence upon the use of international English unambiguously has a language-cultural interaction among non-English-speaking interlocutors<sup>3</sup>. This fact eliminates both the British and the American impact on other interlocutors. In English's favour, too, is the fact that non-native speakers outnumber English native speakers. All around the world English is used as a local/regional language fulfilling communicative-cognitive needs. On the other hand, opponents (of the global use of English) say that the neutrality of any language is a pure unattainable ideal, because all languages bear certain items of information about their users (i.e. speakers). Opponents also remind us that non-native speakers are exposed to the influences of various varieties of standard British, American and other less well-known varieties of the English language. Another strong argument is that

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<sup>3</sup> 'Non-English-speaking interlocutors' means all interlocutors whose mother tongue is not English.

relying on the use of international English makes the native speakers of English (predominantly Americans) dependent on the language abilities of others. A suitable international English divested as far as possible of local shades could be substituted for British/American English in the future. There is a high chance of mixing both standard varieties<sup>4</sup> together, thereby creating a supranational variety of English superseding current varieties. According to Crystal, the British linguist, native speakers of English will be exposed to two standards of English – one that will be a part of their national and local identities, while the other will help them to keep in touch with the rest of human society. Crystal does not discount bilingualism within the English language.

#### ***4.3 International English – the language of international institutions***

The term *international English* usually indicates the British variety spoken in the UK<sup>5</sup> and the Commonwealth of Nations. It is named *international English* in order to distinguish it from the American variety. The majority native speakers use the American variety, and the rest of native speakers consider the British variety a standard. However, American English prevails in the world. The international character of British English is dependent on three factors: 1) British English, compared to American English, is a standard spoken in more countries over the world; 2) many scientific works written outside the U.S. follow Oxford rules; 3) this variety is an official language of the United Nations and the European Union, and it is also used for testing language skills and abilities by the means of the *International English Language Testing System*. The British variety of *international English* is installed in computers sold on the world markets. The most influential and also the best-known organisations in which the British variety is spoken are the following: the network of the UN

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<sup>4</sup> Standard British English/General American English

<sup>5</sup> The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

organisations (UNESCO, UNICEF, etc.), WTO (the World Trade Organisation), WHO (the World Health Organisation), OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries), Interpol (the International Police), Amnesty International, and many others. What is typical of all the above-mentioned organisations is the application of Oxford orthography (e.g.. using the suffix *-ize* in verbs such as *organize* and *recognize*, but not *analyse*). Organisations following the standard British variety of governmental documents (*organise*, *recognise*) are: NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), the EU (the European Union), OECD (the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), the Commonwealth Secretary, Transparency International, Greenpeace and many others. The American variety (e.g. the double use of suffix *-se/-ze* in verbs: *defense*, *analyze*) is typical of documents issued by the U.S. government and also of the following organisations: the IMF (the International Monetary Fund<sup>6</sup>), the World Bank, the Secretary of the NAFTA organisation, and many others. Varieties of the English language amongst English speakers using this language as their second or third language are being extended by means of documents and a wide diapason of activities impinging upon nearly all fields of human society in contact with the named organisations.

## **5 Eurospeak**

Let us start this part of our article with a nice easy question: Parlez-vous eurojargon? (Do you speak Eurolanguage?) If you do, you are few of the lucky ones and if not, you had better start learning it, otherwise you will not be able to communicate with the Eurocrats in English. It is believed that a good command of Eurojargon helps you to take part in any of the EU-granted projects. By the way, EU-funded projects are very popular these days.

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<sup>6</sup> It is a part of the United Nations which encourages international trade and gives financial help to poor countries

## **5.1 European lexical units**

Eurospeak or Eurojargon is a new kind of special and mysterious language understandable only to a specific circle of people. Eurolanguage was invented by 'Euroclerks', and they are the only ones who understand it. It is as if it was meant especially for them. The European Information Association published a 350-page dictionary called *Eurojargon* in February 2004. It is a dictionary of abbreviations, acronyms, sobriquets (nicknames) and terminology used in the European Union's agencies, institutions, schemes, projects and programmes. There are more than 5, 200 entries in the dictionary. There are words like *ERASMUS*, *LEONARDO*, *SOCRATES* and acronyms such as *CAP* or *NOW*. Eurocrats use them without further explanation and, for the person who is not an insider, it is usually difficult to get the point.

However, Eurocrats and other pro-Eurospeak people think that Eurospeak is not just jargon. They say it is a European hybrid language that comes into its own when a European project has different collaborators from different European countries, cultures and languages. Eurolanguage, it is claimed, obviates the need for translations. (On the contrary, when translated one feels that the 'Euro' words bear too vague a meaning.)

Eurodocuments use words of European origin: *identity*, *flexibility*, *implementation*, *innovation*, *integration*, *negotiation*, *subsidiarity*, *zone*, and so on. There is also a special group of words combining with the prefix *Euro-* or *euro-*, for example *eurocheque*, *euromophile*, *euro-sceptic*, *eurocentric*, etc.

## **5.2 Blend 'Eurocrat'**

*Eurocrat* is a pun on the word 'bureaucrat' and denotes one of the thousands of EU citizens working for EU institutions (e.g. the Council,

the Commission, the Parliament, etc.). *Euroland* is a nickname for the EU member states that have adopted the euro as their currency. The 'euro area' (sometimes called 'the euro zone') includes Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain. Other countries are going to become part of this 'euro area' sooner or later.

### **5.3 *Faux amis* (False friends)**

The question is whether Eurospeak helps us or whether it complicates our communication even more. We will give one example to illustrate the situation. In January 2006 a case was discussed at the European Court of Justice concerning the proper interpretation of a phrase used in the legislation governing proprietary plant varieties. The point is that farmers are allowed to keep seed from their crops for sowing on their own farms, provided they pay a fair fee to the breeder of the plant variety in question. However, the level of the fee is not known or specified, and it is certain that it must be 'sensibly lower' than the royalty element in the price of new seed of the same variety. The legislative aspects do not concern us here. We are interested what exactly 'sensibly lower' means. This glaring gallicism (taken from the French expression 'sensiblement inférieur') may be translated as 'deutlich niedriger' in German and something like 'appreciably lower' in English. In fact, the non-native English speakers outnumber the native speakers. It seems that a translator was taken in by a 'false friend' (or so-called *faux ami*). In one of the UK parliamentary debates on the subject one MP suggested that a more appropriate expression to choose would have been 'suitably lower'. One has to conclude that Eurospeak turns out to be the ham-fisted English of the non-native speakers who cannot speak proper English. In this particular case all the parties at the European Court of Justice were German – there were no British or Irish judges. That is why the expression 'sensibly lower' had not been examined carefully in detail.

#### **5.4 Four reasons for using Eurospeak**

What are the reasons for using Eurospeak, Eurojargon, vague Euro-expressions, dubious Euro-English, ham-fisted English, or whatever we choose to call it? Let us be honest with ourselves. It is not just pure incompetence. A Czech Senator, Miroslav Škaloud (2005), has claimed that there are at least four main reasons for this phenomenon:

- 1 The wish to reach a compromise at any costs – the less specific words are, the higher are the chances of coming to an agreement. Using dubious and vague words may be quite practical: you can always agree on empty words that promise nothing and hurt no one. European politicians (Europoliticians) are believed to be more favourably looked upon when they find a compromise. Creating as good an impression as possible is part of their work and necessary to their personal ambition. For example: *social equity* is the ideal that the EU institutions would like to achieve. Another synonym for *social equity* and *social inclusion* is *social coherence*, defined as 'the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimizing disparities and avoiding social polarisation'...
- 2 The desire to underestimate the actual importance of a problem – and if something 'does not sound good' it is immediately given a more 'glancing' name (in fact, an opaque name); for example, *political correctness* is an attempt not to give things their proper names. *Flexicurity* is another expression avoiding the denotation of real things by their real names but in fact it means nothing more than the oxymoronic expression 'current flexibility and security of work places', two things which are virtually impossible to ensure simultaneously. One can hardly ensure working positions and offer a flexible working market at the same time.
- 3 The desire to make new solutions look good by means of brand-new words and expressions, although they offer nothing but well-

known and banal phenomena – for instance, *social capital* means abilities and skills, *development of human resources* refers to the education of people, and so on.

- 4 Satisfying the requirements, ideologies and ideas of various lobbies and pressure groups – defenders of certain phenomena want to put a new expression into use if they fail to put into use the specific phenomenon. They usually use vague expressions to name the ‘new social rights’ of EU citizens, such as *the right to get accommodation*, *the right to work* or *the right to health*. Such rights are rather dubious and not clearly defined. *The right to get accommodation* is to support availability at a suitable level. *The right to work* means nothing else than the achievement of the highest and the most stable level of employment possible. *The right to health* has not been defined yet, and so, as Škaloud points out, its application is beyond common sense. Health is, according to the international organization WHO, a highly subjective feeling that has enormous indefinable aspects, including genetic factors. That is why it is impossible to apply it accurately to any individual.

### **5.5 Attempt to characterize Eurospeak**

There are other specific Euro-expressions that have something to do with EU phenomena and are common to all member states. For example, *acquis communautaire* refers to the rights and duties shared in all member states; *harmonization* suggests unification of standards, *Shenghen* denotes an area without internal borders, including the common visa policy.

What exactly is Eurospeak? Lorang (2005) states: ‘Linguisten verstehen darunter den zunehmenden Einfluss des Englischen auf andere europäische Sprachen.’ (‘Linguists understand by this the increasing influence of English on other European languages.’) However, he does not consider Eurospeak in the same way as Škaloud. Lorang includes



international anglicisms in Eurospeak, for example words like 'shopping', 'event' or 'lifestyle'. Such lexical units are usually used by young people in France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, and elsewhere.

So when answering the question 'What is Eurospeak?', it is much easier to say what it is *not*. It is not the language of Virginia Woolf or William Shakespeare. It is not the English of Mark Twain, Toni Morrison or Ernest Hemingway either. It is definitely not the English of the Oxford dictionary. With regard to vocabulary it has nothing to do with standard British, Irish or American English.

Eurospeak is characteristic of a particular language level – lexical level and word formation. In fact, it is a lexicon of terms and highly formal expressions used by the European clerks and bureaucrats. It does not interfere with other language levels (either in grammar or syntax), although from the stylistic point of view high formality and abstraction (often even vagueness) are typical of the 'euroterms'. Eurospeak does not have to be spoken or written only in English. It might be found in other national languages of the EU members. It is not the language family that is important, but the choice of Eurospeak words. It turns out that English has become an innocent victim of Eurospeak; however, had it been spoken on a world wide scale this could have happened to any other language, too.

## **5.6 The EU in numbers**

There are 23 languages (since January 2007) spoken in the EU, which is not actually an enormous number. On the other hand, 23 languages mean over 400 different language-combinations during translation or interpretation processes. The EU budget for the translators and interpreters comes to € 1, 200, 000, 000 and increases every year in proportion to the rising number of languages. Eurocrats assert that this is not very substantial when the number is expressed in a percentage – it makes 'only' 1 per cent of the whole EU annual budget and it is

'only' slightly over €2 per one EU citizen per year. In reality, it depends on one's point of view. Many people would say it is too much. The European multilingual approach is not cheap at all. On one hand, Eurocrats proclaim the multilingual viewpoint and on the other, they use English as often as possible to communicate. All languages in the EU are believed (and declared) to be equal. There are, however, only three working languages in the EU: English, French and German – that is no language equity. That is language dominance, and hegemony of the three chosen languages. The question is whether a fair and equal treatment is possible for all languages in the whole EU. We do not think so – the number 23 expresses only the number of official languages spoken in the member states, and the languages of minorities are excluded. What is more even these 23 languages are not treated equally within the EU institutions. How can one expect other languages to be treated 'well'?

The importance of Eurospeak should not be underestimated. It is here to manipulate our minds, to force us to do the things the Eurocrats want us to do. Referenda on the EU Constitution or on EU enlargement are very good examples. If a referendum fails in one member country, that means just one thing – the referendum is put off for a certain period of time, but later on it takes place anyway, the Eurocrats having become more active and alert in the intervening period, using a massive propaganda machine to 'make the *vox populi* (referendum) successful'. Any referendum is considered a failure if the results are different from the Eurocrats' wishes and requirements.

### **5.7 Emma Wagner's suggestions**

Emma Wagner suggests several possible ways of resolving this issue on her website <http://www.cultivate-int.org/issue4/eurospeak/>. There is no space for us to present all her inspiring ideas, but probably one of the most striking she adduces is what she calls *the cure for Eurospeak* when on one hand she suggests encouraging people to speak Eurospeak,

but on the other hand discouraging them from writing it. Wagner also mentions that an important role is played by audience awareness, honesty, responsibility, planning ahead and expert editing. The last-mentioned can be considered the most significant in the context of the 23 official languages of the 27 member states. Her idea is to allow 'experts to rewrite documents before they are translated' into all 23 languages (Wagner, 2001). She points out that expert consultants and/or expert editors could come from outside. Against this, Eurocrats can object that outsiders do not know enough about a particular field to comprehend the eurodocuments. However, Wagner thinks that 'if intelligent, interested readers don't understand, that proves that the documents need to be rewritten' (ibid.). There is no reason to argue with her about this logical and sensible point.

## **6 Conclusion**

As we have shown, language is a strong and important instrument for presenting (Euro)politics, and for enforcing the Eurocrats' wishes, but at the same time, it may become the source of many conflicts. The EU, in its cunning way, takes sovereignty out of the hands of the national states in an increasingly large number of cases. The use (or abuse) of language plays an important part in this process.

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## RESUMÉ

The presented article characterizes the specific features of the special kind of English called Eurospeak. The author emphasises the fact that it is not the standard English spoken by native speakers in the UK, the Republic of Ireland or the USA.

## KEY WORDS

Lingua franca, Eurospeak, international language, international English, variety, Latin, reasons to use Eurospeak, vagueness.

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